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THE STUDY OF NATIONALISM

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A BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY ON THE LITERATURE

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WALKER/CONNOR
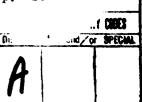
PREFACE

There are two major impediments to the study of nationalism. The first is the sheer bulk of the literature.

Since nationalism is generally recognized as the single, most powerful motivating force of global politics, it is not surprising that it should be treated, as least tangentially, in most works falling within the broad category of "international affairs." A computer print-out of bibliographic data whose authors acknowledged that it was very selective, contained approximately 5,000 entries which had been published between 1935 and 1966. [Karl Deutsch and Richard Merritt, Nationalism and National Development: An Interdisciplinary Bibliography (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970)]. Well over 3,000 of the entries had been published in the thirteen year period, 1953-1966, and production has unquestionably continued to accelerate in the post-1966 years. Even a specialist on nationalism who was trained in speed-reading techniques would have found it difficult to keep abreast of such an outpouring. It is therefore extremely doubtful whether anyone can lay claim to thorough familiarity with the literature. The author of this bibliographic essay is certainly no exception.

Given the superabundance of potentially germane materials, any bibliography on nationalism must be highly selective, thus necessitating qualitative judgements. Such judgements are by nature subjective, often reflecting the intellectual predispositions of the judge. The more selective the bibliography, the more its author is vulnerable to the charge of subjectivity. As noted, any bibliography on nationalism is highly selective, but this particular one is further limited by its intended readership. It

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is designed to be utilized by persons professionally engaged in the conduct of foreign policy. While the anticipated audience is therefore mature and informed, permitting the exclusion of several, less sophisticated tracts that are customarily encountered in bibliographies for undergraduates, it is also one whose duties severely restrict the time that its members can dedicate to research and "background reading." But though the number of works mentioned herein is perforce quite limited, admittedly omitting several significant contributions, subjectivity has been at least somewhat blunted by the inclusion of several works which have exerted significant influence upon scholars of nationalism, even though this enthusiasm is not shared by this writer.

The second major impediment to the study of nationalism is the linguistic quicksand with which nationalism is surrounded. In 1939, the authors of a study of nationalism under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs felt compelled to preface their report with a five page "Note on the Use of Words"; its opening sentence read: "Among other difficulties which impede the study of 'nationalism', that of language holds a leading place." [Nationalism: A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of World Affairs (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), pp. xvi-xx.] The intervening years have witnessed only a further deterioration of the situation. A third of a century after the Royal Institute's study, a publication circulated among American scholars of nationalism announced that while "there is no more important phenomenon for study than that of nationalism, . . . many who deal with nationalism use the term in such a variety of ways that the meaning is often confusing." [Newsletter of the Group for the Study of Nationalism, Vol. 1 (Fall 1973)(East Lansing,

Michigan: Michigan State University) .

Nearly all of the key terms associated with nationalism are commonly employed in inconsistent and conflicting ways, but the most harmful consequences flow from the practice of indiscriminately interutilizing the words nation and state. The prevalence with which nation is used to designate the juridical-territorial phenomenon appropriately termed a state is evident in such designations and phrases as the League of Nations, the United Nations, international law, the International Court of Justice, international relations, national interest, national defense, and the American nation. However, in its more pristine sense, nation refers to a human grouping whose members share an intuitive sense of ethnic homogeneity (i.e., a feeling of sameness, oneness, or likeness of kind). In this sense, the French, Han Chinese, Ibos, Flemings, Scottish, Kikuyus, Ukrainians, Croats, Kashmiri, Zulus, and Kurds are all nations, though they certainly are not states. It is also evident that a state can incorporate several nations (extreme cases include India, Nigeria, and the Soviet Union), and, conversely, that a single nation can extend beyond one or several states (well publicized examples include the Arab, German, and Korean nations). Only when a nation essentially coincides with a state is it supposed to merit the appellation, nation-state (for example, Denmark, Japan, or Lesotho). Unfortunately, however, nation-state is regularly employed to refer to any or all states, multinational and uninational alike.

Terminological imprecision concerning nations and states ultimately manifests itself in different meanings being ascribed to the term nationalism. While there is general agreement that nationalism designates an identification with and loyalty to a nation, some (indeed most) authorities mean thereby a

nation in the sense of a synonym for a state. When others speak of nation-
alism, they are referring to loyalty to a particular people, that is to say,
to a nation in the sense of a human grouping.

Appreciation that nationalism conveys two quite distinct connotations
is therefore essential to the purveyor of the literature and should not be
dismissed as "mere semantics." Most literature on nationalism is written by
those who are convinced that nationalism has been the most powerful political
phenomenon of the last two hundred years (Marxist scholars constituting the
major exception). Those who equate nationalism with loyalty to the state
are therefore preprogrammed to perceive nationalism as an irresistible force
working for intrastate harmony and interstate discord. However, this
assumption that nationalism is a force operating in the service of state
unity can be uncritically accepted as valid only in the case of a true nation-
state. But in the case of a multinational state, a situation which char-
acterizes more than 90 percent of all states as presently delineated, nation-
alism, in the sense of loyalty to a particular people, is apt to be a force
in opposition to the state, as witness the proliferation of secessionist
and autonomous movements that have afflicted nearly one-half of all states
in recent years. Moreover, nationalism in this sense may promote harmony
instead of discord in the relations among states, as illustrated by the
manner in which Arab nationalism has motivated and sometimes forced the
leaders of the Arab states to cooperate with one another. A second illustra-
tion is offered by the national movements of the various ethnic minorities
of Western Europe (e.g., the Basques, Bretons, Catalonians, and South Tyrolean
Germans), whose leaders are among the strongest supporters of an integrated
Europe. Nationalism therefore means different things to different people,

and, depending upon the particular meaning which he ascribes to it, an author may by the word nationalism be referring to either of two forces which are most apt to be working at cross purposes with one another.

It is therefore essential that the reader be constantly on guard as to the precise intention of the author in the latter's use of key terms. The reader should also be forewarned that the same author, even though he may carefully define his terms at the outset, may be guilty of subsequently falling into the semantic trap of inconsistent usage, employing nation, national, and nationalism sometimes in reference to a state and other times to a human grouping. The reader who wishes to dig more thoroughly into the etymological development of these key terms will find detailed treatments (which disagree with one another on several points) in Louis L. Snyder, The Meaning of Nationalism(New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954) and in Aira Kemiläinen, Nationalism: Problems Concerning the Word, the Concept and Classification (Jyväskylä, Finland: Kustantajat Publishers, 1964), pp. 7-59. See also, G. de Bertier de Sauvigny, "Liberalism, Nationalism, and Socialism: The Birth of Three Words," The Review of Politics, Vol 32 (April 1970), particularly pp. 155-161. As a means of avoiding confusion in this essay, we shall distinguish between the two meanings ascribed to nationalism by using the terms state-nationalism and ethnonationalism.

The semantic problem has taken on new dimensions in recent years. Those scholars who have assumed a necessary linkage between nationalism and the state have been forced to find some other term to describe that sense of loyalty and identity that focuses on one's ethnic group. The confusion has been magnified by their failure to agree upon a single term. Tribalism, communalism, regionalism, parochialism, and primordialism are among the most

commonly encountered. (To the People's Republic of China, we are indebted
for the contribution of "splittism.") Each of these terms gives birth to
its own set of images and has exercised its own particular negative impact
upon the study of nationalism. For further comments on each, see this
writer's "Nationalism Reconsidered," which is an incorporated part of the
International Studies Association's Learning Package, Nation and State (com-
piled by Thomas Schlesinger, copyright Syracuse University, 1974), par-
ticularly pp. 23-35.[1] The main point, however, is that the reader should
not be mesmerized by the verbal _isms_ into believing that tribalism, communal-
ism, regionalism, parochialism, and primordialism are each describing a
phenomenon which is distinct from one another and from nationalism.[2] Each
has come to be commonly substituted for what in fact is nationalism in the
sense of ethnic identity.

What are termed "ethnic studies" also pose severe problems for the
researcher. Though ethnic group is derived from _ethnos_, the Greek word for
nation in the sense of a distinct group characterized by _common culture_
and descent, and is still so used by many writers, it has lately, particularly
with regard to group relations within the United States, been used to refer
to nearly any discernible minority. Sometimes then, the unit of examination
in an ethnic study is an (ethnic) nation or potential (ethnic) nation.[3] In

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[1] _Tribalism_ has found particular favor among scholars on Africa, while
communalism has been applied principally to societies within South and South-
east Asia. For some additional details, see the appropriate geographic section
below.

[2] When properly used, _regionalism_ has a connotation that has little to
do with ethnonationalism. However, it has often been used in recent years to
describe such ethnonational movements as that experienced by the Scottish and
Welsh peoples.

[3] By a potential nation is meant a group that evidently possesses the
usual, overt characteristics of nationhood (e.g., common language and mores),

other instances the unit is a subnational category, such as the Catholic

community within the Netherlands. And in still other instances, the unit

is a transnational or supranational grouping such as the Indian peoples

within the United States. Moreover, a review of the indices and biblio-

graphies found in such studies all-too-often makes clear that the author

is unaware of the relationship of his work to nationalism. The researcher

of nationalism is therefore without guides in the area termed ethnic studies.

Many of the works he examines will prove to be devoid of germanity. Others

of real value will unquestionably go undetected because of the lack of

cross references to nationalism, which in turn is due to exclusive termin-

ology.

All of the foregoing comments on terminology must have a dampening

influence upon the ardor of the person preparing to investigate nationalism.

Does he wish to enter a domain where the ostensible authorities cannot even

agree on what it is they are investigating? Can anything of profit be dis-

covered in an Alice-in-Wonderland in which nation usually means state, in

which nation-state usually means multination-state, in which nationalism usually

means loyalty to the state, and in which tribalism, regionalism, communalism,

primordialism, and parochialism usually mean loyalty to the nation? The first

factor is to remember that the reality and vitality of nationalism do   not

rest upon the perceptions and jargon of statesmen and scholars.[4] Though

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but whose members have not yet developed a consciousness of their sameness
or oneness, nor a conviction that their destinies are interwoven. In such
cases, identity remains restricted to the village, clan, or tribe. Illustra-
tions might include the Azerbaijani of Iran, the mountain-dwelling Pushtuns
of Afghanistan and Pakistan, or most of the various Amerindian peoples of
the Andean states.

[4]For a presentation of the opposite case, namely, that the fact that
nationalism connotes different things to different people, in different places

confusing terminology has severely hampered progress toward an understanding
of nationalism, the lack of understanding has not devitalized the mass im-
pulse which we have felt compelled to term ethnonationalism. Moreover,
there are a few exceptional works whose authors have circumspectfully avoided
the semantic quagmire. And finally, if alert to the linguistic irregularities
which he will encounter, the reader can extract much of value from a number
of otherwise knowledgeable and insightful sources.

Having noted, then, the two major problems confronting the study of
nationalism, namely, (1) the enormity of the literature which causes any
bibliography to be highly selective if it is to retain any practical value
and (2) the semantic jungle with which the subject is surrounded, we can now
turn to the literature itself. A section dealing with general treatises on
nationalism is followed by a series of sections which categorize the litera-
ture according to geographic area.

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and at different times is proof that nationalism is merely rhetoric and not
substance, see K. R. Minogue, Nationalism (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1967).
For a critical review of the book's thesis by this writer, see The American
Political Science Review, LXVIII (March 1974).

GENERAL TREATISES

Works on nationalism have displayed a variety of approaches. One quite
common genre consists essentially of the edited comments of several eminent,
historical figures with regard to nationalism. This approach is vulnerable
to the criticism that familiarity with the views of a Bolingbroke, Herder,
or Mazzini (to mention but three of the more frequently cited authorities),
need not materially advance the reader's understanding of either the nature
or the appeal of nationalism. Nationalism is a mass phenomenon and while
the perceptions of individual philosophers, literary figures, and political
leaders are interesting, they may not advance our knowledge of how and why
nationalism has exercised such great influence upon the masses. As Walter
Sulzbach has cogently noted: "A history of national consciousness should not,
like a history of philosophy, simply describe the thought of a limited number
of eminent men without regard to the extent of their following. As in the
history of religions, we need to know what response the masses have given
to different doctrines." [National Consciousness (Washington, D.C.: American
Council on Public Affairs, 1943), p. 14.] Arabdom offers an excellent
case in point. Though Arab nationalism was one of the very first non-European
varieties t   ess its intellectual prophets and articulators, it remains,
even today, a comparatively weak strain of the phenomenon. Books which employ
this approach are, as a group, therefore not recommended. However, it would
be improper to dismiss too cavalierly all works of this type. In some cases,
the author has been much more than an editor, placing each cited individual
within   llectual framework or school of thought, concerning which he,
the author, offers his own insight and criticism. Thus, Carlton Hayes, in

The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism (New York: The Macmillan Company,
1931), offered a five part taxonomy of nationalism [viz., (1) Humanitarian,
(2) Jacobin, (3) Traditional, (4) Liberal, and (5) Integral], which copious-
ly cited the works of eminent individuals to illustrate each type; however,
Hayes' own description and criticism of each classification are generally held
to represent a major contribution to the literature on nationalism, and the
many quotations therefore served only to illuminate the author's own analysis.
By and large, however, nationalistic posters, songs, proclamations, and public
orations, aimed as they are at triggering national proclivities among the
masses, are apt to reflect more unadulteratedly the quintessence of the national
phenomenon than are the writings of intellectuals or the non-public utterances
of political leaders.

