THE STUDY OF NATIONALISM, A BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY ON THE LITERATURE ETC.

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THE STUDY OF NATIONALISM

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY ON THE LITERATURE
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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, at 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 judgments. Such judgments 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
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,]
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 uni-national 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 nationalism, they are referring to loyalty to a particular people, that is to say, to a nation in the sense of a human group.

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 characterizes more than 90 percent of all states as presently delineated, nationalism, 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 illustration 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), par-
ticularly 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 (compiled by Thomas Schlesinger, copyright Syracuse University, 1974), particularly pp. 23-35.\(^1\) The main point, however, is that the reader should not be mesmerized by the verbal isms into believing that tribalism, communalism, 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

\(^1\)Tribalism has found particular favor among scholars on Africa, while communalism has been applied principally to societies within South and Southeast 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 bibliographies 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 merit. Others of real value will unquestionably go undetected because of the lack of cross references to nationalism, which in turn is due to exclusive terminology.

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 ever agree on what it is they are investigating? Can anything of profit be discovered 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, though

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. Illustrations might include the Azerbaijani of Iran, the mountain-dwelling Tushunu of Afghanistan and Pakistan, or most of the various Amerindian peoples of the andean states.

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 impulse which we have felt compelled to term ethnonationalism. Moreover, there are a few exceptional works whose authors have circumspectly 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 literature according to geographic area.

and at different times is proof that nationalism is merely rhetoric and not substance, see K. H. 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).
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 to possess 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 an intellectual 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 copiously 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 different environments.

In the words of Hans Kohn, 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 Nationalism: 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-
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 proceed 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 guidance
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 analyzing 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: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1927); Alfred Cobban, *The Nation State and National Self-Determination* (New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1969); Carlton Hayes, *The Histor-

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5 This posthumously published book was described by author and publisher 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 Formation*, 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 identities 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 retention 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 indicates 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.

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

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 identifiable indicator-determinants. He postulated that the assimilation process correlated with a number of quantifiable elements that accompany modernization (e.g., literacy and urbanization) and suggested that the process was subjectable to social engineering. As recorded in other works, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," *American Political Science Review* LV (September 1961), pp. 493-514; "Nation-Building and National Development" 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 significant fluctuations over time, but the impact of his quantitative orientation 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 "relative 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. 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,

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 definition, his statement that "the nation is today the largest community which, when the chips are down, effectively commands men's loyalty, overriding 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.


(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


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


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

10The treatment is vastly superior to that in Carr's own small monograph, Nationalism and After (London: The Macmillan Company, 1945). In the latter, the term nation 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-relevant 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.

11This 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 Theories of Nationalism (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 qualitatively different from non-ethnic ones, and analogies that criss-cross this divide are therefore apt to be specious. With this caveat in mind, four works are recommended as among the more thoughtful of this genre. Arend Lijphart, "Consociational Democracy," *World Politics*, XXI (January 1969), pp.207-225; Hans Daalder, "On Building Consociational Nations" (paper delivered at UNESCO Meeting on the Problems of State Formation and National Building, 1970); Eric Nordlinger, *Conflict Regulation in Divided Societies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Center for International Affairs, 1972); and Milton Esman, "The Management of Communal Conflict," *Public Policy*, 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 believed 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 12For twelve additional reasons for pessimism concerning the probability 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* (American), *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 research 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..."

Groups and Languages," as well as a usually, very pertinent chapter on "Political 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 indispensable 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.

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

Lenin's (as well as Stalin's) own writings on the national question are quite extensive, so 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 works. However, particular mention should be made of Alfred Low, Lenin on the Nation of Nationality (New York: Bookman Associates, 1950), especially pp. 34-49. Bertram Wolfe, Three Who Made A Revolution, rev. ed. (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1964) contains a few essentials not found in the above (for example, the private letter, cited on p. 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 including 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:


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


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

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

(9) Teresa Hakowska-Harstone, "The Dialectics of Nationalism in

(10) Leonard Shapiro (ed.), *The USSR and the Future* (New York: Praeger
concerning the treatment of the national question in the 1961 Party Pro-
gramme.

(Autumn 1971), pp. 67-100.

(12) "Leninism or Social-Imperialism?", *Ta Kung Pao* (Hong Kong),
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* (un-
published 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, 1977); and June Luryer, *Chinese
Communist Policy toward Indigenous Minority Nationalities: A Study in
National Integration* (unpublished dissertation submitted to Harvard University,
whose title, *Natsionalizm i shovonoza* -- 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.


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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 recommended. 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 Sociolinguistic 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: University 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. Only

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

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

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, unfortunately 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 insurrection within Malaysia has been fought along essentially ethnic lines. (See, for example, Robert Tilman, "The Non-Lessons of the Malayan Emergency," 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 ethnonationalism among a single group or within a single state. 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

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 comments 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 (particularly in Malaysia and Singapore) the most often found word connoting ethnonationalism is communalism. Adding further to the confusion, however, 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.


