TAKE AN MSc IN NATIONALISM STUDIES AT A WORLD-LEADING UNIVERSITY

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@ASENEdinburgh

FULL COURSE INFORMATION:
nationalism-studies.sps.ed.ac.uk

Photo by Daniil Vnoutchkov on Unsplash
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The Conference Co-chairs

Isabella Gabrovsky
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University of Edinburgh
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Deanna Soloninka
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Dear Colleagues,

Welcome to the 29th Conference of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism! For the first time ever, the ASEN conference is at the University of Edinburgh, the home of our first branch.

This two-day conference aims to explore the concepts of Nationalism and Self-Determination, how we study them, and how they have developed since 1919.

We will examine a variety of themes, including but not limited to the destruction of empires and the construction of new nation-states, nationalism and opposition to the League of Nations, the impact of national self-determination on inter-war empires, and the perception that national identity is a precondition of statehood.

We have an assortment of sessions exploring these themes from panels discussing the implications of Brexit to the ongoing Kurdish nationalist movement.

Some highlights from our programme include two recently published books from up-and-coming scholars, three plenaries, and a poster exhibit that will showcase the current work from young researchers.

Further details about these plenaries, the panel sessions, and other events (including lunch, drinks events and the conference dinner) can be found in this programme.

Also included is a campus map, to assist you in finding your way around. On behalf of the entire ASEN conference team, we warmly welcome you and wish you a stimulating and enjoyable conference experience!

Isabella Gabrovsky, Deanna Soloninka, and Justin Ho
Conference Co-Chairs
USEFUL INFORMATION

Registration
Registration will take place in the Foyer of Chrystal Macmillan Building between 8:30-9:30 on Wednesday 24 April. To avoid missing the first plenary session, please arrive with plenty of time.

Plenary Sessions
Plenary sessions will be held in Meadows Lecture Theatre, HRB Lecture Theatre, Teviot Lecture Theatre, and Old College Lecture Theatre. Please check the programme for the exact location.

Panel Sessions
Panel sessions make up the majority of the conference programme. If you are presenting on a panel, please arrive in good time. Each paper presentation should last 15 minutes. There will be time at the end of each panel to ask questions. All panel sessions will be held in Old College Teaching Rooms.

Poster session
This year we also have a poster session. Papers will be presented as posters during lunch and coffee breaks. Please feel free to drop in, peruse the posters, and chat with presenters about their work and research.

Book Panels
This year we have two book panels in the conference programme.

The book workshop on Ceren Şengül’s new book *Customized Forms of Kurdishishness in Turkey: State Rhetoric, Locality, and Language Use* will take place on Session 2 (April 24, from 13:15 until 14:30). This workshop will be chaired by Gëzim Krasniqi.

The book workshop on Eirik Magnus Fuglestad’s new book *Private Property and the Origins of Nationalism in the United States and Norway: The Making of Propertied Communities* will take place on Session 5 (April 25, from 11:30 until 12:45). The workshop will be chaired by John Breuilly.

We invite everyone to participate, attendance to these is first come first served, as with any other panel.
Food and drink
Tea and coffee will be available during coffee breaks in the Foyer of Chrystal Macmillan Building and Quad Cafe in Old College. Please check the programme for the exact location.

This year’s conference dinner will be at the Bute Room in the National Museum of Scotland from 18:15 onwards on Wednesday April 24 (about 10 minutes’ walk from venue at Chambers Street, Edinburgh EH1 1JF). Register via the ASEN website – places are strictly limited so please book early to avoid disappointment.

A lunch sponsored by our journal, Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism, will be held in Foyer of Chrystal Macmillan Building, 12:45-14:00, on Thursday April 25.

Various cafes and restaurants can be found on the Teviot Place and Forrest Road. There are four bars within the campus located in Teviot Row House.

Wi-Fi
If you are coming from an institution which uses ‘Eduroam’ Wi-Fi services, you can connect with your login credentials.

Twitter
Follow us on Twitter @asenevents and tweet using #ASEN2019.
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Margaret Moore  
(Old College Lecture Theatre 1.264) |
| 11:00-11:30 | Quad Cafe | Coffee break |
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Panel 5.2 Independents in Western Europe  
Panel 5.3 Referents of nationalism: the role of territory  
Panel 5.4 Projecting Russianness in the Near (and Further) Abroad  
Book Panel (Eirik Magnus Fuglestad) |
| 12:45-14:00 | CMB Foyer | SEN Sponsored Lunch  
(CMB Foyer) |
| 14:00-15:15 | Hugh Robson Building Lecture Theatre | Self-Determination in Three Keys: Asian Perspectives on the Paris Peace Conference and on Interwar Order in East Asia  
Matthias Zachmann  
(Hugh Robson Building Lecture Theatre) |
| 15:15-15:30 | CMB Foyer | Coffee Break  
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Panel 6.2 Kurdayetî  
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Panel 6.4 At Versailles: First image analysis of the Paris Peace Conference  
Panel 6.5 Nationalism and (violent) conflict |
| 16:45-17:00 | Quad Cafe | Coffee break  
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| 17:00-18:00 | Teviot Lecture Theatre | Roundtable and Closing Remarks  
(Teviot Lecture Theatre) |

**Location Keys:**
CMB Foyer - Chrystal Macmillan Building, Foyer  
Quad Cafe - Old College, First Floor  
Meadows Lecture Theatre - Teviot (Old Medical School), Doorway 4, G.07  
Teviot Lecture Theatre - Teviot (Old Medical School), Doorway 5  
Old College Lecture Theatre - Old College, 1.264  
HRB Lecture Theatre - Hugh Robson Building, Ground Floor
PLENARY SESSIONS

9:15-10:30, Wednesday 24 APRIL,
Meadows Lecture Theatre
There and back again: America’s 1919 delegation return to Paris
James Kennedy (The University of Edinburgh) and Liliana Riga (The University of Edinburgh)

This paper is anchored by the memoires and writings of several key members of the American delegation, whose contributions to deliberations around borders and minority protections in 1919 were critical. Whether written in the immediate aftermath in the early 1920s, or with twenty years’ hindsight and occasioned by post-war planning in the 1940s, several key architects of the maps and Minority Treaties sought to take a measure of the distance between their deliberations and decisions at Paris and the consequences of these decisions in the intervening years. Based on our analyses of their thinking, we argue that their individual memoires amount to a collective view that, while their combined specialisms had sought to instantiate an ideological vision, their practices constituted a departure from previous balance of power treaties, and so Paris was realised at the cost of geopolitical and strategic thinking.

9:45-11:00, Thursday 25 APRIL,
Old College Lecture Theatre
Territory, Territorial rights and Nationalism
Margaret Moore (Queen’s University)

This talk examines recent work in political philosophy justifying states’ or nations’ rights over territory. One of the most under-theorized elements of the current inter-state order is that of territory. There is a rich and nuanced literature on the appropriate and justified relationship between state and citizen, and the rights and duties owed on both sides, but very little discussion of the principled basis on which the domain of the state is determined. Nationalists have long been interested in land, or ‘homelands’ and territory, and one of the prominent arguments for territorial rights comes from a liberal nationalist direction. There are other arguments that related the state to land which is of key importance to people interested in nationalism. This talk will survey the literature, and argue that the appropriate territorial right-holder ought to be ‘the people’ (to be consistent with liberal and dem-
ocratic ideals) and then articulates how this can be understood as a general, iterative right. The implications for a principled nationalism are discussed.

9:45-11:00, Thursday 25 APRIL, HRB Lecture Theatre

**Self-Determination in Three Keys: Asian Perspectives on the Paris Peace Conference and on Interwar Order in East Asia**

*Matthias Zachmann (Freie Universität Berlin)*

Although World War One has often been seen as a largely Western catastrophe, it brought multiple and profound changes to the whole world, not the least to East Asia. The Paris Peace Conference of 1919 was, in effect, as important for Asian countries as it was for Europe, albeit on a different level and for different reasons. This paper explores Asian reactions to the Paris Peace Conference, particularly related to the issue of self-determination, in three movements, or ‘keys’: the initial public fervour and quick disillusionment with the Conference and its outcomes itself; the defiant reactions in Korea, China, but also Japan that sprang forth from this disillusionment and to a considerable degree shaped public opinion and foreign policy in East Asia during the interwar period; and finally, in a third, more speculative fashion the long-term consequences, the long shadow as it were, that the Paris Peace Conference and the issue of self-determination may still cast on East Asian politics and political thought today. Thus, while for China and Korea, the Paris Peace Conference eventually produced a lasting positive effect by opening up a space for constructive counter-narratives, in Japan it helped proliferate a kind of ‘dark Wilsonianism’, as it were, that informed the Japanese conduct of interwar politics in a decisive way.
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1.1 Kin-states, Transnationalism and the Triadic Nexus Reframed

**National minorities and the question of local and regional development. Are Danish minority in Germany and German minority in Denmark post-national?**  
*Sergiusz Bober*

The proposed paper is focused upon conceptualizations of local and regional development, as expressed in the electoral manifestos of the political parties of two national minorities, German in Denmark and Danish in Germany (the existence of both minorities is the result of post-World War I plebiscites determining the shape of the Danish-German border). The aforementioned political parties are: Slesvigsk Parti (Danish)/Schleswigsche Partei (German) – the party of German minority in Denmark, and Sydslesvigske Vælgerforening (Danish)/Südschleswigscher Wählerverband (German)/Söödschlaswiksche Wäälerferbånd (North Frisian) – the party of mainly Danish but also Frisian minority in Germany. In the paper, first both parties will be briefly presented (structure, ideological profile etc.). In the second part, an analysis of the recent electoral manifestos of each party will be provided, focusing upon the following research questions (examples): How important is local and regional development for each party? How it is conceptualized? How they intend to cooperate with political parties of the majority? Does kin-state and cross-border cooperation matter for minorities’ strategies of local and regional development? In the final part, the approaches to local and regional development of both parties will be compared, thus creating an opportunity to identify similarities and differences. The present abstract is related to the conference theme and central questions in multiple ways, as it touches upon: the evolution of identities of national minorities; interactions between national minorities and majorities; the legacies of past conflicts in contemporary politics; the accommodation of national minorities within national states; the connections between the concepts of self-determination and self-identification.

**Transnational Self-Determination and National Indifference**  
*Szabolcs Pogany*

This paper investigates how the Hungarian transborder minority created by the 1920 Paris Peace Treaty fails to respond to, or in some cases even outright contest, the Hungarian government’s transnational self-determination project. The main aim of the paper is to explore when, why and how transborder kin-minorities ignore or withstand nation-building projects and mobilization efforts of their ethnic homelands. The analysis draws on 60 semi-structure interviews with ethnic Hungarians living in
Romania, Serbia, Ukraine and Slovakia who did not naturalize in Hungary, despite the Orbán government’s decision to make Hungarian citizenship available for co-ethnics living outside Hungary. The paper contributes to the literature on national indifference (Zahra 2008; Zahra 2010; Judson 2006) through exploring the structural variables of ordinary people’s indifference to transsovereign nation-building projects (see Brubaker et al. 2006; Fox 2004; Knott 2016; Pogonyi 2017). The research goes beyond the existing conceptualizations and offer an empirically informed typology of varieties of national indifference. The existing literature has so far failed to distinguish the qualitatively different types of national indifference. While it is widely acknowledged that national mobilization is sometimes unsuccessful, the reasons behind its unsuccess has not been systematically explored. The semi-structured interviews in the four different transborder communities enable me to identify the modalities of nationalist responses given to the Hungarian government’s project of ‘national reunification beyond the borders’. The paper distinguishes ignorance, apathy, indifference, abstention and anti-nationalist protest as qualitatively different modalities of national indifference.

Buddhist nationalism and Brubaker’s triadic nexus
Nauwar Shukri

Buddhist nationalism takes centre stage in Thailand and Myanmar. While neither Thailand nor Myanmar have an official religion, 95% of Thais and 88% of Burmese people are Buddhist. Among all the world religions, Buddhism is often described as a religion of peace and compassion to the point of pacifism (Keyes 2016). This perception was turned on its head in 2017 when Buddhist extremists in Myanmar led what the United Nations has deemed an ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya Muslim minority in the southwestern state of Rakhine. In Thailand’s ‘Deep South’, Malay Muslim insurgents are rebelling against the state’s assimilationist ‘Thaification’ policies. While a segment of this minority population is open to peace talks and integrating with the Thai Buddhist majority, some of the insurgent groups are demanding secession and fighting to realize an Islamic state. According to Rogers Brubaker’s triadic nexus framework for analysing nationalist conflict, there is always a ‘homeland nation/state’ involved. Neighbouring Malaysia is a Muslim-majority country where the majority ethnic population is also Malay. The state acts as a third-party mediator for Thailand’s peace talks with the Deep South. On top of that, Malaysia was quick to condemn the Burmese state’s lack of action in protecting the Rohingya people despite ASEAN’s long-held tradition of non-intervention. This paper will explore Malaysia’s role in relation to Brubaker’s triadic nexus as well as unpack the nation-building strategies employed by both Thailand and Myanmar which have led to the conflicts that plague them today.
Between the Home- and Kin-state: bottom-up perspective towards minorities’ self-determination in the Ukrainian-Romanian borderland
Nadiia Bureiko, Teodor Lucian Moga, Alexandru Ioan Cuza

Identificational practices of minority groups and perceptions ‘on the ground’ play a noticeable role in the development of bilateral relations between states which hold a majority population that shares the same ethnicity, language, cultural and historical links with a minority from the neighboring state. This issue is gaining even more importance today given that some of the restored states of the ex-communist bloc have provided easy access to citizenship for their diasporas and trans-border kin-minorities. This paper aims at exploring from a comparative approach and a bottom-up perspective the present-day self-perceptions and identificational trends existing at the level of the two most relevant minority groups living on the two sides of the Ukrainian-Romanian borderland – ethnic Ukrainians in Romania and ethnic Romanians in Ukraine. Built on an elaborated version of Brubaker’s ‘nexus’, this research inquires how ethnic Romanians in Ukraine and ethnic Ukrainians in Romania position themselves in relation to their home- and kin-states. The paper argues that the attachment of each ethnic minority to their home-state hinges more on the economic and political conditions existing in the respective state rather than on cultural bonding. In order to provide evidence for our argument, this paper explores and centralises our findings from a questionnaire-based survey, the first of its kind, simultaneously conducted on both sides of the Ukrainian-Romanian borderland by using the same set of questions.

