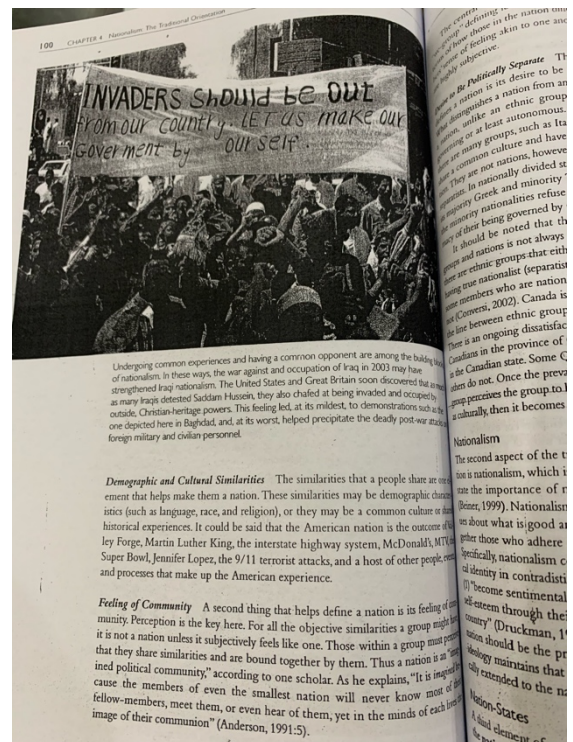
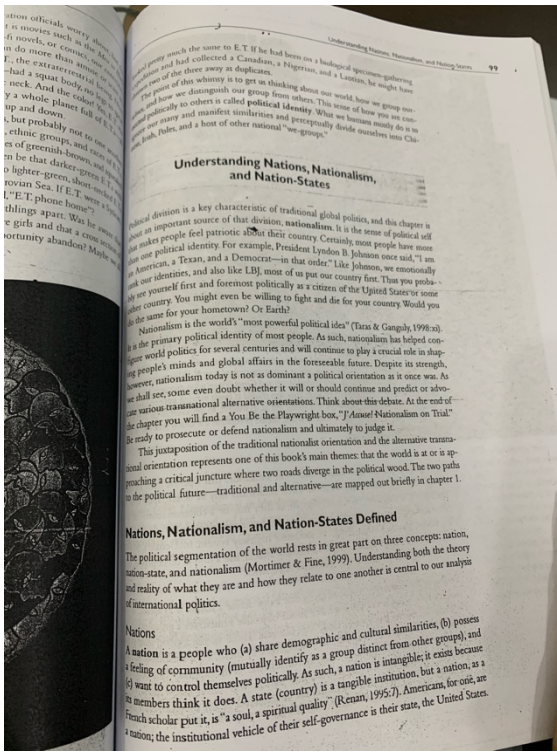
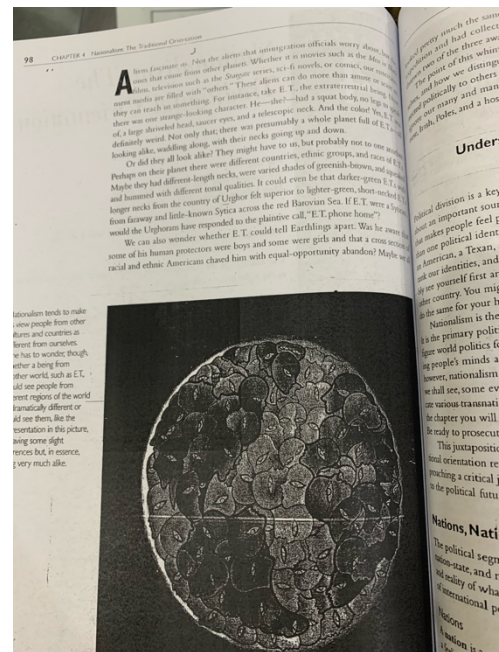
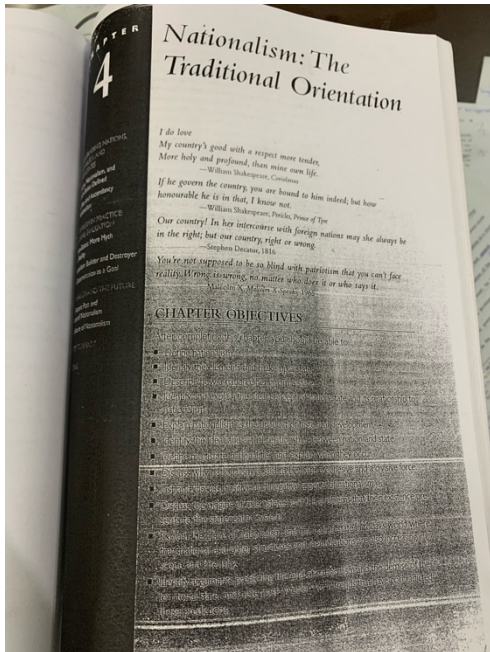
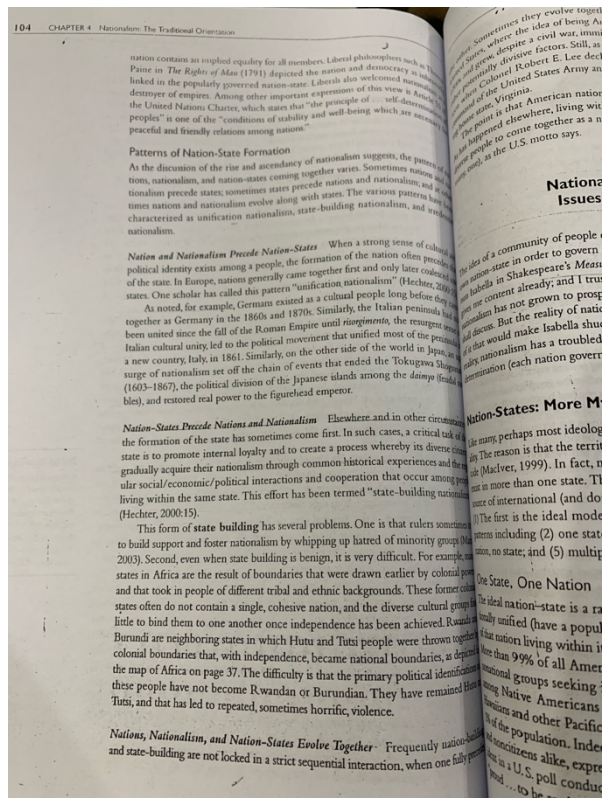
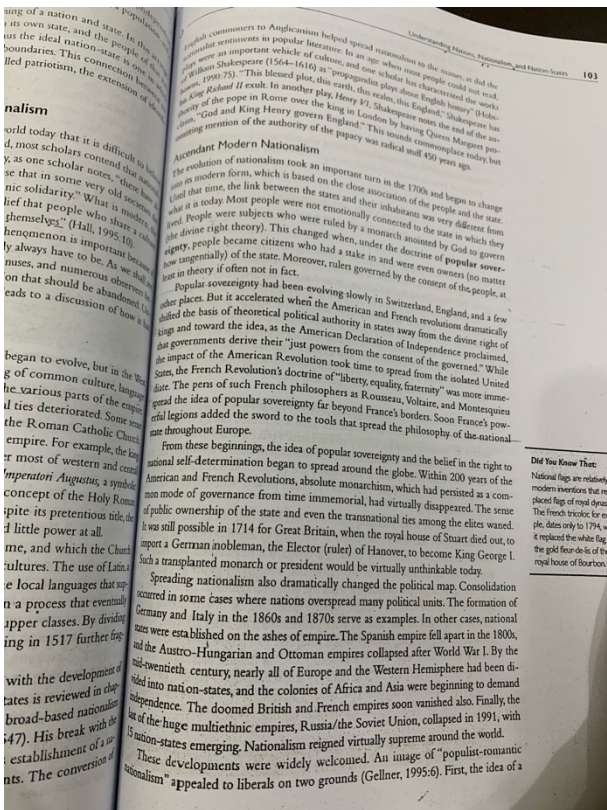
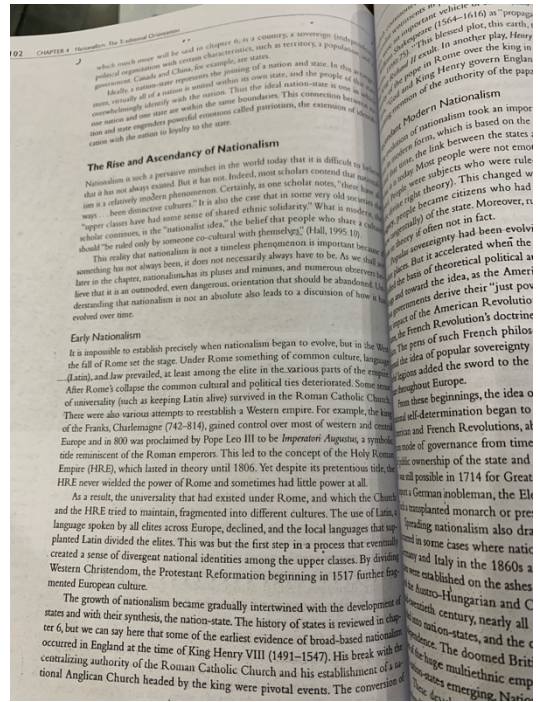
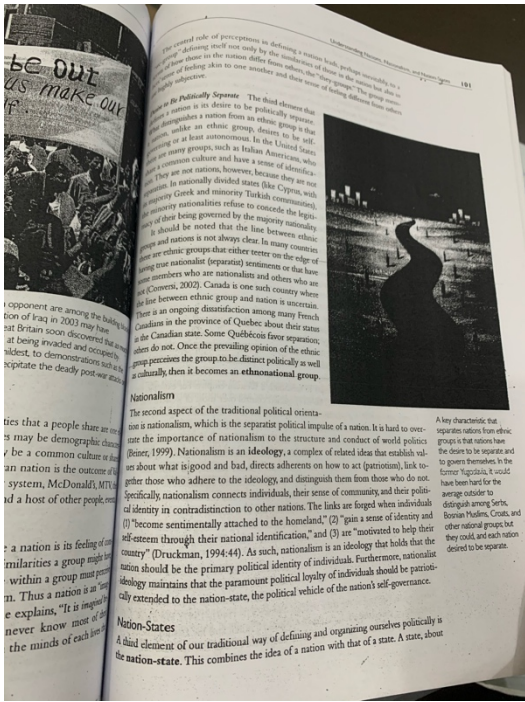


