Knowledge Enrichment Series on 'History and Development of Modern China':
(3) A Comparative Study of Nationalism and Nationalist Movements in China and the West (1789-2010)

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The Waning of Nationalism?

- “What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such... That is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.”
  (Francis Fukuyama)
Different Scenarios

- The Historical Experience in the post cold-war era
A Definition of Nation

- A nation contains at least two elements: a culture and a political organization. Without a culture, a mass of people cannot develop into a coherent group. On the other side, an ill-organized cultural group is fragile.
The culture and the organization of a group of people seldom develop at the same speed. For instance, the German culture flowered in the 18th century before a German state was founded. On the other side, although the nation-state of France was built in the 12th century, the French people continued to search for their national identity in the next seven hundred years.
Friedrich Meinecke (1862-1954)

- **Kulturnation** (cultural nation)
- **Staatsnation** (Nation state)
- “How can German culture exist without a vigorous public life, which is born only of the unity of the people and state?...As a people’s political foundation disappears, all strength and striving will die. Only if we possess a fatherland, if we possessed the supreme human and political ideas of our own united strong people, would we achieve stable customs, firm character and form, only then could the highest and most splendid human qualities grow from earthly roots into trees towering in the sun.”
Nation Building

- Nation building means, thus, the creation of a national culture and/or a political form for a particular group of people. It is usually carried out by a national core group.
National Core Group and its Characters:

- A common collective noun (French, Britons, Germans, etc.)
- A belief in a common ancestor
- A collective memory (great disaster, war, etc.)
- A homeland or at least a belief in sharing a common homeland
- Common cultural symbols (languages, feasts, flags, etc.)
- A coherent organization
A Nationalism contains

- a desire to build up or to maintain a nation or a national-state
- a sense of belonging to a nation and a readiness to contribute to it
- a series of cultural activities aiming at defining a nation
- an ideology that explains the characters, the uniqueness and the destiny of a nation
- social and political movements to achieve certain nationalistic goals
Benedict Anderson’s Thesis

- The end of intellectual monopoly
- Print culture
- Colonialism and the “we” and “others”

Nationalist Conflict: An Unended Process

- National core groups and other ethnic groups
- The distribution of power and resources
- Cultural assimilation or cultural hegemony?

Poster
Nationalism and Globalisation
The 19th Annual ASEN Conference
31st March – 2nd April 2009
London School of Economics
Stephen Castles, John Hall, Michael Keating,
Stephanie Lawson, Juergen Osterhammel, John Sidel
Manifestations of Nationalism in 19th Century Europe

- The Search for National Identity (Britain and France)
- National Unification (Italy and Germany)
- National Separatism (the Balkan States)
- Reformist Nationalism (Russia)
State and Nationalism

- In the modern era, centralized states which monopolize the use of economic, ideological and military forces, are in a much better position to attain nationalistic goals.

Photo: Hitler inspecting an army which is marching along a street with tall buildings
Foreign Influence and Nationalism

Cartoon:
A gentleman, in a hat with red and white stripes, and white stars on a blue ground, pointing at readers

Photo:
white polar bear
Nation-Building: Germany

- The emergence of a German culture
- The destiny of the German People: Hegel’s philosophy of history

Photo: Early German nationalists
In 1843, a comment in the *Dusseldorfer Zeitung* stated that “Thus we have instead of one Germany, thirty-eight German states, an equal number of governments, almost the same number of courts, as many representative bodies, thirty-eight distinct legal codes and administrations, embassies and consulates. What an enormous saving it would be, if all of that were taken care of by one central government......”.

Map of Zollverein 1834-1919
The Abortive Attempt of 1848

- The Revolution 1848
- The first German constitution
- Greater or smaller Germany
- The cowardice Friedrich William IV refused "a crown made of mud and clay".
- The new hope in Prussia

Photo: German town
So ist Gesagt:

- "Germany is not looking to Prussia’s liberalism but to her power......The great questions of our time will not be decided by speeches and major resolution - that was the mistake of 1848-49 - but by iron and blood"
The Three Wars of Unification

- The Danish War 1864 over Schleswig-Holstein
- The Austro-Prussian War 1866
- The Franco-Prussian War 1870

Photo: A monument of unification
Map:
The New Powers in Central Europe 1871
National Separatism of Serbia

- The decline of the Turkish Empire and the rise of Serbian nationalism
- Austrian and British role in the Turkish-Serbian struggle
- Urbanization and cultural growth of Serbia
- The independence of Serbia in 1878
Map:
Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1850-2, 1875
The Post-War era

1945-now: Balkans and the Middle East
Basic Settings of the Ex- Yugoslavia in the late 1980s

- Racial Composition of Yugoslavia: Serbs, Croats, Muslims, Albanians, etc
- The six republics and the Federation: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia
- The Ruling Structure: Long regime founded upon charismatic leaders and narrow-based elite (Romania, Bulgaria, etc., too)
- Command Economy with emphasis on heavy industries

Portrait: Josip Broz Tito 1892-1980
The Early 1990s

- The New Election of 1990
- The Birth of race-based politics
- The Military and Economic Position of Serbia
- The Dissolution of the Soviet Economic System and its Impacts on the Yugoslav Successor States

