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Ethnic Nationalism:
On Its Nature, Role in History and the Contemporary World

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For Mr. D. Morrison
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Preface

The purpose of this report is to raise awareness about a little understood, yet widespread and extremely powerful phenomenon in the world today. That phenomenon is ethnic nationalism. As was found during the research for this report, the concepts of both ethnicity and nationalism are both very loose and frequently misunderstood by much of the world's population. Nonetheless, ethnic nationalism remains a common phenomenon that is a driving force in the state of the world in the modern era and will only increase in importance as time goes on. This issue has so far spanned all of human history and the entire globe, it is necessary that it be understood thoroughly if present peace initiatives in the world are to succeed and humanity is to survive the 21st century.

Cameron J. Wachowich

Table of Contents

Cameron J. Wachowich

Summary

       This report deals with the global phenomenon of ethnic nationalism. The report starts out with a clear definition of the issue, in order to provide a clear focus for the remainder of the report. Next is found a justification for the discussion of this issue, followed by a thorough background of the issue. The background further clarifies the definition of the issue and provides a brief history of the issue. This is followed by an overview of the contributions and opinions of Johann Gottfried von Herder and Anthony D. Smith to the issue, which is followed by a discussion of the role of mass media and the individual in ethnic nationalist movements. This is followed by a brief look at the role of spiritual connections and religious divisions in ethnic nationalist movements and ethnic conflicts.

       The bulk of the report comes in the form of the ever important case studies. The first case to be examined is that of the southern African nation of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is an example of the worst of ethnic nationalism, a case where such nationalism has led to the development of a totalitarian state. The next case is that of China, an Asian case study that examines out of control nationalism bordering on imperialism. The final case study is the Ukraine in Europe. The Ukraine is an example of the best of nationalism, as it gained independence peacefully and is now a functioning liberal democracy.

       Finally, the concluding section of the report contains a very brief overview of the role of various international organisations, most notably the UN in the various side effects of ethnic nationalist movements. This is followed by a look at the history of

Cameron J. Wachowich

Canada's ethnic nationalist movement, the Quebec separatists. This report concludes

with a presentation of various possible solutions to the issue of ethnic nationalism.

Ethnic Nationalism: The Meaning of the Term

Ethnic nationalism is commonly considered to be a form of nationalism in

which a state derives political legitimacy from ethnic groupings (Ethnic). Thus, ethnic

nationalism may be the act or the attempt of an ethnic group possessing territory to gain

full sovereignty over that territory, thus removing the territory from the control of a

larger state ruled by members of another ethnic group or amalgamating the territory of

many small states of a common ethnicity. The goal of the present Chechen separatist

movement is an example of the former and the unification of the Germanic states in

1871 may be seen as an example of the latter. Ethnic nationalism may also be the

reform of the political and/or social structures of an existing territory according to the

creed of a specific ethnicity. The establishment of the modern state of Israel may be

seen as an example of this. Ethnic nationalism may also be a combination of the two,

as seen in numerous ex-colonies around the world. The concepts of ethnicity and

nationalism will be explored in greater detail in the 'Background' section of this report.

The Necessity of Discussion

Whenever rational discussion of an issue is to be initiated, the first logical

question to be asked is 'why is this discussed?', or less formally, 'why do we care?' It

is therefore necessary to answer that question at this point in the report before any other

topic is delved into. There are four main reasons that one should 'care' about the issue

of ethnic nationalism, first, the commonly violent nature of ethnic nationalist movements, second the sheer number of ethnic conflicts in the world today in proportion to other conflicts, third, the common trend of nation states, particularly those born out of violent ethnic nationalist movements to develop into totalitarian, and sometimes xenophobic, regimes and finally the ever growing collective influence that the new nation-states have on the world community, which is a force to be reckoned with for imperialist states.

With regards to the first point, the extremely violent nature of ethnic nationalist conflicts, it is necessary to understand what exactly is occurring. Across the globe, there are ethnic based nationalist movements taking place. These movements may be initiated by either the ancient inhabitants of a region they claim as their homeland, or by migrants to a region who desire to maintain their original identity regardless of where they happen to live. In both cases, these groups have a deep, arguably spiritual, connection to their land or identity. When there is a mobilised and direct opposition to the aims of the aforesaid ethnic group, tensions are created. Violence often erupts subsequently. As ethnic nationalist movements are usually of a grass-roots nature, the violent conflict that erupts does not have any form of military organisation. Thus, all the generally observed rules of war and conventions regarding conduct in a war are invalid. Inhumanity against not only the fighting enemy, but also civilians remotely connected thereto, is very common, if not the standard, of ethnic conflict. (Schmemann) Across the globe, from Rwanda to Chechnya, Northern Ireland to Sri Lanka, these conflicts are taking place or their effects are being felt.

Cameron J. Wachowich

However vile these conflicts may be, there are vast numbers of them that have occurred recently, are presently occurring and will occur in the future. In 1991, there were 37 major armed conflicts taking place in the world, 35 of these conflicts were ethnic in nature. (Eriksen) Since the end of the bipolar world of the Cold War, it is ethnic nationalist movements that have taken center stage as the most noticed (with the exception of America's takeover of Iraq) and frequent conflicts in the modern world. However, statistically speaking, the number of ethnic conflicts occurring now is no greater than it was during the Cold War era. Nor is it likely that ethnic nationalism will cease to occur, there are still plenty of old style empires and non governing minorities left in the world.

Third, it has been clearly established that ethnic nationalist movements are frequent and sometimes of a most inhumane nature. It must now be noted that ethnic based nationalist movements will seldom end in a fair or democratic regime. The regimes born of these conflicts often provide a life for their citizens that is not much better than the conflict from which the state has emerged or the proceeding regime that the movement toppled. As any political movement is born of need, there is needed a certain amount of social despair to spark an ethnic nationalist movement. In this despair, the populace will often entrust their fate to a charismatic leader who propels the movement forward. However, once the movement has reached its end, this leader becomes the greatest threat to the freedom and self determination of the people he formerly served. However, he (these leaders are almost always male due to the un-egalitarian nature of the mainly traditionalist ethnic movements) will commonly use the population's ecstasy following their obtainment of independence to consolidate his

power, making him in effect a dictator. (Prazauskas) This may be seen most notably in Robert Mugabe's rise to power in Zimbabwe, which will be discussed in greater detail in later sections of this report. In cases where there is a relatively peaceful transition into independence, it is common that the 'new' regime will have few differences from the old one but name and theme song, as was the case in many of the former Soviet republics and Eastern Bloc countries. In many cases, the leadership did not change after independence, the old leaders amended their policies slightly and continued ruling as before. In most cases, all peaceful channels for political change are quickly cut off, making future conflict an inevitability. In these dictatorships, nationalist sentiment eventually turns itself into isolationism and ethnic xenophobia. In the most extreme of cases, this results in attempted genocide, as occurred during the break-up of Yugoslavia. This is often the case when the new nation contains large communities of ethnic minorities or the boundaries of the new state are disputed by another ethnic group. In all the above cases, it is common to see a mobilisation of the downtrodden party, be that either the oppressed ethnic minority or the people of the new dictatorship. In turn, there is an extension or a remobilisation of the original movement. This creates a sort of snowball effect that only spreads the conflict. (Prazauskas)