# WEEK 13: Major Issues and Problems of Political Development

## Nationalisms





Some times they evolve together. This approximation what occurred in the United States, where the idea of being American and the unity of the state began in the 17th century and grew, despite a civil war, immigration waves, racial and ethnic diversity and the presence of a potentially divisive factor. Still, as late as 1861, the Union of the United States Army and accepted command of the United States Army and accepted command of the United States Army.

### Nationalism in Practice: Issues and Evaluation

The idea of a community of people coming together as a political nation to establish their own nation-state in order to govern themselves is an attractive one that brings to mind the words of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, exclaiming warmly, "The image of us gives me content already; and I trust it will grow to a most prosperous perfection." Also, nationalism has not grown to prosperous perfection. Surely, it has brought benefits, as we shall discuss. But the reality of nationalism is far from the ideal, and there are even aspects of it that would make Isabella shudder. As it turns out, nation-states are more myth than reality; nationalism has a troubled face as well as a beneficent one, and the idea of self-determination (each nation governing itself) may not always be a sound goal.

### Nation-States: More Myth than Reality

Like many, perhaps most ideological images, the ideal nation-state is more myth than reality. The reason is that the territorial boundaries of nations and states often do not coincide (MacVicar, 1999). In fact, most states are not ethnically unified, and many nations exist in more than one state. This lack of "fit" between nations and states is a significant source of international (and domestic) tension and conflict. There are five basic patterns of international (and domestic) tension and conflict. There are five basic patterns including (1) one state, multiple nations; (2) one nation, multiple states; (3) one nation, no state; and (4) multiple nations, multiple states.