Many well-known authorities on nationalism have stressed the need to
study it as it has evolved in a number of diferent environments.
In the words of Hans Konn, one of the most prolific writers on the national
phenomenon: "A study of nationalism must follow a comparative method, it
cannot remain confined to one of its manifestations; only the comparison
of the different nationalisms all over the earth will enable the student
to see what they have in common and what is peculiar to each, and thus
allow a just evaluation. An understanding of nationalism can be gained
only by a world history of the age of nationalism." [The Idea of National-
ism: A Study in Its Origins and Background (New York: The Macmillan Company,
1944), pp. ix-x.]   In still another preface, Kohn insisted that "only a
study of the historical growth of nationalism and a comparative study of
its different forms can make us understand the impact of nationalism today,

the promise and the peril which it has carried and continues to carry for
the liberty of man and the preservation of peace." [Nationalism: Its Mean-
ing and History, rev. ed. (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1965).]
Kohn's advocacy of a broad comparative perspective is shared by this writer.
While the detailed knowledge and particular insight of the one-group or
one-country specialist are essential inputs if analysis is to procede be-
yond the superficial, it is also essential that the student of an ethno-
national movement not perceive it as an isolated phenomenon which is unique
to a particular environment. Familiarity with the global dimensions of
ethnonationalism and with the principal specifics of ethnonationalism as
it developed in a number of different environments affords some guides
for identifying symptoms, for differentiating trivia from essence, and
for determining what in fact is unique to a particular environment.

Kohn's emphasis upon history is also significant. In addition to
greatly enlarging the number of available case studies, history permits
us to study specific movements over lengthy periods of time. We can search
the gestational period prior to its birth for antecedents and causes.
We can probe its subsequent swells and troughs for clues as to catalysts
and sedatives. Moreover, a broad historical perspective permits us to
follow global trends, to perceive how ethnonational demands among one
people have spread to others (what political scientists term "the demon-
stration effect"), and to recognize the effects that have been exerted by
such state-transcending developments as as the growth of globe-girdling
communication and transportation networks, colonialism, the industrial
revolution, and doctrines such as popular sovereignty, fascism, and

Marxism-Leninism.

No one, of course, commands a sufficiently broad comparative and

historical framework, but Kohn's comments do point up the wisdom of first

familiarizing oneself with some of those treatises on nationalism which

are relatively comprehensive with regard to place and time, before ana-

lyzing a particular manifestation of the phenomenon. Among numerous

works which have attempted to place nationalism in a historic and/or

spatial framework of panoramic sweep, are Benjamin Akzin, State and Nation

(London: Hutchinson University Library, 1964); Ernest Barker, National

Character and the Factors in Its Formation (London: Metheun and Company,

Ltd., 1927); Alfred Cobban, The Nation State and National Self-Determina-

tion (New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1969);[5] Carlton Hayes, The Histor-

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[5]This posthumously published book was described by author and pub-
lisher as merely an updated version of an earlier work, National Self-
Determination [London: Oxford University Press (for the Royal Institute
of International Affairs), 1944], plus the addition of a single chapter.
A careful analysis of the two works indicates some significant differences,
however. Cobban's earlier work was largely a criticism of Sir Ernest
Barker's contention (see National Character and the Factors in Its Forma-
tion, cited above) that democratic multinational states could not survive.
Cobban was led to the opposite conclusion by his conviction that Breton,
Fleming, Franco-Canadian, and Scottish identity (among many others), no
longer posed any competition for, respectively, a French, Belgian, Canadian,
and British identity. Subsequent events proved him wrong, and Cobban,
while not formally acknowledging his former inability to perceive the
latent influence that these group identies still held for their members,
displayed in his later work a new awareness of the continuing vitality
of these groups' self-awareness. At least to this critic, Cobban's re-
tention of his earlier optimistic predictions concerning the future of
the multinational state, in the face of his allusion to facts which
challenged, if not nullified,his previous supporting evidence, causes this
later work to suffer from serious internal contradictions. In any event,
a comparison of these two works is interesting, because the former indi-
cates how even a most competent observer may be unable to perceive lurking
cases of ethnonationalism, while a subsequent reading of the latter serves
to illustrate how the contagion of the ethnonational virus had afflicted
several long-established, democratic states over the course of a quarter
of a century.

ical Evolution of Modern Nationalism (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931); Frederick Hertz, Nationality in History and Politics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944); Nationalism: A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of World Affairs (London: Oxford University Press, 1939); and Boyd Shafer, Nationalism: Myth and Reality (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1955). The works of Hans Kohn require a special warning. As would be expected from his earlier quoted comments concerning the study of nationalism, many of Hans Kohn's published efforts aimed at placing nationalism within a historical-comparative perspective. Examples include The Age of Nationalism (New York: Harper and Row, 1962); The Idea of Nationalism: A Study of Its Origins and Background (The Macmillan Company, 1944); and Nationalism: Its Meaning and History, rev.ed. (D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1965). However, unlike the preponderant number of authorities who date nationalism only to the late 18th century, Kohn detected it among the ancient Hebrews and the Greeks of Hellas, and subsequently traced it through the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages. This unorthodoxy has failed to win many converts, however. For an attempt by the writer of this bibliographic essay to place nationalism in (1) historic and (2) spatial perspective, see respectively "The Politics of Ethnonationalism," Journal of International Affairs, 27 (No. 1, 1973), pp. 1-21 and "Self-Determination: The New Phase," World Politics, XX (October 1967), pp. 30-53.

A somewhat recent development in the study of nationalism was spearheaded by Karl Deutsch. In his Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1953),[6]

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[6] A second edition, which contains no substantive additions, appeared in 1966.

Deutsch stressed the need for a less philosophical or psychological approach
to nationalism, recommending instead a search for quantitatively identifi-
able indicator-determinants. He postulated that the assimilation process
correlated with a number of quantifiable elements that accompany modern-
ization (e.g., literacy and urbanization) and suggested that the process
was subjectable to social engineering.[7] As recorded in other works ["Social
Mobilization and Political Development," American Political Science Review
LV (September 1961), pp. 493-514; "Nation-Building and National Develop-
ment" in Karl Deutsch and William Foltz (eds.), Nation Building (New York:
Atherton Press, 1966); and Nationalism and Its Alternatives (New York:
Alfred A. Knopf, 1969)], Deutsch's thesis appears to have undergone sig-
nificant fluctuations over time,[8] but the impact of his quantitative orien-
tation upon the present generation of younger scholars has been substantial.
The immensity of this impact is observable not in general treatises on
nationalism, but in the host of case studies which demonstrate an exclusive
or nearly exclusive preoccupation with statistics covering such phenomena
as changes in the number of people speaking various languages, the "rela-
tive economic deprivation" of various ethnic groups within a state, or
the ethnic composition of political elites.

But beyond suggesting approaches to the study of nationalism and
aiding in the construction of a broader time- and space-framework for its

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[7]It is a testament to the remarkable intellect of Carlton Hayes that
he appears to have anticipated the rise of this school of thought as early
as 1931. See pp. 232-241 of his The Historical Evolution of Modern
Nationalism, which is cited above.

[8]For details, see Walker Connor, "Nation-Building or Nation-Destroying?"
World Politics, XXIV (April 1972), pp. 319-355.

comparative analysis, the general treatises are also of key significance

for the light they shed on the authors' responses to that deceptively

simple question asked by Ernest Renan in 1877: "Qu'est-ce qu'une Nation?".

Minimally, it can be said that the answer is illusive and labyrinthine,

and not susceptible to one-sentence responses without much lengthier

explications.[9] To extract a single-sentence definition from an authority

is therefore apt to do a disservice to his intellectual contribution.

The essence of the nation cannot be probed in a few words or even pages.

Often an author's perception of nationalism can only be gleaned from a

reading of an entire work or works. However, in order to keep recommended

reading within realistic boundaries, the following suggested readings are,

considering their condensed form, among the most insightful responses to

the question posed by Renan. Since the individual responses reflect

different emphases and often conflicting opinions, several, if not all,

of the pieces should be read.

(1) George De Vos, "Social Stratification and Ethnic Pluralism:

An Overview from the Perspective of Psychological Anthropology," Race,

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[9] In this writer's opinion, the closest that anyone has yet come to
encapsulating the essence of the concept of the nation in a few words was
achieved by Rupert Emerson. Though not intended as a one-sentence defin-
ition, his statement that "the nation is today the largest community
which, when the chips are down, effectively commands men's loyalty, over-
riding the claims both of the lesser communities within it and those
which cut across it or potentially enfold it within a still greater
society, reaching ultimately to mankind as a whole " [From Empire to
Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples (Boston:
Beacon Press, 1960), pp. 95-96.] is not only a statement of fact but a
brilliant, functional definition.

XIII (April 1972), pp. 435-460. Though the author's penetrating analysis centers on what he terms the ethnic group, it is evident that this human unit is what Emerson, Hayes, and others term the nation.

(2) Rupert Emerson, From Empire to Nation, pp. 89-104. The single, most valuable essay on the nature of the nation and nationalism.

(3) Carlton Hayes, Essays on Nationalism (New York: Macmillan Company, 1926), pp 1-29. An excellent distillation of Hayes' major thoughts on the nation and nationalism. A slightly greater role for language is evident here as contrasted with his later writings. The entire volume is strongly recommended.

(4) Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States" in Clifford Geertz (ed.), Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), pp. 115-130, and 153-157. A highly influential and often cited piece, which unfortunately popularized still another terminological substitution ("primordialism") for nationalism.

(5) Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism, pp. 1-24. Kohn's principal treatment of the nature of nationalism and therefore a piece of unquestionable value. However, the reader should be on guard against the rather loose concept of nationalism which is presented. He assumes, for example, a Canadian nationalism.

(6) Nationalism (published by Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1939), pp. 249-263. An excellent discourse on the nature of the nation by nine scholars under the chair-

personship of Edward Carr.[10]

(7) Dankwart Rustow, <u>Nation</u> in the <u>International Encyclopedia of the</u> <u>Social Sciences</u>, Vol. 11 (New York: Crowell, Collier, and Macmillan, Inc., 1968), pp. 7-14. A competent summary which indicates many of the semantic and analytical problems involved in attempting a definition.

(8) Boyd Shafer, <u>Nationalism: Myth and Reality</u>, pp. 3-11. Emphasizes the problems of reducing so complex an abstraction to a succinct and tidy formula.

(9) Anthony Smith, "Ethnocentrism, Nationalism and Social Change," <u>International Journal of Comparative Sociology</u>, 13 (March 1972), pp. 1-20. An interesting treatment by a sociologist of the linkage between ethnicity and nationalism.[11]

Before leaving the general treatises, a few works dedicated to the control or accommodation of ethnonational dissension might be mentioned. As the evidence of mounting ethnic unrest swelled during the 1960s, scholars

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[10]The treatment is vastly superior to that in Carr's own small monograph , <u>Nationalism and After</u> (London: The Macmillan Company, 1945). In the latter, the term <u>nation</u> is used in so many confusing ways as to irreparably impair the book's overall value. Though the report of the Royal Institute is not free of such ambiguous and inconsistent terminology, the degree of difference in this regard is substantial. Still another publication of the Royal Institute, a pamphlet by Harold Stanner [What is a Nation? (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1945)], suffers from this same terminological confusion, as well as a lengthy, non-relevent discourse on Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. However, it does contain (pp. 50-54) an excellent summary of Ernest Renan's perception of the nation.

[11]This writer does not fully agree, however, with Smith's heavy stress upon elite behavior and what he terms "psycho-competitive factors." While national elites unquestionably influence the form and intensity of their group's nationalism at any one time, nationalism, as a mass sentiment, is, as noted above with regard to the perceptions of statesmen and scholars (p. 7), ultimately independent of such considerations. For a fuller exposition of Smith's views, see his <u>Theories of Nationalism</u> (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

began to search for remedies. The value of such studies has been weakened
by the tendency to include case studies of situations in which the division
was not principally ethnic, but was rather religious, regional, class-
based, or the like. At least in the opinion of this writer, ethnically
based conflicts are <u>qualitatively</u> <u>different</u> from non-ethnic ones, and
analogies that criss-cross this divide are therefore apt to be specious.[12]
With this caveat in mind, four works are recommended as among the more
thoughtful of this genre. Arend Lijphart, "Consociational Democracy,"
<u>World Politics</u>, XXI (January 1969), pp.207-225 ; Hans Daalder, "On Build-
ing Consociational Nations" (paper delivered at UNESCO Meeting on the
Problems of State Formation and National Building, 1970); Eric Nordlinger,
<u>Conflict Regulation in Divided Societies</u> (Cambridge: Harvard University
Center for International Affairs, 1972); and Milton Esman, "The Manage-
ment of Communal Conflict," <u>Public Policy</u>, XXI (Winter 1973), pp. 49-78.

We turn now from general treatises to some of the literature on
specific areas. References are limited to monographs and articles be-
lieved to be of broad significance. Those interested in investigating
the problem of a particular people or a particular state should consult
the subject catalog of the Library of Congress card catalog (which can be

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[12] For twelve additional reasons for pessimism concerning the prob-
ability of managing ethnonational conflict, see Walker Connor, "The Politics
of Ethnonationalism," pp. 20-21.

found in multi-volume, bound form in most libraries). Books in Print (Amer-
ican), British Books in Print, and Canadian Books in Print should also
be consulted.

Pertinent periodical literature from most American academic journals
can be located through the Social Sciences Index (formerly the Social
Sciences and Humanities Index and, still earlier, the International Index
to Periodicals), PAIS (Public Affairs Information Service), Historical
Abstracts, Psychological Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, International
Political Science Abstracts, and ABC (Advance Bibliography of Contents:
Political Science and Government). While there is excessive overlapping
among these indices, none is coterminous with another, so thorough re-
search may require a perusal of all. The single, most comprehensive
British index is the British Humanities Index.

The new interest in ethnonationalism has resulted in a spate of
pertinent doctoral dissertations, which are customarily the source of
excellent bibliographies. Consult Dissertation Abstracts International.
Microfilm copies can be acquired from University Microfilms, and many
universities will lend copies of the original to your library.

Finally, those interested in an ethnonational movement within a
specific state are advised to determine whether the Area Handbook series,
researched and written by scholars under contract to the Department of
the Army and published by the Government Printing Office, contains a
volume on that country.[13] The format calls for a chapter on "Ethnic

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[13]A typical bibliographic reference would be Area Handbook for Iraq,
D.A. Pamphlet No. 550-31 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office,
1969).