Finally, stability and independence eventually come to the new state, and they are just one more voice on the world stage. With the wide range and frequency of ethnic nationalist movements, there are a wide range and vast number of new states created. In just ten years, membership in the United Nations swelled from 156 to 185 member states. The majority of these states were the result of ethnic nationalist movements. (Schmemann) This increase in the number of states may not seem like a

major concern, but to many governments and organisations it most certainly is. First of all, to large international organisations, including both humanitarian organisations and large commercial corporations, each new state means yet another new government to deal with, yet another bureaucracy to navigate, possibly yet another language and culture to adapt to and more. As many of the new ethnic states are born out of armed conflict, they are in immediate need of rebuilding in order to function. Thus it is necessary for the international community to become involved. As well, these new states all become members of the United Nations, and thus have a say in most international institutions. Regardless of how small they may be, they are still able to vote on key issues, and their votes are equal to those of most other states in most cases, which can serve to make the states rather resentful, particularly if the new state is formed with a section of their territory. What this increase in the number of states in the world amounts to is a new world order of a completely unknown kind, a world without empires or superpowers, however a world in which co-operation is necessary in order for anything of an international nature to be accomplished.

It may be clearly seen from the above that it is necessary to engage in the discussion of this issue. Ethnic nationalism is a phenomenon that spans distance and time, it is imperative that this phenomenon be understood thoroughly from all viewpoints and that possible responses to this phenomenon be located, otherwise ethnic nationalism will continue to become a major destabilising force in the world, a world that cannot afford conflict in its modern state of technical development.

Cameron J. Wachowich

<u>Background</u>

It is first necessary to identify with more clarity what exactly is meant by the terms 'ethnicity' and 'nationalism', and how they fit together to create ethnic nationalism. The term 'ethnicity' will be examined first. In order for a group to be considered ethnically distinct from those around it, it must generally posses the following attributes.

First of all, the group must have its own language (Prazauskas). This can be a somewhat tricky point. In regions where ethnic groups have lived side by side for several centuries, it is common that their once distinct languages will adapt to be more like the other. The languages commonly reach such a level of similarity that they are mutually intelligible or even identical, as is the case with Czech and Slovak for the former and the development of Hochdeutsch (Proper German) for the latter.

The groups must also posses some distinct cultural traits and religion in order to be considered distinct. The specific role of religion will be discussed in greater detail later in this report. This reflects an interesting point regarding the social nature of ethnic nationalist movements. Such movements are generally very conservative in nature, as ethnicity is often based on traditional values and frequently justified by a sort of 'historical entitlement', the movements are generally not willing to embrace social ideas that are of a nature that is in any way contrary to the traditional principals of the group culture (Prazauskas). This can contribute greatly to isolationism and xenophobia in the future of the arising state.

Finally, an ethic group requires territory of its own and/or a common origin. This territory may be either an ancient homeland or the present territory the group is

concentrated in, but a piece of land to which the group is attached is necessary to constitute territory. The idea of territory is considered to be central to the existence of an ethnic identity. It is of particular importance in farming communities, while in semi-nomadic groups, the idea of common origin often takes precedence (Prazauskas). The idea of common origin is very similar to the idea of territory. A group must have either historical data proving every family has been a member of that group for some generations or a myth to explain their unity and origin. Often the two are one in the same. (Eriksen)

In order to demonstrate the role of these requirements in the existence of ethnic identity, the case of the Jewish people will be used. As for the first attribute, language, the Hebrew and Yiddish languages both constitute this attribute. As for the distinct cultural traits and religion, it is in this case the religion, Judaism, which dictates many of the cultural attributes. Most unique cultural practices of the Jewish people may be seen to have religious origins. However, for the case of the Jewish people, it is the territory that is perhaps the most blatant attribute. Anyone studying world issues will inevitably come across the case of Israel. Israel is viewed by Jews worldwide as their ancient homeland, and they have in the latter half of the 20th century resettled the land they claim as their own. The above case should clearly demonstrate the attributes of ethnic identity.

An important note regarding ethnicity, it is very rarely a distinct property of personal identity. Ethnicity is one of the attributes of identity that seldom change during a person's lifetime. Other attributes of identity of this type are usually of a physical nature. However, unlike most other attributes of identity, ethnic identity is

dormant most of the time; this is particularly true in monoethnic areas. In such areas, the average person is unaware of their ethnic status. For example, when a Russian is living among Russians, he will not actively consider himself to be a Russian. It is only when he is exposed to the existence of other groups, either through personal contact or through mass media, that he will become aware of his ethnic status. Therefore, ethnic mass ethnic awareness is only possible in a multicultural setting. (Prazauskas)

Second, it is necessary to look in detail at the idea of nationalism. Nationalism has been twisted numerous times in history and scholarly tradition. To both liberalists and Marxists it is evil (Prazauskas). It is thus extremely difficult to give the term a distinct and fair definition.   It is fair to say that nationalism cannot stand alone as a political ideology, thus it must always be combined with another '-ism' in order to progress into a movement. In terms of the specific nature of the movement, nationalism can be almost anything from national patriotism or political separatism to xenophobia or armed rebellion. The extremity of the nationalism depends upon which other –ism it is attached to.

The lack of consensus regarding nationalism may be largely due to the fact that it has only recently been recognised as a phenomenon. The first case of nationalism to be clearly recognised as such was the unification of Italy, starting in 1848 and concluding with success in 1860. However, nationalism itself is much older, as will be shown later. There are essentially two distinct kinds of nationalism, civic nationalism and ethnic nationalism. Civic nationalism, unlike ethnic nationalism, is based on loyalty and duty to the existing political state. Patriotism is a common expression of civic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism, on the other hand, is very different.

Cameron J. Wachowich

When the concepts of ethnicity and nationalism are combined, the result is ethnic nationalism. As was explained in 'The Meaning of the Term', ethnic nationalism is essentially the establishment or alteration of a state based on ethnic lines. However, there is much more to it than that. Ethnic nationalism is a very complex subject, in theoretical terms, it is impossible to establish a concrete definition, as both ethnicity and nationalism are very broad ideas, and ethnic nationalism is in theoretical terms nothing more than a combination of the two.

In practical terms, there are some difficulties as well, however fewer than in the theoretical realm. It is often difficult to determine if a movement is of an ethnic nature, or simply a political one. For the purposes, almost any nation based political movement with an undisputed ethnic base may be considered to be some expression of ethnic nationalism. It is now necessary to look in greater detail at the root causes of these movements in order to gain a better understanding of them.