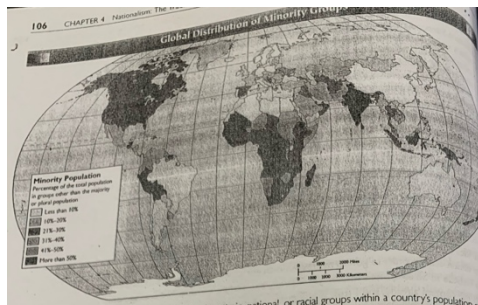
### One State, One Nation

The ideal nation-state is a rarity. Indeed, only about 10% of all countries are both nationally unified (have a population that is 90% or more of one nation) and also have 90% of that nation living within its borders. The United States comes fairly close to the ideal. More than 99% of all Americans live in the United States, and there is no large ethnic group seeking independence or autonomy. There is some such sentiment among Native Americans (including Aleuts, American Indians, Inuits, and Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders), but combined they make up only a bit more than 5% of the population. Indeed, polls show that the vast majority of U.S. residents, citizens and noncitizens alike, express considerable attachment to the United States. This was evident in a U.S. poll conducted in 2003 in which 98% of the respondents said they "proud... to be an American."

When a strong sense of nationalism of the nation often precedes the first and only later consolidation of nationalism" (Hechter, 2000). The Italian peninsula has long been a *regnum*, the resurgent nationalism unified most of the peninsula. The idea of the world in just one state ended the Tokugawa Shogunate among the *daimyo* (feudal lords).

There are and in other circumstances, a critical task of history whereby its diverse historical experiences and tradition that occur among people "state-building nationalism." One is that rulers sometimes hatred of minority groups that very difficult. For example, drawn earlier by colonial powers. The diverse cultural groups has been achieved. Revolutionary people were thrown together. National boundaries, as dependent primary political identification. They have remained influence.

Frequently nationalism one fully



The presence of minority ethnic, racial, or linguistic groups within a country's population can be a source of tension and conflict. Plural societies with a high degree of cultural and ethnic diversity should, according to some social theorists, be among the world's healthiest. Unfortunately, the reality of the situation is quite different from theory or expectation. The presence of significant minority populations played an important role in the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the republics threatens the viability and stability of those young political units. In Africa, national boundaries were drawn by colonial powers without regard for the geographical distribution of ethnic groups, and the continuing tribal conflicts that have resulted hamper both economic and political development. Even in the most highly developed regions of the world, the presence of minority ethnic populations poses significant problems; witness the separatist movement in Canada, driven by the desire of some French-Canadians to be independent of the English majority, and the continuing ethnic conflict between Flemish-speaking and Walloon-speaking Belgians. Maps by arraying states on a scale of homogeneity to heterogeneity, indicates areas of existing potential social and political strife.

### One State, Multiple Nations

The number of multinational states, those in which more than one nation lies within a state, far exceeds that of nationally unified states. In fact, 30% have no national majority. The map above showing the degree of demographic unity of each country, indicates racial and ethnic, as well as national, diversity. Most of these minority groups do not have separatist tendencies, but many do or could acquire them.

Canada is one of the many countries where national divisions exist. About one-fourth of Canada's 32 million people are ethnically French (French Canadians) who identify French as their "mother tongue" and first language (Francophones). The majority of this group resides in the province of Quebec, a political subdivision rather than a state (but politically more autonomous than) an American state. Quebec is very French (the province's 7.2 million people, more than 80% are culturally French).

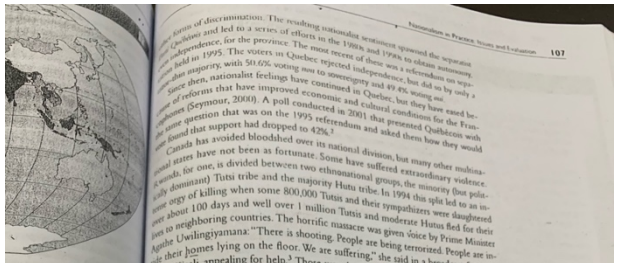
Many French Canadians have felt that their distinctive culture has been eroded in a predominantly English-culture Canada. There has also been a feeling of economic and

Some times they evolve together. This approximation what occurred in the United States, where the idea of being American and the unity of the state began in the 17th century and grew, despite a civil war, immigration waves, racial and ethnic diversity and the presence of a potentially divisive factor. Still, as late as 1861, the Union of the United States Army and accepted command of the United States Army.

Another departure from the nation-state ideal occurs when nations overlap the borders of two or more states. When a multistate nation exists, national sentiments create conflict because the process of uniting a divided nation threatens the territorial integrity of one or more of the members of the nation, surrounding states with minority segments of the population may react with worried hostility.

### One Nation, No State

Yet another pattern where the state and nation are incongruent is called a stateless nation. This occurs when a national group is a minority in one of more states, does not have a nation-state of its own, and wants one (Hechter, 2000:16). Two such stateless nations that have been much in the news in recent years are the Kurds and the Palestinians.



### One Nation, Multiple States

Another departure from the nation-state ideal occurs when nations overlap the borders of two or more states. When a multistate nation exists, national sentiments create conflict because the process of uniting a divided nation threatens the territorial integrity of one or more of the members of the nation, surrounding states with minority segments of the population may react with worried hostility.

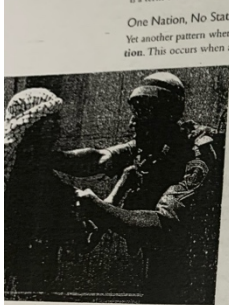
One multistate nation pattern occurs when one nation dominates two or more states. The cold war created a number of such instances, including North and South Vietnam, North and South Korea, East and West Germany, and the two Yemens. The Irish in Ireland and Northern Ireland provide another possible example of a multistate nation, although the Scottish heritage of many of the Protestants in the North makes the existence of a single Irish nationality controversial. In any case, a single nation that dominates two states has an urge to unite the states and, thus, itself. Today only Korea (and arguably Ireland) remain as examples of such a division. But there is often conflict over union, a tension that led to fighting between the two halves of the nation in four of the examples (Vietnam, Korea, Ireland, and Yemen).

Another multistate nation pattern is where a nation is a majority in one state and a minority in one or more other states. The 5.7 million Albanians provide a good example of this type of multistate nation. Only 3.6 million of them live in Albania, where they are the overwhelming majority of the population. Another 1.6 million Albanians live in and around Kosovo, a province of Serbia and Montenegro (the newly renamed remnant of the former Yugoslavia). A third concentration of about 500,000 Albanians live in Macedonia, making up most of the country's newly renamed remnant of the former Yugoslavia. The Albanians' lack of fit in the Balkans has caused serious instability. Fighting broke out in 1997 when Albanian Kosovars asserted their autonomy from the central government in Belgrade. The brutal campaign waged by Serbian-led forces eventually sparked a U.S.-led NATO air war against Serbia

in a country's population can vary in degree of cultural and ethnic heterogeneity. Unfortunately, the geographical distribution of the Soviet Union, the national units. In Africa, national boundaries, as dependent primary political identification. They have remained influence.

