10 & 11 ETHNIC CONFLICT I & II

Read: Maybury-Lewis, Genocide and ethnic cleansing

Eller, Rwanda and Burundi: When two tribes go to war?

Eller, The Kurds: Frustrated nationalism

Malkki, National geographic: the rooting of peoples and the territorialization of national identity among scholars and refugees

I. Introduction

- A. I will first discuss a typology of ethnic conflict based on the characteristics of the parties and the structure of the conflict
- B. I will then illustrate how to construct a typology based on historical origins of conflict
 - 1. Please remember that typologies allow sorting; can aid in analysis
 - 2. But sooner or later they will be found to be inadequate or distorting
- II. Types of ethnic conflict based on characteristics of the parties and the structure of the conflict
 - A. First: ethnic/state
 - 1. Examples
 - a. Chechnyans in Russia
 - b. Zapatistas in Mexico
 - 2. Forms it can take
 - a. Expulsions
 - 1) Chinese from Vietnam
 - 2) Asians from Uganda
 - b. Enclaves and other types of restrictions
 - 1) Apartheid in South Africa
 - 2) Ghettoes—Jews in Warsaw under Nazis

- c. Other forms of repression intended to put down ethnic separatism, nationalist movements
 - 1) Basques
 - 2) Native Americans in Canada and US in 19th century
 - 3) Islamic separatists in Philippines
 - 4) Tibetans and the Peoples' Republic of China
 - 5) Berbers in Morocco and Algeria
 - 6) **DISCUSS**: any others you know about?
- 3. Note that the *kind* of state is extremely important
- 4. A colonial power will deal with its minorities in a different manner than an independent state
 - a. Although knowing this does not allow us to predict what kind of ethnic/state conflict will occur in a given independent state
- B. Second: ethnic group vs. ethnic group within a single nation-state
 - 1. Examples?
 - a. Sri Lanka
 - b. Nigerian civil war in 1960s
 - c. India Muslim and Hindu Nationalists
 - d. Belgium (Flemish and Walloons)
 - 2. Note that international interests almost always are involved
- C. Third: state/state conflicts that are highly inflected ethnically
 - 1. Examples?
 - a. Somalia invading Ethiopia
 - b. Turkish invasion of Cyprus, conflict with Greece

- 2. Often the issue is ownership of a territory, and ethnicity is involved
 - a. Cyprus
 - b. Kashmir (India/Pakistan)
 - c. Argentina and Britain dispute over Malvinas was state/state conflict that did not involve ethnic conflict
 - 1) But a great deal of nationalist rhetoric was involved
- D. Fourth: cases where third-party states are significantly involved
 - 1. Lebanese civil war (although combatants were religious-based militias rather than ethnic)
 - 2. Bosnia, Kosovo
 - 3. Hmong in Laos during the Vietnam war
 - 4. India playing a substantial role in Sri Lanka
 - a. Migration of Tamils out of India
- III. Second typology based on historical origins of conflict
 - A. Struggles against colonial domination
 - 1. Not all independence struggles have involved ethnicity or race
 - a. U.S.'s struggle against England was *not* an ethnic one
 - 1) Spoke same language, same culture in many respects, religion, etc.
 - 2) Non-ethnic is characteristic of earliest independence movements
 - 3) South America—Bolívar, etc., not ethnic either
 - b. But race and ethnic divisions in these colonies were extremely important in shaping the arguments in favor of independence
 - 2. Most anti-colonial struggles that followed did have ethnic and race aspects

- 3. The earlier British colonization of Ireland and Scotland (the Celtic frontier) can be seen to involve ethnic dimension¹
 - a. The "wild Irish"
 - b. Queen Elizabeth's nobles determined that in order to assure success of the colony the Irish had to be exterminated and labor from England brought in
 - c. Other examples of extermination policies
 - 1) Tasmanians in Australia
 - 2) Mapuche and other indigenous groups in Argentina
 - 3) Native Americans in the US West in 19th century (not a national policy, though)
 - 4) Armenians in Turkey
 - 5) Jews and Roma in Nazi Germany
- 4. Algeria: war of independence 1954-1962
 - a. France's colonial policy was to claim colonized peoples as "citizens of France"
 - b. Hasn't worked; Jews and Muslims prime examples
 - 1) French colonial settlers confiscated land, stripped Algerians of political, economic rights
 - c. Algerians fought against Germans in WW II; Algiers was capital of "Free France" during occupation
 - 1) Algerians expected to be granted independence following the war
 - d. Film "Battle of Algiers" shows struggle against French colonial domination

¹ See William Christie MacLeod, 1928. Celt and Indian: Britain's old world frontier in relation to the new. In MacLeod, *The American Indian Frontier*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf. Reprinted in Paul Bohannon and Fred Plog eds., *Beyond the Frontier: Social Process and Cultural Change*. Garden City, NY: The Natural History Press: 25-42.