1.2 Nationalism, Populism and Nationalist Populism

Are Scottish and Catalan independence movements populist? A new framework to disentangle nationalism and populism
Jose Javier Olivas Osuna

Usually nationalism articulates ‘the people-as-nation’ while populism considers ‘the people-as-underdog’. However, the distinction between these concepts continues to be a problem not only in the public sphere but also in academia. The confluence of nationalism and populism in certain policy areas and claims, such as the defense of people’s sovereignty and the critiques to supra-national elites has further contributed to the association of both concepts. This article compares the cases of Scottish and Catalan pro-independence movements from the point of view of the type and intensity of populist features in their public communications. This paper develops theoretically and applies empirically a new comparative framework for the study of populism which deconstructs this complex phenomenon into five dimensions: depiction of the polity, morality, construction of society, sovereignty and leadership. It analyses the political manifestos, speeches and written communications of the main Catalan nationalist parties and SNP from 2014 and 2017. This paper serves to illustrate how
populism and nationalism, although deeply intertwined, remain distinct concepts and empirical realities. This article shows that despite sharing extremely similar goals Scottish and Catalan pro-independence movements exhibit clear discrepancies in the tone and nature of their political communications when analysed from a populism lenses. Catalan nationalist parties and leaders present a much higher frequency of populist features and a much more passionate style. Not all nationalist movement are populist or at the very least they do not display populist features, or a populist logic, in a similar fashion or degree.

**Nationalism as entertainment: Populism, media and Modi’s “Surgical Strikes”**
Christopher Cannell

The denial of Kashmiri autonomy, and its position as spectacle and exception, are fundamental to certain versions of contemporary Indian nationalism. On 28-29th September 2016, India launched several paratroop strikes over the Line Of Control - its mountainous, disputed northern border with Pakistan in Kashmir. Ostensibly in retaliation to militant attacks, the so-called “surgical strikes” soon gained a currency on hyper-jingoistic Indian televisual news media, and on the hyperactive twittersphere of Indian nationalism, exceeding the strike's tactical value. This paper will address three elements of this media furore, utilising Laclau's ideas of “populist reason”. First, it will use the deployment of nationalistic language by both media and the government as a jumping off point to examine the justification for the strikes, which essentially amounted to international invasion, but which were framed far more subtly if stridently as power-projection. Second, it will look at a genealogy of the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party’s approach to the Kashmir conflict, and how the government deploys nationalist geo-political rhetoric to justify its approach, and the denial of Kashmiri self-determination. Third, it will conclude that there has been a change in the “populist reason[ing]” behind the Kashmir conflict, from democratic, geo-political concerns to the deployment of Kashmir as a rhetorical device for entertainment and news-cycle value. This comes, in part, from a media-reinforced sympathetic, and yet synthetic, connection between the “people” and the “leader” as regards local-area foreign policy decisions, complicating Laclau’s approach to populism.

**National History and Vernacular Memory**
Johana Musalkova

Central European ‘memory wars’ are intensifying at the present as the nationalist populism is on the rise and the concept of ‘diversity’ is increasingly gaining negative connotations. This tendency has been clearly evident during the 2018 centenary celebrations in Poland and Czechia acclaiming racial, ethno-national, religious, historical and cultural homogeneity of the nation-states rather than merely their political independence. In such socio-political milieu, what happens to the people at the margins? Two years after the whispered 2018 national centenary celebrations, simi-
lar and yet utterly different event is going to take place in Czech-Polish borderlands. Preparations just began for the 2020 celebration marking the centenary of the liberation / annexation of the Hlučín area, formerly part of Germany, by the Czechoslovakian troops in February 1920. The Hlučíns, with its difficult German past and present-day Czech national affiliation, often struggled to balance the two temporalities, particularly during such celebratory occasions and commemorative activities. This highly anticipated 2020 centenary celebrations provides a unique but time-sensitive opportunity through which to explore memory politics and memory wars at play between minorities and national sentiments within Central Europe. In this paper, I will juxtapose the state-funded 2018 celebrations of imagined ‘czechness’ with grass-root preparations for the highly problematic 2020 centenary celebrations of vernacular German heritage.

1.3 Brexit is what Nations make of it

Northern Ireland, BREXIT and the interpretation of self-determination
Adrian Guelke

The legitimacy of the partition of Ireland has been inextricably bound up with the interpretation of self-determination. The creation of Northern Ireland following the First World War was just about defensible in terms of the understanding of the principle of national self-determination at the time. But in the context of the post-colonial emphasis on territory in establishing who was entitled to self-determination, Northern Ireland’s status as a conditional part of the United Kingdom appeared anomalous and facilitated the province’s portrayal as a colonial leftover. The Troubles compounded Northern Ireland’s lack of international legitimacy. In the 1990’s there were further change. In particular, in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War, there was an easing of the anathema against secession, This and other alterations in the interpretation of self-determination meant that Northern Ireland no longer stood out as seemingly a relic of imperialism and it created the space for the acceptance of Northern Ireland as an internationally legitimate political entity under the terms of Good Friday Agreement. But BREXIT presents a complicating factor since it foreshadows a change that was taken for granted in the Good Friday Agreement, that British and Irish management of the Northern Ireland problem would continue to be facilitated by the two countries’ common interests arising from their membership of the European Union. The paper explores the implications of potential disruption to the April 1998 settlement arising outside of Northern Ireland.
Bounded Imagined Communities in Comparative Perspective: Scottish and Welsh National Identities
Richard Haesly

From 1996-1998, I conducted ethnographic and quantitative research throughout Scotland and Wales to document how the Scots and the Welsh talk about what it means to be Scottish or Welsh and how those identities fit with changing British identities and nascent European identities. This investigation led me to develop the notion of ‘bounded imagined communities’, which highlights, for example, how and why many Welsh respondents felt a strong national Welsh identity yet did not believe that a Welsh nation-state was feasible and/or desirable. How do these psychological, historical, social, and political boundaries to Welsh nationalism—particularly contrasted with Scottish national discourse that came tantalizing close in 2014 to Scottish independence—help us understand the paths that Wales and Scotland contemplate in the wake of Brexit and continued calls for another referendum on Scottish independence? My research speaks to the location and core themes of the conference. The contested nature of Welsh and Scottish identities remains a barrier to calls for Welsh and Scottish statehood. Given this limitation, Plaid Cymru, while still maintaining national sovereignty as a political goal, has attempted to broaden its political ideology to encourage skeptics of Welsh national independence to find ways of supporting Plaid Cymru. The SNP attempts to balance its technically minority status (while still remaining the largest political party) in the devolved Scottish Parliament with its desire to revisit Scottish independence, particularly within the context of a Brexit vote that a majority of Scottish voters rejected. Finally, Scotland and Wales represent the complexities of nationalist movements within one of the more paradigmatic cases of a centralized nation-state.

Narratives of Nationhood in the Brexit Debates
Daniel Cetrà

Brexit has challenged the territorial organisation of the United Kingdom, placing issues of sovereignty, nationhood and the devolution settlement at the forefront of the political debate. This proposed article examines political elites’ competing national narratives in critical moments in the Brexit process such as the debates around the referendum result, Clause 11 and the Sewel Convention. Drawing on a thematic analysis of parliamentary debates, speeches and party material across the four constituent nations, the article identifies three main types of claims: unionist, federalist, and pro-independence. These claims are characterised along three themes. The first is demos –mononational and plurinational conceptions of the state, banal references to ‘we’ and ‘the people’, and the values built into Britishness, Scottishness, etc. The second is constitutional settlement –the way elites justify their position on devolution and sovereignty, and the articulation of an alternative national project by independence parties. The third is mandate –the tension between popular and parlia-
mentary sovereignty. This intra-UK comparative approach will contribute to understanding the competing conceptions around nation and constitution underpinning the Brexit process. In doing so, it addresses deeper issues about the meaning of political unions and sovereignty in modern Europe.

1.4 Nationalism, Imperialism and Colonialism: Historical Perspectives

**Imperialism in the age of Self-Determination: The failed British Mandate for Mesopotamia**

*Jorge Álvarez Palomino*

The Paris Peace Treaty implied a reorganization of post-war world that stretched far beyond the European theatre. One of the most enduring, if not the most, has been the reorganization of the Middle East. The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire did not lead to the independence of the Arab subjects, but to a colonial partition between Great Britain and France that would maintain the region under imperial control until the Second World War—if not even later—. However, maintaining the imperial rule for both powers proved more difficult than in the pre-war situation because of the emergence of Arab nationalist movements bolstered by the Wilsonian principle of self-determination. To what extent did imperial procedures change? Did the events of 1919 had a reflection on the imperial mentality? This proposal studies the case of the British Mandate for Mesopotamia, later kingdom of Iraq, as an example of how imperial powers coped with the new situation and the challenges to their authority. Although the Treaty of San Remo recognized Mesopotamia as a League of Nations’ Mandate under British control, it was never enacted because of the strong nationalist reaction that forced the British to search other ways of establishing their rule. Using documentation from the British archives, the proposal analyses how London viewed its role in Iraq and how imperial officers tried to maintain the control over the country in the wake of the strong nationalist protests and the 1920 Great Iraqi Revolt.

**Cripps Mission and the Ideal of Territorial Self-Determination in Colonial India**

*Sarath Pillai*

The principle of self-determination had a fraught relationship with political advocacy and constitution-modelling in colonial South Asia. While the British government were quick to disavow any commitment to self-determination as far as their Indian empire went, the claim of self-determination was periodically raised by various groups in India. In a multi-jurisdictional empire, with jurisdictions being defined not just on territorial and political lines but also on religious and cultural lines, the ideal of self-determination pitched communities and territorial units against one another. Questions like who and how should self-determination be exercised...
generated considerable anxiety and tension. In this paper, I will examine the proposal for territorial self-determination by various geographical and administrative units advanced by the Cripps Mission in 1942. The Mission, sent by the British government in London and headed by Strafford Cripps, was to come up with a plan for the creation of a new constitution for a united India consisting of both princely states and British provinces. The paper will argue that the proposals of the Cripps Mission constitute a rich archive for studying the life of the principle of self-determination in colonial India. They also help us understand the insurmountable challenges posed by various territorial units and religious and political groups to the practice of self-determination in colonial India.

Elzbieta Kwiecinska

The concept of the ‘civilizing mission’ is most often associated with Western colonialism. After the World War the argument of the ‘civilizing mission’ was widely used while establishing the mandates system. In contrast, my aim is to show how the ‘civilizing mission’ was appropriated in another geographical area in East-Central Europe. In my paper I will show why some nation-states in East-Central Europe appeared and some did not. My case study will be Poland and Ukraine. My aim is to show how Polish delegates to the Paris Conference of 1919 argued that Ukraine should remain within the borders of Poland due to the ‘Polish civilizing mission’ to Ukraine (and they succeeded). My sources are the documents published by Polish delegation to Paris Peace Conference. The main representative of the Polish delegation to the Paris Conference was Roman Dmowski who believed that at the Paris Conference neither should the historical argument of the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the 1772 be used, nor the argument of the population.

2.1 The League of Nations

‘An anomaly among anomalies’: Colonial Member States at the League of Nations
Thomas Gidney

The Paris Peace Conference would be a ‘laboratory’ of new forms of sovereignty. One of the more un-investigated forms of quasi-sovereign entity created at the PPC was that of the participation of colonies and Dominions at international organisations. The admission of British India into the League of Nations deemed an ‘anomaly amongst anomalies’ by the US. legal representative at the PPC D.H Miller, set an important precedent in which other quasi-sovereign entities would become League member-states. Britain was unique among empires in its decision to include its colonies, whilst others such as France decided to abstain from admit-
ting their colonies fearing it would threaten France’s unity. Rather than fragmenting the Empire, the inclusion of some British colonies made up part of a shift within the British administration that scholars call ‘the Third British Empire’. Whilst trying to satisfy demands by moderate nationalists for reform and devolution, membership of the League of Nations was tightly regulated, in a bid to retain British supremacy of foreign policy. The study of the creation of the ‘colonial member state’ leads us to a more comprehensive understanding of the League of Nations’ role as a locus of the early politics of decolonisation as well as the relationship of membership to sovereignty and recognition. In doing so, the paper aims to explain how colonial membership at the League was based on practised colonial international norms, as well as British political expediency, and how the two interacted to create the paradoxical nature of the colonial member state.