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There has also been a feeling of economic and... The Kurds are an ancient non-Arab people who are mostly Sunni Muslims. They live in northern Iraq, where they have been persecuted since the 1960s. The Kurds have been fighting for their freedom in Iraq since the 1960s. The Kurds have been fighting for their freedom in Iraq since the 1960s. The Kurds have been fighting for their freedom in Iraq since the 1960s.



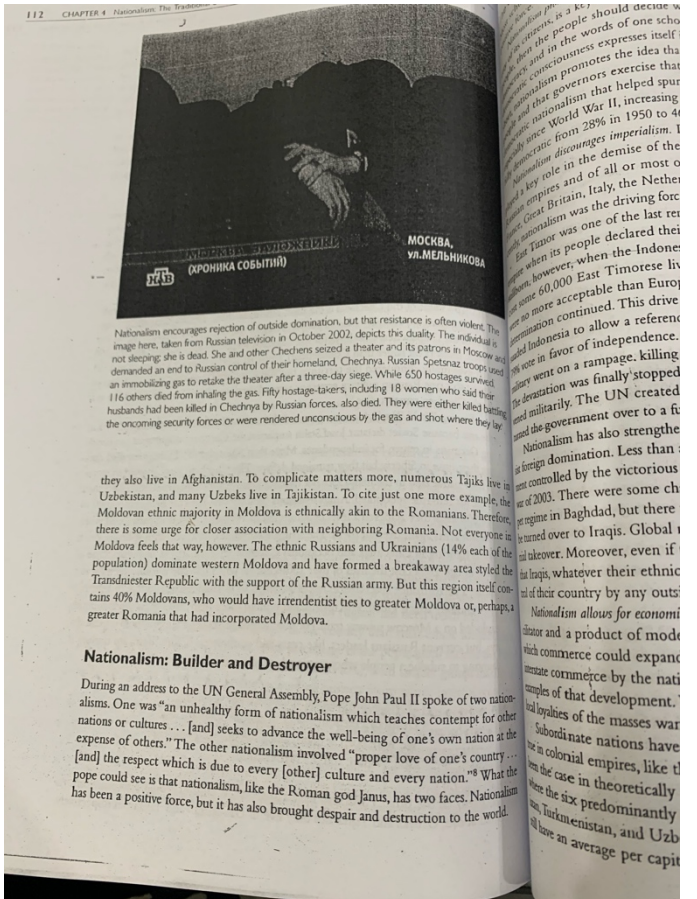
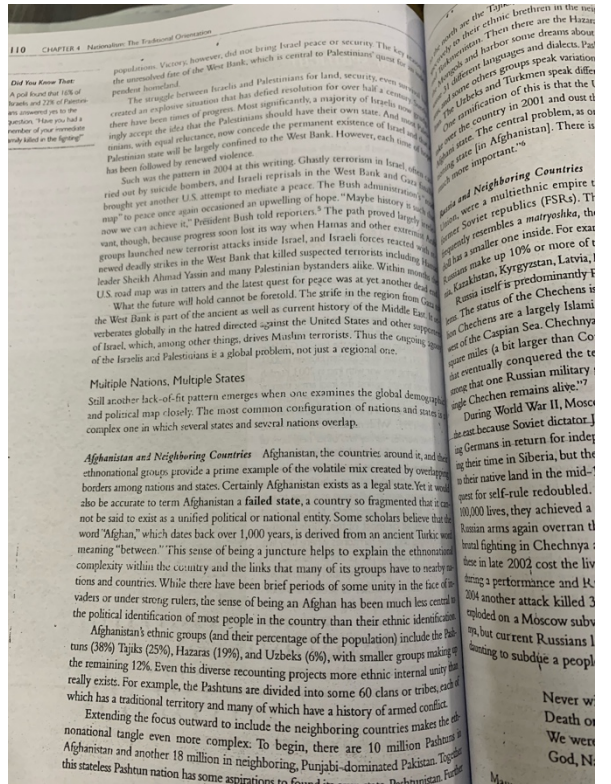
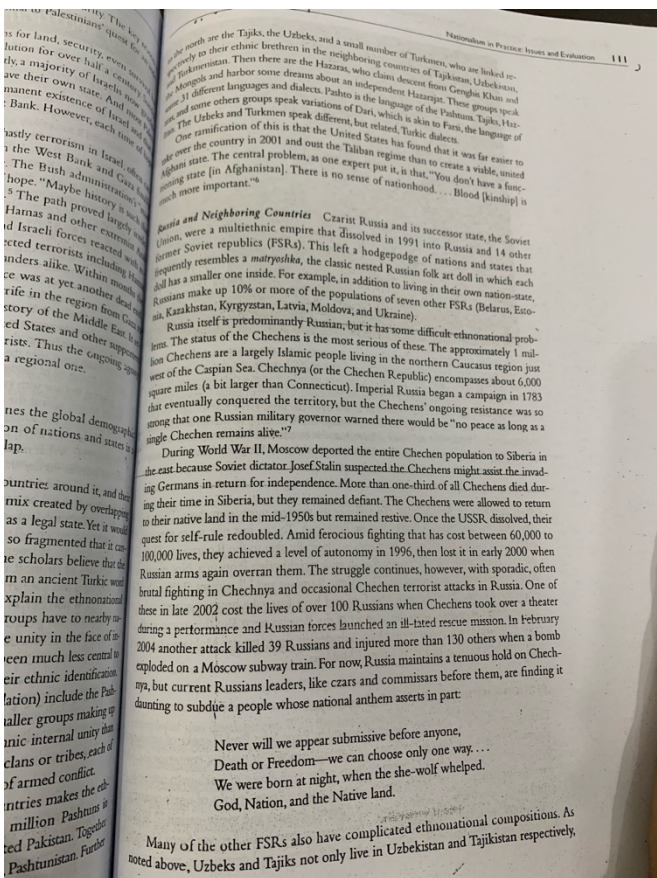
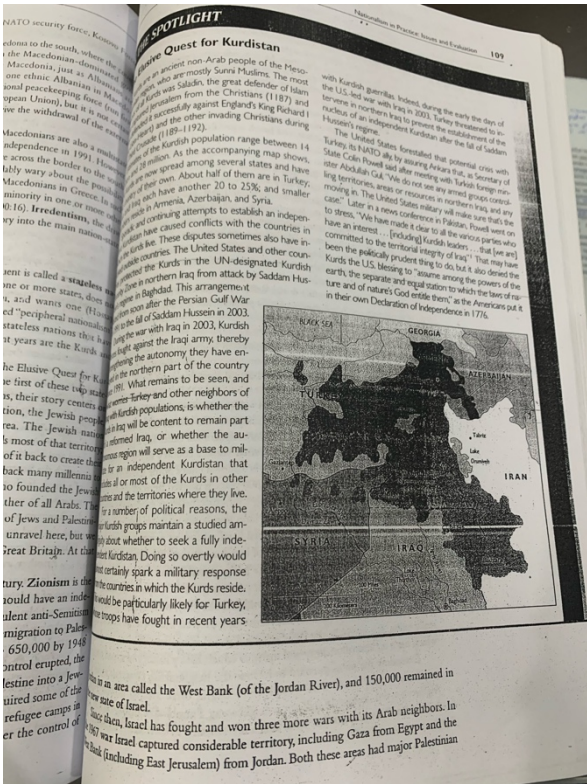
can pick up the story in 1920 when Palestine was taken over by Great Britain. At that time, Palestinian Arabs were about 90% of the population. In Europe, however, Zionism gathered strength in the 19th century. Zionism is a nationalist, not strictly religious, belief that Jews are a nation that should have an independent homeland (Shlaim, 1999). This belief and an upsurge of virulent anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany and elsewhere in Europe caused increasing Jewish emigration to Palestine, swelling the Jewish population there from 56,000 in 1920 to 650,000 by 1948. British withdrew, and Arab leaders rejected a UN plan to partition Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state. Israel won the ensuing war in 1948 and acquired some of the areas designated for the Arab state. About 500,000 Palestinians fled to refugee camps in Egyptian-controlled Gaza and elsewhere; another 400,000 came under the control of