Map: Yugoslav Successor States
EC (later EU), the USA and Russia

- EC’s basic principle: to preserve the pre-Yugoslavia and to give successor states more democracy
- EC’s geopolitical considerations (Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland)
- Helmut Sonnenfeldt, top aide of Kissenger, said in 1975, “it ought actually to promote the preservation of the Soviet order.”
- Gorbachev’s Fate
The Outburst in June 1991

- Both Slovenia and Croatia declared themselves independent states on June 25, 1991 and defeated the Yugoslavian Liberation Army.
- The Serbs in Croatia (15% of the Croatian population), who were supported by Belgrade, reacted radically to the policy of “a state for the Croats” and war continued.
- While the EC proposed a three-month freeze on implementation of their independence declarations so as to buy time for negotiation, a German-Italian initiative to deploy a Western European Union’s force to separate the combatants was blocked by Britain.
The Tough Stand of the Croats

- The overrated Serbian Army
- The Peter Carrington Plan of a Federation of Yugoslav sovereign states, which was accepted by Serbia and Montenegro only
- The arm embargo that aimed at localizing the war hurt Croatia only
- The siege of Dubrovnik
Dubrovnik

Photo:
A bird’s view of Dubrovnik

Photo:
Dubrovnik on fire
The Inner Contradiction of the Western Camp

- Washington’s opposition to a NATO peace-keeping mission
- The intensification of war
- The Battle of Vukovar
- Germany’s initiative in December 1991 that forced the EC to follow
- Slovenia and Croatia were recognized by the EC on January 15, 1992

Photo:
A watch tower with a national flag on the roof top, with vivid marks of being bombarded
Map:

1993: Vance-Owen Plan
Map:

1995: Dayton Agreement
Political Landscape in the Middle East after 1945

- An Arab core, with a shared identity but fragmented into multiple territorial states.
- The Arab core is flanked by non-Arab states – Turkey and Iran
- Israel
External Interference

- The once colonial power (Britain and France) created and left behind client elite and classes which have an interest in dependent relations with the West
- On the other hand, regional states are linked to the West, in feudal-like North-South relations, while horizontal (south-south) relations remains unstable
- The Cold War and the two superpowers’ interests in the Middle East
Catalysts

- Petroleum and the Oil Crisis
- Anti-foreignism and Arab Nationalism
- The division among Muslim countries

Photo:
A car with a big banner erected on its right

Banner:
Gas Shortage! Sales Limited to 10 GALS of GAS. PER CUSTOMER
Results

- Long-term regional disputes (Arab-Israeli conflicts)
- Short-lived military hostilities (Iran-Iraq war)
- Local disputes (Lebanon)
Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1948

- The First Arab-Israeli War in May 1948
- The Armistice in Jan. 1949 that caused even more troubles
- The rise of Egypt

Map of Israel:
- Showing Gaza, Neve Dekalim, Jerusalem, West Bank
The Rise of Egypt

- Gamal Abdul Nasser (1918-1970)
- Egypt’s emergence as a regional power
- The Suez War 1954-55
- Syria, Egypt and the United Arab Republic 1958-62

Photo:
Gamal Abdul Nasser, Giving a speech, Showing strong sentiments
From War to Temporary Peace

- The Six-Day War in 1967 and its aftermath
- Renewed war in October 1973
- Oil Crisis of 1973 and the USA as mediator
- The new problem Lebanon

Map of Egypt
The Iran-Iraq War (1980-89)

• The development of Iraq under British administration before 1945
• The Peliva Family in Iran
• From the 1958 Revolution to the Rise of Saddam Hussein in Iraq
• The Revolution in Iran in 1979
The Bone of Contention

- Iran Expansion in 1972
- Iran assistance to Kurds in Iraq
- Shatt-al-Arab
- The Algiers Agreement 1975
- Revolution in Iran 1979 and the rise of Saddam Hussein
- The superpowers and the intensification of war

Map:
Qatar, Saudi Arebia, United Arab Emirates, Oman, Iran
The Persian Gulf

Map of the Persian Gulf
Nationalism in China: from the Mid-19th Century to 1949

- Reassessment of the Chinese culture and the creation of a new national identity
- Defensive modernization
- Anti-foreignism

Photo: An old building showing signs of Bombardment by gunshots

Photo: Armed Boxers in a squad
National and Cultural Integration in Contemporary China

- The traditional tributary system and the making of a Chinese identity
- The decline of “universal kingship” in the 19th century
- The problems of the Republican government: without a state which could “orderly exercise of a nationwide, public authority” (Reinhard Bendix)

**Portrait:**
A young, rich lady doing calligraphy, in traditional Chinese costume (e.g. that of Ming Dynasty)

**Photo:**
A young lady from a minor ethnic group in the southwest of China
National Separatism in China

- The Han Chinese and other ethnic groups
- Political participation and national integration
- Foreign intervention
- National self-determination

Photo:
People in demonstration;

2 Banners in the front:
(1) TAIWAN IS MY COUNTRY
(2) TAIWAN IS NOT PART OF CHINA

Poster:
A monk in meditation
Caption on the top:
FREE TIBET
Nationalism and Modernization

- Early modernization effort
- The Nanjing government
- The Soviet model
- Reform since 1978

A book cover: The Future of Chinese Capitalism

Photo:
A construction site of a big dam project
The China Threat

- China’s expansion
- Anti-foreignism

Photos:

(1) An empty building after bombardment
(1) A torn highway / footbridge