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 detractors 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.

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.


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. But here we shall concentrate on the literature dealing with Arab nationalism.

19For 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. 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. 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.


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., 1969); and George Lenczowski (ed.), The Political Awakening of the Middle East (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1970).
of Arabism has striven to take root.\footnote{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 Sāṭî al-Husri's Philosophy," Hamizrah Mehadash, XXII (No.2, 1972), pp. 137-151. (Text is in Hebrew but with English summary.)]} It also contains an annotated bibliography.

(2) Sir John Glubb, \textit{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.


(6) Leon Melikian and Lufty Diab, "Group Affiliations of University Students in the Arab Middle East," \textit{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.


23 See also, by the same author, *An Arab Tells His Story: A Study in Loyalties* (London: John Murray, 1946).
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 Arabism, 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 evidently 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 4, 1971), pp. 76-94. 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 "Modernization 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.
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, 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

\[25\] 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'Études 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 arbitrarily contrived and assigned territories, and that the indigenous inhabitants... came to accept their status as nationals." He further notes that within Africa "we can conveniently divide the tree of nationalism (i.e., state-loyalty) into the three branches of awakening, incipient action, and triumph." Though displaying 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 underestimation of the power of ethnic identity has been the unfortunate but traditional
practice of referring to ethnonationalism within non-Arab Africa as tribalism. In addition to the usual confusion flowing from the preemption of the term nationalism to refer to loyalty to the state, the use of the pejorative tribalism 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," International Organization, XVI (Spring 1962), pp. 44-456 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 Self-Determination Revisited in the Era of Decolonization (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 ethnonationalism within Africa, one of the most recent being "Ethnicity: The African
Experience," *International Social Science Journal*, 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:


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 appealing to the separate national consciousness of the Xhosas, Zulus, etc., it can prevent the formation of a single black alliance.
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. 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-

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 contradictory, and also offers the opportunity to observe any differences in attitude toward regional integration as between dominant and non-dominant elements. Moreover, although as noted below, there is currently a severe paucity

27The 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. 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 published prior to World War II. Indeed, many of the works noted earlier


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


(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).


(14) Arnold Rose, Migrants in Europe: Problems of Acceptance and Adjustment (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 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.

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 utmost 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:


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 République Fédérale d'Allemagne Peut-elle Succomber à la Tentation Neutraliste?" Defense Nationale, 30 (January 1974), pp. 63-74.
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.)

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. Though some of the following items do refer to specific states, they have been included in the belief that their implications 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. The following are believed to be
among the more significant works dealing with ethnic problems within what
Tannenbaum described as the black zones:

(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 Cables, Florida:
University of Miami Press, 1970). A personal account by an American black
of anti-black prejudice which he witnessed in Cuba.

\[34\] 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

(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.


(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

(9) Yogendra Malik, "Socio-Political Perceptions and Attitudes of East Indian Elites in Trinindad," *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.


(17) Horner Whitten, "The Ecology of Race Relations in Northwest Equador," paper prepared for the 1969 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. (Copy available at the United States Department of State, FAR 10773.) The author concludes that relations between blacks and non-blacks within Equador 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 Čestmir 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...

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 certainty 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. 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

\[\text{36 Despite the title, the article is written in English.}\]
literacy and self-consciousness. But it may prove a dissident Indian nationalism." 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, Guatemala, and Mexico. See particularly that on Peru by Allan Holmberg, "Changing Community Attitudes and Values in Peru: A Case Study in Guided Change."


(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, Ecuador, 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."


(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," *Daedalus*, 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 Guatemala and Yucatan.


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


(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.)

Concordant with our earlier special treatment of the literature on the USSR, China, India, and Germany, an evaluation of materials on ethnonationalism within the United States would be appropriate at this point. That we cannot be rated as important as are those states to which we have accorded special attention. However, the fact that the Canadian government 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 Biculturalism, 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 Truchel and Genevieve 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: McCraw 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 Programs (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

38 Because of our introductory comments concerning the wisdom of establishing something of a broad framework within which to study ethnonationalism 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. "Chicanoism" 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 overlooked. 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

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 largest community which... effectively commands men's loyalty." 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.

\[41\] 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.

on the United States.

(5) **Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism** (1973) is published at the University of Prince Edward Island and is dedicated to the study of nationalism 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) **Nationalities Papers** (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.

(7) **ETHNICITY** (1974), which is dedicated to the interdisciplinary study of ethnic relations, is under the editorship of the well-known sociologist, Andrew Greeley, Director of the Center for the Study of American Pluralism, 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 commonly 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 governmental or outside interest in ameliorating conditions. Many of its case

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42 Additional information can be sought from Professor Andris Skreija, 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 Newsletter contains references to on-going research as well as to recently published materials. 43

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