Groups and Languages," as well as a usually, very pertinent chapter on "Poltical Dynamics." Quite expectedly, the volumes, and even individual chapters, vary greatly in their quality. Nonetheless, several of them represent extremely valuable sources of data.

THE MARXIST-LENINIST STATES

The justification for grouping together all states with Marxist-Leninist governments is principally ideological rather than geographic. All are the self-acknowledged legatees of Lenin's pronouncements on the strategy by which "the national question" was to be solved. The degree to which a given state veers from his injunctions can therefore be of prime significance, i.e., omission is likely to be of more import than commission. Similarly, there is much to be gleaned from the pattern followed by the various Marxist-Leninist states in copying, altering, or rejecting one another's techniques for implementing Lenin's guidelines. Finally, since all but one of the Marxist-Leninist states (Cuba) form a contiguous land mass and since ethnic and political borders seldom coincide, transborder groups have been an extremely important factor in the relations among Marxist states.

Familiarity with Lenin's opinions concerning the nature of nationalism and the strategy with which to confront it are therefore indispensible prerequisites for studying nationalism within Marxist-Leninist states. And Lenin, in turn, contended that his position was a derivative from Marxism, though Marx and Engels actually had little to say on the matter.[14] The most important book on Marx's views on the national question remains Solomon Bloom, The World of Nations: A Study of the National Implications in the World of Karl Marx (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941). Shlomo Avineri (ed.), Karl Marx on Colonialism

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[14]However, Marx is believed to have coined the expression, "self-determination of nations," and to have materially aided its popularization.

and Modernization (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969) offers

a collection of Marx's (and, despite the title, Engels') lesser known

    ters and dispatches on China, India, Mexico, the Middle East and North

      a. Other sources which help to bridge the gap between Marx and Lenin

       Stekloff, History of the First International (New York: Russell and

       1, 1968); J. Braunthal, History of the International. Vol. I: 1864-1914

      ....: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967); and S. Shaheen, The Communist Theory

of National Self-Determination (The Hague: W. Van Hoeve Ltd., 1956).

Lenin's (as w   as Stalin's) own writings on the national question

are quite extensiv ,   there is little point in itemizing all of the

pertinent tracts, which tend to be highly reiterative. A number of the

monographs cited below include quotations from, or references to, his more

important wor . However, particular mention should be made of Alfred Low,

Leni: on t'   estion of Nationality (New York: Bookman Associates, 1950),

                pes, The Formation of the Soviet Union, rev. ed. (New York:

    .   . , particularly pp. 34-49. Bertram Wolfe, Three Who Made A

    ..   ..   rev. ed. (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1964) contains a

few essentia.   es not found in the above (for example, the private

letter, cited on   e 585).

Reduced to its most basic elements, Lenin's strategy for confronting

ethnonationalism can be stated in terms of three injunctions: (1) Prior to

the assumption of power, ally yourself with nationalism by promising to

all national groups the right of self-determination, explicitly inc. "ing

the right of secession. (2) Following the assumption of power, terminate

the fact, though not necessarily the fiction, of a right of secession.

and begin the lengthy process of assimilation via the dialectical route
of cultural-territorial autonomy for all compact national groups. (3) Keep
the Party centralized and devoid of all nationalist inclinations. As
noted, the degree to which these prescriptions have been honored or violated
by a communist party represents an important analytical key. The following
are among the better works illuminating national policy within the Soviet
Union:

(1) Edward Allworth (ed.), Soviet Nationality Problems (New York:
Columbia University Press, 1971). Ten essays, including one on the problem
of bibliography.

(2) Vernon Asparaturian, "The Non-Russian Nationalities" in Allen
Kassof (ed.), Prospects for Soviet Society (New York: Praeger Publishers,
1968).

(3) Frederick Barghoorn, Soviet Russian Nationalism (New York: Oxford
University Press, 1956). An excellent work, despite the author's under-
estimation of the vitality of ethnonationalism within the Soviet Union.

(4) Robert Conquest, Soviet Nationalities Policy in Practice (New
York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1967). The magnificent documentation
makes this a necessary reference work on Soviet policies.

(5) Donald Farmer, The Theory and Practice of Soviet Nationality
Policy (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1954).

(6) Eric Goldhagen (ed.), Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union
(New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1968). See particularly the con-
tributions of John Armstrong and Vseveled Holubnychy.

(7) I. Groschev, A Fraternal Family of Nations (Moscow: Progress

Publishers, 1967). The official position of the Soviet Government by a Soviet scholar.

(8) Grey Hodnett, "What's in a Nation?", Problems of Communism, XVI (September-October 1967). The entire issue is dedicated to the national question and contains several excellent items.

(9) Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone, "The Dialectics of Nationalism in the USSR," Problems of Communism, XXIII (May-June 1974), pp. 1-22.

(10) Leonard Shapiro (ed.), The USSR and the Future (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1963). See particularly the discussion by Richard Pipes concerning the treatment of the national question in the 1961 Party Programme.

(11) Roman Szporluk, "The Nations of the USSR in 1970," Survey, 17 (Autumn 1971), pp. 67-100.

(12) "Leninism or Social-Imperialism?", Ta Kung Pao (Hong Kong), Weekly Supplement, April 23-29, 1970. A highly critical Chinese Communist evaluation of Soviet national policy.

Chinese national policy has only recently been carefully studied. Three very welcome additions to the literature are doctoral dissertations by David Deal, National Minority Policy in Southwest China, 1911-1965 (unpublished dissertation submitted to the University of Washington, 1971); William Heaton, The Politics of Minority Nationalism in Communist China: A Case Study of Inner Mongolia (unpublished dissertation submitted to the University of California at Berkeley, 1972); and June Dreyer, Chinese Communist Policy toward Indigenous Minority Nationalities: A Study in National Integration (unpublished dissertation submitted to Harvard University,

1973). Walker Connor, "Ethnology and the Peace of South Asia," <u>World
Politics</u>, XXII (October 1969), pp. 51-86, traces Mao's national policies
from 1927 to 1949, and Richard Diao, "The National Minorities of China
and Their Relations with the Chinese Communist Regime" in Peter Kundstadter
(ed.), <u>Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities, and Nations</u> (Princeton: Princeton
University Press, 1967), pp. 169-201, carries this history through the eve
of the Cultural Revolution. June Dreyer's "China's Minority Nationalities
in the Cultural Revolution," <u>China Quarterly</u>, VIII (July-September 1968),
pp. 96-109, helps to bridge that gap, as does her "China's Minority
Nationalities: Traditional and Party Elites," <u>Pacific Affairs</u>, Vol. 43
(Winter 1970), pp. 506-530 and Paul Hyer and William Heaton, "The Cultural
Revolution in Inner Mongolia," <u>China Quarterly</u>, XXXVI (October-December
1968), pp. 114-128. Other significant materials include: (1) Chang Chih-i,
<u>The Party and the National Question</u>, translated by George Moseley (Cambridge:
MIT Press, 1966), a draft of an important paper by a Chinese official
engaged in the formulation of national policy; (2) "The National Minor-
ities of Western China," (no author), in the <u>Central Asian Review</u>, 15(No.3,
1967),pp. 252-259; and Hung-mao Tien, "Sinicization of National Minorities
in China," (paper presented at the 1973 Annual Meeting of the American
Political Science Association, New Orleans). Finally, N. Polyakov,
"Unmasking Mao Tse-tung's Anti-Leninist Policies," which originally
appeared in Russian in <u>Aziya i **Afrika**</u> segodnya (Moscow), (No. 4, 1969),
pp. 61-62, and which can be found in English in <u>Translations on Communist
China</u>, No. 53, JPRS 48016 (9 May 1969), offers a scathing attack on Chinese
national policy, in the **course** of reviewing a Soviet book by T. Rakhimov

whose title, Natsionalizm i shovonozm -- osnova politiki gruppy Mao Tsze-Dun (Nationalism and Chauvinism -- The Basis of the Policies of the Mao Tse-tung Group), (Moscow: Mysl' Publishing House, 1968), does more than hint at its theme.

With the exception of Yugoslavia, the national policies of the other Marxist-Leninist states have not been the object of intensive scholarly research. Those interested in Vietnamese policies can consult Walker Connor, "Ethnology and the Peace of South Asia," and two excellent pieces by John McAlister, "Mountain Minorities and the Viet Minh: A Key to the Indochina War" in Peter Kunstadter (ed.), Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities and Nations and "The Possibilities for Diplomacy in Southeast Asia," World Politics, XIX (January 1967), particularly pp. 273-280. George Kahin, "Minorities in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam," Asian Survey, XII (July 1972), pp. 580-586, indicates some more recent developments.

The most insightful and thought-provoking work on nationalism within post-World War II Eastern Europe is still Richard Burks, The Dynamics of Communism in Eastern Europe (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961). For a much earlier work that magnificently captures the obdurate nature of national sentiments and prejudices in much of the area, see Oscar Jászi, The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929). Other works of special interest include François Fejtö, A History of the Peoples Democracies: Eastern Europe Since Stalin (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1971); Andrew Janos, "Ethnicity, Communism, and Political Change in Eastern Europe," World Politics, XXIII (April 1971), pp. 493-521; Laszek Kosinski, "Changes in the Ethnic Structure

in East Central Europe," Geographical Review, Vol. 59 (July 1969), pp.388-402, and "Population Censuses in East-Central Europe in the Twentieth Century," East European Quarterly, V (September 1971), pp. 279-301; and Paul Lendvai, Eagles and Cobwebs: Nationalism and Communism in the Balkans (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969). Peter Sugar and Ivo Lederer (eds.), Nationalism in Eastern Europe (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969) is an anthology of articles by eight historians. Robert King, Minorities under Communism: Nationalities as a Source of Tension among Balkan Communist States (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973) focuses on the impact which national minorities exert upon the relations of Marxist-Leninist states with one another. So far as the purely intra-state impact of ethnonationalism is concerned, interest in recent years has concentrated upon Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. E. N. Mittleman, The Nationality Problem in Yugoslavia (unpublished doctoral dissertation submitted to New York University, 1954) offers essential background data on Yugoslavian national policy, as does Paul Shoup, Communism and the Yugoslav National Question (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968). The latter's analysis is brought up to late 1971 in his "The National Question in Yugoslavia," Problems of Communism, XXI (January-February 1972), pp. 18-29. Background on Czech-Slovak relations can be extracted from David Paul, Nationalism, Pluralism, and Schweikism in Czechoslovakia's Political Culture(unpublished dissertation submitted to Princeton University, 1973), and Eugen Steiner, The Slovak Dilemma (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).[15] M. George Zaninovich and Douglas Brown, "Political Inte-

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[15]The value of this work is only slightly tarnished by an evident pro-Slovak bias in the author's treatment of certain questions.

gration in Czechoslovakia: The Implications of the Prague Spring,"
Journal of International Affairs, 27 (No. 1, 1973), pp. 66-79 is also recom-
mended. Zdenek Salzmann conducted an opinion poll within Czechoslovakia
in 1969, using attitudes toward language as an indicator of national
sentiments. Part of his findings can be found in his "Some Sociolinguis-
tic Observations on the Relationship between Czech and Slovak" in Oriol
Pi-Sunyer, The Limits of Integration: Ethnicity and Nationalism in Modern
Europe, Department of Anthropology Research Reports No. 9 (Amherst: Uni-
versity of Massachusetts, 1971), pp. 1-41.

NON-ARAB ASIA

As indicated by the following summary data, the non-Marxist, non-Arab states of Asia are marked by extreme ethnic heterogeneity.[16] Only

ETHNIC DESCRIPTION	STATES	TOTAL NUMBER
ESSENTIALLY HOMOGENEOUS	JAPAN, KOREA	2
LARGEST GROUP ACCOUNTS FOR MORE THAN 90%	BANGLA DESH, PRC, TURKEY	3
LARGEST GROUP ACCOUNTS FOR 75-89%	BHUTAN, BURMA, CAMBODIA, CYPRUS, MONGOLIA, SINGAPORE, TAIWAN, VIETNAM	8
LARGEST GROUP ACCOUNTS FOR 50-74%	AFGHANISTAN, CEYLON, IRAN, LAOS, MALDIVE, MAURITIUS, PAKISTAN, THAILAND	8
LARGEST GROUP ACCOUNTS FOR LESS THAN 50%	INDIA, INDONESIA, MALAYSIA, NEPAL, PHILIPPINES	5

Korea and Japan merit the description of nation-state.[17] All of the remaining states have experienced some measure of violent discord, and an

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[16] Marxist-Leninist states are included because of the significance of transborder groups. Korea and Vietnam are each treated as single political units despite their present partition.

[17] Technically, the Japanese might also be excluded. About 3% of the Japanese population (known as the Burakumin) are treated as social outcasts, under the popularly held but spurious contention that they are not ethnically Japanese. For an excellent account of this very instructive phenomenon, see George DeVos, "Japan's Outcasts: The Problem of the Burakumin" in Ben Whitaker (ed.), The Fourth World: Victims of Group Oppression (New York: Schocken Books, 1973).

increase in both the frequency and scale of ethnic warfare, particularly

of the guerrilla variety, can be anticipated. In some cases, for example

in Burma (Kachins, Karens, Shans, etc.) or northeastern India (Nagas and

Mizos), the linkage between ethnonationalism and insurrection is evident

and well publicized. But in a number of cases, the connection has been

overlooked. Thus, contrary to popular opinion, the HUK movement in the

Philippines was essentially a Pampangan national movement, and, unfortunate-

ly for its success, was so viewed by suspicious, non-Pampangan neighbors.

[See, for example, Victor Lieberman, "Why the Hukbalahap Movement Failed,"

Solidarity, I (October-December 1966), pp. 22-30; and Edward Mitchell,

"Some Econometrics of the Huk Rebellion," The American Political Science

Review, 13 (December 1969), particularly 1165-1167.] Similarly, the in-

surrection within Malaysia has been fought along essentially ethnic lines.