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The Elusive Quest for Kurdistan. The Kurds are an ancient non-Arab people who are mostly Sunni Muslims. They live in northern Iraq, where they have been persecuted since the 1960s. The Kurds have been fighting for their freedom in Iraq since the 1960s. The Kurds have been fighting for their freedom in Iraq since the 1960s. The Kurds have been fighting for their freedom in Iraq since the 1960s.

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**The Troubled Face of Nationalism**

...the dominant face of nationalism is its philosophical and historical roots, nationalism is a...  
 ...resistance is often...  
 ...Moskva, ya, Melnikov...  
 ...e, numerous Tajiks live...  
 ...one more example, the...  
 ...the Romanians. Therefore...  
 ...Romania. Not everyone...  
 ...krainians (14% each of...  
 ...breakaway area styled...  
 ...But this region itself...  
 ...coaster Moldova or, perhaps...  
 ...I spoke of two nations...  
 ...one's own nation at...  
 ...ve of one's country...  
 ...What do...  
 ...ity nation...  
 ...two faces. Nationalism...  
 ...to the world.

**CHAPTER 4 Nationalism: The Traditional Orientation**

...[Russia's] and an infant mortality rate that is 62% higher than that of Russia. It is...  
 ...that these new countries face years of economic hardship, but, from their perspective...  
 ...least their efforts will be devoted to their own betterment.  
 ...Nationalism allows diversity and experimentation. It has been argued that regional...  
 ...world political organization might lead to an amalgamation of cultures or, worse, to...  
 ...suppression of the cultural uniqueness of the weak by the strong. By contrast, diversity...  
 ...culture and government promotes experimentation. Democracy, for instance, was...  
 ...America in 1776 that might not have occurred in a one-world system...  
 ...Politic culture varies, for example, along a continuum on which the good of the...  
 ...and the good of the society is at the other end. No society is at...  
 ...vidual in it at one end and the good of the society is at the other end...  
 ...the extreme of the continuum. Americans are among those who tend toward...  
 ...individualism end and in belief that the rights of the individual are more important...  
 ...the welfare of the society. By contrast, the Chinese provide an example of people...  
 ...tend more toward the communitarian end of the continuum and hold that the...  
 ...the individual must be balanced against those of the society and sometimes even be...  
 ...ordinated to the common good.

**The Troubled Face of Nationalism**

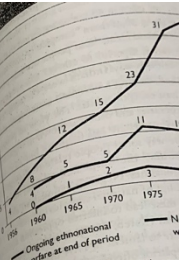
...Militant nationalism is one...  
 ...For all its contribution, nationalism also has a dark side. "Militant nationalism is one...  
 ...President Clinton cautioned not long ago, "transforming the healthy pride of...  
 ...and ethnic groups into cancerous prejudice, eating away at...  
 ...race, religion, and ethnic groups into the political pankillers of violence and...  
 ...and leaving their people addicted to the political painkillers of violence and...  
 ...popery."<sup>9</sup> Clinton's warning rose steadily from four in 1956 to 41 in 1990. Since...  
 ...conflicts rose self-determination rose steadily from four in 1956 to 41 in 1990. Since...  
 ...then, the number declined steadily to 22 in 2002. It is possible that ethnonational...  
 ...has peaked and will continue to decline, but it is too early to tell whether the drop...  
 ...1990 is an anomaly or a positive sign (Fearon & Laitin, 2003). Unfortunately, however...  
 ...the number of conflicts, the latency and magnitude of ethnonational conflicts remain...  
 ...high, as evident in Figure 4.1 (Marshall & Gurr, 2003). Moreover, these internal...  
 ...can become internationalized given the evidence that "states suffering from ethnic...  
 ...are more likely to use force and to use force first when involved in international...  
 ...disputes than states without similar insurgency problems" (Trombore, 2003:183).

...Although it has a number of aspects, the troubling face of nationalism begins with...  
 ...how nations relate to one another. By definition, nationalism is feeling a kinship with...  
 ...other "like" people who make up the nation. Differentiating ourselves from others...  
 ...intrinsically bad, but it is only a small step from the salutary effects of positively...  
 ...us to the negative effects of devaluing they-groups. Four aspects of negative...  
 ...nationalism are lack of concern for others, exceptionalism and xenophobia, internal...  
 ...and external aggression.