The Revisionists Revisited: A Theoretical Perspective of the Fall of the League of Nations
Michael Ralphs

One of the peculiarities of the League of Nations is that, despite being based upon the ideals of national self-determination and the legitimacy of the nation-state model, its greatest opposition arose from explicitly nationalist states. This is even more odd considering the admittance of the Soviet Union in 1934, a state whose ideology is explicitly opposed to the founding principles of the League of Nations. A historian may easily point out the reasons why this was the case, citing particular grievances behind the actions of the fascist powers that date from the foundation of the League. Yet, the lessons from this point can and should extend beyond the establishment of a clear historical narrative. It is the purpose of this paper to situate the experience of the League of Nations in a theoretical perspective. I begin by briefly reviewing the incompleteness of realist and liberal perspectives on the League’s break-up, before moving on to introduce Liah Greenfeld’s theory of nationalism, which stresses the importance of national dignity to nationalism. By applying this theoretical, we can make greater sense of why it was specifically the nationalists that acted as the greatest enemies of the League, and furthermore, understand why other nationalist countries (such as Spain) did not rise with them. This specific perspective will help to fill in gaps left by the prevailing theories of international relations, creating a more valuable analytical tool in understanding the relationship between nationalism and cosmopolitanism outside of the direct experience of the League.

The League of Nations and the treatment of the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia
Deona Çali

Through this paper, I aim to answer to the question of how the admission of Albania in the League of Nations has affected the Albanian politics towards minorities and the policies of the neighboring states towards the
Albanian minority. This paper is related to the Conference theme “The League of Nations and minorities questions”. It analyzes the treatment accorded to the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia from 1920-1924 as well as the control exercised by the League of Nations toward it. The paper examines the declaration of minorities, analyzing for the first time the position held by the Deputies of the 1921 National Council for its ratification on the basis of archival documents dealing with the Council's talks. Analyzing the position of the Albanian state, the control through submitting reports to the League of Nations every six months, the changes in the legislation on one hand and the attitude of the League of Nations to the ongoing grievances I will evaluate the effectiveness of the League of Nations as a guarantor for this issue. The article is important because, first, address an issue that needs clarification and it is unresolved in the current literature, at the same time I am referring to the new sources of the League of Nations Archive through which I clarify for the first time issues such as the “Golden Horn”, bringing new facts about the attitude kept by Yugoslavia towards the Albanian minority as well as the efficiency of the League of Nations as an international body for this issue.

2.2 Minorities, Autonomy, and Chinese Nationalism

Chinese Nationalism and the Question of Minority Nationalities
Vijaya Chamundeswari Vemulapalli

This paper tries to decipher the Chinese government policy towards its minority nationalities. The point of departure for this paper is that it aims to draw critical attention to the actual policies (and the rationale behind them) that shaped and determined the contours of Chinese approach towards their Minority Nationalities. In doing so it takes emphasis away from civilisational and ideological elements that has been the mainstay of the critiques of Chinese nationalism. Often it is in the domain of actual politics and policies that one can map the constituent elements of nationalism. The policy of Chinese government has gone through four phases. They are ‘autonomy’, ‘accommodation’, ‘assimilation’ and ‘normalization’ respectively. The most recent phase in this regard is what I would like to characterize as ‘pathologization’ of the minority cultures. All these phases are inseparably linked with the shifting priorities of Chinese state. The pathologization of minority cultures and minority nationalities is nowhere as visible in China as it is in regard to the Uyghurs. The emphasis of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it develops a critique of the historicism of Chinese minority nationality policy and secondly it aims to demonstrate that the shifting discursivity of the reasons of state is at the centre of Chinese approach to minority nationalities. These in turn have definite bearing on the forms of resistance against the respective forms of domination. This paper further schematically poses the problematic of Uyghur nationalism historically and their contemporary manifestations.
Securitizing Uyghur Nationalism in China Under Xi’s Administration
Chienyu Shih

China has been obsessed with Uyghur nationalist movement, especially after the introduction of the Belt and Road Initiative under Xi’s administration. As a rising power, China’s colonial experience in the recent past has yet resulted in the entrenchment of the creed that national and territorial integrity comprise the top priority of China’s security policy. Beijing has been greatly concerned with those Central Asian weak states - due to the demise of the USSR-, indeterminate borders, ethnic minorities and Islamism, and in response, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) was established for border demarcation and regulated regional engagement between Xinjiang and Central Asia. This paper examines the evolution of institutional and policy change in governing Xinjiang, specifically with regard to its dealings with both domestic and diasporic Uyghur populations. Using the political rhetoric of the Three Evils, namely separatism, extremism and terrorism, China has sought to securitize Xinjiang with the violent threat of Uyghur Islamism. The ongoing alleged inflow of Uyghur militants to northern Afghanistan and Central Asia, the paper also attempts to demonstrate Beijing’s plan to not only securitize but also pacify the Uyghur nationalism in Xinjiang with a mixture of de-Islamization and de-radicalization policies, and the consequence is a dramatic establishment of the Re-Education Camps in Xinjiang.

New Culture versus New Life - Contesting the Origin of Modern Chinese Nationalism
Jeremy Gong

For decades China’s Communist Party has pioneered a narrative that, the New Culture Movement (NCM) of the 1910s gave birth to modern Chinese nationalism, when students in Beijing protested against outcomes of the Paris Peace Conference. Contesting this narrative, Charlotte Furth claimed that the NCM alienated Chinese nationalists, most of whom were conservative moderates, and brought moral panic to rural China. Drawing on Anthony Smith’s and Benedict Anderson’s theories of nationalism, this paper develops Furth’s analysis with a detailed examination of Zhang Zhouruo’s historical surveys of the New Life Movement (NLM), a mass political movement that was designed to inject conservative Confucian ethics into national consciousness of the Chinese people, in the 1930s. Those historical surveys seem to support an idea that, although Chiang Kai-shek accomplished ‘pacification’ of the warlords early on, a modern Chinese nation-state did not emerge until the nationalists cultivated a shared national identity shaped by the myths, memories, values and traditions of Confucianism, and inculcated such identity with the help of universal education and print media throughout the NLM. In contrast to Manchu emperors who enlisted Confucianism to merely legitimise their rules, Chiang intended to ‘Confucianise’ Han people into citizens of his modern nation-state while marginalising non-Han peoples in China’s
frontier regions politically. Also this paper seeks to explore the hidden link
between the NLM of the 1930s and the recent rise of Han nationalism in
Mainland China evident in the revival of Confucian rituals and antagonism
towards ‘exotic’ cultures of certain ethnic minorities.

Chinese National Integration and the Shift from Ethnic Self-Determi-
nation to Ethnic Regional Autonomy in Inner Mongolia
Haiyan Wu

When the Second Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was con-
vened in 1922, three years after the Paris Peace Conference, the prin-
ciples of ethnic self-determination and federalism were deeply favoured
by the CCP. Ethnic self-determination then became an important political
slogan used by the CCP to mobilize ethnic minorities in border areas and
involve them in the revolution and in the defense of the country against
foreign invaders. However, things changed fast and in 1947 - with the es-
establishment of the first Chinese regional ethnic autonomy regime in Inner
Mongolia - the original idea of ethnic self-determination had already been
modified deeply. Since then this new kind of governmental arrangement
has been the main model for the integration of ethnic minorities into the
frame of the Chinese state. This paper analyses the conversion of the
CCP's understanding of the ethnic issues in Inner Mongolia, as well as
the changing attitude towards the Inner Mongolian government, placing
these choices in their respective historical and cultural background. Why
did the CCP originally advocated self-determination? Which was the ideo-
logical and political trajectory that brought the CCP to give up the idea of
encouraging the self-determination of ethnic minorities within a federal
state, in favour of a unitary state and a regional ethnic autonomy system?

2.3 Bringing in Bolshevism

The Armenian Question after World War I: Woodrow Wilson, Lenin and
Self-determination
Marat Akopian, Regina R. Akopian

Self-determination of peoples has been one of the most important prin-
ciples of international relations since the early 20th century. While it is
frequently associated with Woodrow Wilson, the idea of self-determi-
ation of peoples had had considerable currency among the Marxists well
before Wilson and the post-World War I peace conferences. In fact, at
its London Congress in 1896, the Socialist Second International support-
ed the universal right to national self-determination, while the Russian
Social-Democrats included it into their party program at their Second
Congress in 1903. Were the Wilsonian and socialist understandings of
national self-determination identical or different? How did the former
understanding fit into Wilson’s new international order centered on the
League of Nations? How did the latter fit into Lenin's vision of proletarian
revolution for Russia and the world? How was self-determination to be
reconciled with obligations of the collective security system and with the idea of territorial integrity of states? We explore these questions by analyzing the Armenian Question in the immediate post-World War I period (1918-1923). We choose this episode of the Armenian Question as our case precisely because in that period both Woodrow Wilson and the Russian Bolsheviks were directly involved with it. By comparing Wilsonian and Bolshevik proposals for the Armenian Question and respective actions (or lack thereof), we gain a more nuanced understanding of the concept of self-determination in the interwar period and see the roots of subsequent controversies associated with it.

*The Russian nation in the early Soviet Union: Why the Russian Empire is still with us*

*Sergey Medvedev*

The October revolution of 1917, and the civil war that followed, resulted in the bulk of the collapsed Russian Empire becoming a part of the Soviet experiment. The unorthodox nation building policies of the Bolsheviks who seized the power, proved to have far-reaching implications for the nation formation processes in the country, including for the most populous nation, the Russian one. To discuss the factors that affected the destinies of the Russian nation in Soviet Russia and the early Soviet Union, the paper will 1. outline the Bolsheviks’ critical perspective on nationality, including its roots in Marx’s historical materialism and the idea of the superiority of class-consciousness to any other foundation of a social identity, 2. discuss those Bolshevik policies that determined the position of the Russian nation in the new polity, and 3. draw comparison between policies on the Russian nation in the early Soviet Union and the Russian Empire. In so doing, the paper will provide insights into the factors that still undermine the transition from an empire to a nation state in Russia. The paper argues that the restrictive policies of the Bolshevik government undermined the further formation of the Russian nation. It also suggests that those policies had a great deal of continuity with the policies of the Tsar’s Empire, where the Russian people enjoyed fewer political freedoms than the ‘colonised’ nations, suffered more than the other nations from the system of serfdom, and were ruled by a largely unaccountable, uninterested and detached political class.

*The Left of the Nation. The influence of the Bolshevik vision of self-determination on Irish and Basque nationalism*

*Paolo Perri, Adriano Cirulli*

Vladimir Ilich Lenin firmly believed that the socialists would play into the hands of the bourgeoisie, the feudal landlords and the oppressor nations if they failed to support the right to national self-determination. The leader of the Bolsheviks argued that the nationalism of the “periphery” becomes an anti-capitalist, hence progressive, force as it emerges as a reaction to the exploitation of the colonies by Western imperialist powers, thus helping to break the imperialist chains within the main
nation-states in Europe. This paper will examine and compare the influence of the Bolshevik vision of nationhood and self-determination on the Irish and Basque Nationalist Left. According to the Bolsheviks’ idea of self-determination, a nation can arrange its life according to its own will, to the point of having the right to complete secession if oppressed. In our comparative analysis we adopt a trans-disciplinary approach, using the categories of political sociology and history, in order to bring to light the consequences of the Bolshevik approach to the national question once adopted by radical leftist nationalist forces in the two cases, and to offer some remarks on their ideological reshaping also after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Given the alleged ideological incompatibility of nationalism and socialism, both Irish socialist republicans and the Basque Patriotic Left represent interesting examples of movements that, by redefining ethnic interests in terms used to characterise class positions, have succeeded in making the class struggle synonymous with the national struggle in 20th century Western Europe.

2.4 Mapping Nations, Deconstructing Nationalism

Silencing the ‘National’ in the Inter-National
Jaakko Heiskanen

The nation-state is the foundational unit of the modern international order. However, the nation-state is plagued by an inexorable contradiction that exists between its claim to represent a homogeneous national population and the actual heterogeneity of the domestic society. Due to this contradiction, the principle of national self-determination does not just underpin the unity of the modern nation-state, but always-already-also threatens this unity through irredentism and secession. In order to neutralise this threat, modern international relations has been characterised by an attempt to silence the ‘national’ in the ‘inter-national’. To illuminate this process of silencing, this paper traces the conceptual history of ‘nation’ and ‘nationality’ in the first half of the twentieth century, particularly in the context of the First World War, and demonstrates how these concepts were deliberately marginalised from international political and legal discourse in an effort to neutralise the explosive potential of nationalism. Building on Reinhart Koselleck’s claim that the period circa 1750-1850 was characterised by the temporalisation and politicisation of concepts such as ‘nation’, this paper argues that the period circa 1850-1950 was characterised by a deliberate attempt to de-temporalise and de-politicise these concepts. Specifically, nation was equated with state, and nationality was equated with citizenship. With the terms ‘nation’ and ‘nationality’ thus coupled with statehood, the peacemakers at Versailles were left with the rather cumbersome phrase ‘racial, religious and linguistic minorities’ to refer to stateless nations and national minorities.
'Symbols before States: How nations and national identities are formed, a new theoretical approach'

Catherine Arthur

This paper seeks to broaden our understandings of nations and how they come into being, pushing traditional theoretical approaches to nationalism to explore the very origins of imaginings of nationhood. If national identity is a precondition to statehood, then this paper posits that symbols of nationalism are equally essential to that initial stage of identity formation, and deserving of more scholarly attention than has been the case. The centrality of symbols to identification processes and imaginings of nationhood is underlined in the context of (post-) colonial nations and national liberation movements, struggling for self-determination. Taking examples of nationalist symbols from Timor-Leste as case studies, this paper seeks to highlight the power of symbols in fostering imaginings of nationhood prior to attaining formal statehood. The East Timorese case study is particularly interesting when we consider the multifaceted nature of colonial legacies, from both Portugal and Indonesia. Moreover, the most formative years of East Timorese nationalism were during the Indonesian occupation (1975-1999) and before the independent nation-state was formally created. The paper offers a new, interdisciplinary theoretical approach from across the Social Sciences to analysing national identity, its symbols, and their power. Drawing on Modernist approaches to nations and nationalism, anthropological theories of symbols, and Bourdieusian theories of symbolic capital, this original approach allows greater insight into the complex, diverse, and active processes of identification among nations. An examination of symbols of national identity reveals the complexities of identity construction and the histories of collective identification.