[See, for example, Robert Tilman, "The Non-Lessons of the Malayan Emer-

gency," Asian Survey, VI (August 1966), pp. 407-419, and, by the same

author, "Political Forces in Malaysia," Asia (No. 7, 1967), pp. 53-66.]

As earlier noted, there is in this essay no attempt to itemize the

myriad articles and monographs dealing with with ethnonationalism among a

single group or within a single state.[18] Rather, it includes only works

of broad germanity or works which might not be located through the

previously mentioned research guides. However, there is need for a

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[18]The outstanding quality of one work forces an exception. Richard
Cottam, Nationalism in Iran (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press,
1964) uses nationalism in the correct manner, and his perspicacious com-
ments on national consciousness among the diverse peoples of Iran have
much pertinence to the other states of Southwest Asia.

special word of warning when using various catalogs and indices. In
South Asia, as elsewhere, the word nationalism is most apt to refer to
loyalty to the state-structure. In the case of Southeast Asia (particu-
larly in Malaysia and Singapore) the most often found word connoting
ethnonationalism is communalism. Adding further to the confusion, how-
ever, communalism in the subcontinent (essentially Bangla Desh, India,
and Pakistan, but sometimes in adjoining areas as well) is used to connote
religious loyalty. Depending, then, upon the intention of the user,
communalism may either signify a religious identity that competes with the
validity of ethnic identity, or it may actually refer to ethnic identity.

Among the better works for background data on the distribution
and characteristics of the many people of the area are (1) W. Gordon East,
O. H. K. Spate, and Charles Fisher (eds.), The Changing Map of Asia, A
Political Geography, 5th ed. (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1971);
Charles Fisher, South-East Asia: A Social, Economic and Political Geography
(London: Methuen and Company, 1964); and Frank LeBar, Gerald Hickey, and
John Musgrave, Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia (New Haven: Human
Relations Area File Press, 1964). Historic background is offered by
John Bastin and Harry Bender, A History of Southeast Asia: Colonialism,
Nationalism, and Decolonialism (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc.,
1968), check the index under Minorities, Chinese, Indians, and Montagnards;
Willard Elsbree, Japan's Role in Southeast Asian Nationalist Movements
(New York: Russell and Russell, 1953); and William Holland (ed.), American
Nationalism and the West (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953), which
contains abbreviated treatments of ethnonationalism within the Philippines,

Sri Lanka, Burma, China, and India, and more extensive coverage in the
cases of Indonesia, Vietnam, and Malaysia. Victor Purcell, The Chinese
in Southeast Asia, 2nd. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965) offers
an historical treatment of the major colonies of the "overseas" Chinese.
Another interesting study of these important people is G. William Skinner,
Report on the Chinese in Southeast Asia (Ithaca: Cornell University's
Department of Far Eastern Studies, 1951). For a more recent treatment, see
David Chang, "Current Status of Chinese Minorities in Southeast Asia,"
Asian Survey, XIII (June 1973), pp. 587-603. Though as used by J. Kennedy,
Asian Nationalism in the Twentieth Century (London: Macmillan and Company,
1968), nationalism means loyalty to the state, his book does offer a wide-
ranging treatment of ethnically inspired unrest on pages 100 through 116.
Guy Hunter, South-East Asia: Race, Culture, and Nation (London: Oxford
University Press, 1966) contains both valuable data and insightful com-
mentary. Rupert Emerson's "Post-Independence Nationalism in South and
Southeast Asia: A Reconsideration," Pacific Affairs, 44 (Summer 1971),
pp. 173-192 is a penetrating analysis of more recent developments.

Among the many anthologies and readers, quite easily the most valuable
is Peter Kundstadter (ed.), Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities, and Nations,
2 Vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967). Other collections
include (1) John McAlister (ed.), Southeast Asia: The Politics of National
Integration (New York: Random House, 1973); (2) K. H. Silvert, Expectant
Peoples: Nationalism and Development (New York: Random House, 1963) for
the selections on Afghanistan by Louis Dupree, pp. 41-76, on Indonesia by

Willard Hanna, pp. 129-177, on the Philippines by Albert Ravenholt, pp. 178-
195, and India by Selig Harrison, pp. 267-299; (3) Mark Zacher and R. Stephen
Milne (eds.), Conflict and Stability in Southeast Asia (Garden City: Double-
day and Company, 1974) for Jerry Silverman, "Historic National Rivalries
and Interstate Conflict in Mainland Southeast Asia," pp. 45-78, for R.
Stephen Milne, "The Influence of Foreign Policy of Ethnic Minorities with
External Ties," pp. 81-120, and for Gary Wekkin, "Tribal Politics in Indo-
china: The Role of Highland Tribes in the Internationalization of Internal
Wars," pp. 121-147; and (4) Robert Tilman (ed.), Man, State and Society in
Contemporary Southeast Asia (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), parti-
cularly Parts IV and V.

With a population substantially larger than all of Africa, Western
Europe, or the Americas, India clearly merits individual commentary.
Selig Harrison's India: The Most Dangerous Decades (Princeton: Princeton
University Press, 1960) has become almost a classic to defenders and de-
tractors alike. The latter vastly outnumber the former, but those who
argue that events have disproven his pessimistic prognostication concerning
the fissiparous impact of ethnonationalism overlook (1) the fact he referred
to decades and not even two have yet elapsed, and (2) that though India is
still intact, the trend has been toward greater ethnonationalism among the
ethnic parts. The following are considered to be among the valuable
contributions which have application to more than a single national movement.

(1) John Gunperz, "Language Problems in the Rural Development of
North India," The Journal of Asian Studies, XVI (February 1957), pp. 251-
259. An intriguing analysis of the complexity of the language problem,

indicating that Hindi is in fact several mutually unintelligible languages and that even villagers in the Hindi areas cannot comprehend governmental broadcasts and publications.

(2) J. Das Gupta, Language Conflict and National Development (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970) and "Ethnicity, Language Demands, and National Development," Ethnicity, I (No.1, 1974), pp. 65-72. He advances the unusual position that the ethnolinguistic divisions can have a strengthening effect on state integration.

(3) Paulene Kolenda, "Region, Caste, and Family Structure: A Comparative Study of the Indian 'Joint' Family" in Milton Singer and Bernard Cohn (eds.), Structure and Change in Indian Society (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968), pp. 339-396.

(4) Philip Mason (ed.), India and Ceylon: Unity and Diversity (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), which contains several excellent articles. Particularly germane is Hugh Tinker's piece, "Is There an Indian Nation?" pp. 279-297.

(5) Naresh Chandra Roy, Federalism and Linguistic States (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1962).

Among the more specific literature are E.G. Bailey, Tribe, Caste and Nation: A Study of Political Activity and Political Change in Highland Orissa (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960); Sachchidananda, Profiles of Tribal Culture in Bihar (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1965); and S. J. Tambiah, "The Politics of Language in India and Ceylon," Modern Asian Studies, I (No. 3, 1967), pp. 215-240. A recent doctoral dissertation examines one of the most powerful ethnonational movements

within I:::.. Marguerite Barnett, The Politics of Cultural Nationalism:
The D*.. .. . Nadu, South India (unpublished dissertation submitted to
the University of Chicago, 1972). Robert Hargrove, one of the more
perspicacious writers on nationalism within the subcontinent, has written
extensively on the same movement. See, for example, his "Politics and the
Film in the Tamilnadu: The Stars and the DMK," Asian Survey, XIII (March
1973), pp. 288-305. Other recent articles dealing with ethnonationalism
within India include Gordon Means, "Cease Fire Politics in Nagaland,"
Asian Survey, XI (October 1971), pp. 1005-1028; J. C. Johari, "Militant
and Protective Regionalism in India -- Case Study of the Shiv Sena in
Maharastra," The Indian Political Science Review, VII (October-March, 1973),
pp. 52-75; and, finally, another article on the same topic by Mary
Katzenstein, "Origins of Nativism: The Emergence of Shiv Sena in Bombay,"
Asian Survey, XIII (April 1973), pp. 386-399.

THE ARAB WORLD

The Arab World represents a major enigma in the comparative study of nationalism. Though Arabism was one of the earliest nationalisms to awaken outside of Europe, the image of a single people with a single destiny has yet to demonstrate its conquest of the imagination of the Arab masses. Among the most evident indications of the feebleness of the idea of Arabness are (1) the continuing division of Arabs into nearly a score of states; (2) the dismal record of the plethora of attempts to achieve the political integration of some or all of these states; (3) the inability of the Arabs to establish an effective united front against Israel; and (4) the frequent fratricidal conflicts which have resulted in greater bloodshed than has the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The enigma of Arabism is therefore the most momentous issue in this region of the globe for the student of nationalism. A number of Arab states have significant minority problems (e.g., the black peoples of the southern Sudan, the Berbers of Algeria and Morocco, the Armenians of the Levant, and the Kurds of Syria). Moreover, the Arabs spill over and themselves become significant minorities within Iran, Turkey, and Israel.[19] But here we shall concentrate on the literature dealing with Arab nationalism.

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[19] For easily the most informative study on ethnic attitudes within Israel, see Yochanan Peres, "Ethnic Relations in Israel" in Michael Curtis (ed.), People and Politics in the Middle East (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1971), pp. 31-68. Peres directed a very sophisticated poll concerning the intergroup attitudes of (1) Ashkenazai (European) Jews, (2) Sephardic (Oriental) Jews, and (3) Arabs. See also, by the same author, "Modernization and Nationalism in the Identity of the Israeli Arab," Middle East Journal, 24 (Autumn 1970), particularly p. 491.

The reader should be forewarned that dogmatic assertions concerning the vitality of Arabism, or its lack thereof, characterized much of the literature. While the emotionalism surrounding nationalism often appears to afflict its reporters and analysts, the Arab-Israeli issue appears to have engendered a particularly powerful propensity among authors to choose sides. This has caused some writers to deny any influence to the concept of Arabness.[20] By contrast, many Arab sympathizers tend to write about Arabism as a "given" whose dominance over the loyalties of the typical Arab is self-evident and incontrovertible.[21] Representatives of these two poles tend to speak past one another, selecting and interpreting data in a manner which accords with predisposition. As a result, much of the literature is thematic and propagandistic rather than expository or analytical. Though not all of the following titles are totally free of bias, the merits of each are believed to outweigh any such leanings.

(1) William Cleveland, The Making of an Arab Nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Sāti al-Husri (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971). Much more than a biography, this work contains excellent descriptive passages of the general milieu within which the idea

[20]See, for example, Elie Kedourie, The Chatham House Version and other Middle Eastern Studies (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1970), p. 229.

[21]For anthologies which include a number of pieces by Arab scholars in which Arabism is treated as a given, see Sylvia Haim (ed.), Arab Nationalism (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962); Kemal Karpat (ed.), Political and Social Thought in the Middle East (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1968); and George Lenczowski (ed.), The Political Awakening of the Middle East (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1970).

of Arabism has striven to take root.[22] It also contains an annotated bibliography.

(2) Sir John Glubb, A Short History of the Arab Peoples (New York: Stein and Day, 1969). An interesting account by the former commander of the Jordanian Arab Legion. It is most notable for its emphasis upon the "multi-racial" origins of the Arabs, a matter which the author believes still manifests itself in distinguishing characteristics.

(3) Iluja Harik, "The Ethnic Revolution and Political Integration in the Middle East," International Journal of Middle East Studies, 3 (July 1972), pp. 303-323.

(4) Majid Khadouri, Political Trends in the Arab World(Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1970). Informative and insightful.

(5) Basil al-Kubaisai, The Arab Nationalist Movement, 1951-1971: From Pressure Group to Socialist Party (unpublished dissertation submitted to American University, 1972).

(6) Leon Melikian and Lufty Diab, "Group Affiliations of University Students in the Arab Middle East," Journal of Social Psychology, 49 (May 1959), pp. 145-159. Gives the results of two opinion surveys, indicating that Arab students at the American University of Beirut ranked, in order of decreasing significance, (1) family, (2) ethnicity, (3) religion, (4) membership in a political party, and (5) citizenship in a particular Arab state.

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[22]Al-Husri was one of the most learned and insightful expounders of Arab nationalism. [For a recent article concerning his thought, see David Eliraz, "The Components of Arab Nationalism in Sāti al-Husri's Philosophy." Hamizrah Hehadash, XXII (No.2, 1972), pp. 137-151. (Text is in Hebrew but with English summary.] .

(7) Maxime Rodinson, Israel and the Arabs (translated from the French), (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1968). A fascinating analysis of both Arab and Jewish nationalism.

(8) Hisham Sharabi, Nationalism and Revolution in the Arab World (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1966). The first half of this book is an excellent treatment of the historical and cultural background of Arabism. The second half is a collection of essential speeches and documents.

(9) Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Islam in Modern History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), particularly pp. 11-165. A fascinating discourse on the multifaceted relationship of Islam and Arabism.

(10) Hans Tütsch, Facets of Arab Nationalism (Detriot: Wayne State University Press, 1965). The author analyzes the nature of Arab nationalism, and evaluates its current strengths and weaknesses.

(11) Zeine Zeine, The Emergence of Arab Nationalism, 3rd. ed. (Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 1973). The history of Arabism's evolution through the end of World War I.

Other selections of general interest include (1) George Antonius, The Arab Awakening (New York: G.P. Putnams Sons,1946); Yahya Armajani, Middle East: Past and Present (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), pp. 247-250, and 392-403; (3) Edward Atiyah, The Arabs, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1958), pp. 209-242;[23] (4) Leonard Binder, The Ideological Revolution in the Middle East (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964);

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[23]See also, by the same author, An Arab Tells His Story: A Study in Loyalties (London: John Murray, 1946).