Ethnic nationalism has a variety of different forms. They all have a wide variety of causes. However each form of ethnic nationalism may only occur under certain circumstances. There are two main types of ethnic nationalism, Risorgimento nationalism and integral nationalism. (Kuzio)

Risorgimento nationalism is the oppressed rising up against a larger empire to form their own state or a common ethnic group amalgamating various small states into one. The essential attribute in order for this to occur is a motive. It should be clear that movements do not spring out of thin air. The most common trigger of this form of nationalism is a legitimate threat to identity. Whenever there is a threat of assimilation by another identity or a loss of identity due to technological or social change, ethnic

nationalism is a perfectly natural and very common response. (Kuzio) Risorgimento nationalism is most often regarded as 'good' nationalism, as it is often compatible with liberal democracy or democratic socialism.

Integral nationalism on the other hand, often leads quite quickly to xenophobia and isolationism. Integral nationalism is the consolidation and political use of ethnic identity in order to increase the power of the state. It can very often evolve into imperialism. (Kuzio) Perhaps the most notable case of this form of nationalism is Benito Mussolini's Italy of the 1930s. In that case, national identity was used for the express purpose of increasing the power of the political administration. Integral nationalist movements are commonly hostile to outsiders and ethnic minorities within the state. The causes of this most often devastating form of nationalism are very similar to those of Risorgimento nationalism, the threatening of identity and all forms thereof.

Just as the threatening of identity is the root cause of all forms of ethnic nationalism, there are a number of other factors that make it possible and play a role in triggering it. These factors are globalisation and the deterioration of empires. (Schmemann)

The first, and more widespread of these factors, globalisation will now be dealt with. Globalisation is commonly an economic term, however, in this case, the term refers not only to economics, but also political and social factors. Globalisation brings the world closer together in every expression. It is through this that it can plant the seeds of nationalism. As was stated above, ethnic identity is dormant until awakened by contact with another ethnicity. Globalisation is very effective at doing this. One can

buy and sell products from or to almost anywhere else in the world; one can contact anyone anywhere with the aid of modern technology. It is also possible for one to travel anywhere within a fairly short time, rather than the multi week sea voyages of old. Thus there are very few truly isolated communities in the world today. Most of the world views held by people of the contemporary world are tainted by their awareness of their ethnicity. Therefore, all potentials for rational or desperate ethnic nationalist movements are exploited promptly. Globalisation also serves to create ethnic nationalism, so long as clear expressions of it may be identified. This is because globalisation is such a strong force in the erasing of ethnic customs by introducing foreign, mostly western, ideals into areas previously not influenced by the west.

The second factor that effects the formation of ethnic nationalism is the collapse of old empires. Prior to the advent of 'economic imperialism' in the latter half of the 20th century, the world was ruled by a handful of empires that had the goal of spreading their culture, language, religion and political domination throughout the world. Many of these empires succeeded in doing this; however countless changes in the world have made this sort of foreign domination of territory impossible. Thus, these empires begin to loose control the lands they once dominated and even in some cases colonised. This creates an ideal environment for ethnic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism usually occurs in non colonised areas, those which are still inhabited by the native population of the time before the imperial arrival, or a neighbouring group that has inherited the land. The task for either native group during and after the break-up of the empire is relatively straightforward, reclaim their identity of the time before the empire entered their lives plus whatever non intrusive things the empire has brought to their lives. For example, a

Cameron J. Wachowich

Muslim region, during and after the departure of an empire from domination over their territory will re establish whatever aspects of their culture the empire has attempted to remove, their religion and language being likely the more notable, plus, they will likely keep some of what the empire has brought them, an aqueduct system or scientific knowledge, but they would be unlikely to adopt pork.

However, ethnic nationalism may also occur in colonised areas, so long as the colonists have differed from the people of the colonising power over the generations they have spent in the colony and they exploit this difference in their movement. This is rather rare, as it will usually take a population at least a century and a certain amount of isolation to gain such differences.

To summarise, ethnicity and nationalism are both complex and often obscure concepts, that when combined, form ethnic nationalism, a concept that is theoretically obscure but common in reality. Ethnic nationalism is a natural political and social phenomenon that has a strong impact upon world affairs.

As a counterpoint to the above, there is a view held by many intellectuals in the west that the nation is in fact a creation of the elites for the purpose of political manipulation. This view is known as the modernist perspective and it is somewhat founded. The case of Serbia is a clear example of this. Serbia's leader during and following the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic used Serbian nationalism to increase his own power and start a massive conflict in his own self interest. (Gagnon) It has already been established that leaders will often use nationalism to consolidate their own power; it is therefore also possible for leaders to create nationalism to consolidate their own power.

Cameron J. Wachowich

Now that ethnic nationalism has been thoroughly defined and explored, it is necessary to look in some detail at the history of such movements. Due to the loose nature of the term and the long history of human civilization, it would be unreasonable to explore every single instance of ethnic nationalism in the history of humanity. Therefore, only a few prominent examples will be highlighted here.

The history of ethnic nationalism is identical to that of states themselves, as ethnic nationalism is in essence the formation and reformation of states along the lines of distinct ethnic groupings, lines along which almost all states were formed, with the exception of empires, which are another case. The first clear states, or rather, clearly politically controlled territories, formed in Europe towards the downfall of the early human species Homo sapiens Neanderthalensis, or Neanderthals, about 50 000 to 30 000 years ago. These states were formed because of population growth. As more people moved into the region, density increased and the livelihoods of some became threatened. Therefore the various contenders for the territory, or their own group integrity, engaged in active or cold wars, eventually resulting in the formal territorial division of these groups into states with defended boundaries. Evidence of this is seen in the disproportionately large amount of weapons to be found by archaeologists at the time our modern ancestors, Homo sapiens sapiens, began to settle in what is now western Europe, resulting in a rapid population increase. (Wright 140)

The next great development in the history of the state/ethnic nationalism occurred at about 8000 B.C.E in the Fertile Crescent, an area of land that is now modern day Iraq, and not very fertile anymore. This development was the invention of domestication and agriculture. Although previously, there was quite likely not a great

deal of movement for a tribe within one human lifetime, it was agriculture that tied people directly to their land for the first time. It was this tie to the land that created the first regional culture, the first isolation, so to speak, and therefore the first ethnically different groups. Before, the only distinct groups had been the countless thousands of semi nomadic tribes and racially different groups, the attachment to land created significantly deeper distinctness between much larger groups.

The first towns sprung up around groups of farms, and thus urban civilisation and political organisation were born. Groups of towns became amalgamated with central cities and thus the first states were born. It is of some interest to note that these first states were in the modern sense of the word, nation states. Some time afterwards, groups of these states were gathered together to form empires and, in the isolated world of ancient times, self dependant civilisations. (Ganeri)

This changed little until the renaissance. At which point, the first colonial empires began to form. The first European power to establish a long term imperial colony overseas was Spain with their colonisation of Cuba in the early 16th century. Mother other European nations quickly followed suit by establishing their own colonies overseas colonies and empires. As it happened, Spain and Portugal gained complete control over South and Central America. By the late 18th century, Britain controlled all of Australia, India and most of North America. However, these empires could not last forever.