**Lack of Concern for Others**

The mildest, albeit still troubling, trait of negative nationalism...  
 ...is a lack of identification with others. Because we identify with our...  
 ...consider the they-group as part from us. As a result, our sense of responsibility...  
 ...of human caring—for the "theys" is more limited than for our we-group. People in...  
 ...countries accept significant responsibility to assist the least fortunate citizens of their...  
 ...national we-groups through national social welfare budgets. The key is that we not...  
 ...to help others in our we-group, but that we feel we have a duty to do so.

...Internationally, most of us feel much less responsible. Horrendous conditions...  
 ...events can occur in other countries that evoke little notice relative to the outraged...  
 ...reaction that would be forthcoming if they happened in our own country. In sub-Saharan



...of ethnonational conflicts within...  
 ...of these conflicts were much more common than...  
 ...Notice that the number...  
 ...of continuing wars at the end of...  
 ...the 1990s, but 18 existing conflicts were...  
 ...and with 22 wars concluded, the number of...  
 ...2002 was the lowest in more than three...  
 ...or a new period of much reduced...  
 ...we were those beginning since the end of...  
 ...the previous earlier date.  
 ...Fearon and Gurr (2003).

...for example, the prevalence of...  
 ...Only 41% of that region's people...  
 ...the chances of an infant in sub-S...  
 ...are 15 times greater than the ri...  
 ...but that is not necessary.  
 ...The US response to this ongoi...  
 ...in economic aid to the...  
 ...Africa or about \$3.51 per...  
 ...to 2002 thought their country...  
 ...it too little.<sup>10</sup> In part, thi...  
 ...federal budget goes to foreign...  
 ...about six-tenths of 1%...  
 ...foreign aid should...  
 ...a monumental increase...  
 ...They are not. It...  
 ...of responsibility for citi...  
 ...Therefore...

**Figure 4.1: Trends in Ethnonational Wars, 1956-2002**

Year	Ongoing Wars	New Wars	Settled/Contained Wars
1956	4	0	0
1960	8	0	0
1965	11	0	0
1970	11	0	0
1975	10	0	0
1980	10	0	0
1985	31	0	0
1990	41	0	0
1995	38	0	0
2000	22	0	0
2002	22	0	0

The number of ethnonational conflicts within countries rose steadily from the 1950s to 1990, and these conflicts were much more common than wars between countries. Then the number began to decline in the 1990s. Notice that the number of new wars reached a five-year high of 16 in 1991-1995, but 18 existing conflicts were settled or won during the period, slightly reducing the number of continuing wars at the end of the period. With only five new conflicts in the 1995-2000 and 2001-2002 periods, and with 22 wars concluded, the number of conflicts at the end of 2002 was the lowest in more than three decades. Whether this trend represents a short-term anomaly or a new period of much reduced domestic conflict remains to be seen.

New Wars are those beginning since the end of the previous earlier date. Completed wars are those settled or won since the previous earlier date. (Data source: Marshall and Gurr (2003).)

Africa, for example, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS is 371 times higher than in the United States. Only 41% of that region's people live to age 55, compared to 80% of Americans. And the chances of an infant in sub-Saharan Africa perishing before his or her first birthday are 15 times greater than the risk to American babies. The grim data could continue, but that is not necessary.

The US response to this ongoing human tragedy is largely limited to sending about \$1 billion in economic aid to the region. That comes to about \$1.48 per person in sub-Saharan Africa or about \$3.51 per American. Is this enough? Some 60% of Americans polled in 2002 thought their country was spending too much on foreign aid. Only 9% thought it too little.<sup>10</sup> In part, that is because, on average, Americans think that 31% of the federal budget goes to foreign aid.<sup>11</sup> The actual percentage is about 1% for all foreign aid, with about six-tenths of 1% for economic assistance. Ironically, the average respondent thought foreign aid should be cut to 19% of the federal budget, which would actually be a monumental increase. None of this is meant to paint Americans as particularly mean spirited. They are not. It is simply that they, like people in other countries, have a sense of responsibility for citizens of their own country, but not toward those of other countries. Therefore, most people contend, government aid should go primarily toward addressing needs "at home" rather than abroad.

**CHAPTER 4 Nationalism: The Traditional Orientation**

**Figure 4.2: National Exceptionalism**

Country	Agree	Completely Agree
Average of 43 countries	37	31
India	74	11
United States	37	33
France	33	19

...Exceptionalism and Xenophobia If the position...  
 ...of valuing one's nation is one face of nationalism, another is...  
 ...and having others. Exceptionalism is the...  
 ...some that their nation is better than others. A...  
 ...survey taken in 39 of them "completely" or "mostly"...  
 ...people in 39 of them "completely" or "mostly"...  
 ...statement, "Our people are not perfect, but our...  
 ...are superior to others." On average, 68% of...  
 ...felt this way. Indians were the most exceptional...  
 ...and, saying a common stereotype, the French...  
 ...least exceptionalistic. The view of people in...  
 ...countries and less frequent, but an even more...  
 ...fortunate way some people relate to they-groups...  
 ...nationalities. Negative nationalism also offers...  
 ...feelings of national superiority and...  
 ...and these lead to internal oppression and...  
 ...aggression (Katz, 2000). It is this reality that...  
 ...Voltaire to lament in 1765 that "it is sad that...  
 ...good part often means being the enemy of the...  
 ...of mankind."<sup>12</sup>

...Feelings of hatred between groups are especially...  
 ...to be intense if there is a history of conflict or...  
 ...past injuries inflicted "by another ethnic...  
 ...[and] remembered bitterly as though they...  
 ...present," according to one scholar.<sup>13</sup> Under...  
 ...depths that xenophobia can reach: helping...  
 ...much of what has happened in the Balkans...  
 ...early 1990s. For Serbs, this heroic lore centers...  
 ...the battle of Kosovo in 1389, in which the...  
 ...defeated Serbia's Prince Lazar, thus beginning...  
 ...centuries of Muslim domination. The battle, according to one...  
 ...among the Serbs in the same way Texans remember the...  
 ...Dejtin Medakovic. "Our morals, ethics, mythology were...  
 ...we were overrun by the Turks. The Kosovo...  
 ...has permeated the Serbian people."<sup>14</sup> The...  
 ...dominantly Christian Orthodox, Serbs spilled...  
 ...dominating attacks by Serbs on Bosnian Muslims...  
 ...later in the decade.

**Oppression and Aggression**

If negative nationalism were confined to feelings, it might...  
 ...not be so worrisome. But a sense of superiority or...  
 ...leads to domestic oppression and external aggression.