(5) Charles Creameans, The Arabs and the World: Nasser's Arab Nationalist Policy (New York: Praeger, 1963); (6) Ernest Down, From Ottomanism to Arabism: Essays on the Origins of Arab Nationalism (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), a series of seven interesting, if disconnected essays on aspects of the history of Arabism; (7) Tareq Ismael, Governments and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1970), pp. 69-98; (8) Journal of Conflict Resolution, XVI (June 1972), the entire issue is dedicated to the Arab-Israeli conflict; (9) Jacob Landau (ed.), Man, State, and Society in the Contemporary Middle East (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1972), particularly those articles by Pierre Rondot, Ibrahim Abu Lughod, and Mahmūd Taymūr; (10) Stephen Longrigg, The Middle East: A Social Geography, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970); (11) Walter Laquer, Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East, 3rd. ed. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961); (12) John Marlowe, Arab Nationalism and British Imperialism (London: The Crescent Press, 1961); (13) Gamul Abdul Nasser, Egypt's Liberation: The Philosophy of the Revolution (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1955), pp. 11-114; Anthony Nutting, The Arabs (New York: Clarkson Potter, Inc., 1964), pp. 388-397, for a British statesman's not very flattering generalities about the Arab "national character;" (15) Don Peretz, The Middle East Today (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963), pp. 137-160; (16) Richard Pfaff, "The Function of Arab Nationalism," Comparative Politics, January, 1970, pp. 147-167, for the unusual thesis that Arabism "will surely wane"; (17) Munif al-Razzas, The Evolution of the Meaning of Nationalism (translated by Ibrahim Abu Lughad)(Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963); (18) Dankwart

Rustow, Middle Eastern Political Systems (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall,
Inc., 1971); and (19) "Seven Questions Put to Yasir Arafat," Revolution
Africaine (Algiers), September 1-7, 1972, for the views of the leader of
the Palestinian Liberation Organization concerning Arab loyalties.[24]

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[24]We have, in the case of Arabdom, abided by our policy of not treating
matters of localized significance. However, an identity which competes
locally with Arabism for the loyalty of individuals quite evidentally
can possess significance for Arabism as a whole. The competing identities
within Lebanon have been scrutinized by several scholars. See, for
example, (1) Harlan Barakat, "Social and Political Integration in Lebanon:
A Case of Social Mosaic," The Middle East Journal, 27 (Summer 1973),
pp. 301-318; and (2) Kamal Salabi, "The Lebanese Identity," Journal of Contemporary
History, 6(No 1, 1971), pp. 76-84. On the important question of a Palestinian
nationalism, see Alfred Sherman, "The Palestinians: A Case of Mistaken
National Identity," World Today, 27 (March 1971), pp. 104-114, as well
as Yohanan Peres, "Ethnic Relations in Israel," op.cit. and "Moderniza-
tion and Nationalism in the Identity of the Israeli Arab," op.cit. As
an illustration of how Arabism can be influenced by the presence of a
non-Arab minority, see Oluwadare Aguda, "Arabism and Pan-Arabism in
Sudanese Politics," The Journal of Modern African Studies, 11 (June
1973), pp. 177-200.

NON-ARAB AFRICA

The literature on non-Arab Africa has been characterized by an inordinate optimism concerning the capability of the new states to win the battle of allegiance with their numerous ethnic groups. This unconditioned optimism was particularly noticable in the literature prior to 1967 and the outbreak of the Ibo-dominated Biafran movement within Nigeria. But though somewhat influenced by the Biafran episode, as well as by an impressive number of ethnically predicated, violent struggles which subsequently erupted throughout the continent,[25] the literature on state integration within non-Arab Africa continues to ignore or slight the threat to the present political borders posed by the region's awesome ethnic heterogeneity.. The absence of a serious treatment of the matter is particularly noteworthy in textbooks and major treatises. Most of the limited pertinent literature appears in periodicals. Though the many collections of previously published articles on Africa might therefore be expected to play an important, remedial role, the editors of these collections evidence a monotonous regularity in their selections. Moreover, the pertinent literature is heavily weighted on the side of those who perceive no real, enduring threat posed by ethnicity to the present state-structure. For example, three of the most commonly encountered articles in collections dealing with problems of state integration within Africa are (1) William

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[25] During the first decade of their independence, more than one-third of all non-Arab African states experienced ethnic warfare. For a listing of the afflicted states, see Walker Connor, "Nation-Building or Nation-Destroying?" op.cit., p. 353.

Bascom, "Tribalism, Nationalism, and Pan-Africanism" which first appeared

in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 342

(July 1962), pp. 21-29. (2) Robert Rotberg, "African Nationalism: Concept

or Confusion," originally in Journal of Modern African Studies, IV (May

1966), pp. 33-46; and (3) Immanuel Wallerstein, "Ethnicity and National

Integration in West Africa," which first appeared in Cahiers d'Etudes

Africaines, I(No.3, 1960), pp. 129-139. Bascom's article notes that

"where tribalism is not exacerbated by open conflict, as in the Congo, it

is being eroded by increasing mobility and urbanization, by education, and

by nationalism." Rotberg concludes that "despite the number of putative

peoples and distinctive languages that exist within each territorial

boundary, I maintain that the policies and practices of the colonial

powers created national entities of their abitrarily contrived and assigned

territories, and that the indigenous inhabitants . . . came to accept their

status as nationals." He further notes that within Africa "we can con-

veniently divide the tree of nationalism [i.e., state-loyalty (ed.)] into the

three branches of awakening, incipient action, and triumph." Though dis-

playing a less cavalier attitude toward ethnicity, Wallerstein ultimately

perceives it as just another cross-cutting cleavage, on the order of class,

occupation, religion, region, and the like, noting that "it illustrates

the more general function of intermediate groups intercalated between the

individual and the state, long ago discussed by Durkheim."

One of the major contributing elements to this general underestima-

tion of the power of ethnic identity has been the unfortunate but traditional

practice of referring to ethnonationalism within non-Arab Africa as <u>tribalism</u>.
In addition to the usual confusion flowing from the preemption of the term
<u>nationalism</u> to refer to loyalty to the state, the use of the pejorative
<u>tribalism</u> to refer to ethnonationalism suggests that the latter is merely
a quaint echo from a primitive past. The implicit message of the term is
that the Ganda, Ibo, Kongo, and Luo will follow the earlier pattern of
Celtic and Germanic tribes, shedding their tribal identity for that of a
larger entity, viz., Ugandan, Nigerian, Zairian, or Kenyan. Why Ibos et al
are only tribes, while Germans et al are nations, is never explained.

Consonant with our earlier comments concerning the wisdom of bringing
a broad, comparative background to the study of ethnonationalism in a
particular milieu, it should not be surprising that the two most insightful
authorities on ethnonationalism in non-Arab Africa are Rupert Emerson and
Pierre van den Berghe. Though originally published in 1962, Emerson's
"Pan-Africanism," <u>International Organization</u>, XVI (Spring 1962), pp. 457-456 is still
one of the best pieces on the ethnonational threat to African states.
The article also emphasizes the linkage between "tribal nationalism" and
pan-Africanism. Moreover, when read in conjunction with his only slightly
later <u>Self-Determination Revisited in the Era of Decolonialization</u> (Cambridge:
Harvard University Center for International Affairs, 1964), Emerson offers
a penetrating analysis of the pragmatic considerations which shape the
positions of state leaders with regard to ethnonational movements, to
Négritude, and to the yet wider notion of Pan-Africanism. Pierre van den
Berghe has produced numerous discerning articles and books on ethnonation-
alism within Africa, one of the most recent being "Ethnicity: The African

Experience," <u>International Social Science Journal</u>, 23 (No. 4, 1971), pp.
507-519. Works by other authors which are believed to possess particular
relevance for the study of ethnonationalism throughout the region are as
follows:

(1) Pierre Alexandre, <u>Languages and Language in Black Africa</u> (trans-
lated from the French)(Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press,
1972). See, also, Alexandre's "Understanded of Which People?" in <u>Africa
Report</u>, 18 (July-August, 1973), pp. 16-20.

(2) Gwendolen Carter (ed.), <u>Five African States' Responses to Diversity</u>
(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963); <u>Politics in Africa: Seven Cases</u>
(New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966); and <u>National Unity and
Regionalism in Eight African States</u> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966).
Each offers a number of interesting country studies. Particularly recommended
is Crawford Young's "The Politics of Separatism: Katanga, 1960-65" in
<u>Politics in Africa</u>.

(3) P. H. Gulliver (ed.), <u>Tradition and Transition in East Africa:
Studies of the Tribal Factor in the Modern Era</u> (Berkeley: University of
California, 1969), particularly pp. 105 <u>ad passim</u>.

(4) Otto Klineberg and M. Zavalloni, <u>Nationalism and Tribalism among
African Students: A Study of Social Identity</u> (Paris: Mouton Publishers, 1969).

(5) Hans Kohn and Wallace Sokolsky, <u>African Nationalism in the Twentieth
Century</u> (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1965) contains an
interesting section on Négritude. The last two-thirds of the book consists
of documents and speeches.

(6) Ernest Lefever, "Armies and Politics in Tropical Africa," <u>Brookings</u> <u>Research Report</u> (No. 109) (Wahington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1970), pp. 1-9. Stresses the particular significance of the military as an integrative agent in multiethnic societies. See also Lefever's "State-Building in Tropical Africa," <u>Orbis</u>, 12 (Winter 1969), pp. 984-1003.

(7) Colin Legum, <u>Pan-Africanism</u>, rev. ed. (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1965).

(8) Paul Mercier, "On the Meaning of 'Tribalism' in Black Africa" (translated from the French) in Pierre van den Berghe, <u>Africa: Social Problems</u> <u>of Change and Conflict</u> (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965).

(9) Donald Morrison, Robert Mitchell, John Poder, and Hugh Stevenson, <u>Black Africa: A Comparative Handbook</u> (New York: The Free Press, 1972).

(10) George Murdock, <u>Africa, Its People and their Culture History</u> (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959). Of particular value is the large, accompanying map that indicates each "tribe" by name and approximate location. For a map which superimposes political borders over Murdock's map (but which does not offer the names of the "tribes"), see Preston James, <u>One World Divided</u> (Waltham: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1964), p. 359.

(11) Victor Olorunsola, <u>The Politics of Cultural Sub-Nationalism in</u> <u>Africa</u> (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc. 1972). Country studies of Nigeria, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Zaire, and Kenya.

(12) Martha Shelby, <u>Influence of Tribalism, Lingua Franca, and Mass</u> <u>Communication on National Development of East African States of Kenya,</u> <u>Uganda, and Tanzania</u> (unpublished dissertation submitted to the University of Texas, 1971).

Other titles which may prove of value to the researcher are (1) Robert

Bates, "Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa,"

Comparative Political Studies, 6 (January 1974), pp. 431-456; (2) F. Yorick

Blumenfield, "Tribalism versus Nationalism in African Development," Editorial

Research Reports (November 2, 1960), pp. 805-21; (3) George Brausch, "African

Ethnocracies: Some Sociological Implications of Constitutional Change in

Emergent Territories of Africa," Civilizations, 13 (1963), pp. 12-19;

(4) Ronald Cohen and John Middleton (eds.), From Tribes to Nation in Africa:

Studies in Incorporation Processes (Scranton: Chandler Publishing Company,

1970), consisting of eleven case studies most of which reflect the propensity

of the anthropologist to work with a small unit, either a single tribe or

locale; (5) James Coleman, "Nationalism in Tropical Africa," The American

Political Science Review, XLVIII (June 1954), pp. 404-426; (6) Leonard Doob,

"From Tribalism to Nationalism in Africa," Journal of International Affairs,

16 (No.2, 1962), pp. 144-155; (6) Marion Doro and Newell Stultz (eds.),

Governing in Black Africa: Perspectives on New States (Englewood Cliffs:

Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970); (7) May Edel, "African Tribalism: Some Reflections

on Uganda," Political Science Quarterly, 80 (September 1965), pp. 357-372;

(8) Max Gluckman, Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa (New York: The Free

Press, 1963); (9) Kenneth Grundy, "Nationalism and Separatism in East Africa,"

Current History, 54 (February 1968), pp. 90-94; (10) Leo Kuper and M. G.

Smith (eds.), Pluralism in Africa (Berkeley: University of California Press,

1969), consisting of fourteen articles with a heavy emphasis upon theoretic

considerations and historical situations; (11) Archie Mafeje, " The Ideology

of 'Tribalism'," Journal of Modern African Studies, 9 (August 1971), pp. 253-261; (12) L. P. Mair, "Social Change in Africa," International Affairs (London), XXXVI (October 1960), pp. 447-456; (13) Irving Markovitz (ed.), African Politics and Society: Basic Issues and Problems of Government and Development(New York: The Free Press, 1970), particularly those selections by Paula Brown and Norman Miller; (14) Peter McEwan and Robert Sutcliffe (eds.), Modern Africa (New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1965), particularly the selections by Melville Herskovitz, T. O. Elias, Issac Shapera, James Coleman, and David Apter; (15) Donald Morrison and Hugh Stevenson, "Cultural Pluralism, Modernization, and Conflict: An Empirical Analysis of Sources of Political Instability in African Nations," Canadian Journal of Political Science, V (March 1972), pp. 82-103; (16) J. Ornstein, "Africa Seeks a Common Language, " Review of Politics, 26 (April 1964), pp. 205-214; (17) R. H. Payne, "Divided Tribes: A Discussion of African Boundary Problems," New York University Journal of International Law and Politics, 2 (Winter 1969), pp. 243-267; (18) D. H. Reader, "Tribalism and Detribalization in Southern and Central Africa," Zambezia, 1 (No.2, 1970), pp. 55-75; (19) Arnold Rivkin, Nation-Building in Africa: Problems and Prospects (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969) by an author who does not believe that ethnonationalism poses a long-range problem (see, for example, pp. 35-37, 236-238); (20) C. G. Rosberg, "National Identity in the African States," Africa Report, 1 (March 1971), pp. 79-92; (21) Robert Rotberg and Ali Mazrui, Protest and Power in Black Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), most of whose case studies have little to do with ethnicity in the post independence

period, but see within Chapter VII, those dealing with Rwanda, (then) Zanzi-
bar, Zaire, Nigeria, Dahomey, and Uganda; (22) Donald Rothchild, "Ethnicity
and Conflict Resolution," World Politics, XXII (July 1970), pp. 597-616, for
the position that ethnonationalism can be managed; (23) Walter Schwartz,
"Varieties of African Nationalism," Commentary, 32 (July 1967), pp. 27-35;
(24) Mark Tessler, Tradition and Identity in Changing Africa (New York:
Harper and Row, 1973); (25) Saadia Touval, The Boundary Politics of Inde-
pendent Africa (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), particularly
pp. 27-30 for the unusual contention that the presence of so many "tribes"
has prevented cultural oppression, thereby obviating the possibility of
ethnonationalism becoming an important force; (26) "Tribe and Nation in
East Africa: Separatism and Regionalism," Roundtable, 52 (June 1962), pp. 252-
258; (27) Colin Turnbull, "Tribalism and Social Evolution in Africa,"
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 354 (July
1964), pp. 22-32; (28) Gordon Wolstenholme and Maeve O'Connor (eds.), Man
and Africa (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966), particularly the
article by Jack Goddy, "Tribal, Racial, Religious, and Language Problems
in Africa"; (29) Aristide Zolberg, "Tribalism through Corrective Lenses,"
Foreign Affairs, 51 (July 1973), pp. 728-739.