One of the first cases of nationalism was the revolt in the American colonies. This revolt was not on ethnic grounds, it was largely based on social and economic

factors well outside the field of ethnicity. However it did set a precedent for further colonial revolts around the world.

At the time of the industrial revolution, the great boom in technology brought the beginnings of globalisation and therefore ethnic awareness. Globalisation and the new industrial system brought a rise in regional dependence rather than imperial dependence. The world was more cleanly divided into geographic regions rather than empires. For the first time since the middle ages, boarders were beginning to break down; people were moving around the world for a variety of purposes. This made it increasingly difficult for the old global empires to retain control of their territories, particularly those overseas. By the end of the 19th century, ethnic nationalism had become an issue. (Kuzio)

It was the First World War that finally ended the old system of imperial rule. The war occurred at a time when industry and empire had reached such a point that millions were forced to fight and die in the first great industrial war, a war fought between empires that were now more than ever a hindrance to their well being. The war effectively destroyed the British, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires. The war also greatly damaged the Russian Empire and the German Empire; however these are special cases which will be dealt with later.

After the war, despite the destruction of so many empires, new ones soon began to from. Russia, the Soviet Union rather, was the first to reform. By the outbreak of the Second World War, the former empire had regained most of its former territory. Fascist Italy also made attempts to establish itself as a new empire with its domination of Albania and its continued hold on Libya. Perhaps the most notable case of imperial

reestablishment is the case of Nazi Germany. The Third Reich is one of the first cases

of integral nationalism. Adolf Hitler's policies of 'uniting the German people' and

'purifying the Germanic race' essentially amounted to policies of ethnic xenophobia,

open attacks against national minorities and other nationalities. The 1930s, which saw

the rise of such policies, became the first era in modern history to see the rise of

totalitarian states under circumstances that had previously always produced liberal

democracies. (Baird 349)

The Second World War did a great deal to bring down this sort of nationalism,

but also to return a large portion of the world to the state in which it had been at the end

of the 19th century. The whole of Eastern Europe and much of Asia fell under the

control of the Soviet Union and the last of the former colonies of the Western European

powers were calling for independence. India was one of the first to gain independence

after World War Two; India's independence movement saw the pioneering of the idea

of peaceful revolution that is so prominent in our contemporary world. The further

increase in globalisation and technological advances brought Africa to the critical stage

of calling for independence from its European rulers.

Due to a failing economy and the costly conflict in Afghanistan in the 1980s,

the Soviet Union went the way of all other territorial empires, collapse. This created

the last surge in ethnic nationalism of the century. The collapse of the Soviet Union,

the continuing ethnic nationalist movements within many of the 15 republics and in the

Balkans amount to the face of modern ethnic nationalism.

Now that the issue has been thoroughly defined and the background of the issue

has been traced from prehistoric to modern times, it should be clear what exactly is

dealt with in this report. Ethnic nationalism is not a black and white issue, nor is it an issue with clear sides. It is, rather, a phenomenon that has occurred throughout history around the globe, a phenomenon that nonetheless has had and continues to have a massive influence upon the world.

Two Persons Related to the Issue

When any issue, great or small, global or local, is discussed, it is always necessary to make note of the impact of certain individuals. These individuals are not always out on the front lines of the issue, they may also be on university campuses or in libraries studying the issue, improving the human understanding of the issue. Two such people will be examined here. They are Johann Gottfried von Herder, a German poet, theologian, critic and philosopher often regarded as the father of ethnic nationalism and Anthony D. Smith a modern scholar specialising in ethnic studies and ethnic nationalist movements.

Johann Gottfried von Herder was born on the 25th of August 1744 in the town of Mohrungen in the Kingdom of Prussia, now Morag in Poland. He was born to a peasant family, however learned to read from his father's bible and songbook. At the age of 18, he left home to study at the University of Königsberg, where he was influenced by, among others, Immanuel Kant. Von Herder graduated as a preacher in 1764 and went to Riga to teach, it is during his time there that he produced his first major writings, works of literary criticism. (Johann)

In 1769, von Herder traveled to the French port city of Nantes and then to Paris. He produced an account of these travels which greatly changed his view of the world

and himself as an author. In 1770, he traveled to Strasbourg where he met a young Goethe, this meeting and their subsequent friendship greatly influenced Goethe's literary style and therefore proved to be extremely influential in the development of German literature. (Johann)

By the mid 1770s, Goethe was a well known author and used his position to gain for von Herder the position of superintendent at the court of Weimer. Von Herder moved there in 1776 and shortly afterwards his literary style shifted towards classicism. He produced some of his better philosophical works during this period. Late in his career, he earned the enmity of his colleagues by indorsing the French revolution. Shortly before his death in 1803, he and Goethe experienced a personal split. (Johann)

Von Herder is often regarded as the father of the idea of ethnic nationalism for a few simple reasons. Much of von Herder's philosophical thought dealt with the idea of language. He believed that language and cultural traditions, essentially ethnicity, as the ties that create a 'nation', or 'Volk' as he referred to it. He always took care to emphasize that his concept of a nation was one in which democracy and free expression were encouraged, this earned him the enmity of various royal families. With his concept of the Volk, which he outlined by publishing in 1773 a book of German Folk Songs entitled 'Stimmen der Volker in ihren Liedern' (Voices of the people in their songs). His work had a great influence upon the poets Clemens von Brentano and Achim von Arnim as well as Jacob and Wilhelm Grim, the noted writers of Germanic folk tales. (Johann)

The second person to be dealt with in this chapter is Anthony D. Smith. Anthony D. Smith is a graduate of the London school of economics in the U.K. He has

spent most of his adult life studying ethnic nationalism. He studied under Ernst Gellner

and is therefore familiar with the idea of modernism, the view that ethnic nationalism is

artificially created by self interested leaders as a means of manipulating the masses.

However, he does not share this view. He points out that the modernist perspective

fails to account for the passions generated among individuals in ethnic nationalism. It

seems unlikely that so many throughout history would fight and die for their nation if

ethnic nationalism was something artificial created by the elites of society. (Anthony)

Smith believes that ethnic nationalism starts with the development of group

history. He acknowledges that this history is often manipulated and even in some cases

completely incoherent. However such a history is necessary to forging group identity.

Smith also believes that the parties that initiate an ethnic nationalist movement must not

all actually be alike, but that they should all feel alike. Even if the various groups have

no apparent kinship, so long as they have some form of connection, they may be able to

form a group identity around that connection. (Anthony)

Smith's views on ethnic nationalism have long been criticized for leaving out

various seemingly key facts about ethnic nationalist movements. Smith believes that

nationalism is something concrete, something 'real', so to speak. He is often seen to

overestimate the permanence of nationalism in societies and political movements alike.