Nationalism and International Order: A Tale of Two Literatures

Andre Gerrits

This paper aims to identify how theoretical and empirical work on international relations has attempted to integrate and conceptualize nationalism and national self-determination in their interpretations of international politics and global order. Nationalism is commonly regarded as posing a challenge to international stability and regional and global order more generally. However, there is much to be said for the opposite too. Enshrining the cornerstone of international relations—the sovereignty of the national state—nationalism and national self-determination arguably contributed more than any other political idea to the development and the stability of international order. My paper brings two scholarships together that hardly even meet, on nationalism and on international relations. While nationalism is a key but under-theorized concept in International Relations research; international relations are seriously underestimated in the study of nationalism. Empirically, the presentation focuses on how two types of nationalism (state-subverting and state-strength-
ening) have impacted on the disintegration and formation of states, and consequently on international order. It presents the argument that the relationship between nationalism and international order is much more complex and ambiguous than is often believed. Nationalism has no unequivocal impact on international relations. It depends on the content of nationalism, on the nature of international relations, and on the power of the state(s) involved how and to what extent nationalism subverts or supports international order.

**Nation-State, Nation-without State, State without Nation: Nation and Nationalism in Decolonized Countries of Southeast Asia**

*AB Shamsul*

Political science textbooks in Southeast Asian countries are published mainly by European and American publishers, some are translated into local languages. They rarely take into consideration the experience of the decolonized states in contemporary global context of 'state' and 'nation-state' formations. This is not surprising as the field of study on nation and nationalism has too little representation from scholars outside Europe and the USA. The terms ‘state’, ‘nation’, and ‘nation-state’ are used interchangeably mostly for pedagogic convenience sacrificing epistemological clarity. At times, some even consider ‘state’ and ‘nation’ as two of the same things. The experience of decolonization among the independent former colonies, at least in Southeast Asia, tells us a different ontological story compared that of Europe, the birthplace of the modern nation. For instance, Brunei is viewed as a ‘nation-state’ articulating clearly its ‘state’ and ‘nation’ (aka national identity). But not in Malaysia, one that is considered as ‘a state without nation,’ still struggling with competing ‘nations-of-intent’ amongst its different ethnic groups. While BangsaMoro (lit. Moro Nation) of the Southern Philippines is perceived as a ‘nation without state,’ still seeking an autonomous ‘state’ status in the larger Philippines state.

The existence of these variations has conceptual and empirical implications to the study of nations and nationalism and the way it is taught, in Southeast Asia, and globally. This paper intends to address this complex contentious issue to benefit researchers, teachers, students and ‘nationalist activist’ themselves not only in Southeast Asia but also wherever they are globally.

### 3.1 Hungary and (Trans)nationalism

**Impact of Citizenship Extension on Democratic Norms**

*Aliz Nagy*

Hungary as a kin-state entitled Hungarian kin-minorities to apply for dual citizenship in 2010. With the great influence of the Hungarian government new institutions to implement the naturalization process were created and relying on this set up a new political party was born in Transylvania. The paper analysis these different political and civil organizations:
the Hungarian National Council of Transylvania (EMNT); the Hungarian People's Party of Transylvania (EMNP) and the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (RMDSZ). The research argues that the extension of citizenship and voting rights towards transborder kin-minorities decreases the autonomous claim-making strategies of kin-minority organizations. Instead of becoming agents of transnational engagement they become tentacles of the Hungarian government. Contrary to arguments in citizenship literature the extension of citizenship does not result in a borderless political community, rather in accordance with the current illiberal shift (Müller 2016; Scheppele 2018) it undermines certain democratic values (e.g. equal membership). The paper aims to demonstrate how the different “informal norms that define access to membership” (Vink 2017, 222) can lead to the undermining of certain democratic norms. With data triangulation the paper discusses three different analytical levels: 1) content analysis of involved organizations' documents; 2) discourse analysis of discursive panels of the organizations; 3) mapping different linkages of the organizations with Hungarian institutions. The paper explores the shift in Transylvanian politics from being the members of the Romanian political community towards the membership in the extended Hungarian political community.

Kingdom without a King? - The nationalist uses of archaeological heritage of kingdom in the interwar Hungary
Andrea Kocsis

My paper discovers how the interwar Hungary dealt with the tangible and intangible heritage of Kingdom through the case study of Székesfehérvár. Székesfehérvár was the medieval site of the kings' enthronements and burials. I conducted discourse analysis on the interwar written and visual sources mentioning the excavation site. My results have shown that during the interwar period there was a strong relationship between the national-political discourses and the arrangement of the excavation site. The site was rediscovered due to anniversary of the state-founder king's death, called the Saint Stephan's Year, which was a propaganda event in 1938 supporting Miklós Horthy governor's power. The memory of Saint Stephan and the celebration of the governor melted together. Christian and military rituals took place on the site of the former Basilica emphasizing national integration. In the visual narratives the revisionist themes were obvious and emphasized. My paper introduces the ways in which the Governor's personal cult and the heritage of the medieval Kingdom melted together after the trauma which Treaty of Versailles caused in the interwar Hungary.
**Quasi-citizenship and the concept of the nation - the memory of Trianon in Hungary after 2010**  
*Agnes Vass*

Ever since Trianon, when Hungary lost two-thirds of its territory, policy towards Hungarians living in neighbouring countries has been a central issue for Hungarian governments of the time. In the last couple of years, Hungarian ethnopolitics has experienced a significant shift, largely due to the nationalist rhetoric of PM Viktor Orbán. The aim of this paper is to examine how the concept of the nation has developed in Hungary and how it is affecting Hungary’s kin-state activity. We seek to answer, what is the relation between internal political developments and kin-state practices and how the memory of Trianon is determining these activities. The research is based on two main pillars. In the first part, we analyse how the political elite refer to the Trianon trauma when they are talking about the nation and ethnic Hungarians living abroad. This help us to better understand the political motivation behind decisions affecting ethnic Hungarians living outside of Hungary (e.g. extra-territorial citizenship or external voting rights). The other main pillar is based on data from focus group discussions made within Hungarians in Ukraine, Slovakia, Romania and Serbia, as well as in Western Canada regarding how they conceptualise kin-state activity of Hungary. The research makes it possible to understand how the concept of the nation is understood by the kin-state after 100 years of Trianon and how Hungarians living outside of Hungary conceptualise their national self-identification and their relations towards their kin-state in the 21st century.

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**3.2 Minority Rights**

*The Two Great Minorities of 1918*: Germans and Jews at the Congress of European Nationalities (1925-1933)  
*Marina Germane*

The German and Jewish minorities spearheaded the interwar minority rights movement both at the international arena, and at their respective home countries during the 1920s, forming the two biggest factions at the Congress of European Nationalities (ENC, 1925-1938). Their shared commitment to the idea of non-territorial cultural autonomy (NTA) underpinned the ENC’s lobbying efforts at the League of Nations that promoted NTA as a possible universal solution to minority problem in Central and Eastern Europe. In 1933, this cooperation came to an abrupt end when the ENC rejected the Jewish minority leaders’ appeal to issue an explicit condemnation of the Nazi regime and its policies, prompting the Jewish delegation to leave the Congress. Although formally the ENC continued to meet until 1938, its democratic period was effectively over. Focusing on the Baltic German Paul Schiemann and the Jewish representative Leo Motzkin, this paper traces the origins of the short-lived cooperation between these two European minorities and examines its internal dynamics.
whilst considering external facilitating factors and constraints, such as the policies of the League of Nations, the politics of nation-states, and the overall fragility of international environment during the interwar period. Marina Germane is a research affiliate at the School of Social and Political Sciences of the University of Glasgow. She has previously published on issues of nationalism, minority rights, transnational minority coalition-building, and non-territorial cultural autonomy.

The League of Nations the Question of Minorities in Interwar Estonia and Latvia: forgotten examples of multiculturalism?
Lilija Alijeva

The establishment of the League of Nations in 1920 was a significant effort not only for the creation of an ‘international community’ and consolidation of peace among its members, but also for the establishment of specific minority rights protection norms. An effort that in many ways is not fully realised within today’s minority rights protection regime. Despite the fact that the League viewed the rights of minorities as highly securitised and there was a notable absence of minority rights provisions in the Covenant of the League of Nations; several clauses have been put forward to include national minorities into the principles of the League. On 15 December 1920, the First Assembly of the League of Nations adopted a recommendation, that pressured the Baltic Republics and a number of other states to take necessary measures to enforce the principles of the Minority Treaties before they could become members of the League. After many disagreements, Estonia and Latvia successfully deposited their declarations. Some scholars argued that the leaders of the newly formed Baltic States wisely chose a multicultural model to accommodate minorities while under no compulsion to do so; others claimed that international pressure and membership of the League were very influential in guiding domestic minority policies. This paper uses a legal perspective in order to contribute to existing debates. The paper gives a concise picture of minority rights in interwar Estonia and Latvia; the role of the League of Nations; and differences between the interwar period and the re-gained independence period.

Minority agency in a state-centric world. The Versailles legacy a century on.
David Smith

The decision by the 1919 peacemakers to introduce the principle of national self-determination into a world of sovereign states continues to resonate. As they did before 1939, representatives of politically mobilised national minorities are today still lobbying for greater ‘voice’, both within the states of which they form part and at the level of inter-governmental organisations. One indication is the successful 2017 initiative by the umbrella Federal Union of European Nationalities (FUEN) to gather a million signatures for a European Citizens Initiative obliging the European Commission to consider proposals for a ‘Safepack’ of enhanced minority rights
across EU member states. FUEN has pushed this agenda since it was established in 1949. Yet, its claims are typically cast as a nationalist threat to the cohesion and integrity of existing states rather than a question of democracy and social justice, despite the post-1945 progress towards European integration and the blurring of traditional state sovereignty this has entailed. Those who adhere to this securitized view often cite the precedent of FUEN’s predecessor the European Nationalities Congress, which was ultimately subverted and transformed into an instrument of German ‘homeland nationalism’ during the 1930s. With similar trends again on the rise in Europe, can national minorities credibly aspire to attain their own independent agency vis a vis states in today’s Europe? Taking FUEN as its focus, this paper examines the post-1945 evolution of the ‘security versus democracy dilemma’ that was established by Versailles and which still surrounds international discussions on ethnopolitical mobilisation and minority rights.

**Minority Rights and Nationalist Imaginaries in the Aftermath of World War I: The Turkish Case**

Yesim Bayar

The Minority Treaties that were signed between a number of Central and Eastern European states and the Allied Powers were not only instrumental in establishing the status of minorities in their respective countries but also significant in terms of their impact on nation-building processes. This paper looks at the link between international events and domestic processes through a discussion of the Lausanne Conference and the process of Turkish nation-building. The Lausanne Treaty of 1923 was a momentous event establishing Turkey as a sovereign power on the international scene. It was equally significant since it defined a minority rights regime establishing a definition of minorities as well as their rights. Hence, the Treaty had direct relevance to the nation-building process. While the aim of the League of Nations was to protect minorities, the Turkish political elite was striving to create a religiously, linguistically and ethnically homogenous nation. This paper examines this tension between the liberal aims of the League of Nations, and the homogenizing tendencies of the nationalist political elites. The involvement of the Allied Powers in the protection of minorities was interpreted as gross interference in domestic affairs by the Turkish political elite. This strong anti-Western attitude was immediately extended to the non-Muslims living inside Turkey at the time. Drawing on contemporary documents the paper demonstrates that the involvement of the Allied Powers in the creation of a minority rights regime had the unintended consequence of aiding the crystallization of Turkish nationalism which would be highly exclusionary in content.
3.3 Bringing the past into the present I: Myths

‘Greater Ethiopian’ Nationalism: An Ethnosymbolist Approach
Juweria Ali

The modern configuration of the Ethiopian state is a result of Abyssinian conquests of southern regions in the nineteenth century, which tripled the size of the empire. This paper seeks to explore the underpinning nationalism of the ‘Great Tradition’ also referred to as ‘Greater Ethiopian’ nationalism. As a pre-modern cultural tool, the ancient Kebra Negast acts as a legitimizing instrument for ‘the nation’ as embedded within the narrative of the text, it provided the Solomonic descendants of the monarchy with the mandate to embark upon holy wars in the form of violent conquests. Despite the systemic political shifts in Ethiopia from monarchical rule, to present-day ethnic federalism, the persistence and self-awareness of ‘the nation’ has continuously been reinforced by socio-symbolic elements of nation formation. This paper begins by tracing the core tenets of primordial and modernist theories of nationalism and assessing their scope as a viable theoretical tool in the study of the ‘Great Tradition.’ Subsequently, this paper argues that an ethnosymbolist lens provides the best explanatory framework for understanding a nationalism centred on antiquity, mythology and a sense ‘chosenness.’ By highlighting the role of national mythologies, memories, myths of decent and a collective ethno-history, such a framework contributes to our understanding of the cultural resources that continue to sustain Ethiopian nationalism, particularly in the construction and policing of national identities.