...Internal oppression is common. Indeed, it is rare to find a...  
 ...which the dominant ethnonational group does not...  
 ...advantages over the other group or groups. Perhaps...  
 ...inequality of circumstances causes the...  
 ...disadvantaged groups to become restive. This...  
 ...often leads to conflict because the...  
 ...compliments of the oppressed are not easily...  
 ...resolved. The reason, as UN

...Secretary-General Kofi Annan has pointed...  
 ...out, "inequality is economic inequality" is...  
 ...equal access to political power that too...  
 ...often change."<sup>15</sup>

...Domestic nationalist intolerance can...  
 ...be a source of violence. A "scavenger...  
 ...to suppress the culture of minority...  
 ...out of the country (Katz, 1994:75). This...  
 ...attacks on the Hindu in Rwanda...  
 ...at its farthest extreme, nationalism...  
 ...matters thought that these "Asian...  
 ...people at the bottom of the...  
 ...marginal humans, to be kept as...  
 ...degraded and degrading conditions...  
 ...of a false state." Hitler preached in...  
 ...elements which bestow culture and...  
 ...Aryans, can conceive of the state only...  
 ...External aggression can also be...  
 ...for example, can lead to the belief...  
 ...indeed, even to the notion that...  
 ...their cultures replaced by that of...  
 ...Underneath its ideological...  
 ...empire built on territories seized...  
 ...thred by Soviet arms. From its...  
 ...Duchy of Moscow (half the size...  
 ...to be the world's largest country).  
 ...Many of those territories has...  
 ...wanted Russia will try to reclaim...  
 ...of actions or statements, in...  
 ...Duma, of a resolution expressing...  
 ...being illegal and, by inference...  
 ...come under Moscow's control.  
 ...Russia's current weakened...  
 ...trying to reassert the earlier...  
 ...rulers and communist cadres...  
 ...costly economically and diplom...  
 ...ern that the German threat...  
 ..."the policy of Russia is...  
 ...but the polar star of its policy

**Self-Determination**

...Along with the fact the ideal...  
 ...has a troubled as well as...  
 ...of self-determination...  
 ...idea that every nation should

Secretary-General Kofi Annan has pointed out, that the military capital access to political power that now often follows paths to peaceful change.

Domestic nationalist movements can also lead to conflict, when one scholar notes, it becomes "a scavenger [that] feeds upon the prey, trying to suppress the culture of minority groups, or by driving them ethnic cleansing drive in Bosnia and Kosovo and by the genocidal attacks on the Tsimba by the Hutus in Rwanda.

At its furthest extreme, nationalism engenders the sense of superiority and hatred of the land that festered in Nazi Germany. The descendants to the Slavic peoples as the bottom, who were considered marginal humans, to be kept as virtual and expendable slaves in gilded and degrading conditions. Jews and Gypsies were "segregated" in a Jewish state. Hitler preached in Mein Kampf, "the highest purpose of a nation is the preservation of those original racial elements which bestow culture and create the beauty of a higher humanity. We, at present, can conceive of the state only as a living organism of German nationality."

Extreme aggression can also be the product of negative nationalism. Exceptionalism, for example, can lead to the belief that it is acceptable to conquer "lesser" nations or, indeed, even to the notion that they will be improved by being subjugated and having their cultures replaced by that of the conqueror.

Underneath its ideological trappings, the Soviet Union was a classic multiethnic empire built on territories seized by centuries of czarist Russian expansion and fortified by Soviet arms. From its beginning 500 years ago as the 15,000-square-mile Duchy of Moscow (half the size of Maine), Russia, and then the USSR, ultimately grew to be the world's largest country. This expansion is shown in the map on page 118.

Many of those territories have been lost, but there are strong suspicions that a rejuvenated Russia will try to reclaim them. Such concerns have been heightened by a number of actions or statements, including the 1996 passage by Russia's parliament, the Duma, of a resolution expressing the view that the dissolution of the Soviet Union had been illegal and, by inference, that all the now-independent FSRs should once again come under Moscow's control.

Russia's current weakened position means that it is not in a position even to consider trying to reassert the earlier domination of its neighbors that existed during the days of czarism and communist cadres. Indeed, old-fashioned imperialism may have become so unpalatable economically and diplomatically to pursue in the future. Yet there is growing concern that the German theoretician Karl Marx was prescient when he warned long ago that "the policy of Russia is changeless. Its methods, its tactics, its maneuvers may change, but the polar star of its policy—world domination—is a fixed star."<sup>16</sup>



The earlier, multinational state of Yugoslavia once included Serbia and Montenegro, collapsed because it did not command the internal loyalty of most of its people. Instead, Yugoslavia dissolved and its constituent states and ethnic provinces shown here.

### Self-Determination as a Goal

Along with the fact the ideal nation-state is more myth than reality and that nationalism is as troubled as well as beneficent face, a third issue related to nationalism is the wisdom of self-determination as a goal (Danspeckgruber, 2002). Self-determination is the idea that every nation should be able to govern itself as it chooses. If being a proud member

TABLE 4.1. Characteristics of a Microstate and a U.S. State and a U.S. City

	Rhode Island	Rhode Island and Irving, Texas
Population	96,335	1,058,920
Territory (sq. mi.)	276	1,545
Per capita income	830	29,984

Source: World Bank (2003) World Bank (2003).  
Note: GDP per capita for Irving per capita per state income for Rhode Island and Irving, Texas.

Some analysts worry about instability associated with the limited ability of microstates to defend themselves economically or to defend themselves. The sovereign state of Eritrea is smaller in size than the geographically smallest U.S. state, Rhode Island, and Eritrea, Texas, the U.S. state with only the one-hundredth largest population.

quandary is exacerbated by the fact that larger predatory powers, not the microstates, are the real source of danger. In a perfect world, the military strength of a state would be proportional to its economic strength would be of less concern. But the world is not perfect. Thus, it is reasonable to evaluate microstates within the reality of the international system that exists. Most microstates have scant ability to defend themselves against internal or external attack. The world's newest country, East Timor, needed outside military help to achieve independence from Indonesia, and if that country sought to reassert control, 2.8 million Indonesians would quickly wipe out the 753,000 East Timorese unless they once again received external military assistance.