He also believes that ethnic nationalism must have a base in group identity or group

history. However many critics claim that ethnic nationalism does not in fact need to

have a base at all. They claim that ethnic nationalism may in fact be completely

illusionary.

Cameron J. Wachowich

Illusionary or not, Smith's views on ethnic nationalism are required reading in many university courses in the area of political science and ethnic studies. However, it was Johann Gottfried von Herder who started the discussion on ethnic nationalism. Both men are clear examples of the effect that one individual with a sturdy viewpoint can have on the perception and study of a global issue.

Power: Those Who Have It and Those in Whose Hands It Should Be

For any global issue, there are certain people or groups that hold the reigns of power and control the fate of many depending on what they do with the reigns. In the case of ethnic nationalism these reigns reside in the hands of the global media. Also in every issue, there is some group who is greatly marginalized because of it; in this case it is the individual.

First of all, the mass media yields an undeniably powerful influence upon world affairs. It is impossible to go anywhere in the western world without being exposed to some form of media, and the situation is not much different in all but the most isolated communities. The media, most of which in fact have fairly similar origins give the general populace of much of the world all the information they will receive in their daily lives about what is happening outside of their own communities. Therefore, the media has a very large responsibility to give a fair and balanced view of the world. They frequently fail to fulfill this responsibility. Media bias is in itself a severe global issue, but not one that is the subject of this report. Instead, media bias will be noted as a fact, but media is for the purposes of this report a very strong expression of globalization.

Cameron J. Wachowich

  As was established earlier in this report, globalization is an integral force in the spreading of ethnic nationalism. This is because it brings different ethnicities into contact and therefore makes them aware of their otherwise dormant ethnic identity. The mass media is extremely effective at doing this to entire populations. There are a variety of reasons for this. First of all, the news generally gives unduly large amounts of coverage to violent, commonly foreign, conflicts. It was established some time ago that many conflicts are in fact of an ethnic nature. Therefore, the news media spends a great deal of time and energy covering ethnic conflicts. In order to cover such conflicts effectively, as the media actually does a pretty good job of, it is necessary to outline the various participants and the origins of the conflict. Therefore it is necessary to highlight their ethnicity, and thereby make the audience ethnically self aware.

  The other notable way in which the mass media influences ethnic nationalist movements is through romanticizing them. This is not as blatant as it once was, however it is still common in their coverage of these movements. This romanticism of ethnic nationalist movements is often a reflection of media bias, for example the clearly anti-Russian bias of the media when covering the Orange Revolution in the Ukraine in December 2004. However, in that case, it was the glorification of those protesting in the streets that should be noted. This glorifying or romanticizing of those protests, and others like them, could well and effectively serve to incite the already ethically aware audience to engage in their own movement if a legitimate cause for one exists.

  Now that the role of the media has been established, the role of the individual must be discussed. In contrast to the media, the individual often finds their role marginalized within the movement. There are a variety of reasons for this; however the

most notable is likely the necessity of a clear a close knit group in order for a movement to be successful. There is little room for individual expression when one is part of a unique ethnic group that must be unified in order to gain its historically entitled independence.

As has been stated earlier, this creates the perfect environment for the rise of a dictator following any success in the movement. The rising dictator will take advantage of the sacrifice mentality of the populace and their ecstasy at having obtained their goals in order to secure his own position and marginalize the individuals yet further, possibly starting a personality cult as has happened in Turkmenistan and Zimbabwe, the latter of which will be elaborated upon later in this report.

The above clearly outlines the nature of the distribution of power in ethnic nationalist movements and the arising nation-states. Mass media plays a great role in the initiation and maintenance of ethnic nationalism and also plays a role in the crushing of the individual that occurs in such movements and commonly in the arising states.

The Role of Spirituality and Religion

In any issue involving human beings, spirituality plays a fundamental role. Spirituality is ubiquitous in human life, it is also extremely powerful. Naturally, it is also present and prominent in ethnic nationalist movements.

Spirituality affects people in a number of ways over the course of ethnic nationalist movements. Perhaps the most prominent of these is the spiritual attachment of people to their ethnicity and all things connected to it. People become attached to

their land, their language, their history, each other and their way of life over the course of ethnic nationalist movements.

The most powerful expression of this spirituality is the collective historical memory of ethnic groups. This historical memory is a mysterious force that can make or break anything from a personal relationship to an empire. Historical memory is the collective understanding within a group of their own history and identity. It is commonly in the form of folklore or other oral traditions. Despite this somewhat unstable medium of communication, historical memory is extremely powerful and surprisingly accurate. It essentially solidifies and preserves ethnic identity. It is very effective at preserving a culture in the midst of foreign domination or a totalitarian regime that desires to twist and exploit group identity. (Prazauskas) Various prominent examples of the survival of cultures through their own historical memory may be seen during the break-up of the Soviet Union and in a number of the republics following that break-up.

For example, the peoples of the various republics often found themselves to be immune to the Moscow approved versions of history they were taught because of their own collective memory of the truth. However, they were not simply reactionary to the foreign domination. In Armenia for example, the official viewpoint that the Russians had played a major role in saving them from domination and annihilation by the Turks was accepted, however other views that were in fact far from the truth were not. (Prazauskas)

Also, despite the vulnerabilities that come with the ecstasy of success in such a movement, historical memory so frequently saves the peoples of the new nation-states

from any new official propaganda. In the case of Belarus for example, although the state has gained independence, the Belarusian Popular Front has so far found it impossible to convince the Belarusian people that Belarus, which has been dominated for centuries by the Poles, the Lithuanians or the Russians, is in fact a continuation of the Medieval Duchy of Lithuania, a distinction that would give them an unquestionable amount of legitimacy as a state. (Prazauskas)

Collective historical memory is inherent in most ethnic groups and is also extremely useful in their survival and well being. Spirituality is self evident in historical memory. Historical memory, like any other spiritual idea is held within a person, commonly close to their heart. It is commonly similar among many, and used to enhance one's life.

Religion is also a driving force in ethnic nationalist movements. Religious identity has a great deal in common with ethnic identity in that it is a unifying force between various groups. However, it is far from dormant in most cases. Religious groups can be a great source of influence within any state, however nation-states in particular. However, religion is all too often manipulated in the modern world to get large groups of followers to adopt the sacrifice mentality, yet it is far les harmful than ethnicity in that regard. This is because secularism is such a priority in much of the modern world.

As spirituality is an effective counterbalance to the ethnic group devotion, religion all too often adds to the group devotion and loss of individuality that comes with ethnic nationalist movements. However, in all movements, they are prominent factors and both play a powerful role.

Cameron J. Wachowich

<u>Case Studies</u>

The following are an account of three diverse cases of ethnic nationalism from the later half of the 20th century. The cases to be examined here are as follows; Zimbabwe, as a case where nationalism has led to a totalitarian state, China, as a case where the ethnic nationalism of the Chinese has caused the country to become very much like an empire and, at the same time, the ethnic nationalism of minorities may soon tear the country apart. The last case to be examined in this report is that of the Ukraine, a case where nationalism has been successful and led to an emerging liberal democracy.