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- 1) Film shows how Algerian militants take advantage of ethnic/racial assumptions of French colonists
- 2) One Algerian woman dyes her hair blond, dresses European style
- 3) Her gender and non-Arab appearance mean her purse won't be searched at the gate
- 4) Leaves a bomb in a restaurant frequented by French
- 5. We have discussed how most colonies contained several or many culturally distinct groups
 - a. Deliberate partitioning of colonies by European countries to cut across ethnic geography
 - b. Developing various ways of exacerbating inter-ethnic tensions to avoid alliance-building against the colonial administration
 - 1) For example, "ethnic soldiering"
 - 2) Carib Indians were used as "cannibal soldiers" against Arawaks by European powers on Guianese coast of South America during conquest²
 - 3) United Fruit Company policies in Panama provide an example³
 - a) Company was a para-state in that region—acting like a state
 - b) Deliberately favored indigenous Kuna employees
 - c) To create resentment among Emberá employees
 - c. Some analysts argue that British policies in Ireland deliberately exacerbated religious conflict
 - d. The use of the Hmong by the CIA in Laos during the Vietnam war is a case of explicit "ethnic soldiering"

³ See Philippe Bourgois, 1989. *Ethnicity at Work: Divided Labor on a Central American Banana Plantation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

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² See Neil L. Whitehead, 1988. *Lords of the Tiger Spirit: A History of the Caribs in Colonial Venezuela and Guyana 1498-1820.* Dordrecht: Foris Publications Holland.

- 6. Many situations where a culturally distinct group straddles one or more boundaries
 - a. Tuaregs in Chad and Niger (Africa)
 - b. Kurds in Turkey, Iran and Iraq (some in Syria)
 - c. Maya nationalism growing; Mayas are found in Belize, Mexico (Chiapas), Guatemala
- 7. Post-colonial states have found it difficult to engage in nation-building due to these legacies of colonialism
 - a. Indonesia a prime example
 - 1) Not only Timor and Irian Jaya
 - b. Rwanda
 - 1) Ethnic conflict results in part from Belgian colonial policies of setting up minority Tutsi to dominate majority Hutu
 - c. Partition of India and Pakistan
 - 1) Horrible violence; legacy continues⁴
 - 2) Kashmir a good example
 - a) Population is predominately Muslim
 - b) But the Raj was Hindu, so he arranged for Kashmir to be within India's borders upon independence
 - d. Bangladesh—horrible conflict too, over religion
- B. Struggles within a national state or between neighboring states that were never colonies
 - 1. Because of fairly long-standing cultural diversity within present boundaries
 - a. France
 - 1) Bretons

⁴ See Veena Das, 1995. *Critical Events: An Anthropological Perspective on Contemporary India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- b. Yugoslavia
- c. Greece (Macedonia)
- d. Catalans in Spain
- e. Basques in France and Spain
- 2. Or because of more recent migrations
 - a. Labor
 - 1) Persecution of Chinese brought over as laborers in 19th century in US and Canada
 - 2) Second largest Turkish city is Berlin
 - a) Anti-Turkish violence in Germany
- 3. Or as a result of war elsewhere—refugees
 - a. Hmong in California, Minnesota
 - b. Laotians and Vietnamese fishers on Texas coast
- 4. Or relatively recently established states that favor one ethnic group for nation-building
 - a. Israel
 - 1) Israeli non-Jewish citizens: Arabs, Christians, Druze
- IV. What happens to armed ethnic conflict over time?
 - A. Stalemate
 - 1. Neither side can eliminate the other
 - 2. Examples of state vs. ethnic group that became a stalemate?
 - a. Mapuche of Chile vs. Spain...a centuries-long stalemate
 - b. Seminoles in Florida and USA

- c. Stalemate is comparatively rare—history contains a huge number of examples of states persecuting, exiling, killing ethnic groups to the point of extermination
 - 1) When they resist:
 - a) Colonial administration
 - b) Forced religious conversion
 - c) Economic policies (trade, labor, extractive industries like mining)
- B. The violent conflict ends
 - 1. Either enough of the combatants get killed, or go away
- C. Or the armed conflict gets routinized, channeled into non-violent forms
 - 1. Pressure from international organizations like the UN, or other states is often brought to bear
 - a. To sign conventions, peace accords, treaties, etc.
 - 1) Rwanda
 - b. These accords lead to political structures being set up
 - c. Examples
 - 1) Palestinian-Israeli conflict: Oslo accords, or in Dayton meetings there were "Road Map" discussions
 - d. In some cases violence is employed during "routinization"— NATO bombing during the conflict in former Yugoslavia
 - 1) Responding to the huge problem of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia
 - 2. Mexico: the San Andrés Peace Accords
 - a. Important moment
 - 1) For example, how the state defines ethnic groups might be negotiated during these discussions