Many microstates also lack a sustainable economic base. "Impoverished" is the best word to describe East Timor. Its annual per capita GDP is about \$520, one of the lowest in the world. Its only significant export is coffee. One bright spot is that Australia has agreed to begin paying East Timor \$180 million in annual oil and gas royalties once energy begins to flow from undersea drilling in the so-called Timor Gap between the two countries. Even those revenues, however, would only increase the per capita income to \$759. This profound poverty has serious consequences for East Timor's citizens. Life expectancy is only 55 years. Over 12% of East Timorese children die before they reach their fifth birthday. There are only about 30 physicians and another 400 or so health professionals in the country. The question then is: Objectively, is the global community better off with yet another microstate?

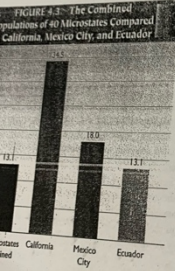


FIGURE 4.3 The Combined Populations of 40 Microstates Compared to California, Mexico City, and Ecuador  
The population of the world's 40 countries with population is equal to the population of Ecuador (Mexico City, the world's most populous city, is 18 million). Source: 2003 World Bank (2003) author's calculations.

This question is not abstract. Existing countries face important choices when deciding whether to recognize new countries. Among other things, as new countries come into existence, the global community, through its commitments to the United Nations and to the integrity of the international system, acquires some obligation to assist them in the face of external aggression. Similarly, new and impoverished states add

### Nation

People have almost certainly always family extended clan, religion, or form of political identification that and self-governance is much more tending back to ancient times. It has an important political idea current ascendancy as a source of resources.

What of the future, though? It could weaken or even disappear. In addition to exploring the persistence or demise of nationalism, we should ask ourselves how we would estimate the persistence or demise of nationalism. Would that be positive or negative?

The Recent Past and Present of Nationalism

Nationalism and our attitudes toward it have evolved over the century or so. Attitudes toward it who both predict and advocate its diminution or extinction as the primary focus of

Self-determination, the idea that every nation should be free to govern itself as it chooses, though, it can lead to difficulties, including the creation of microstates that have little ability to defend or support themselves. The newest country, East Timor, was born on May 20, 2002, but the day that the East Timorese felt the soon-overrun by the country's crushing problems. With an annual per capita gross domestic product of just \$520, many East Timorese are as poor as their mother and child, shown here in the country's capital, Dik.



### Nationalism and the Future

People have almost certainly always identified with one or another group, be it based on family extended clan, religion, or some other basis. However, nationalism, the particular form of political identification that welds a mutually identifying people, their territory, and self-governance is much more recent. Some scholars find traces of nationalism extending back to ancient times, but there is little disagreement that nationalism has only been an important political idea for the past 400 to 500 years and that it did not reach its current ascendancy as a source of primary political identification until the 19th and 20th centuries.

What of the future, though? Since nationalism has not always been, it is not inevitable. It could weaken or even disappear as our dominant sense of political identification. In addition to exploring this possibility, we should ask ourselves how we would estimate the persistence or demise of nationalism. Would that be positive or negative?

### The Recent Past and Present of Nationalism

Nationalism and our attitudes about it have continued to evolve over the last half-century or so. Attitudes toward it have weakened in some circles, and there are those who both predict and advocate its diminution or extinction as the primary focus of

The predicted demise of nationalism. Yes is many ways nationalism has been predicted to wither away. The threat of the second global war and argued that the second global war demonstrated that the state system based on nationalism was not only outdated but dangerous. The weapons of mass destruction seemed to add urgency to the case. As one scholar put it, "the nation and the state are anachronisms in the atomic age."<sup>17</sup> Serving the cause of anarchism symbolized the desire for a cooperative globalism.

The threat of this thinking led numerous scholars to predict the imminent demise of the national state or, at least, its gradual withering away. As it turned out, most of the national state or, at least, its gradual withering away. As it turned out, most of the national state or, at least, its gradual withering away. As it turned out, most of the national state or, at least, its gradual withering away.

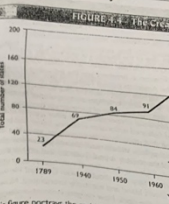
### Persistent Nationalism

The continued strength of nationalism is summarized in Figure 4.4, which shows that between 1949 and 2003 the number of states increased 278%. For most of this time, the primary force behind the surge of nationalism was the anti-imperialist independence movements in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere. More recently, nationalism has reemerged in Europe. Germany reunified when West Germany and East Germany merged. Czechoslovakia became two states. Soon another state became 15 countries when the last great multiethnic empire, the vast realm of Russia, then the USSR, sank under its own ponderous weight like a woolly mammoth in the La Brea tar pits. Except for East Timor, Eritrea, Namibia, and Palau, all of the states that have achieved independence since 1989 are in Eastern Europe or are FSRs. There are also nationalist stirrings—some cases demands—among the Scots, Irish, and Welsh in Great Britain; the Basques and Catalans in Spain; and among other ethnic national groups elsewhere in Europe.

### The Future of Nationalism

It may seem contradictory but the continuing strength of nationalism does not necessarily mean that those who earlier predicted its demise were wrong. Perhaps they were only premature. That possibility is raised by numerous signs that nationalism is waning and that states are weakening. Therefore, a critical question is whether nationalism will significantly weaken or even die out.

The answer is unclear. The existence of divergent identities based on language and other cultural differences extends as far back into time as we can see. From a biblical perspective, there may have been a single people at the time of Adam and Eve and then they attempt to build the Tower of Babel up to the heavens. God divides them after plan, God creates different languages to complicate communication. "Behold," God



This figure portrays the rapid growth in the number of countries since the beginning of the sovereign states about 500 years ago. Involve in the intervening 50 years, that number has risen

commands, "the people is one, and they have all there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech."<sup>18</sup> Whether this tale is taken literally or symbolically, it suggests that some analysts would not be surprised to find a "redemptive" or "renewal" of the individual to find a place in the world. "Redemption from personal oblivion" is the "renewal" of being" (Tamir, 1995:432). Yet nationalism and nationalism are not synonymous. "Nationalism is relatively modern." "National features of human history," as one scholar put it, have not always existed, will not be of political orientation.

What does the future hold? Some scholars flourish as the main source of political idea to diminish the nation's political, "to be invigorated it," one scholar writes, "is to be practically, and theoretically" (Crozier, 1995:13). It is to eventually cease to be an important concept among political scientists is a mid-term forecast for the foreseeable future as a key source of political identification. It is to be replaced by a new set of values (Ishiyama & Breuninger, 1998). Also unclear is what would follow. Some scholars believe that it will be replaced by a new set of values characteristic as the primary sense of