<u>Case Study: Zimbabwe</u>

Zimbabwe is very much at the extreme end of what is an impoverished region filled with bitter historical legacies, devastating epidemics, unrest and violence. That region is Africa. What follows is an extremely brief history of Africa over the past 200 years.

During the 19th century, the major European powers competed against one another in what is known as the 'Scramble for Africa'. All of Africa fell under the control of the various European powers and every country, with the exception of Liberia and Ethiopia, was colonized. As the various empires fell apart over the course of the 20th century, this created the ideal environment for ethnic nationalist movements.

Such movements did indeed take place as expected. Libya became the first African nation to gain independence; it gained independence from Italy in 1951.

Cameron J. Wachowich

Morocco and Tunisia gained sovereignty from France in 1956. In 1957, Ghana became the first British colony to achieve self government. 1960 saw Zaire gain self-rule from Belgium, followed by Sierra Leone and Tanzania from Britain a year later. Uganda became independent from Britain, Algeria became independent from France and Rwanda and Burundi gained independence from Belgium in 1962. 1963 saw Kenyan self-rule become a reality after a long struggle with Britain. In 1964, Malawi and Zambia gained independence from Britain. The remainder of the colonies soon followed, in 1965, Gambia from Britain, in 1966, Botswana and Lesotho from Britain, in 1975, Angola and Mozambique from Portugal, in 1977 Djibouti gained independence from France. (Ganeri) The last colony to achieve self-rule was Rhodesia, now known as Zimbabwe, which is the subject of this section of the report.

Prior to the arrival of the Europeans, Zimbabwe was split between the Shona and the Ndebele peoples. The two tribes fought over the fertile land, but lived fairly simply as cattle herders. The European arrival came in the form of Cecil John Rhodes, a notorious British explorer and diehard capitalist. (CBC Zimbabwe) In 1889, he came with white setters to the land bearing a royal charter giving him the authority to extend the domination of the British South Africa Company (hereafter BSAC) into the region; the company essentially had the power of a government. (BBC Zimbabwe) The BSAC confiscated all the fertile farmland and gave it in generous portions to the white settlers. The native African population was either used as cheap farm labour or herded into dustbowls known as 'African Reserves". (CBC Zimbabwe)

A 1925 land commission set out to reallocate the country's land and came up with the notorious Land Apportionment Act. This act gave out 20 million of the

country's 40 million hectors of farmable land to the white settlers, only 11 000 of whom were farmers and 12 million acres of hilly unfertile land to the native population who had lived off the land for centuries before the Europeans arrived. The white farmers flourished on their land, producing rich crops of sugar, tobacco and beef as well as exotic fruits and flowers for export. (CBC Zimbabwe)

Zimbabwe's struggle for independence was the most violent of the whole continent. The white government headed by Ian Wright of what was at the time known as Rhodesia declared itself to be independent in 1965. Wright maintained white minority rule, which sparked international outrage and sanctions. This was followed by a decade and a half guerrilla campaign to overcome this racist ruling policy. (BBC Zimbabwe)

In 1980, Robert Mugabe was elected as the first black leader of the country. Within a short time of his election, he finally secured full independence from Britain. However, as many others have done, he took advantage of the position as the first president of the independent Zimbabwe and consolidated power, essentially making himself a dictator. In 1987, shortly after ending the last of the violence in the southern part of the country, he unilaterally amended the constitution to make himself 'Executive President'. From then until the present day, he has ruled the country with an iron fist. He has stated that because the blacks were oppressed by the whites during the days of European colonial rule, therefore the blacks now have an obligation to oppress the whites today. (CBC Zimbabwe)

To that end, he has spearheaded a massive program of land reform across the country. He has had the land of the white farmers confiscated by armed militia loyal to

Cameron J. Wachowich

his Zanu-PF political party. He has done this under the pretence that the land will be

given to the landless peasants, however in almost every case, the land has been given to

a high ranking government official living in a large urban mansion and thereby gone

unused or it has simply remained in the hands of those who confiscated it, equally

unused in most cases. (CBC Zimbabwe)

This land reform and the mass corruption in the government have generated a

widespread food shortage and gigantic economic crisis for the country. Yet Robert

Mugabe is continually re-elected. This is because of the continual political repression

in Zimbabwe. Like the worst of dictators, Robert Mugabe has generated a massive

personality cult around him. All youth in Zimbabwe are required to spend a set amount

of time at indoctrination camps. At these camps, there is systematic rape and therefore

almost universal AIDS; there is also gruelling physical training and activities to

promote loyalty to Robert Mugabe. The armed militia of the Zanu-PF party also

terrorise the population into silence and forced loyalty. (BBC Zimbabwe)

This has created a situation of international isolation for Zimbabwe. Almost all

of the western countries as well as most multilateral organisations have voiced strong

objections to the present state of affairs in Zimbabwe. A number of them have placed

sanctions upon Zimbabwe. However, no African country has yet said or done anything

about the situation. (BBC Zimbabwe)

The case of Zimbabwe shows how ethnic nationalism, particularly that which

wages a violent war of independence can be so easily exploited to create a totalitarian

dictatorship like that which is now seen in that country. The source of this turn to

totalitarianism is likely a combination of Mugabe's individual personality and the fact

that the native African population was oppressed for so long and so brutally by powers as foreign as can be.

Case Study: China

This next case study shows another ugly side of ethnic nationalism. China is a prefect example of what can happen when ethnic nationalism is so strong it nears imperialism and yet stimulates more ethnic nationalist movements among those it oppresses.

Unlike the other two states discussed in these case studies, China was not born out of an ethnic nationalist movement. China has been a state since ancient times. From the second century A.D. onwards, China was ruled by succession of imperial dynasties. That all changed in 1911 when the Manchu dynasty was overthrown and the Kuomintang nationalist party headed by Sun Yat-sen took power. (Ganeri) However this did not bring stability to China; for nearly four decades the country was in chaos. Warlords took control of large sections of the country, a brutal Japanese invasion in the 1930s further devastated the country and finally a civil war, breaking out in 1946, finally destroyed the old regime. (CBC China)

The Chinese Communist Party, headed by Mao Zedong, came to power by force in 1949. Mao instituted many far reaching reforms during the 1950s. First of all, he nationalised all industries and made the complete transition to a planned economy like that which was in use in the Soviet Union during that time. He also closed thousands of schools, forcing peasants to work on the land. He engaged in an active crackdown on

intellectuals and all political opponents. This period is known as the Cultural Revolution. (BBC China)

   After the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, the Cultural Revolution died a quick death and many of those who were responsible for the repression of that period were arrested and demonised. In 1978, China began to make slow reforms to a market style economy as opposed to the previous command economy. China also opened its boarders to small amounts of foreign investment and trade. (CBC China) The result was nothing less than an economic miracle. At the present time, the Chinese economy has a growth rate of nearly 10% a year. Today, China has the second largest economy in the world, second only to the United States, however the Chinese economy is set to surpass its American counterpart at some time around 2040. (Dyer)

   Despite this economic miracle, the situation in China is not entirely as wonderful. China still remains a communist state with a good deal of remaining political repression. Another common attribute of communism in practice is the repression of minorities, and this is exactly what the Chinese government has done in the past and is currently doing.