As in other sections of this essay, we shall abide by our practice
of not referring to studies covering a single state, unless a state is
believed to be of unusual significance. However, it is worth pointing
out that the strategy of separate development, or bantustans, pursued by
the government of the Republic of South Africa is predicated upon a belief

in the power of ethnonationalism. That government believes that by appeal-
ing to the separate national consciousness of the Xhosas, Zulus, etc., it
can prevent the formation of a single black alliance.

WESTERN EUROPE

From the end of World War II until quite recently, the conventional view of the vitality of nationalism within Western Europe rested upon two pillars. The first was a vision of the states of the area as true nation-states, that is to say, states containing no significant minority groups whose fundamental sociopolitical identity differed appreciably from that of the majority. Secondly, it was generally assumed that nationalism was no longer a significant force within Western Europe, having been replaced by a supranational desire for political integration as "Europeans." However, both pillars undergirding the conventional view have subsequently proven to be unsubstantial.

The appearance of ethnically inspired unrest among peoples who were believed to have been psychologically assimilated into their state's dominant group was particularly striking. The United Kingdom witnessed a surge of nationalism among the Scots and Welsh, and saw ethnic strife develop between Northern Ireland's non-Irish and Irish inhabitants.[26] France was forced to outlaw national liberation fronts operating in the name of its Basque, Breton, and Corsican peoples, and faced signs of growing ethnic consciousness among other groups as well. People who had been popularly lumped as Belgians came increasingly to act as Flemings or as Walloons. Spaniards proved to be Basques, Castilians, Catalans, or Galicians. Italy and Switzerland also experienced ethnic unrest. Concomitant with this surge of ethnonationalism among formerly quiescent minorities, national-

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[26]Descriptions of the struggle in Northern Ireland as essentially religious are misleading in this regard.

ism on the part of dominant groups (highlighted but not limited to the
French under the prodding of de Gaulle), cast doubtful shadows over the
thesis that the people of Western Europe had moved from nationalism to a
higher stage of supranationalism.

Ethnonationalism within Western Europe holds broad significance for
the study of nationalism in general. Its vitality within its original
cradle suggests that obituaries are decidedly premature. Its resurgence
within post-industrial societies questions the presumptions of much of
the literature which maintains that the ethnic consciousness of minorities
will be eradicated by the processes which accompany modernization (e.g.,
urbanization, mass communication and transportation, public schools, a
single official language, effective centralized government equipped to
manipulate state-wide symbols, etc.). The spectacle of growing consciousness
of ethnic distinctiveness among minority peoples popularly believed to have
long ago been fully absorbed into a Belgian, Briton, French, Italian,
Spanish or Swiss "nation," illustrates that the assimilation process can be,
and is apparently tending to be, reversed. The resurgence of nationalism
within an area concomitantly moving toward regional integration affords an
opportunity to observe the degree to which the two are harmonious or con-
tradictory, and also offers the opportunity to observe any differences in
attitude toward regional integration as between dominant and non-dominant
elements.[27] Moreover, although as noted below, there is currently a severe paucity

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[27]The leaders of Europe's minorities have been strong proponents of
integration, but favor a "Europe of ethnics" rather than de Gaulle's
"Europe of states."

of studies of ethnonationalism within Western Europe, the new cognizance
of its regional importance, forced upon scholars by events, should produce
studies on nationalism that are more insightful than are studies dealing
with environments concerning which data are scarcer and less reliable and
in which nationalism is a recent infusion. Indeed, Juan Linz has already
produced an extremely informative work on Spain, a state which might be
expected to be the most impervious to analytical probing. His "Early State-
Building and Late Peripheral Nationalisms against the State: The Case of
Spain" (Paper for the UNESCO Conference on Nation-Building, Cerisy, Normandy,
August 1970), largely predicated upon a survey conducted among Spain's
various ethnic groups, has a significance which extends well beyond Spanish
borders.

As noted, English language literature concerned with ethnonationalism
in Western Europe is a scarce commodity. The researcher will encounter no
problem in locating excellent studies on Belgium's ethnic problems, and a
number of recent doctoral dissertations concentrate on specific groups within
the area.[28] But evidence that the surge of nationalism throughout the region
caught the academic community unprepared is offered by the lack of studies
of broader scope. There are several studies of such scope which were pub-
lished prior to World War II. Indeed, many of the works noted earlier

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[28]See, for example, the two dissertations concerned with Scottish
nationalism: Roger Brooks, Scottish Nationalism: Relative Deprivation and
Social Mobility (Unpublished dissertation submitted to Michigan State Uni-
versity, 1973); and Matthew Gallo, The Politics of Nationalism in Scotland
(Unpublished dissertation submitted to the University of Connecticut, 1974).
A particularly impressive dissertation of this same genre is Milton da Silva,
The Basque Movement (Unpublished dissertation submitted to the University of
Massachusetts, 1972).

under the heading of General Treatises, drew heavily on the authors' knowledge of Western Europe, and the researcher would therefore be well advised to consult the works of Barker, Cobban, Kohn, et al. Particularly recommended for its perspicacious and prophetic comments concerning the perpetuation of ethnoconsciousness among the minorities of the region is Carlton Hayes, Essays on Nationalism. Also strongly recommended by the same authority, is A Generation of Materialism, 1871-1900 (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1941), pp. 242-285. Four other valuable works which antedate the end of World War II are H. Munro Chadwick, The Nationalities of Europe and the Growth of National Ideologies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945); Karl Deutsch, "The Trend of European Nationalism -- The Language Aspect," The American Political Science Review, XXXVI (June 1942), pp. 533-541. Carlile Macartney, National States and National Minorities, 2nd.ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1934); and Stanley Rundel, Language as a Social and Political Factor in Europe (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1944).

More recent English language literature, whose significance extends beyond a single group or state, includes the following:[29]

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[29]The paucity of pertinent studies in the English language makes it essential to refer to works in other languages. Among them are (1) Albert Dauzat, L'Europe Linguistique, Nouvelle Edition (Paris: Payot,1953); (2) Guy Heraud, L'Europe des Ethnies (Paris: Presses d'Europe, 1963) and Peuple et Langues d'Europe (Editions Denoël, 1967); (3); (3) Yann Fouéré, L'Europe aux Cent Drapeau (Paris: Presses d'Europe, 1968); (4) Pierre Fougeyvallas, Pour une France Fédérale, vers l'Unite Europeenne par la Révolution Regionale (Paris: Editions Denoël, 1968); (5)Charles Morazé, "Existe-t-il une Civilisation Europeene?" Défense Nationale, 30 (January 1974), pp. 3-14; and (6) Manfred Stroka (ed.), Handbook der Europäishen Volksgruppen. Im Auftr. d. Föderalistischen Union Europ. Volksgruppen (Wien: Braumiller, 1970). The handbook includes two folding ethnic maps of Western Europe. For a bibliography which contains several pertinent entries, see Glanville Price, The Present Position of Minority Languages in Western Europe: A Selective Bibliography (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1969).

(1) Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1965). Contains survey data on attitudes toward the state within, inter alia, the German Federal Republic, Italy, and the United Kingdom.

(2) Reginald Coupland, Welsh and Scottish Nationalism: A Study (London: Collins Sons and Company, 1954).

(3) Hans Daalder, "The Consociational Democracy Theme," World Politics, XXVI (April 1974), pp. 604-

(4) James Dunn, "Consociational Democracy and Language Conflict: A Comparison of the Belgian and Swiss Experiences," Comparative Political Studies, 5 (April 1972), pp. 3-40.

(5) Owen Edwards et al, Celtic Nationalism (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1968). Separate essays on Irish, Scottish, and Welsh nationalisms.

(6) Cynthia Enloe, Ethnic Conflict and Political Development (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973). A globally oriented treatise, containing several references to ethnic conflict within Europe.

(7) Yosef Goell, Bi-Nationalism and Bi-Lingualism in Modernized States: A Comparative Study of Canada, Belgium, and White South Africa (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971). Included here because of its significance for other "modern" European states.

(8) Government and Opposition, 9 (Winter 1974). Entire issue is dedicated to the problem of accommodating sovereignty and the regional integration of Europe.

(9) Jeremy Haritos, Nationalism and European Integration: A Study of

French Community Leaders' Opinions and Attitudes toward Western European Supranational Political Integration (Unpublished dissertation submitted to Fordham University, 1974).

(10) Einar Homstead and Arild Lade (eds.), Lingual Minorities in Europe: A Selection of Papers from the European Conference of Lingual Minorities (Oslo: Studentmållaget, 1969).

(11) Willfred Knapp, Unity and Nationalism in Europe since 1945 (New York: Permagon Press, 1969).

(12) Tore Modeen, The International Protection of National Minorities in Europe (Åbo, Finland: Åbo Akademi, 1969).

(13) Oriol Pi-Sunyer (ed.), The Limits of Integration: Ethnicity and Nationalism in Modern Europe (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Department of Anthropology, 1971). Contains important essays on Basque, Breton, and Catalan nationalism. See also Pi-Sunyer's "Elites and Noncorporate Groups in the European Mediterranean: A Reconsideration of the Catalan Case," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 16 (January 1974), pp. 117-131.

(14) Arnold Rose, Migrants in Europe:Problems of Acceptance and Adjustment (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Pres, 1969). A fascinating, posthumously published work which, after analyzing a great deal of survey and governmental data, concludes that there is little evidence of the evolution of a supranational "European" identity.

(15) Godfried van Bentham van den Bergh, "Contemporary Nationalism in the Western World" in Stanley Hoffman (ed.), Conditions of World Order (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968), pp. 76-109. A most perspicacious

article which discusses French, German, and Dutch ethnonationalisms and
their relationship to a European or trans-Atlantic consciousness.

The single most significant issue involving the region's nationalisms
must be that of "the German question." How pervasively the call of common
ethnicity affects the inhabitants of Mitteleuropa is manifestly of the ut-
most significance to the future of the region. The issue has therefore
quite understandably been the focus of numerous articles and monographs since
1945. Subject to a few exceptions, the recent literature indicates a break
with that of the 1950s and 1960s. Whereas the earlier literature tended to
perceive German national consciousness as a phoenix awaiting its catalyst to
arise from the ashes of the Third Reich, more recent literature, usually
heavily interspersed with interpretations of survey data, has tended to
advance the proposition that separate senses of national consciousness are
either well-in-the-process of coalescing, or have actually coalesced, around
the notion of being Austrian, East German, or West German. Again, because of
the obvious transcendental significance of the matter, we violate our rule
of abstaining from referring to the literature of a specific ethnic element:
(1) Klaus Bloemer, "Germany and a European Europe," Orbis, 10 (Spring 1966),
pp. 240-246. (2) William Bluhm, Building an Austrian Nation (New Haven: Yale
University Press, 1973). As the title suggests, the author perceives an
Austrian nationalism replacing pan-German notions. See also, by the same
author, "Nation-Building: The Case of Austria," Polity, I (Winter 1968),
pp. 149-177. (3) Lewis Edinger, Politics in Germany: Attitudes and Processes
(Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), particularly pp 81-164. (4) Paula

Fichtner, "NPD-NDP: Europe's New Nationalism in Germany and Austria,"
Review of Politics, 30 (July 1968), pp. 308-315. (5) Elliot Goodman,
"NATO and German Reunification," Atlantic Community Quarterly, 3 (Fall
1965), pp. 293-313. (6) Walter Hahn, "West Germany's Ostpolitik: The
Grand Design of Egon Bahr," Orbis, XVI (Winter 1973), pp. 859-880. The
author proffers data to support his contention that even the decision of
the Federal Republic to recognize East Germany was but part of a larger
scheme to bring about German unification within a neutralized Central
Europe.[30] (7) Peter Katzenstein, Disjoined Partners: Austria and Germany
since 1815 (Unpublished dissertation submitted to Harvard University, 1973).
A great deal of interesting survey data. (8) Hans Kohn, "Problems of
German Nationalism," Contemporary Review, 189 (May 1956), pp. 261-266, and
"Nationalism in the Atlantic Community," Atlantic Community Quarterly, 3
(Fall 1965), pp. 293-313. (9) G. H. Muller, "Germany's Emerging Nationalism:
Trends Since the Berlin Wall," South Atlantic Quarterly, 67 (Autumn 1968),
pp. 659-671. (10) Gordon Munro, Two Germanys: A Lasting Solution to the
German Question (Unpublished dissertation submitted to Claremont Graduate
School, 1972). Concludes that two separate identities have evolved.
(11) Harry Pross, "Reflections on German Nationalism," Orbis, 10 (Winter

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[30]The author's case gained further substantiation when a German magazine
released a classified document, drawn up by Egon Bahr, which did indeed
outline such a grand plan. See the New York Times of September 27, 1973.
For an interesting article in the French language, see Alfred Frisch, "La
Republic Fédérale d'Allegmagne Peut-elle Succomber à la Tentation Neutraliste?"
Defense Nationale, 30 (January 1974), pp. 63-74.