Myths of statehood in post-Yugoslav textbooks
Tamara Pavasovic Trost, Jovana Mihailovic Trbovc

The majority of international historiography about the Yugoslav dissolution presents the emergence of the new states as a result of various social and international processes, ranging from the economic crisis in the late SFRY to the emerging post-Cold War international setting. In opposition, local history textbooks tend to present the disintegration of the old common state and the proclamation of the new independent states in terms of the realisation of (imagined) national self-determination. This paper examines the ways in which the foundation of the post-Yugoslav states is narrated in contemporary history textbooks used in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Serbia and Slovenia. We show that each of these (mutually conflicting) national narratives strives to legitimise the creation of the own state as rightful, based on popular will, and democratic. For this purpose, history textbooks often avoid mentioning particular historical facts that endanger the coherence of the narrative and silence the voice of the political opposition, and they present the decisions of the political leaders (“fathers of the nations”) regarding the right of the nation to self-determination as the only legitimate solution in the given time. These national narratives usually invoke the continuity
of the present state with some previous political formation that existed at some point during the centuries of convoluted history of the region. By analysing how the right of the nation to statehood is justified in these varying accounts, the paper demonstrates the ways in which complex and contingent historical events can be mythicized in order to serve the purpose of nation-building.

Balancing between contesting identities in nation-building: pre-modern identities in modern Central Asian states
Arzuu Sheranova

Following the collapse of the Soviet Empire, Central Asian (CA) states pursued own nation-building policies by returning to their past. Central Asians historically lived in traditional societal organizations of tribe/clan or kinship that served a prototype of a nation-state model. After gaining independence, looking back their histories these states introduced national symbols and holidays, rehabilitated national heroes and intelligentsia exiled during the Soviet era, renamed Soviet geographical names, erected national monuments and re-designed cities in national style. In addition, CA leaders wrote history monographs with an aim to emphasize their ancientness and greatness. While referring to pre-modern histories and constructing modern nations, CA national engineers faced a new challenge of finding a right balance between pre-modern clano-tribal/regional identities and modern national cohesion policies. Historically existing rivalries between clans/tribes or regions over scarce resources and infrastructure had resulted a negative impact on domestic political processes, undermined unity and challenged democratization processes after independency. Each Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan represent a noteworthy case study to examine under-studied topic on how newly-established political elites managed a dilemma of referring to pre-modern identities (often blamed as disuniting) and constructing cohesive modern nations. The paper aims to fill in the gap in the literature by (1) studying how clano-tribal/regional identities were used in early stages of nation-building of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, (2) examining how official government, namely country Presidents treated clano-tribal/regional identities in regards to official nationalisms. By studying it, the research seeks to contribute to the under-studied interplay between pre-modern identities and official nationalisms in contexts where the overuse of the former would undermine the latter.

3.4 Policies of control, nationalization and assimilation

Building the National Home: Statist Ideas in 1930s Estonian Nationalism
Liisi Karjus

An independent nation state is generally regarded as a key objective of nationalist movements. Various theorists argue, however, that after the
initial aim of political independence has been achieved, nation state does not lose its key role in nationalist discourses as various nationalising projects typically take centre stage. When it comes to the nation states that were established during and after the WWI, political centralisation and ethnic consolidation became frequent targets of nationalist movements and politics during the interwar period. (Brubaker, 1996) Such tendencies were largely embedded in the immediate years after the WWI and the wide application of the principle of national self-determination with an aim to create the Europe of nation states. This paper focuses on the case of Estonian nationalism in the 1930s and explores how the shift toward authoritarianism led to renegotiation of the relationship between statehood and nationhood. It is argued here that federalist and liberal understandings of nationhood that were prevalent in the beginning of the independence period were gradually replaced with statist and etatist notions in public discourses during the 1930s. Creating a culturally homogeneous “national body” in a strong and stable nation state became a core target in the 1930s’ official propaganda. The paper explores the sources of statist ideas; how these notions built on previously predominant narratives of nationhood, as well as some examples of liberal contestation of statist conceptions.

How social media changes nationalism?: the case of sub-state ethnic minorities in Russia
Guzel Yusupova

There are various understandings of nationalism in social sciences. Nationalism as a concept may mean a process of nation-states formation, a sense of belonging to a certain community, an ideology or doctrine, and a social and political movement. Media plays a crucial role in the explanation of nationalism in all these various definitions and theories of nationalism. Particularly, advances in media technology explain the rise in the awareness of one’s national identity, increase in social cohesion and more efficient political mobilisation. Recent developments in digital technologies have tremendously changed contemporary mediascapes and social interactions. These changes raise an important question: how the current proliferation of social networking sites have affected the digital media’s impact on nationalism? While bringing digital media into the focus of investigation of minority nationalism, the paper argues that this type of media offers not just effective means of resistance to the dominant national discourses and assimilationist policies, but also creates an autonomous space for re-negotiation and strengthening of community boundaries. The paper presents sociological analysis of the case of Russian ethnic minorities protecting their vernacular languages against the state’s assimilationist policies by the means of digital media. It argues that the strategies of political mobilisation, language and culture promotion, strengthening of ethnic solidarity and community boundaries depend on the capabilities and constrains of digital media use. The paper proposes a theoretical framework for exploring digital nationalism from three perspectives: as a
political movement, an ideology, and the process of social cohesion.

**Nationalization and homogenization politics in interwar Turkey and Romania: The ethnicity question in the administration**

**Berk Emek**

This study aims to analyze the underlying motives of ethnicity politics in interwar Romania and Turkey to present a clear perspective regarding the impact of nation-state policies on non-dominant ethnic communities’ administrative status. The policies of nationalization had a striking impact in Romania and Turkey where the non-dominant ethnic groups were targeted with assimilationist and/or exclusionary measures. In the Turkish case, I indicate the application of national homogenization, namely Turkification, policies against the Kurds and show the extent of these regulations in pro-Kurdish Eastern provinces. In this regard, the paper discusses that the single-party regime was not hesitant to conduct an extensive assimilation program, called civilizing missions, by the hand of a newly emerged administrative elite. On the other hand, I take the post-WWI minority question to assess its implications and try to show the extent of centralization and Romanianization policies in the newly incorporated regions, especially in ethnically mixed Transylvania, that reflected the entire administrative structure and political trajectory in Greater Romania. The final analysis aims at demonstrating the extent to which state policies towards non-dominant ethnicities played a key role in undermining political pluralism and changing the administrative structure in interwar Romania and Turkey. In general, the research presents how state-centric policies towards non-dominant ethnic groups in the aforementioned states sought to achieve the desired national unity and to create an ethnically homogenous administrative apparatus by eliminating ‘alien’ groups from bureaucratic posts.

**4.1 Resource Nationalism**

**Sovereignty over Natural Resources and the Right to Self-determination: A Normative Reinterpretation**

**Petra Gümplová**

The paper provides a normative account of the international legal system of sovereignty over natural resources by invoking its foundational moral principle – the right to self-determination. After establishing why such a normative account is necessary, the paper locates the emergence of the system of sovereign rights to natural resources in the process of the decolonization and justifies it as a correction of historically unjust appropriation of natural resources. The second part identifies its key moral component and justificatory principle – the right to self-determination. The rights to self-determination, I argue, yields a conception of justice which emphasizes the notion that collectives with a political identity and with a rightful claim to be self-determining have both the right to estab-
lish the political authority ruling within territorial domain and the right to ownership of natural resources within that domain. The last part shows how a justice-based interpretation of the right to self-determination and rights to natural resources as its corollary translates into a conception of the permissible scope of rights to natural resources in two dimensions – in the dimension of political legitimacy of the exercise of resources and in the dimension of the distribution of resource benefits. I argue that both of these dimensions could be specified in terms of human rights with which the right to self-determination is co-original. In conclusion, I defend interpretation over purely moral theorizing about rights to natural resources and natural resource justice by pointing out how it better responds to a number of real world injustices concerning the use of natural resources.

National Self-Determination and Resource Nationalism: Scotland and North Sea Oil
Sam Pryke

My paper will first make some general remarks of the importance, economic and symbolic, of natural resources to national liberation movements, before turning to the case of North Sea oil and Scottish nationalism. The discovery and extraction of large scale deposits of oil and gas energised the Scottish National Party in the early 1970s. The key slogan of the 1974 general elections were ‘It’s Scotland’s Oil’. In the election of October 1974 SNP support surged to above 30 per cent across the country. However, the popular appeal of an independence claim staked on this commodity proved more ephemeral than hoped. In the subsequent decades the SNP continued to make the case that oil revenues would be important to the secession of Scotland from the UK, but it did so in a more muted form. Its success over the last 10 years owes little to explicit resource nationalism. Today, oil wealth is generally presented as more an aspect of the SNP’s free trade nationalism, than a statist, resource nationalism. Using archival materials from the early 1970s on, this paper would chart the change in the perceived importance of oil to the quest for independence in Scotland.

4.2 Influence of Wilsonian self-determination in the interwar period

When Self-Determination Turned Violent: The Paris Peace Conference and the Greek-Turkish War, 1919–1922
Volker Prott

This paper examines why the Wilsonian ideas of national self-determination caused full-blown war and mass ethnic violence in Asia Minor. Drawing on a wide range of diplomatic correspondence from British, French, and American archives, the paper begins with an investigation of Allied expertise and decision-making at the Paris Peace Conference, leading to
the landing of the Greek army in Smyrna in May 1919. The paper then
provides a micro-perspective of the war, placing it in the context of Allied
foreign policy from the Treaty of Sevres of 1920 to the Treaty of Lausanne
of 1923. The paper argues that Wilsonian ideas took an ‘objective’ ethnic
turn at the diplomatic level even before they triggered violence on the
ground. The decision to award Greece a region around Smyrna on the
western coast of Asia Minor was part of a peace that was ‘scientific’—and
often strategic and impulsive—rather than the result of free deliberation
of the people concerned. On the ground, the new borders caused the
politicisation and polarisation of ethnic differences as the warring par-
ties sought to mobilise the local population for their national aims. The
paper contends that the violent twist of Wilson’s ideas at the fringes of
Europe not only caused the mass exodus of over one million Orthodox
Christians from Asia Minor; it also set the precedents of Allied acquies-
cence into aggressive revisionism and the use of forced removal of popu-
lations to stabilise the international system.

**National Self-Determination in Quebec and the new world order of 1919-
1920**

Charles-Philippe Courtois

Traditionally, the study of Quebec nationalism places the beginning of
the modern “sovereigntist” movement in the 1960s. The importance of a
previous surge of interest for sovereignty in the interwar period has less
been acknowledged. This communication wishes to assess immediate
and longer-term impacts of the new world order defined in 1919-1920,
with the importance given to national self-determination, in Quebec.
Promotion of Quebec sovereignty suddenly increased after the Paris
Peace Conference, around groups such as Montreal's _L’Action française_
lead by Lionel Groulx (1878-1967). Vivid debates ensued, notably in the
_Revue moderne_ focused on Quebec “Self-Determination”. French-Ca-
nadian nationalists defended a vision of Quebec as a nation-state, and
demanding its sovereignty or greater autonomy, thus clashing with
Canadian nationalism (which also grew during the interwar period). Not
only has the importance of this separatist moment been neglected, but
more so the influence of international developments on it. Even though
Catholic thinkers such as Groulx could not invoke the principle of Self-De-
termination easily, they did use the new world order as a promise of the
demise of Empires, facilitating Quebec independence. This led to a bitter
split with older nationalist leaders embracing a Canadian ideal, such as
Henri Bourassa (1868-1952). These developments, we argue, had effects
on the evolution of Quebec politics with the election of an autonomist
government in 1936, as well as in later developments in Quebec nation-
alism. Indeed, the impacts of 1919-1920 continue to this day in Quebec,
but remain neglected in the historiography (e.g., Tim Cook’s _Warlords_,
2012).
Was there a ‘Wilsonian moment’ in Western Europe? Self-Determination in Catalonia, Flanders and the Italian New Provinces in the immediate post-IWW period
Emmanuel Dalle Mulle, Mona Bieling

The end of the Great War heralded a new era of international politics, one in which the relationship between government and the governed was supposed to be regulated by the principle of self-determination. While in the mind of the negotiators at Versailles, the principle's application had to be limited to the new states arising from the dissolution of the Eastern Empires (although even there it often succumbed to other considerations), self-determination's implicit universal nature appealed to a wider audience of peoples and minorities throughout the world. The resonance of Wilson’s ideas among colonial peoples and leaders has already been analysed in a comparative perspective—notably in Erez Manela’s ‘The Wilsonian Moment’. Their traction among stateless peoples and national minorities in Western European countries, by contrast, has remained the purview of national literatures that rarely speak to each other and, therefore, do not allow gauging the international dimension of sub-state national mobilisation in the immediate post-war period. Looking at the arguments and strategies of nationalist movements in Catalonia, Flanders and the Italian New Provinces, this paper aims to provide a clearer picture of the popularity and expediency of self-determination in the first years after the war. It thus tackles some of the central themes of this year’s ASEN Conference such as the practice of self-determination, the League of Nations and the minorities question, nations without states vs. nation-states, and the nation-state as the key objective of nationalist movements.