   The most blatant example of this repression is the case of Tibet. China conquered the territory known as the 'Roof of the World' in 1950, having claimed it as a part of Chinese territory for hundreds of years. During the Cultural Revolution, Tibet suffered immensely. Hundreds of monasteries were completely destroyed and thousands were killed during martial law. After a failed uprising against the Chinese government in 1959, the Dalai Lama and others fled Tibet and set up a government in exile in northern India. (BBC Tibet)

Cameron J. Wachowich

The Chinese government has been directly and openly hostile to the Tibetan population and any symbols of the Buddhist faith in Tibet. When the 11th Panchen Lama, a reincarnation of the 10th Panchen Lama, was located in Tibet in 1995, the youngster was quickly detained by Chinese authorities and has not been seen since. (BBC Tibet) The Chinese government has also taken steps to decimate the Tibetan ethnicity and race. They have taken measures to implement the use of the Chinese language rather than the more common Tibetan, and they have encouraged the emigration of ethnic Chinese into the territory. (BBC Tibet)

Tibet is not the only example of this. There are 55 different identified ethic groups in China today, many of whom are openly seeking independence. The dominant ethnic group in China are the Han Chinese; they make up somewhere around 92% of the country's 1.3 billion people. The almost entirely Han government has continued to take a tough stance on ethnic minorities, giving in to none of their requests for autonomy, or a recognition of their local culture, language or religion. (BBC China) Yet China is a rising power and showing no signs of weakening, so the fate of these groups remains unknown, will they be able to maintain the local identities and someday, somehow gain independence, or will they be assimilated by the Chinese?

Case Study: Ukraine

The subject of the third and final case study of this report is the Eastern European republic of Ukraine. The Ukraine stands alone in this report as an example of peaceful and successful nationalism. The nationalist movement in the Ukraine has developed into a functioning liberal democracy that is an example to the world.

Cameron J. Wachowich

Historically, Ukraine is a state that has always had its own ethnic identity; however it has rarely known independence. In the middle ages, Kievan Rus became one of the first powers in Eastern Europe and later evolved to become the Russian empire. However, the Ukrainian people soon fell under the domination of various other Eastern European empires in succession, the Lithuanians, the Poles and the Russians. In the 20th century, the Ukraine has gained its independence on two occasions. The first was a brief period following the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II and the break-up of the Russian Empire in 1917. However the new Ukraine was unable to maintain unity quickly descended into civil war. The war saw now only the capital Kiev change hands on five separate occasions but also significant amounts of Polish and Russian intervention. In the end, the new Soviet Union gained control of most of the Ukraine, with some western provinces going to Poland. The Ukraine officially became a republic of the USSR in 1922. (CBC Ukraine)

During the Soviet years, the Ukraine suffered greatly. Due to his hatred of national minorities, Joseph Stalin engineered a famine in the Ukraine in the early 1930s that killed over 7 million people. Also, millions of Ukrainians were deported to labour camps in Siberia for crimes against the state. In addition to those deportations, Stalin also demolished the intellectual community in the Ukraine and heavily cracked down on religious life. It was in the Ukraine that some of the fiercest fighting of the Second World War took place, including the battle of Sevastopol, the first counteroffensive against the Nazis. During the Second World War, an estimated 6 million Ukrainians died. All in all, during the first half of the 20th century, the combination of wars,

famines, purges and yet more war killed approximately half the country's male population and a quarter of the country's female population. (CBC Ukraine)

In the latter half of the 20th century, the Ukraine gained considerable security from its place in the heart of the Eastern Bloc. Ukraine gradually increased in prominence as a Soviet Republic. The noted Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev was Ukrainian by birth. The Ukrainian people became the most 'respected' ethnic group next to the Russians in the Soviet Union. However the Chernobyl disaster of 1986, the world's worst nuclear accident, and Moscow's slow response to it, spread discontent among the Ukrainian population. (CBC Ukraine)

When the USSR finally began to collapse in the late 1980s, the Ukraine hung on to the union longer than most republics, waiting until August 1991 to declare independence. After secession from the Soviet Union, the newly independent Ukraine faced numerous unique problems. Among them were the ability of the new state to sustain itself after having spent so many years as part of the larger, fully centralised Soviet industrial machine, the problem of international relations, and the problem of national identity all loomed large. (Erlanger)

Unfortunately, the new Ukrainian government was not much different from the old, being made up of many of the same individuals who had run the old communist party. However Ukraine was highly independent in name. The last of the old Soviet nuclear missile silos was destroyed in 2001, and economic growth has been solid since 2002. (CBC Ukraine) However it was not until late in 2004 that Ukraine finally began to assert its independence.

Cameron J. Wachowich

This assertion came in the form of the 'Orange Revolution'. On November 24th,

Ukraine held its regularly scheduled presidential elections. The two leading candidates

were Viktor Yanukovich and Victor Yuschenko. Yanukovich held a high position in

the outgoing government of Leonid Kuchma, a government wrought with corruption,

extremely pro Russian, and unpopular in most of the country. Yoschenko, on the other

hand, headed party that was openly pro western. He campaigned as a practical

alternative to the decade long rule of Kuchma's party. Yoschenko was mysteriously

poisoned during the campaign and remains scarred to this day. When the votes were

counted, Yanukovich was declared the official winner of the election with 49% of the

vote. Yoschenko had allegedly received only 46% of the vote. However, according to

international observers, the election was far below standard. There were countless

allegations of election rigging and unreliable voting techniques.

Crowds took to the streets. The Yoschenko supporters draped themselves and

the whole of central Kiev in orange scarves and banners, the official colour of

Yoschenko's campaign. This gave the event its name, the 'Orange Revolution'. This

peaceful protest lasted nearly a month until the results of the previous election were

annulled by the Ukrainian Supreme Court and a new vote took place on the 26th of

December. The new vote, which was met with approval by the numerous international

observers, gave Yoschenko a decisive victory.

Immediately after coming to power, Yoschenko made good on his promises.

He has scheduled an inquiry into the Kuchma years, to uncover and deal with all the

wrongdoings of that time. He has maintained reasonable ties with Russia but also

deepened ties with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (hereafter NATO) and the

Cameron J. Wachowich

European Union (hereafter EU), of which he aspires to make the Ukraine a member.
He has also extended ties with Georgia and Kyrgyzstan, other former Soviet Republics
that have taken a similar course to the Ukraine. (BBC Ukraine)

As much as ethnic nationalism is so often a source of conflict in the world, it
can often be a positive force in the world and the Ukraine boldly stands today as an
example of how ethnic nationalism and the peaceful self determination of people can
result in a functioning liberal democracy. Today Ukraine is on the verge of a new
phase in its history, with eventual entry into the EU and NATO, the Ukraine will soon
be far more westernised that ever before in its history. Who knows what role Ukraine
will play in the changing European scene, as the EU increases in strength and expands
eastward, onto the doorstep of Russia.

