

Lecture twelve

Course conclusions and exam information

Exam help and information

Exam date – Thursday June 8th, room 106, 08:30-10:00

There will be six questions, you should answer **two** of them

Things to remember:

- 1) Answer both questions
- 2) Remember to spend the same time on both questions – sounds silly but very important
- 3) Plan your essays
- 4) Make sure the essays have proper introductions/conclusions
- 5) Try to include the opinions of secondary sources, it will be rewarded
- 6) Try to revise three to four topics – as well as the introduction and conclusion to the class
- 7) Exam questions will consist of a lot of comparison of cases – you should not use the same case study more than once

Good luck!

Lecture rundown

1) Themes

- a) Looking back at Mann's theses – how much do they match reality?
- b) Naimark and themes of the course
- c) Displacement and refugeedom – what have we learnt?

2) Ethnic cleansing in the world today

- a) The death of ethnic cleansing in the global North?
- b) The threat of ethnic cleansing in the global South
- c) The future of ethnic cleansing
- d) How to deal with the after-effects?

1) Themes

a) Looking back at Mann's thesis

- 1) Murderous cleansing is modern, because it is the dark side of democracy
- 2) Ethnic hostility rises where ethnicity trumps class
- 3) Danger zone reached when groups which say they represent two fairly old ethnic groups lay claim to all or part of the same territory
- 4) Brink of murderous ethnic cleansing occurs when two things happen
 - a) The weaker side starts when it believes there will be aid from the outside
 - b) The stronger side believes it can force through ethnic cleansing without any risk to itself due to its power or strategic position
- 5) Going over the brink – when state has been factionalised
- 6) Murderous Ethnic cleansing rarely the intent of the perpetrators
- 7) Three levels of perpetrators – a) Radical elites, b) bands of militants – paramilitaries, c) core constituencies
- 8) Ordinary people are brought by normal social structures into committing murderous ethnic cleansing

a) Looking back at Mann's thesis

- 1) Murderous cleansing is modern – basically agree – ethnic cleansing normally carried out by democratising states, or states that were once democratic and subverted this democracy – liberal democracies least likely to commit ethnic cleansing
 - 2) Ethnicity trumps class in almost all the cases we have looked at
 - 3) Normally the case when two groups claim sovereignty over one territory – however exceptions
 - 4) More common for the stronger side to force through cleansings
 - 5) Factionalisation – normally due to war or democratisation, very important -but in some cases not factionalisation
 - 6) Ethnic cleansing normally the last choice after other plans have failed
 - 7) Normally a mixture of the three – sometimes the state more involved than in other cases
 - 8) People can be made to do horrible things through 'ordinary structures'
- So his thesis work pretty well, although certain things don't work so well

b) Naimark and themes of the course

- 1) Violence - 'Ethnic cleansing always involves violence' – some cases more violent than others
- 2) War – Ethnic cleansing often comes out of war and its aftermath
- 3) Totality – High modernist projects – cleansing often involves whole groups, although this is not always the case
- 4) Monuments and memory – movement often means destruction of displaced person's property, rewriting of history
- 5) Property – robbery, during and after cleansing – issue of compensation/right to return
- 6) Gender – Much violence committed against women, but also against men too! Men main perpetrators but also main victims.

Naimark quotes

'War provides cover for rulers to carry out projects of ethnic cleansing that would be more closely scrutinised and even condemned by their own public or by the International Community during peacetime.'

War and ethnic cleansing link

'Ethnic cleansing involves not only the forced deportation of entire ethnic groups but the eradication of the memory of their presence'

Ethnic cleansing, monuments and memory

'Ethnic cleansing is inherently misogynistic'

Ethnic cleansing and gender

c) Displacement and refugeedom – what have we learnt?

Before ethnic cleansing:

a) Refugees can radicalise situations and cause ethnic cleansing

After ethnic cleansing:

b) Displaced people can face problems with locals after displacement

c) How states deal with ethnic cleansing:

i) Positive examples of integration – East Punjab, W. Germany

ii) Negative examples of integration – E. Germany, Israel

d) Displacement causes the creation of new narratives – sometimes positive

e) Problems of return – What is home?

f) Landscapes and cities transformed by ethnic cleansing

2) Ethnic cleansing in the world today – a) The death of ethnic cleansing in the global North?

- i) Dominance of liberal democracy in the global North
- ii) Global North already mostly ethnically cleansed
- iii) Multi-ethnic states in Europe relatively moderate
- iv) Issue of immigration?
- v) Moderating power of the European Union
- vi) Some issues do remain – Russian community abroad – Chechnya/Transnistria – Ukraine?

b) The threat of ethnic cleansing in the global South

i) The Global South pre-1945

ii) The dominance of Socialism, Liberalism and secularism in the Global South -1965

iii) The weakening of the three isms after 1965 – rise of nationalism, neo-liberalism and religious fundamentalism – potential source of conflicts

iv) Some areas of the Global South more class based – Latin America

Main areas of worry:

v) 'Middle-man' ethnicities

vi) Bi-ethnic states – fringes of imperial countries

vii) Religious fundamentalism – Muslims vs other religions Muslims vs themselves

Fear of ethnic cleansing in the South remains

Ethnic cleansing in the Global South

Danger is the: 'Ideal of the nation state, where this confuses the demos with ethnos, The mass electorate and the ethnic group.'

Worries over ethnic cleansing in the global South

c) The future of ethnic cleansing

- i) We cannot predict where ethnic cleansing will come next
- ii) We cannot ignore the power of the nation state – Mann predicts that many new nations will be created – Kurdistan/Palestine others

How to stop ethnic conflict?

- lii) Ethnic power-sharing amongst groups, autonomous regions
- iv) Separation for nations that have a long history of conflict

How can the North help the South?

- v) Controlling arms sales/reducing inequality
- vi) United States promotion of classical liberalism rather than neo-liberalism
- vii) Continued use of International Criminal Courts
- viii) The strengthening of regional bodies – African Union, Arab league

Hopefully the strengthening of liberal democracy will stop ethnic violence!

d) How to deal with the after-effects?

- a) Provide equal rights for displaced people
- b) Assist them with finding work and grants to improve their homes
- c) Listen to their issues
- d) Allow them to organise to express their opinions
- e) Promote dialogue between states which have been touched by ethnic cleansing

Most states unfortunately don't do this – cause of problems – the states that do are the most successful at integrating/re-integrating displaced people