1967), pp. 1148-1156. (12) Gebhard Schweigler, <u>National Consciousness in Divided Germany</u>(Unpublished dissertation submitted to Harvard University, 1972). Conclusion agrees with that of Gordon Munro. Contains interesting survey data. (13) Kurt Sontheimer, <u>The Government and Politics of West Germany,</u>(translated from the German) (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1972), particularly pp. 63-76. (14) Kurt Steiner, Politics in Austria (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972), particularly pp. 155-188. (15) Kurt Tauber, <u>Beyong Eagle and Swastika: German Nationalism since 1945</u>, 2 Vols. (Middletown Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1967). The author believes that German nationalism remains a vibrant force. See particularly, pp. 986 ad passim. (16) Ferenc Vali, <u>The Quest for a United Germany</u> (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967).

THE AMERICAS

Considering the Americas as a single entity departs from the customary practice of historians and political scientists to treat Canada and the United States as comprising a genus of states which sets them apart from all the other states of the so-called Western Hemisphere. Thus, there is a plethora of courses, textbooks, and regional programs whose titles indicate their limitation to "Latin America" or (in a more recent development) to "the Caribbean." There are a number of reasons for wariness toward accepting such sharp divisions when studying ethnonationalism. One, a practical consideration, is that the Americas have in fact been treated as a single unit in some of the pertinent literature, particularly in that by the anthropologists, Harris and Wagley.[31]

A more specific and compelling reason for treating the Americas as a whole, however, has been advanced by Frank Tannenbaum.[32] He has noted that

[31]Illustrations include/Marvin Harris, Patterns of Race in the Americas (New York: Walker and Company, 1964); (2) Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris, Minorities in the New World: Six Case Studies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), whose selections deal with the Amerindians of Brazil and Mexico; the Blacks of Martinique and the United States; the Francophones of Canada; and Jews in the United States; and (3) Charles Wagley, The American Tradition: Essays on the Unity and Diversity of Latin American Culture (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968). Despite its title, the last work compares the experiences in race relations of Latin American societies with those of the United States. (See particularly, "The Concept of Social Race in the Americas," pp. 155-174.)

[32]See Vera Rubin (ed.), Caribbean Studies: A Symposium (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960), pp. 60-66. Tannenbaum's comments were conveyed within the context of a critical commentary on a paper by Eric Williams, "Race Relations in Caribbean Society," pp. 54-60. See, also, Tannenbaum's "The Destiny of the Negro in the Western Hemisphere," Political Science Quarterly, 61 (March 1946), pp. 1-41.

circumstances, especially the historic pattern of slavery, has resulted in a

concentration of New World blacks within an elliptically shaped zone whose

base line stretches from Rio de Janeiro to Washington, D.C.; and, with an

eye to relative numbers and birth rates, he has added that blacks already

"have and will hold this part of the western world." This macroanalysis

quite obviously obscures significant variations on the part of individual

states. In some states blacks are numerically and politically predominant,

while in others they are neither. In some states the principal ethnic issue

pits blacks against whites, in other cases against people of Asian ancestry,

and, in still others (e.g., Haiti), against mulattoes. Nevertheless,

Tannenbaum's reference to a transequatorial black zone reminds the analyst

(1) that black nationalism within the Western Hemisphere has its interstate

as well as intrastate dimensions, and (2) that a student of a black national

movement within a single state should be familiar with the literature on

its substance and manifestations elsewhere. We shall here eschew references

to the voluminous literature dealing with the United States' variant of

black nationalism, again on the assumption that titles can be easily located

through the standard indices.[33] Though some of the following items do refer

to specific states, they have been included in the belief that their impli-

cations extend to a broader constituency. It should perhaps also be noted

at this point that the literature on ethnonationalism within the region

south and southeast of the United States (whether limited to the black zone

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[33]The interested researcher may wish to refer to the bibliographies
on ethnic minorities within the United States, which are mentioned below,
page 73.

or applied to the Cordilleran states as well) is, in general, quite unsatis-
factory. Much of the literature is by anthropologists who have displayed
more interest in interminably debating such questions as whether the lowly
status of blacks in Brazil is due to racial prejudice or to class, rather
than in assessing the actual and potential consequences of ethnic heterogeneity.
While there is no dearth of articles and monographs whose titles advertise
their contents as expositions upon nationalism within the area, few indeed
truly address themselves to this topic.[34] The following are believed to be
among the more significant works dealing with ethnic problems within what
Tannenbaum described as the black zone:

(1) John Biesanz, "Cultural and Economic Factors in Panamanian Race
Relations," American Sociological Review, 14 (December 1949), pp. 772-779,
in which the author suggests that Caribbean blacks are the targets of
Panamanian prejudice because of their "non-Latin cultural traits rather
than their Negroid characteristics." If so, this phenomenon would have
significance for the relations between those Caribbean states which were
once British or Dutch colonies, and those which were not.

(2) Aggrey Brown, New Perspectives on Color, Class and Politics in
Jamaica (Unpublished dissertation submitted to Princeton University, 1974).

(3) John Clytus, Black Man in Red Cuba (Coral Gables, Florida:
University of Miami Press, 1970). A personal account by an American black
of anti-black prejudice which he witnessed in Cuba.

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[34]For an interesting criticism of a closely related aspect of the
literature, see Charles Anderson, "The Concept of Race and Class and the Ex-
planation of Latin American Politics" in Magnus Morner (ed.), Race and Class
in Latin America (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), pp. 231-255.

(4)Leo Despres, Cultural Pluralism and Nationalist Politics in British Guiana (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1967). Excellent.

(5) Peter Dodge, "Ethnic Fragmentation and Politics: The Case of Surinam," Political Science Quarterly, LXXXI (December 1966), pp. 593-601. Examines the ethnic fragmentation which has permitted the Dutch to retain control, but opines that further atomization of identity within each major group ("Creole", "Hindustani", and Javanese) prevents major strife.

(6) H. Hoetink, The Two Variables in Caribbean Race Relations. Translated from the Dutch. (London: Oxford University Press, 1967). The author contrasts the experiences of the deep south of the United States with those of Latin America. See also Sidney Mintz, "Groups, Group Boundaries and the Perception of Race," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 13 (October 1971), pp. 437-450. Though ostensibly a review of Hoetink's book, it is in fact much more than this. An interesting piece.

(7) Michael Horowitz (ed.), Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean (Garden City: The Natural History Press, 1971). See particularly Sidney Mintz, "The Caribbean as a Socio-cultural Area," pp. 17-46; Lloyd Braithwaite, "Social Stratification and Cultural Pluralism,""pp.95-116; and Elliot Skinner, "Social Stratification and Ethnic Identification,""pp. 117-142.

(8) David Lowenthal, West Indian Societies (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972). The author believes that ethnicity is viewed in a qualitatively different manner than it is within the United States. See also his "Post Emancipation Race Relations: Some Caribbean and American Perspectives" in Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, 13 (July-October 1971), pp. 367-377. Lowenthal, with Lambros Comitas, has also edited two pertinent

anthologies. See their The Aftermath of Sovereignty: West Indian Perspectives (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1973) and Consequences of Class and Color: West Indian Perspectives (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1973).

(9) Yogendra Malik, "Socio-Political Perceptions and Attitudes of East Indian Elites in Trnindad," Western Political Quarterly, XXIII (September 1970), pp. 552-563. Though dealing with a dangerously small sample, the author uncovered a great deal of hostility toward intermixing with blacks, substantially less toward relations with whites. He also uncovered great dissatisfaction with what East Indians perceive as a black government, including some sentiment for a separate state.

(10) Rex Nettleford, Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1972). Sees the issue as essentially black poor versus brown middle class versus wealthy white.

(11) Ralph Premdas, "Elections and Political Campaigns in a Racially Bifurcated State: The Case of Guyana," Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, 14 (August 1972), pp. 271-296.

(12) Selwyn Ryan, Race and Nationalsim in Trinidad and Tobago: A Study of Decolonialization in a Multiracial Society (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), particularly Chapter 23, "Race and the National Community," pp. 363-383.

(13) M.G. Smith, The Plural Society in the British West Indies (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965).

(14) Raymond Smith, "Race and Political Conflict in Guyana," Race, XII (April 1971), pp. 415-428.

(15) Robert Toplin,"The Problem of Double Identity: Black Brazilians on the Issue of Racial Consciousness," Journal of Human Relations, 20 (No.1-2, 1972), pp. 205-214.

(16) Edwin Weinstein, Cultural Aspects of Delusion: A Psychiatric Study of the Virgin Islands (New York: The Fress Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1962). See particularly Chapter II, "Institutional Sources of Identity," pp. 51 ad passim.

(17) Hormer Whitten,"The Ecology of Race Relations in Northwest Ecquador," paper prepared for the 1969 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. (Copy available at the United States Departmant of State, FAR 10773.) The author concludes that relations between blacks and non-blacks within Ecquador and Colombia are growing more tense.

As is evident from the preceding titles, even the more significant writers have tended to view a particular ethnonational problem against a state-wide or, at most, a Caribbean-wide backdrop, rather than against the more extensive black zone outlined by Tannenbaum. By contrast with this particularistic approach, much of the literature on the Amerindians of Middle and South America is imbued with sweeping generalities. The ethnonational problems represented by non-assimilated or semi-assimilated peoples of Indian or semi-Indian ancestry which are faced by the Cordilleran states stretching from Mexico to Chile are often treated as unvarying. To the degree that this approach is valid, the large numbers of people of Mexican descent in the American southwest makes the United States part of the same zone. (Minimally, this ethnic extension further invalidates the utilization of the southern bor-

ders of the United States as a line of delineation between Anglo- and Latin America.) But while elsewhere we have extolled the virtues of examining a particular manifestation of ethnonationalism against a larger backdrop, in the case of the Amerindians the literature exemplifies too indiscriminate an approach.

A major reason why black nationalism in the New World contains a transborder and transcultural element is that the period of slavery, by eradicating memory of an ethnic cord to one of several possible peoples (e.g., Hausa, Ibo, Kikuyu, etc.), left blackness as the most salient characteristic on which to construct a sense of common ancestry. By contrast, the Amerindians are composed of several nations with distinct histories, languages, and the like. As a result, Pan-Amerindianism is closer to such transnational phenomena as Pan-(black) Africanism, Pan-Slavism or Pan-Turanism, than it is to the vastly more significant notions of Pan-Arabism or Pan-Germanism, based, as each of the last two are, on the cementing belief in a shared blood-line.

The study of ethnonationalism among the Indians of Middle and South America should therefore be preceded by some appreciation of the diversity characterizing those peoples. Among the better ethnic maps and ethnic atlases are (1) the map compiled by Čestmír Loukotta, "Ethno-linguistic Distribution of South American Indians," Supplement Number 8, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 57 (June 1967);[35] (2) George Murdock, "South American Culture Areas," Southwest Journal of Anthropology, 7 (Winter 1951), pp. 415-436, in which the well-known anthropologist, contrary to the title

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[35]Unfolded copies may be purchased from the Central Office of the Association of American Geographers, 1146 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

of his article, breaks the Indian component of all of the states south and
southeast of the United States into twenty-six categories on the basis of
language and life-style; (3) Timothy O'Leary, Ethnographic Bibliography of
South America (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1963), for a study
which includes individual ethnic ("tribal") maps of the Indians for each of
the states; and (4) J.H. Steward (ed.), Handbook of South American Indians,
6 Vols., (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1946-50). The
general lack of coincidence between ethnic and political borders which these
studies document raises the specter of demands for a radical redrawing of
the latter, should national consciousness develop along ethnic lines.

Most authors (and Latin American political leaders) have seemingly
not entertained the possibility of such a development. They tend to perceive
the Indians as an inert mass which may be acted upon but which may not become
an independent source of action. They tend to perceive as an ultimate cer-
tainty the assimilation of the Indians into the politically and socially
dominant culture of their respective state. Again we are indebted to Frank
Tannenbaum for an unusual, and, in this writer's view, a most perspicacious
position. His "Agrarismo, Indianismo, y Nacionalismo", which appeared during
World War II in the Hispanic American Historical Review, 23 (August 1943),
pp. 394-423 (particularly 420-423), is essential reading.[36] After noting
that there are those who believe that modernization and state-integration
will cause the Indians to identify with the state and its dominant element,
Tannenbaum offers a counter suggestion. Those in charge of the state apparatus
"will certainly evoke nationalist feeling by endowing the Indians with

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[36] Despite the title, the article is written in English.

literacy and self-consciousness. But it may prove a dissident Indian nation-
alism." For a similar prognostication, see William Mangin, "Working Paper
Prepared for Peru Study Group -- Second Draft" (copy available in the library
of the United States Department of State, FAR 13126), particularly pp. 34
ad passim.

The following works are believed to be among the more helpful. Again,
single-state studies are included only when they are believed to possess
significance which transcends the state's borders. It should also be noted
that those works whose titles contain the regional designation of Latin
America often contain discussions of some of the states which we have treated
as in the black zone.

(1) Richard Adams et al., Social Change in Latin America Today: Its
Implications for United States Policy. Published for the Council on Foreign
Relations (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960). A series of essays whose
authors address themselves to problems arising from ethnic diversity. A
general chapter is followed by case studies of Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Guatamala,
and Mexico. See particularly that on Peru by Allan Holmberg, "Changing
Community Attitudes and Values in Peru: A Case Study in Guided Change."

(2) Charles Anderson et al., Issues of Political Development (Englewood
Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1967), pp. 45-59. A concise but interesting
section called "The Culturally Unconscious: Latin American Indians."

(3) Samuel Baily (ed.), Nationalism in Latin America (New York:
Alfred Knopf, 1971). A collection of short or highly abridged speeches,
proclamations, poems, etc.