The Role of International Organisations

As ethnic nationalism is more of a phenomenon than a world crisis, there are no
international organisations that deal with it directly. However, as has already been
established, ethnic nationalist movements are a common source of conflict in the
modern world and it is that conflict that attracts the attention of a number of
international organisations.

The one international body that does the most to create stability in the world is
the United Nations (hereafter UN). The primary function of the UN is to prevent and
deal with wars. The primary organ for the prevention of wars is the United Nations
general assembly in New York.

However, it is the dealing with wars the poses the greatest challenge. For this, the United Nations maintains various humanitarian organisations to aid those affected by conflict. Among these are the World Health Organisation (WHO), the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) and numerous regional organisations that deal with the issues of only a specific area, as well numerous initiatives are spearheaded by the UN to raise awareness of global issues relating to conflict.

The Quebecois

The population of North America is largely for foreign descent. Foreign descent of such a nature that distinct ethnic differences from the country of origin have been rare and have taken a particularly long time to form. However there stands alone one notable case in which they have formed, and that case happens to be in Canada, like it or not.

The ethnic group referred to above are the Quebecois. They originally came from France between the 16th and 18th centuries to France's crown jewel colony, New France, now known as Quebec. They are the largest French speaking community in North America and the largest single ethnic group in Canada.

However it is the separatist movement in Quebec that makes it fully unique, as it is the only ethnic nationalist movement to gain any widespread support in Canada. Quebec separatism has a complex history. The start of this separatism was during the death of Maurice Duplessis in 1959. Duplessis, who had been premier of Quebec for a record 5 terms, left the province with universal electricity, rural education and no debt,

however with a large French speaking population and an English government. This was soon to change.

During Expo 67 in Montréal the visiting French president Charles de Gaulle made a symbolic gesture that changed the face of Quebec forever. While he addressed a crowd he raised his arms in a V shape and said "Vive la Quebec libré!" (Long live the free Quebec!) This gesture infuriated most of Canada, and de Gaulle was politely asked to leave, however it became a symbol that galvanized the population of Quebec into thoughts of separatism.

In October 1970, this separatist movement came to a head. For some time vandalism, death threats and mailbox bombings that terrorised the English neighbourhoods of Montréal, but the crisis in Quebec escalated on the 5th of October. Four armed men seized British Trade Commissioner James Cross as he left for work. Cross was kidnapped by a terrorist organisation identifying themselves as the Front de Libération du Québec (The Quebec Liberation Front, hereafter FLQ). The FLQ had 5 seven demands; the broadcast of the FLQ manifesto on CBC television, $500 000 in gold, a plane to Cuba or Algeria, an end to police searches, the reinstatement of Lapalme postal workers, the release of various 'political prisoners' and the names of police informants. The Canadian government delayed in meeting the demands, thus on the 10th of October, Pierre Laporte, the Quebec Minister of Labour was kidnapped at his home. (October Crisis)

It was at this point that the crisis took a turn for the worst. On the 16th of October, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act, a decision that essentially temporarily suspended all civil liberties in Canada. The next

day, seven days after he was kidnapped, the body of Laporte was found the trunk of a car. (October Crisis)

However, all eventually ended as well as can be expected. Eight weeks after he was originally kidnapped, James Cross was freed. Four of the kidnappers received passage by plane to Cuba and another four were tried and jailed. The war measures act was revoked and life returned to normal. (October Crisis)

The next noteworthy event occurred in 1976. This event was the election of the Parti Quebecois (hereafter PQ) headed by Rene Levesque to power in Quebec. The PQ was a self declared separatist party with the primary goal of holding a referendum on the sovereignty of Quebec. This they did in 1980. The nation held their breath as they watched a strong campaign from both sides, but they breathed a sigh of relief when the result came out as 60% against separation, 40% in favour. The experience was repeated in 1995 with a much smaller margin of error. It was then that Canada realised that it was necessary to bring Quebec truly into the 'national fold'. Thus the federal government worked and spent hard to raise their profile with the people of Quebec, and it is this spending that has created the largest political issue in present day Canada.

Ethnic nationalism has played a pivotal role in the history of this country in the late 20th century and as the issue of Quebec is still far from resolved, it will continue to do so long into the future. The issue of Quebec separatism is not one that has gone away, nor can it be expected to. The Quebecois are a unique ethnic group who contribute greatly to the identity of this country, one who it would be a terrible tragedy to loose.

Cameron J. Wachowich

<u>Possible Solutions</u>

Possible solutions to the issue of ethnic nationalism are a tricky matter. Ethnic nationalism is not a conventional material issue; therefore conventional solutions cannot be applied. One cannot sweep a field of nationalism, or put a band aid on it. The solutions to ethnic nationalism must be tailored carefully to fit the problem.

One possible solution is assimilation. One way to eliminate ethnic nationalism is to eliminate ethnicity. If one ethnic group can become fully integrated into another ethnic group, there is little chance they will be able to maintain enough of a group kinship to start an ethnic nationalist movement, therefore ensuring the security of the larger group. This solution is a rather cold one that fails to account for a number of aspects of human nature; however it is one that has occurred in the past and is occurring in various places in the world today. The full integration of one ethnic group into another is a real possibility so long as there is no racial barrier; everything except race can be learned in a generation or two. However it is often very difficult to get the group to be assimilated to co operate, as to become a member of the dominant group, they would effectively be admitting that their own group in inferior. (Prazauskas)

Another possibility is the creation of ethnically pure states. This is made extremely difficult by the loose lines along which ethnicity is defined and the fact that it is very common to find that there are ethnically mixed areas. (Eriksen) Just imagine trying to determine which ethnic group would get to control Toronto.

As always, to do nothing is a very possible solution, and in this case a practical one. There are no truly ancient ethnic conflicts. The most ancient of ethnic groups in the world have remained as they are, where they are for no more than little over a

millennium. Individuals move around a great deal, and so do entire peoples. Take the case of England for example. Over the past two millennia, that little piece of land has been inhabited by at least nine different ethnic groups, all of whom have contributed something to the people who live there today. Time heals all things. If ethnic nationalist movements can be kept peaceful long enough, eventually the cause of the movement will pass, and many years down the road, the group that initiated the movement will have moved on to better and brighter things.

In conclusion, it is very clear that ethnic nationalism is an issue that ought not to be ignored in the modern world. It is one that has had great prominence throughout world history and in all parts of the globe. This report is intended to be but a mere introduction to the issue. The author acknowledges that much has been left out; however as with any good quest for knowledge, the onus is on the reader to educate themselves, to answer the questions that are raised, to make a contribution.

Cameron J. Wachowich

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Cameron J. Wachowich

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