4.3 Bringing the past into the present II: The Recent Past

The Contested Centenary: The 1918 Podgorica Assembly and its (Re)Interpretations in the Contemporary Montenegrin Narratives on National Identity and Statehood
Karina Melnytska

The Podgorica Assembly took place in Montenegro in late November 1918, right after the end of the First World War. At its session, that preceded the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia), it was decided to dethrone the Montenegrin King Nikola I Petrović and to unite with Serbia in one state under the Karadjordjević dynasty, to further enter a common Yugoslav state. Thus, Montenegro ceased to exist as an independent state whose sovereignty had been officially recognized at the 1878 Berlin Congress and, subsequently, was not represented at the 1919 Paris Peace conference like other Allied countries. The Podgorica Assembly and its decisions resulted in deep ideological and political divisions between the pro-unionist and pro-independence
oriented Montenegrins, that are still resonating in the Montenegrin society. This paper will address the question of how and why such particular historical event can become one of the most controversial issues in public discourse after having been “forgotten” for decades, based on the example of ongoing Montenegrin disputes surrounding the centenary of the Podgorica Assembly. The competing narratives, offering sometimes radically different (re)interpretations of the Assembly will be discussed in broader socio-political context, taking into consideration the peculiarities of nation-building in Montenegro, the dynamic of its relations with its former union partner Serbia before and after the independence referendum in 2006, and the subsequent Montenegrin politics of identity and memory.

Back to the Future and Forward to the Past: “Self-Determination” for the Hungarian Minority in Romania and Slovakia after 1990
Susan Divald

The application of the principle of self-determination to the collapsed Austro-Hungarian Empire led, paradoxically, to the presence of Hungarian minorities who now found themselves on the wrong side of the border in countries such as Romania and Czechoslovakia. This paper makes two contributions: conceptual and empirical. First, not all minorities equate self-determination with independence (Duray 2014). Therefore, I take the concept of “self-determination” and look at what types of institutional arrangements short of independence can provide an ethnic minority with self-determination. One such way is through autonomy arrangements, and there is much literature arguing for the value of such arrangements for Central and Eastern Europe (Malloy, Osipov, & Vizi, 2015; Palermo, 2012; Smith, 2014). The second contribution examines how autonomy is claimed today by the Hungarian minority in Romania and Slovakia – two countries greatly affected by WWI's border revisions. Through an analysis of elite interviews conducted in 2017-2018, newspaper archives and party documents (in Hungarian), the paper traces how Hungarian national minorities in both countries ask for self-determination not in the form of independence but rather increased autonomy or self-governance. Their claims are shaped by the historical legacy of World War I, including not just the 1920 Trianon Treaty, but also Romania’s 1918 Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár Assembly and the interwar Slovak claims to autonomy in the newly formed Czechoslovakia. By looking at claims and discourse linked to self-determination in the form of autonomy, the paper illustrates how the past impacts the present and calls for a stronger connection between academic conceptual discourse and empirical reality.

Creating a new nation: nationalism in Iran through the fall of the nation-state
Masiha Vaala

The 1979 Revolution occurred with the participation of different groups of people, from leftists to rightists. The succession of the Islamic Regime
and its political performances of mass killings and executions promoted the exclusion of many groups and ethnicities, socially and politically. Forty years after the revolution, the remembrance of the suffering experienced during this traumatic past still flows in the social lives of the people. Historically, Iran has been under different political and economic sanctions, yet the newest economic recession and political crisis reignited conflict between the state and the people. The revival of the idea of turning to an empire and the shame of any participation in the 1979 Revolution has considerably engaged the second and third generations. In the protests of January 2018, slogans carried the remembrance of pre-revolution Iran, and regime-change requests were interwoven with new ethno-symbolic nationalism. These protests became ongoing, and a new nationalism was born in Iran. Through applying ethnographical methods and exploring the protestors’ narratives, this paper suggests that the fall of the nation-state in Iran is proclaiming a new nationalism from below. This study argues that the remembrance of the past nurtured the protests and compounded new movements, as well. It examines why the memories of pre-revolution Iran have been chosen to be the centre of ethno-symbolic nationalistic attention and in what ways this affects the future of Iran.

Self-Determination, Nation and State in the Eyes of Polish Political Elite(s) after 1989: Revisits and Reinterpretations
Marcin Ślarzyński, Joanna Orzechowska-Waclawska

2018 marks 100 years since Poland regained independence. The importance of self-determination, nationhood and independent state constituted crucial topics of public discussions that year. Political elites, one of the main actors shaping the public sphere, also directly, e.g. through legislation, can be regarded as crucial in the construction of public imagination of above mentioned concepts. Self-determination, nation and state have to, by default, be defined and reinterpreted through the prism of three interrelated contexts: the internal one (partisan competition), the international one (European integration, NATO) and the historical one (the memory of the two world wars and the period of state socialism). This paper presents how these three concepts are perceived by Polish political elites. Its results are based on the analysis of interviews with influential Polish politicians (MPs and those active outside parliament) conducted in the end of 2018 and beginning of 2019. It does not only present how, depending on, inter alia, partisan affiliations and political biographies, Polish politicians define self-determination, nation and state. It also brings a temporal comparative perspective: the set of conducted interviews is a project repeated after over 20 years. The paper, therefore, focuses on the changes in the perspectives of Polish political elites as such, as well as specific politicians who had to reorient their views in new political contexts: in the middle of the 1990s primarily with respect to the end of state socialism and subsequent economic and political reforms, and in 2018 new geopolitical situation (EU, NATO).
4.4 Colonial and Post-colonial in contemporary contexts

The Lumads in the Bangsamoro Homeland. National self-determination and/or colonialism?
Shierwin Cabunilas

The recently signed Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL) proposes the creation of a Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Mindanao, the Philippines. It aims to respond to the centuries-old problem of displacement of the Islamized ethnic society. From the perspective of the Philippine government, the institutionalization of the right to self-determination of the Muslim community through the BOL could redress historical injustices, provide adequate conditions for lasting peace and guarantee economic stability in a region that is marred by poverty, armed struggle, and fundamentalism. While the BOL gained wide acceptance, some concerns, however, remain unanswered. The social, cultural, political and economic interests of non-Islamized national minorities (i.e., the Lumads) whose ancestral domain overlaps with the territories claimed by the Muslim community appears neglected. It seems that the BOL could perpetrate further marginalization and colonialism of the Lumads who, like their Muslim brethren, are original inhabitants of Mindanao. The paper investigates these concerns, and it has four main parts. First, an evaluation of the political economy of colonialism towards the Muslim and Lumad societies in Mindanao. Second, a critical discussion of the BOL and its reception in the national and international public fora. Third, an analysis of the BOL’s impact on Lumad national minorities. Fourth, an explication of some challenges and prospects for a more just society in Mindanao.

Buffer States and the Modern Sovereign Standard: The Tibetan Quest for Self-Determination
Madhumita Das

The Tibetan-Government-in-Exile (TGIE) claims Tibet led a de-facto sovereign existence between 1912 and 1950. Though the 14th Dalai Lama has currently relinquished all political role, the TGIE is founded on the Lama’s assertion that wherever he is, accompanied by his government, Tibetans recognize it as the government by law. Yet, the TGIE is prepared to dissolve itself pending successful negotiations for autonomy between the Dalai Lama and the People’s Republic of China. Tibet epitomizes most starkly the condition of postcolonial sequestration, a term used by Fred Halliday to draw attention to those instances of self-determination that were negatively affected by the decolonization moment in international politics. Tibetan relationship with the successive Chinese empires, with Republican China, with the British Indian Empire, and with the Indian State has been fraught with contradictions and ambiguities, typical of those entities that have traditionally fulfilled a buffer role between two more powerful entities. This paper inquires into the systemic and contex-
tual causes for the inability of the Lamaist Tibetan state to scale up to sov-
ereign territoriality and membership of the international system. Most
analyses of the Tibetan question centre around the Sino-Indian boundary
dispute, or the Sino-Tibetan conundrum. By placing the Tibetan question
instead in the dynamics of the formation of the 20th century international
system the paper makes two interventions. First, it allows for a deeper
understanding of the gordian knot that is the India-Tibet-China dispute.
Second, it starkly reveals the international system not as a space popu-
lated by territorially sovereign entities, and norm and capital facilitating
agencies, but also as dynamic space, where status quo and insurgent
forces jostle for existence, but also thrive and feed off each other.

Kashmiri self-determination movement: Articulating nationalism in an
‘inter-state’ system.
Idreas Khandy

For an untrained eye, post-Obama years have seen a nationalist resur-
gence. The resurgence of extreme or hot varieties of nationalism is taken
as representative of the entire phenomenon because of the tendency to
take nationalism as inherently intolerant. While Michael Billig’s ground-
breaking study ‘Banal Nationalism’ tackled this issue insightfully, the ten-
dencies to take nationalism as ‘intolerant’ remain strong. However, the
‘hot/intolerant’ variety must not be taken as a representative of the broad
phenomenon that nationalism is. Nationalism’s capacity to manifest itself
as a force against existing nation-states shows its remarkable malleability,
and the emancipatory potential nations without states see in it. In this
paper, I explore why the phenomenon of nationalism and the aspiration
to statehood on the part of the many nations without states such as Kash-
mir, Catalonia, and Kurdistan, continues to hold the promise of emancipa-
tion from hegemonic states for such peoples. By focusing on the region
of Kashmir, I draw attention to how Kashmiris are reclaiming their politi-
cal agency, which makes the treatment of Kashmir as a territorial dispute
during India and Pakistan redundant, dated, and misleading. By careful-
ly analysing the interviews I have conducted in the field and the second-
ary data supplementary to those interviews, this paper explores: a) how
Kashmiris position themselves as a ‘nation without a state’; b) how this
‘nation without a state’ challenges the post-colonial hierarchy of regional
hegemony through an indigenous nationalism; and c) how this putative
nation counters the homogenising tendencies of a post-colonial Indian
state that denies its coloniality.

5.1 Juridical perspectives on nationalism and self-de-
termination: Theory and application

Historical notes on the principles of nationality and self-determination
Francesca Zantedeschi

This paper aims to retrace the history of self-determination principle from
its early formulation during American and French revolutions, up to emergence on the international scene during the First World War. In particular, it will focus on the ‘principle of nationality’, as was formulated by the Italian jurist Pasquale Stanislao Mancini (1817-1888) in the second half of the 19th century, thanks to whom it became the fulcrum of the relations among states in international law, and ‘nation’ acquired centrality in the domain of internal law. A professor of public and private international law and maritime law, Mancini began his courses at the University of Turin, in January 1851, with the famous inaugural lecture ‘On nationality as the foundation of the Law of the peoples’, which stated ‘the dogma of the Independence of Nations’ – a fundamental principle of the political ideologies of the Risorgimento. Moreover, according to Giuseppe Mazzini, the champion of the movement for Italian unity, the ‘principle of nationality’ – one of the aims of Italy’s ‘resurgence’ (or Risorgimento) – was ‘the supreme regulator of international relations and a sure token of peace in the future’ (1871). Finally, this paper will analyse how the principle of nationality was transposed, formulated and interpreted in 1919 Peace Treaties, in order to seize its differences and analogies with Woodrow Wilson’s concept of national self-determination.

**Self-Determination of Colonial Peoples and Nationalism in International Law**

*James Summers*

The right of self-determination has been incorporated into international law but remains fundamentally problematic. Ambiguity over the identification of ‘peoples’ and what a process of self-determination involves facilitates nationalist politics, but it clashes with the state-centric discipline of international law. The dominant legal doctrine, positivism sees law created through established procedures. Self-determination, though, allows the legitimacy of law-making to be challenged according to the purported wishes of a people. The most positive narrative for this relationship has been the ‘domestication’ of self-determination as a legal right in post-war decolonisation. In this, self-determination was originally an abstract principle in the UN Charter that was refined in the 1960s by the UN General Assembly into a legal right of colonial peoples to independence. However, those same instruments also accommodated competing nationalist claims, in particular, in the Declaration on Colonial Independence 1960. The crucial balance in this instrument hinged on the relationship between the self-determination of a ‘people’ and the territorial integrity of a ‘country’, effectively one national idea against another. This development has recently been re-examined by states in the 2018 International Court of Justice proceedings over the Chagos Islands, detached from Mauritius in 1965, and this provides the focus of this paper. Comments by states on this crucial period reveal how self-determination can: 1) challenge the formal requirements for law-making, by appealing to the aspirations of peoples; 2) redefine legal principles through competing ideas of nationhood.
Negotiating nationalism? Self-determination and theories of justice: the Catalan case
Elia Tusell

This paper seeks to explore the links between self-determination theories and the broad category of theories of justice with a focus on the Catalan case. If secession claims can be understood as a groups’ intention to terminate the contract (of whichever nature) that enacted its belonging in the first place to the “central state”, and taken that this popular will is, most-likely, protean and not binary, there is room, as some have already done before, for exploring alternatives to a single-choice, binary referendum. Referenda are powerful and representative tools, though they might not succeed in best capturing people’s preferences when the set of options does not reflect the complex attitudes of the electors. A referendum that draws the line between “yes” and “no” might be concealing more than revealing. In the case of Catalonia, polls show that whereas independence is the most preferred option (48.7%) when the question is either membership or secession to Spain; as more options are given (i.e. Catalonia becoming a state within a federal Spain), the secessionist option is suddenly overridden by the aggregation of non-secessionist options (51.9%) and yet the “independent state” option still gathers 38.9% of public support. The question here is how to conjugate these diverging attitudes. By acknowledging the non-binariety of citizens’ attitudes towards secession, and positing that status of Catalonia within Spain is analogous to a contract, it is possible to point towards the direction of a renegotiation of the region’s membership to Spain, taking into account the different segments of the population’s opinion. In that regard, theories of justice offer a conspicuously fertile theoretical framework in which to envision a nation’s preferences and translate them to the actual contractual status of the territory.