- 2) Nagel's point about the US
- d. Note that the Mexican indigenous people didn't want to secede
 - 1) They wanted to be included
 - 2) "Jamás un México sin nosotros"—"Never again a Mexico without us"
 - They were accused by President Zedillo of being secessionist, of "balkanizing" Mexico
 - a) This type of complaint often surfaces
- 3. Why outside pressure is so often needed
 - a. Forging temporary unity out of diversity is difficult
 - b. How to deal with the historical power differentials between the various ethnic groups?
 - c. Save face: can claim being forced to come to the table, or "it's an offer we couldn't refuse"—very attractive inducements are offered
- D. There is no guarantee that "equality" or "parity" will prevail
 - 1. Violent conflict can end by becoming routinized in the form of a police state
 - 2. Repression, jails, intimidation are ways of routinizing violence
 - 3. Sheer force can be quite successful at quelling inter-ethnic violence
 - a. A point often made about relatively tranquil socialist Central Europe and what happened after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of Soviet-dominated socialist governments like Marshall Tito's of Yugoslavia
 - b. Or Spain under Franco after Spanish Civil War
- E. Frequently articulated goals:
 - 1. Getting the parties to negotiate
 - a. "Getting to 'yes'"

- b. There's a whole industry that studies and facilitates mediation, negotiation
- c. Sometimes these professionals are called in to decrease ethnic conflict
- d. Or high-profile person—Secretary General of the UN; Jimmy Carter several times
- 2. Educating the warring parties
 - a. To understanding the history, logic and structure of a conflict
 - b. Have a clearer, more objective understanding of what's at stake
 - c. Assumption is that correct information about the other will lead to less prejudice
- 3. Change mentalities, sentiments
 - a. Tolerance, etc.
 - b. Embarrassment in front of the modern world⁵
- V. Ethnic conflict more generally
 - A. Goals behind those engaging in ethnic conflict that involves the state in some way tend to be:
 - 1. More effective control of a population by the state (and the state is run by one ethnic group)
 - a. Ethiopia
 - 2. Control of *a* state by a group
 - b. Sudan's woes
 - 3. End to control by others
 - B. Ethnic conflict not involving the state—a more local conflict

⁵ An example of international embarrassment producing change inside a country: an anti-lynching campaign in the form of lectures in Europe during the 1890s by African-American journalist Ida B. Wells, has been argued to have contributed to a gradual decline of frequency of lynchings (Joane Nagel, 2003. *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality: Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers.* New York: Oxford: 114).

- 1. Immigration conflicts:
 - a. Anti-Turk resentment in Germany (which periodically flares up into violence)
 - b. Increasingly throughout Europe
 - 1) As nations join European Union and restrictions on travel are lifted
 - 2) Illegal immigration increases, as well
- C. Ideological factors helping to produce high frequency of ethnic conflict
 - 1. Complicated relationship between individual and collective rights
 - 2. Rights are usually cast in an individualistic idiom, or discourse
 - a. E.g., competition, even equality itself
 - b. Western liberal theory values self-determination and equality of the individual
 - c. But the struggles over claims are advanced on a collective basis
- VI. Summing up: Why so much ethnic conflict in present-day world?
 - A. Clearly not due to atavistic, "tribal" affiliations, allegiances—"age-old" feuds between groups that keep them from joining modern society
 - B. Colonialism, empire-building are major factors
 - 1. Spain and Portugal, later other European nations; Russia expansion as well
 - 2. Eller's discussion of Kurds and Burundi/Rwanda; Maybury-Lewis's of Rwanda
 - C. Also notions about "national self-determination" that developed during the 19th century
 - D. Post-colonial factors
 - 1. From WW I on, empires and large states have been dismembered in favor of smaller units

- 2. President Woodrow Wilson established the doctrine of self-determination⁶
 - a. The League of Nations was established
- 3. The end of WW II brought about the end of colonial control in Asia and Africa
- 4. The growth in notions of equality makes ethnic subordination increasingly illegitimate
- 5. The trajectory is one of an increasing number of, at times, very small states
- 6. Certainly fueled by ethnic conflict
 - a. Not all of it is violent
- E. It's clear than when powerful empires no longer:
 - 1. Subordinate ethnic, religious, etc. communities
 - 2. Nor repress ethnic conflict (e.g., central Europe under the Soviets)
 - 3. And where there are resources, benefits to be claimed
 - 4. There will be competition and conflict
 - a. Ethnogenesis likely to occur (strengthening, reviving, re-defining ethnic identity)
 - b. And ideologies that justify the struggle will develop
 - 1) Some of them extremely pernicious
- F. In the modern world, ethnicity is one of those forces that is, in moderation, community-building, but community-destroying in excess
 - 1. And cases of "excess" derive from forces outside, not inside the group
 - 2. Such as the present system of modern states
 - 3. This system provides the framework within which conflict occurs
 - a. Most states that were never colonies are diverse

⁶ This discussion follows Jason Clay, 1990. What's a Nation? Latest Thinking. *Mother Jones*, 15, 7: 28-30.

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- b. And when many of the former colonies became independent
- c. It was not at all clear which population within these countries could claim ownership and "nation-build"
- d. The model of "nation," "a people" was well established
- e. How to fashion a unified "imagined community" out of these ingredients?

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