(4) D.A. Brading, "Creole Nationalism and Mexican Liberalism," Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, 15 (May 1973), pp. 139-190.

(5) Pablo Casanova, Democracy in Mexico (London: Oxford University Press, 1970). See particularly Chapter 5, "The Plural Society," pp. 71-103.

(6) Raymond Christ, "The Latin American Way of Life," The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 27 (January, April, and July 1968), pp. 63-76, 171-183, and 297-311.

(7) Erwin Epstein, "Education and Peruanidad: 'Internal' Colonialism in the Peruvian Highlands," Comparative Education Review, 15 (June 1971), pp. 188-201.

(8) Dwight Heath and Richard Adams (eds.), Contemporary Cultures and Societies of Latin America (New York: Random House, 1965). Several interesting essays with a pronounced anthropological emphasis. Some good descriptions of Indian life-ways and inter-ethnic attitudes. Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris, "A Typology of Latin American Subcultures," pp. 42-69, is particularly interesting.

(9) John Martz (ed.), The Dynamics of Change in Latin American Politics (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965) for Harry Kantor, "Aprismo: Peru's Indigenous Political Theory," pp. 86-92; Kalman Silvert, "Nationalism in Latin America," pp. 95-103; and George Blanksten, "Political Groups in Latin America," particularly pp. 193-197.

(10) Gerhard Masur, Nationalism in Latin America: Diversity and Unity (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966). Though the author is not addressing the question of ethnonationalism, he does offer some interesting comments on Indianismo in the Mexican context (pp. 79-83) and on ethnic forces within

Bolivia, Colombia, Ecquador, and Peru (pp. 93-100).

(11) Magnus Mörner, Race Mixture in the History of Latin America (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967). Essentially a balanced, well-researched, historic treatment, but it does contain a number of thoughtful comments on the present and explanations of such pertinent ideas as Hispanidad, Africanism, indigenism, mestizaje, and "the Cosmic Race."

(12) Richard Patch, "Peasantry and National Revolution: Bolivia" in K. H. Silvert (ed.), Expectant Peoples: Nationalism and Development (New York: Random House, 1963), pp. 95-126.

(13) Frederick Pike (ed.), Latin American History: Select Problems: Integrity, Integration and Nationhood (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1969). Disappointing in light of its subtitle, but see pp. 188-204 for an interesting account by Pike of the Peruvian leadership's problem of trying to project a single identity from its multiethnic history.

(14) Julian Pitt-Rivers, "Race, Color, and Class in Central America and the Andes," Daedelus, 96 (Spring 1967), pp. 542-559. Sophisticated comparison of ethnic attitudes within (a) the United States and (b) Latin America. See also by the same author, "Mestizo or Ladino?", Race, X (April 1969), pp. 463-477 for a discussion of important distinctions between the Indian societies of Guatamala and Yucatan.

(15) Beate Salz, "Indianismo" in Olen Leonard and Charles Loomis (eds.), Readings in Latin American Social Organization and Institutions (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1973), pp. 219-230.

(16) Rodolfo Stavenhagen, "Classes, Colonialism, and Acculturation:

A System of Inter-Ethnic Relations in Mesoamerica" in Irving Horowitz (ed.),

Masses in Latin America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970). An inter-

esting account of ethnic relations in Guatamala and Mexico.

(17) Frank Tannenbaum, Ten Keys to Latin America (New York: Random

House, 1959). See particularly pp. 3-52.

(18) Frederick Turner, The Dynamic of Mexican Nationalism (Chapel Hill:

The University of North Carolina Press, 1968). Has much of value to say con-

cerning the integrative role of the mestizos. The outgrowth of a doctoral

dissertation (The Roots of Mexican Nationalism) submitted to the Fletcher

School of Law and Diplomacy, 1965.

(19) Pierre van den Berghe, Race and Ethnicity: Essays in Comparative

Sociology (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970). Chapters 4,6,7, and 8 deal

with Guatamala and Mexico. See also, Benjamin Colby and Pierre van den Berghe,

Ixil Country: A Plural Society in Highland Guatamala (Berkeley: University of

California Press, 1969).

(20)Marylee Vandiver, "Racial Classification in Latin American Censuses,"

Social Forces, 28 (December 1949), pp. 138-146. Though obviously dated, the

article's contention that the states' official censuses offer an inadequate

basis for accurate comparative analyses is still valid. (Terms vary, in

some cases no definitions of terms are offered, substantial differences

exist since the date of the last census, etc.)

(21) Arthur Whitaker and David Jordan, Nationalism in Contemporary

Latin America (New York: The Free Press, 1966). Considering the title, very

unsatisfactory; most noteworthy for its discussion of "Continental Nationalism,"

pp. 161-179.

Concordant with our earlier special treatment of the literature on

the USSR, China, India, and Germany, an evaluation of materials on ethnonation-

alism within the United States would be appropriate at this point.[37] That we

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[37] Canada cannot be rated as important as are those states to which
we have accorded special attention. However, the fact that the Canadian govern-
ment has directly faced up to the possibility of political fragmentation has
resulted in the publication of an unusual amount of data, which in toto makes
the Canadian experience very valuable for comparative purposes. Particularly
useful are the several volumes produced under the aegis of the Canadian Royal
Commission and Bicultulturalism, especially Volume II (John Johnstone, Young
Peoples Images of Canadian Society: An Opinion Survey of Canadian Youth 13 to
20 Years of Age), published in 1969, and Volume V (Marcel Trudel and Geneviève
Jain, Canadian History Textbooks: A Comparative Study), published in 1970. [A
highly abridged version of the Commission's report is offered in Hugh Inis,
Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Ottawa: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973)].
The standard indices will provide references to a host of other materials,
but the following are believed to be particularly valuable: (1) Carl Cuneo,
"Education, Language, and Multidimensional Continentalism," Canadian Journal
of Political Science, VII (September 1974), pp. 536-550, which summarizes
a great deal of survey data on American and Canadian attitudes toward the
merging of the two states politically, economically, socioculturally, and/or
militarily. (2) Ramsay Cook, The Maple Leaf Forever: Essays on Nationalism
and Politics in Canada (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1971) and,
by the same author and publisher, Canada and the French Canadian Question
(1966). (3) Current History, 66 (April 1974). The entire issue is dedicated
to Canadian problems. (4) Rene Durocher, "Quebec Nationalism" in Robert
Fulford et al (eds.), Read Canadian: A Book about Canadian Books (Toronto:
James Lewis and Samuel, 1972). (5) Robert Gilpin, "Will Canada
Last?" Foreign Policy, (Spring 1973), pp. 117-131. (6) W. Dale Posgate,
Social Mobilization, Nationalism, and Political Change in Quebec (Unpublished
dissertation submitted to the State University of New York at Buffalo, 1971).
(7) Peter Russell (ed.), Nationalism in Canada (Toronto: McGraw Hill Company
of Canada, Ltd., 1966). Twenty-one essays by separate authors, plus a
summary by the editor. Michael Brunet's contribution and the comments which
it evoked from Russell are particularly interesting. (8) Mildred Schwartz,
Public Opinion and Canadian Identity (Berkeley: University of California
Press, 1967). An analysis of Gallup Poll data collected over a twenty year
period. See particularly, pp. 60-77, 86-88, and 106-118. A later work by
the same person, Politics and Territory: The Sociology of Regional Persistence
in Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974) is based upon
an analysis of official statistics covering 1921-1965 and an opinion poll
conducted in 1965. (9) Mason Wade (ed.), Regionalism in the Canadian Community:
1867-1967 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969). A collection of sixteen
papers presented at a 1967 seminar, five of which are in the French language.

elect not to do so is principally due to the volume of that literature. At
least in partial response to the catalytic influence of the seminal Beyond
the Melting Pot, authored by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan (Cambridge:
The MIT Press , 1963), and of Milton Gordon's important theoretic work,
Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins
(New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), there has erupted a vast and
accelerating output of what has collectively come to be termed ethnic studies.
Among the more helpful guides to this extensive literature are the following:
(1) American Ethnicity: A Selected Bibliography (Chicago: Center for the Study
of American Pluralism, National Opinion Research Center, 1972); (2) W.
Bengelisdorf (ed.), Bibliography and Resource Listing of Ethnic Studies Pro-
grams (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges, n.d.); (3) Richard
Kolm (ed.), Bibliography on Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups (Rockville, Maryland:
National Institute of Mental Health, 1973); and (4) Perry Weed (ed.), Ethnicity
and American Group Life: A Bibliography (New York: American Jewish Congress,
1973). Beyond this mention of bibliographies, we shall content ourselves
with a few general comments concerning the study of ethnonationalism within
the United States.[38]

Reference was earlier made to some of the problems associated with the
term, "ethnic studies."[39] A particular problem has been the tendency within

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[38]Because of our introductory comments concerning the wisdom of
establishing something of a broad framework within which to study ethnonation-
alism in a particular society, we shall make one exception. The student of
ethnonationalism within the United States should not overlook the vital work
by Hans Kohn, American Nationalism (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957),
which this writer believes to be Kohn's most valuable work.

[39]See above, pp. 6-7.

the United States to apply the term ethnic group quite indiscriminately to
any discernible minority. The result has too often been the obscuring of
essential distinctions. While the literature has dedicated much space to
"black" and "red" nationalism, "Chicanoism," and the new consciousness of
the "white ethnics," there has been little attempt to differentiate among
these phenomena. Yet apropos of our earlier comments concerning "New World
blacks" and Amerindians, black nationalism (as manifested in the customary
intragroup greetings of "brother" or "sister") is predicated upon a _myth_ of
common genesis which links all of the membership through an intuitive blood-
tie which sets them apart from all non-members, while red nationalism, by
contrast, is more resemblant of a wartime alliance among a number of nations
of Indians ("tribes"), whose intuitive sense of blood ties is limited to the
tribe rather than extending to the transtribal concept of Indian.[40] "Chicano-
ism" is differentiable from the ethnonational experiences of other groups
because of its irredentist nature. Comprising as they do an extension of a
much larger transborder group, the role of the Mexican segment as a focus and
font of perennial sustenance for Chicano ethnic consciousness cannot be over-
looked. Finally, the new interest in emphasizing group distinctiveness on
the part of the so-called "white ethnics" is differentiable from all of the
foregoing in that this consciousness of uniqueness is self-relegated to the

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[40]In an interesting survey conducted among Indian groups within the
United States, Joe Fagan and Randall Anderson _"Intertribal Attitudes among
Native American Youth," Social Science Quarterly, 54 (June 1973), pp. 117-
131_ found that in the case of each of the five major tribes surveyed, the
respondents felt greater hostility toward members of another tribe than they
did toward whites.

status of a sub-element within an overriding consciousness of "American." As
such, Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans, and the like do not qualify as nations
under Rupert Emerson's important criterion that "the nation is today the larg-
est community which . . . effectively commands men's loyalty."[41] The tendency
to overlook these important distinctions is not trivial, for to the degree
that these movements constitute different genera, public policies should be
commensurately diversified.

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[41]See above, footnote 9, page 15.

A NOTE ON SPECIAL SOURCES AND ORGANIZATIONS

The new scholarly interest in ethnonationalism has led to the appearance of a number of journals which are devoted exclusively either to nationalism or to some closely related topic. Most such journals concentrate on a single people or set of peoples and are therefore too narrow in focus to be of consistent interest to the student of nationalism *per se*. However, there are a number of publications to which the student of nationalism may wish to subscribe.

(1) *Race*, the journal of the Institute of Race Relations in London, is one of the oldest of the genre, having originated in 1959. Despite its title, it contains at least as many articles dealing with ethnicity as it does with race (i.e., race in the conventional sense of connoting physical distinctiveness). Its articles also reflect a global perspective.

(2) *International Migration Review* (originated in 1964) is also worldwide in scope. Published by the Center for Migration Studies (Staten Island), it is dedicated to the study of aspects of human migration movements and of ethnic group relations.

(3) *Plural Societies* (1970) is the journal of the Foundation for the Study of Plural Societies, located in the Hague, Netherlands. Consistent with its title, many articles deal with the problems of multinational states. An English language edition makes this journal an avenue for keeping contact with non-English literature.

(4) *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* (1973). Edited by Jeffrey Wilner, College of Ethnic Studies, Western Washington State College. Its emphasis is

on the United States.

(5) <u>Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism</u> (1973) is published at
the University of Prince Edward Island and is dedicated to the study of nation-
alism from a comparative and multidisciplinary perspective. In addition to
articles, it devotes a substantial portion of its content to book reviews
and review articles.

(6) <u>Nationalities Papers</u> (1974) is published by the Association for
the Study of the Nationalities (USSR and East Europe). Though geographically
circumscribed, the significance of the region and of ethnonationalism within
it should make this publication of broad interest.[42]

(7) <u>ETHNICITY</u> (1974), which is dedicated to the interdisciplinary
study of ethnic relations, is under the editorship of the well-known sociol-
ogist, Andrew Greeley, Director of the Center for the Study of American Plural-
ism, the University of Chicago. Its definition of ethnicity is sufficiently
broad to cover all minorities, national and otherwise, and its scope is
global.

There are two additional organizations whose publications should prove
of interest to the student of nationalism. The Minority Rights Group (MRG)
was formed in London in the early 1970s to combat the injustices that common-
ly accompany minority status. By publishing books, articles, reports and
the like which describe the adverse situation of specific "ethnic, religious,
or cultural minorities," the MRG hopes that publicity will stimulate govern-
mental or outside interest in ameliorating conditions. Many of its case

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[42] Additional information can be sought from Professor Andris Skrelja,
Department of Sociology, University of Nebraska at Omaha.

studies have dealt with ethnic minorities.

Our final reference is to the Group for the Study of Nationalism. Formed in 1973, it is an organization of American scholars who are interested in any aspect of the national phenomena. Though principally membered by historians, the organization is open to all interested parties. Its News-letter contains references to on-going research as well as to recently pub-lished materials.[43]

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[43] Those interested should contact Professor Lunde, 284 Ernst Bessey Hall, Michigan State University.