5.2 Independentists in Western Europe

The Art of the Possible: Self-Government in Scotland and Flanders in 2014
Coree Brown Swan

2014 was a critical moment for both the Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie and the Scottish National Party, two sub-state nationalist parties with explicit self-government goals. In May 2014, the so-called ‘mother of all elections’ took place in Belgium - with elections taking place at the regional, federal, and European level. In September 2014, Scottish voters were asked whether Scotland should become an independent country. Although 2014 was ultimately anti-climactic, with voters rejecting the SNP’s proposition and the N-VA choosing to enter into federal government without an agreement on state reform, pushing the issue until 2019, this represents an important opportunity to study the goals of sub-state nationalist parties. This paper seeks to understand what self-government, ‘independence’ in Scotland and ‘confederalism in Flanders, meant in 2014. In this
research, I ask two key questions. Firstly, what do sub-state nationalist parties want? And secondly, operating from the assumption that sub-state nationalist parties are rational actors pursuing goals they believe to be achievable, how do their goals reflect their understanding of the context(s) in which they are expressed, namely the international and European context, the state, and the party and electoral system. By comparing two cases at a specific point in time, a third question can be explored, namely how variation in the empirical contexts manifests in variation of the framing of self-government goals. In answering these questions, I draw on documents, speeches, and interviews with both parties produced in advance of the 2014 elections and referendums.

Sovereignty Contested: Struggles for Political Hegemony in the Sardinian ‘Independentist’ Movement
Daniela Morgan

How we define sovereignty has been a central debate within International Relations and Nationalism Studies alike. We have seen concerted attempts in both disciplines to question the rigidity of ‘traditional’ definitions of sovereignty that view it as necessarily bound to the internal ‘rationalities’ of centralised state practice and formation. In the case of IR, focus has been on the constructed and porous nature of organising principles such as sovereignty. Whereas in nationalism scholarship much work has emphasised the influence of globalisation’s changing dynamics on the development of fluid conceptions of sovereignty at national, regional or sub-national levels. The following paper adds to this growing literature by focusing on sovereignty’s use by Sardinian ‘independentists’. Whilst much literature has highlighted the contested and unfixed nature of sovereignty claims, few studies have examined how sovereignty’s use is indicative of struggles for political hegemony between activists within minority nationalist movements themselves. Drawing on extensive fieldwork in Sardinia, this paper argues that sovereignty’s definition, use and rejection is indicative of attempts by activists to delineate ideological difference from opposing ‘independentist’ groups. The paper adopts a Gramscian approach to emphasise the utility of terms such as sovereignty in the preservation, establishment and renewal of narratives conducive to the attainment of differing political and economic interests. In tune with the conference theme, the paper contributes to research that seeks to make sense of the various everyday practices through which minority nationalists mediate their own positionality at both ‘national’ and ‘international’ levels.

Shaky Solidarity: Comparing Scottish and Flemish Responses to Catalonia
Judith Sijstermans, Coree Brown Swan

After the 1st of October 2017, the Catalan independence referendum and the reaction of the Spanish state triggered a wave of responses across Europe. The European Union and other EU member states were cautious, noting that this was an ‘internal matter’ for the Spanish state. Meanwhile,
Europe's stateless nationalists and regionalists flocked to Barcelona to observe the vote. Catalonia's two main independentist counterparts, Scotland and Flanders, had varied reactions to the events. Perhaps surprisingly, the Flemish Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie (N-VA) and Flemish Government took a strongly supportive stance, even spurring a diplomatic altercation with the Spanish Government. In contrast, the Scottish National Party (SNP) and Scottish Government took a more cautious approach. In this paper, we take two seemingly similar cases and consider why they differed in their response to the Catalan independence referendum. First, this article provides an overview of the relationship between Scottish and Flemish independentists and Catalonia. We then argue that responses to the Catalan referendum reflected differing intra-party dynamics and domestic discourse on autonomist policy during and after the referendum. Finally, the Catalan referendum case is understood within the wider perspective of transnational relationships between nationalists and regionalist in Europe. We particularly consider the role of transnational organisations, such as the European Free Alliance, in fostering relationships between independentist groups.

**Challenging the ethnicist connection: evidence from the Catalan independentist movement**

*Joan Vergés-Gifra, Macià Serra*

In this contribution we would like to deal with the following general question: “what kind of connection is there between ethnic groups and independentist movements?”. One could easily presuppose that there will always be a close connection between ethnicism and independentism: it is natural to think that wherever an ethnic minority sees itself in danger of vanishing into a major group, that minority will feel the temptation of seceding from the parent state and create another political entity where its national culture would flourish. However, developments in some democratic secessionist movements, such as the Catalan or the Scottish ones, challenge that assumption. If we focus on the Catalan independentist process we can find evidence of how secessionist and nationalist parties, in order to strengthen their movement and raise their chances for success they tend to “de-ethnicize” their discourse. In this vein, independentism functions as a sort of “civic” or “republican” ideology rather than as the ideology for the preservation of a particular ethnic group. Despite continual efforts by unionists parties –even new political actors such as former French Prime Minister Manuel Valls, today running for Major of Barcelona– in depicting Catalan independence as racist or supremacist, the reverse seems rather more correct: racism and ethnicism is not an unusual response on the side of the forces opposing independentism.
5.3 Referents of nationalism: the role of territory

**When Size Mattered. The threshold principle within nineteenth-century nationalism**

*Rasmus Glenthøj*

Nationalism is in general understood as an ideology that strives for the creation or the maintenance of nation states. Hence the nation-state is normally seen as the key objective for nationalist movements, hereby expressing their wish for full national self-determination. In this paper, however, I will argue that although this understanding of nationalism may capture the essence of many instances of modern-day nationalism it does not capture much of nineteenth century nationalism as many national movements of the era sought at most limited autonomy or tied their nationalist aspirations to pan-nationalist or federalist projects. This suggests that Eric Hobsbawm may have been right in claiming that liberal nationalism between 1830 and 1870 was characterized by a ‘threshold principle’. A principle which affirmed that only states of a certain size could survive. This may in turn explain why many nationalist movements prior to 1870 were defined by unification nationalism and pan-nationalism. Even though there are all too many examples nationalist chauvinism, I will argue that the movements of national unification and macro-nationalism that flourished in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars to a larger extent were motivated by existential fear and fears of foreign oppression. To support these points, I will use Pan-Scandinavism in Denmark as a case study.

**Island Nationalism: Physical Geography as a Resource in the Nationalist Imaginary**

*Jack Corbett*

The average size of the state is shrinking. Island nationalism is creating new, and very small, states out of federalised or autonomous territories. Physical geography or ‘islandness’ is a resource that island nationalists employ to justify succession but nationalism studies subordinate this factor in accounts that privilege ethnic, religious or economic drivers of identity. This paper draws on conceptual work by political geographers on the social construction of physical spaces, and international relations scholarship that shows how an advantageous regime of norms provides microstates ‘shelter’ to ensure viability. It asks: how do island nationalists make the case for independence given scepticism that a new state is a viable political and economic entity? By conducting four in-depth case studies of island nationalism—Tuvalu, Nevis, Barbuda and Chuuk—it will uncover how physical geography acts as a resource for the nationalist imaginary in the absence of other, well theorised, factors.
This paper examines the political discourses employed by stateless nationalist and regionalist parties (SNRPs). Recent contributions to the literature on territorial politics has suggested that SNRPs do not frame their discourses exclusively around centre-periphery issues to do with the core goal of territorial empowerment, but that they also often mobilise on other non-territorial issue dimensions. This paper aims at go beyond the ‘one issue’ thesis and consider the different ways in which SNRPs frame and justify their territorial demands. Literature on territorial politics has traditionally taken for granted the assumption that identity is at the core of territorial demands. This assumption persists when we look at neighbouring fields, such as ethnic conflict and civil wars. However, this assumption – that identity is mobilised to advance territorial demands – can be challenged. Territorial demands are understood in terms of group rights, therefore presupposing an, at least, loose sense of common identity. It thus makes sense to assume that the latter will be at the core of claims making. However, this might not be the sole case. Indeed, territorial claims such as decentralisation are often connected to justifications that are related to values other than identity, such as efficiency, subsidiarity and social justice. Thus, it might well be that SNRPs do not only, or necessarily, conceive territorial demands as a means for protecting some sort of national/group identity, but also as means to ends that are related to other general values related to economic and social justice, administrative efficiency or transparency. In order to explore this aspect of sub-state nationalist politics, this paper will analyse the frames that Scottish nationalist actors have deployed to mobilise support for their territorial goals. Scotland is precisely a country where such claims on identity have been challenged. The recent independence referendum campaign showed, according to some scholars, that the debate was not so much about identity protection, but about issues related to economy, justice and equality. The paper applies an analytical scheme aimed at systematically analyse such frames on a corpus composed of political documents, such as manifestos, platforms or assembly papers, of regionalist actors in Scotland since 1990.

5.4 Projecting Russianness in the Near (and Further) Abroad

The “Unprecedented Precedent”: the Rhetorical Use of Kosovo in Russian Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Russian World
Emmanuele Quarta, Thomas Delattre

When Kosovo seceded from Serbia on February 17, 2008, the Russian Duma raised the issue whether the international recognition of the country’s right to self-determination would set a precedent for the recognition
of other de facto states such as Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Transnistria. Similar arguments would later be evoked in the wake of the controversial Crimean status referendum held on March 16, 2014, on the basis that Russia had a duty to protect the rights of the local Russian-speaking community. The idea of a Russian historical mission to protect its “brother peoples” has proved to be of the uttermost importance within the contemporary geopolitical Russian paradigm towards its Near Abroad. Most notably, the Russian language represents the central piece of the “Russian World” doctrine, that is, the idea that the Russian identity transcends the borders of the Russian state and embraces its diaspora in other post-Soviet countries. Drawing mainly from the cases of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, this article aims to explore the deployment and use of the so-called Kosovo precedent within the Russian official discourse on foreign policy. It does so in a twofold way. First, drawing from official statements and speeches, it provides an in-depth analysis of the constitutive elements of such discourse on the right to self-determination. Then, questioning the role of the Kosovo precedent in the shaping of the geopolitical image of the Russian World, it addresses whether this strategy of supporting local separatism can be read as a neo-imperialist form of intervention within its sphere of interest or rather as a genuine support of the right to self-determination as a means of global influence.

Long-Distance Nationalism among Russian Migrants in Portugal
Elena Bulakh

This research project is devoted to the new wave of Russian migration to Portugal that started in the late 1990s after the collapse of the USSR. Thousands of migrants were attracted by the job opportunities offered by a then soaring Portuguese economy, and by the perception of Portugal as a safe destination. Among the pioneers were highly qualified professionals – musicians, professors and medical doctors, demanded by the Portuguese economy. In the new millennium, the profile of the Russian migration changes – prosperous Russian nationals are coming to Portugal as investors, attracted by new fiscal benefits and by the Golden Visa Residence permits. This research centres on the diasporic nationalism and the expressions of diasporic identities within the Russian community and on how this diasporic identity is linked to homeland attachment. Attention is given to the identity building practices and to the category of “Russianness” through analyses of the rituals and practices performed by community members (Annual Russian Balls, Immortal Regiment March, Total Russian Dictation etc). Many Russian migrants in Portugal preserve home ties as the base of their long-distance nationalism. For those with complicated migration trajectories the idea of homeland and the identification with it can vary considerably. The links of the Russian migrants with their soviet past are analysed through nostalgic memories and practices which help sustain a sense of group and individual identity. The present-day connection of the community with the Russian State is manifested through the “soft power” projects which cultivate a positive image of
the country abroad.

“No Longer What We Used To Be” - Religion in Times of War in Ukraine
Tornike Metreveli

This paper examines two distinct competitive discourses of self-determination in contemporary Ukraine. On the one hand, the paper analyzes the notion of a Ruskii Mir (Russian World) that centers Russian-language speakers as distinct parts of Russian cultural space in Ukraine as reflected in post-Maidan discourses of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate). On the other hand, the paper examines the contrasting discourse of “national state, national church” aka autocephaly to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church advocated by the President Poroshenko and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyiv Patriarchate). The paper relies on primary materials gathered through ethnographic snapshots and participant observation in 9 regions of and 35 villages of Ukraine, and verifies findings with legal and policy analysis.

6.1 Filling the National identity category with content

Ideology versus Faith in the National Identity Formation: An Analysis of the Thoughts of Iqbal and Jinnah—the Founding Fathers of Pakistan
Muhammad Sajjad-ur-Rehman

Though Hindus and Muslims lived together for centuries in the Indian Sub-continent, Muslims imagined themselves a distinct people on the basis of their Islamic culture. This made them claim their right to self-determination culminated in the creation of Pakistan. The state of Pakistan was thus meant to be a big hope in achieving the Islamic ideal. Dwelling on interpretive/analytical approach, this paper analyzes the thoughts and reflections of Iqbal and Jinnah—the two founding fathers to understand the issues of national identity formation in Pakistan. It argues that there may be traced two distinct identity models in the thoughts of these leaders: First may be called as ‘faith-based identity model’ while the other may be named as ‘interests-based identity model. These can also be entitled as ‘Islam-as-faith model’ and ‘Islam-as-ideology model’. Former seeks the diffusion of power by cultural/faith based means and thus society remains independent in determining its change. While the later goes on to open and expand the power realm by maximizing the role of state in determining the social change. With the help of these models, it can better be explained that what made Pakistani society fail in the national identity construction, hindering thus the political potential of the society to be utilized for initiating state formation and societal growth. So, today, we see a state that is often rebelled and resisted on the name of ethnicity, religion and sectarianism on one hand and by the ordinary folk when and wherever possible.
This paper interrogates ‘national self-determination’ at its most individualised and personal level: the recent surge in popularity for commercial genetic ‘ancestry’ testing in the United States and the tendency of direct-to-consumer (DTC) genetic testing companies to label personal genetic information in national terms. Ancestry, the largest DTC genetic testing company, has recently (September 2018) revised its algorithms for determining the racio-ethnic composite of its test-takers, making its ‘ethnic’ categories more nation-specific than ever. All five of the major DTC genetic testing companies have developed the most numerous and specific ethnic categories within the European continent, in marked contrast to Africa and Asia. Moreover, these ethnic categories resemble Hammond’s Racial Map of Europe (1923) far more than they resemble any present-day map of European nations. I will argue that nationalising personal genomic information ‘sells’ because it supports a language game, among white Americans, of hyphenating one’s American identity, to support the civic myth of an ‘Immigrant Nation’. This current social phenomenon of individualised (yet collective) literal ‘determination’ of the self through a hyphenated identity supports the notion of voluntary participation in the civic institutions and traditions of the United States, by emphasising the forgone nationality of one’s ancestors in their quest to become American. I argue in support of Bernard Yack’s view that a national identity such as American is no less acculturated than a supposedly ethnic national identity. I highlight that, paradoxically, the language game of hyphenated identities involves pairing ethnicised national identities with an allegedly civic one.

**Austro-Germans; National Identity in the First Austrian Republic**

**Jenna Byers**

In 1938, Chancellor Schuschnigg announced a plebiscite asking if Austrians wanted a state which was German, Christian, independent and united, in an attempt to stand against the German demand for Anschluss. Schuschnigg highlighted an Austro-German identity as proof of the desire for independence in Austria, suggesting that, for some, the word ‘German’ was not necessarily associated with residence within the borders of the modern German nation. The Austro-German identity was not tied to the nation of Germany, but rather, to the Germanic Habsburg family which had ruled over the Austro-Hungarian Empire for centuries. This paper will examine the efforts made by the interwar Austrian government to draw on this Germanic history and look at how those efforts could be misconstrued as a desire for union with the German Reich. The nuanced difference between being German and being Germanic was one which the Austrian government struggled to explain, but which became a core feature of the identity of the Austrian Republic. The Republic of Austria
and the nation-state of Germany were linked by a common language, certain cultural similarities and their humiliating defeat in WWI. When the Anschluss came about, observers focused on these elements of commonality, as it was unclear that when Austrians spoke of a ‘German’ identity, they were not thinking of the contemporary nation-state. Crucially, there existed a Germanic identity which predated the birth of the nation-state. When Austrians used the word ‘German’, it was this identity to which they referred.

6.2 Kurdayetî

The Kurdistan Referendum on Independence at the Crossroads of the Kurdish National Identity
Dilshad Khdhir

While mainstream theories of nationalism offer competing views on the process towards statehood, the Kurdish case may be considered a stark example of the role played by a solid national identity as a pre-condition to statehood. Despite the fact that the Kurdistan Referendum on Independence was not well situated in the geopolitics of the Middle East as of September 2017, the internal, factor, mainly manifested itself in the deeply fragmented Kurdish identity in the Kurdistan Region, may be counted as a major factor that insured the failure of the long-awaited referendum on independence. To address the failed Kurdistan referendum from a different yet, largely understudied dimension, this paper attempts to examine the process through, first, competing discourses of the ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ referendum campaigns of the Kurdistan Referendum held on 25th September 2017, and second, the political and military developments in the aftermath of the referendum, this paper attempts to demonstrate that the lack of a unified national identity in the Kurdistan Region was a key factor behind the failure of the referendum. Another critical argument which is offered in this paper is that, what triggered the failure of the referendum was not the public manifestation of the fragmented identity so much as it was the political manifestation of it. This may be demonstrated by the fact that while the ‘Yes’ campaign was, reportedly, able to win with an overwhelming majority of %93, this statistical result failed to translate into a political will to push for statehood.

Iraqi Kurdistan Independence Referendum: Between Identity Politicisation and Regional Challenges
Ahmed Fawaz

On 29th October 2017, the parliament of the Iraqi Kurdish region approved a request by Masoud Barzani, then the president of Iraq's Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), not to renew his term which would expire on 1st November 2017. The decision came just over a month after a controversial secession referendum spearheaded by Barzani (al-Jazeera, 29/10/2017). Throughout much of their history, the fate of the Kurds
was linked to external forces and empires. The most important example is perhaps the Persian-Ottoman conflict, which resulted in the division of Kurdistan between the two empires in 1514. On 10 August 1920, the Treaty of Sevres recognised the right to self-determination for all nationalities living in the defeated Ottoman Empire. However, the newly founded Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Ataturk rejected the treaty. On 24 June 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne ceded northern and western Kurdistan to Turkey. Iraq received what is known today as Iraqi Kurdistan (Fawaz 2017). Toppling Saddam urged Kurdish leaders to speak loudly about the right to self-determination in light of the new Iraq. In January 2016, in an interview with the Guardian, he called on global leaders to acknowledge that the Sykes-Picot pact has failed, and urged them to broker a new deal paving the way for a Kurdish state. The study seeks to answer the following questions: • How have the Kurdish politicians politicised the Kurdish identity after the toppling of Saddam Hussein? • Why had Massoud Barzani decided to conduct a secession referendum? • Why had Massoud Barzani decided to step down in November 2017? • What impact has the secession referendum had on the political arena in Kurdistan?

6.3 Methodological pluralism in the study of nationalism and self-determination

Consequences of Economic Integration for National Self-Conceptions: The Role of Income Inequality
Martin Lukk

An important consequence of twentieth-century efforts at building a peaceable international community, through organizations like the United Nations and European Coal and Steel Community, has been closer economic integration. The long process of international economic integration culminated in globalization, spurred by the hegemony of market fundamentalist policies in industrialized states. These processes have dramatically transformed societies, bringing new forms of risk and inequality, as they coincide with phenomena like declining welfare states. Although international obligations imposed by integration efforts clearly limit states’ autonomy and self-determination, the consequences of economic integration for nationalism are often overlooked. This paper contributes to understanding of how the long process of international integration has shaped attitudes about the nation in contemporary societies, focusing on the role of income inequality. Specifically, survey data from 33 industrialized countries are used to estimate the effect of household income inequality on the prevalence of preferences for ethno-nationalism. Results indicate that countries with higher average levels of income inequality since the 1990s typically feature greater levels of ethno-nationalism. However, contrary to expectations, countries that have seen growth in inequality in this period have generally seen simultaneous declines in ethno-nationalism. These findings elaborate new ways in which international
integration can shape national self-understandings and thus ultimately constrain nations' cultural autonomy.

**Geopolitical limits of the democratic will on secession processes**  
*Asier Blas*

This paper analyses, in a comparative way, the secession processes from 1990 to the present day in order to determine the importance of the democratic support of the population for the achievement of an independent state. The results show that the geopolitical variable continues to explain the processes of secession throughout the planet. A normalized independent state needs to comply with the following two conditions: (1) having the control (monopoly of violence) in the claimed territory, a necessary condition, but not sufficient to have an independent state and (2) international recognition. Historically, the war has played an important role in meeting the first condition and facilitated the fulfilment of the second condition. During the last decades another element of great importance has been added to the list: democratic legitimacy. In the liberal-democratic political discourse, it seems more possible than ever to gain independence democratically. Reality, however, is not quite as simple. On the one hand, the major world powers have recognized, or condemned secessions based on their geostrategic interests and not in respect of the will of the population of the given territory. On the other hand, in order to secede, the support of the population of the claimed territory has become an increasingly important factor, therefore, having a democratic majority (the larger the better) has become an almost necessary condition, albeit not sufficient if we consider the geopolitical variable.

6.4 At Versailles: First Image Analysis of the Paris Peace Conference

**Losing the peace: Flemish nationalist collaborators and the Paris Peace Conference.**  
*Kasper Swerts*

The Paris Peace Conference proved crucial in the creation of myriad nation-states under the direction of the triumphant western states. But what was its effect on nationalists that had staked their claim on a German victory and German-led peace talks? In this paper, I will analyse the case of Flemish nationalists that had collaborated with the German occupier during the First World War, and considered the future of their nation under the auspices of German-led peace talks. First, I will analyse the Flemish nationalists' debates on the concept of peace during the First World War. I will argue that under the influence of the German pro-Flemish politics during the war (Flamenpolitik), Flemish nationalists envisioned peace as resulting in the end of the Belgian nation-state, and thus as the essential prerequisite for the genesis of the Flemish nation. Secondly, I will highlight how these collaborators reacted to the Paris Peace Con-
ference, and how they were involved in the emergence of the pacifist Flemish nationalist party Frontpartij (Front Party) after the war, and the demands for amnesty from the Belgian nation-state. I will argue that the Treaty of Versailles had a lasting impact on the collaborating nationalists, resulting in an enduring resolve that a German victory was essential for the genesis of the Flemish nation. This, in a brief conclusion, will be related to the recurrent collaboration of many Flemish nationalists during the Second World War, and will highlight how the Paris Peace Conference continues to shape Flemish nationalism today.

The Martyred Lebanese Nation: Lebanon, France, and the Politics of the Paris Peace Conference
John Boonstra

Serving as the president of the Lebanese delegation at Paris Peace Conference, Maronite Patriarch Elias Pierre Hoyek advanced his community’s aspirations for an independent, expanded state of Lebanon under French guarantee in the postwar order. Historians have mostly situated his testimony within studies of Middle Eastern nationalist movements, specifically the Maronite ideology of Lebanism. They have focused less attention on how the languages of martyrdom that he mobilized proved essential in shaping the postwar imperial context. These opened a new realm of discursive as well as political possibility, fertile for demands of Lebanese autonomy and French imperial protection, but sown with unresolved ambiguities over both Lebanon’s status and the meaning of the colonial mandate system that would emerge. This paper will argue that Hoyek’s calls for French protection drew from an affective vocabulary of martyrdom and obligation to affirm Lebanon’s standing within a French realm of influence. His claims functioned not only to create a sense of postwar indebtedness. They also crafted a narrative of suffering that effaced France’s own responsibility for causing the famine that had decimated Lebanon’s population during the war. The Patriarch, moreover, was not only aligning Lebanese attitudes under the rubric of French protection; he also contrasted Lebanon’s position—in the hierarchy of empire as well as civilization—with that of neighboring Syria. The eventual creation of Greater Lebanon as a political entity, I propose, occurred within an imperial framework in which Syria functioned as the violent backdrop against which Lebanon would be defined and defended.

6.5 Nationalism and (violent) conflict

Vulnerable Yet Free: Non-Colonialism and Strategies of Ethnic Conflict
Emre Amasyali

Colonized regions of the world rarely experience secessionist wars; whereas, such wars are a frequent phenomenon in regions that managed to escape overseas colonialism. I hypothesize that the absence of overseas colonialism increases the risk of secessionist violence by promoting
intrusive nation-building policies in the face of international pressure. Alternatively, I propose that colonialism increases the likelihood of ethnic violence over state control but not secessionist violence. My project addresses two deficiencies in the literature on state-building and ethnic conflict. First, many assume that state centralization efforts increase the risk of conflict between state and social actors, but states differ in the scope and intrusiveness of their state- and nation-building strategies. Second, the literature commonly claims that colonialism has promoted ethnic violence, but few works consider whether colonialism affects particular types of ethnic conflict more than others. In this project, I combine a cross-national statistical analysis with a comparative-historical analysis of Turkey and Lebanon to test whether varied nation- and state-building strategies inform the type of violence and, in turn, whether a history of colonialism or non-colonialism shapes these strategies.

Bethan Johnson

While historians often date the fall of empires and the concomitant rise of nation-states to the post-war era, in reality the extension of independence to overseas colonies in the 1940s and 1950s (itself the legacy of self-determination rhetoric advanced by President Woodrow Wilson in the Fourteen Points), saw several ethnic minorities within the metropole dissatisfied at their exclusion from the decolonisation wave. Empowered by the mounting post-war consensus about national self-determination, and enraged by its limited application, a cohort of violent ethnic-nationalists in Spain, France, Belgium, the United Kingdom, and Canada emerged in the 1960s and 1970s to stake claims to self-government, and did so using unprecedented rationales. This paper will demonstrate how leaders of these separatist groups viewed their violent activities as a function of the times and inherent to any (successful) independence struggle. It will then consider, for example, why Quebecois separatists felt justified in detonating bombs in the name of independence even as they marched in front of UN buildings eliciting support, and how the Irish Republican Army felt it could invoke the Universal Declaration of Human Rights while killing ‘enemies’ in their quest for liberation. It will also discuss the operationalization of the rhetoric of self-determination within the context of post-war decolonisation as a means of galvanising the citizenry. In doing so, this paper will explore the transnational dialectic development of these groups, highlight the relationship of Western violent ethnic-minority nationalisms to the concept of self-determination, and reattach violent nationalism to the construction of the nation-state.
1. Chrystal Macmillan Building
2. HRB Lecture Theatre
3. Meadows Lecture Theatre
4. Teviot Lecture Theatre
5. Old College