

# 21ST CENTURY THREATS TO STATE SOVEREIGNTY

EURO-GA 2162

Fall 2022

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**Office Hours:** Tuesdays 10:00-11:30 in-person (KJCC 232) or remotely by appointment:

<https://calendly.com/emma-rosenberg/30min>.

**Course Description:** The 21st century has abounded with old and new threats to the survival of the nation-state. Creeping authoritarianism and democratic erosion threaten countries long regarded as bastions of democracy, such as the United States and Austria. International terrorism, such as the Islamist Charlie Hebdo attacks in France justify new restrictions on civil liberties, while domestic terrorism, such as the attack on the mosque in Halle, Germany, leave governments paralyzed, unwilling to totally alienate ultra-nationalists. Shortages of natural resources, migrant and refugee crises, religious fundamentalism, and the breakdown of civil-military relations similarly undermine the state's monopoly on legitimate power. In unprecedented ways, governments are scrambling to balance state legitimacy in the eyes of its citizens with long-term survival.

This course employs a case-based approach relying on comparative politics and international relations literature, as well as scholarship from adjacent fields such as history and sociology, to explore the evolution of threats to state sovereignty. We compare state strategies to balance democratic governance, civil liberties, and state security in the context of ever-changing threats. In the 21st century, can the nation-state survive?

**Learning Objectives:** By the end of this course, students will be able to:

- differentiate between domestic, foreign, transnational, and subnational threats to state sovereignty;
- chart the development of these threats in their historic contexts;
- articulate the dangers posed to democratic nation-states by contemporary security challenges;
- learn how to formulate a comparative research question, gather evidence, and make compelling arguments about leading threats to state sovereignty.

**Grading Policy:** Learning requires focus. It is hard to focus if students are worrying about what grade they will get. I promise that my grades will never be punitive. The grades students get will reflect their efforts to engage the class content and their growth as critical

- Class discussion=20%
- 3 Response Papers=30%
- Group Project Presentation=20%
- Final Research Paper=30%

**Important Dates:**

3 Response Papers for different weeks .....	<b>before</b> May 1st, 2023.
Midterm Group Presentation .....	March 28th, 2023
Final Paper .....	May 15th, 2023

**Description of Assignments:** This class has several assignments to allow students a variety of ways and opportunities to excel and to take the pressure off of any single assignment.

- **Class Participation:**

Strong class participation is integral to the success of the course. Active and respectful listening, and asking thoughtful questions, as well as articulating points, are incredibly important. Laptops and other devices can get in the way of this, so this course will be laptop free unless you need one for accessibility reasons or to accommodate a disability. Class readings will all be available via course reserve. **You cannot participate if you aren't present. Unexcused lateness and absences will adversely affect your participation grade.**

- **Response Papers:** Over the course of the class, you will be required to write three 300-500 word informal response papers that discuss current events in the context of our readings and discussions. The response paper should directly cite a news item and at least one assigned reading, and explicitly tie the analysis of the event into literature from the class. I expect proper citations. **You should not spend more than 1 hour writing each of these.**

- **Group Project:** The midterm will consist of a group project (2-3 students per group) that responds to the following questions: **What, if any, should be the limits on free speech on Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, and other social media platforms for the sake of state stability? What speech should be allowed and what should be banned in order to protect the state but not threaten civil liberties?** You will come up with a list of practical guidelines for how the social media platform of your choice (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.) should handle hate speech in order to balance protecting civil liberties with the survival of the state. You will present your guidelines in a 10 minute group presentation on the last day of class and respond to 5 minutes of questions from your peers. I encourage you to be as creative as you want and to stretch yourselves intellectually. Your grade will not reflect whatever position you take or solution you suggest, but rather the strength of your thinking and argument.

- **Final Paper:** For your final paper, choose two countries and develop a research question that compares how a similar threat to state sovereignty was either handled by the state or posed different problems to the state. The final paper should include an introduction that explores the motivations behind the question, an evidence section, 3-5 substantive paragraphs of your descriptive findings, and a conclusion addressing the broader implications of your findings. The paper should be 10-12 pages double-spaced, not including the bibliography, size 12 font, one-inch margins. Proper academic citation is required and at least 15 academic sources should be used (peer-reviewed journal article or book), at least 10 of which should come from outside readings.

**Class Policy:** The educational concept behind the seminar structure assumes a level of maturity and commitment on the part of all participants. Unlike a lecture class, everyone is responsible for the learning that takes place. Therefore, all students are expected to attend every class meeting and to come prepared. That said, if you need to miss class, please notify me in advance. Unexplained absences will negatively affect my assessment of your work in the course. The same applies to late assignments. The themes of this class are weighty and triggering due to the subject matter. Both the reading and discussions will naturally touch upon upsetting topics; this is unavoidable and not always predictable. If you feel that there are certain readings or discussions which would be detrimental to your health, please let me know in advance.

**Diversity and Inclusion:** The class will be an open learning environment that embraces a diversity of thoughts, perspectives and experiences, and honors your identities (including race, gender, class, sexuality, religion, ability, etc.). If you have a name and/or set of pronouns that differ from those that appear in your official records, please let me know. If you feel like your participation in the class is being impacted by your experiences outside of class, please don't hesitate to come and talk with me. If something was said in class, by anyone, that made you feel uncomfortable, please talk to me about it.

**Extensions/Attendance/Mental Health:** We are living in unprecedented times and I understand that. However, I cannot read anyone's mind. Extensions must be requested *before* due dates. Similarly, absences must be excused. Mental and physical health trump everything and should be prioritized. We can always find workarounds as long as you communicate with me.

## Course Outline:

### Week 1: Introduction

Tuesday, January 24

- Lecture on the rise of the nation-state, contemporary security concerns, and course overview.
- Huntington, Samuel P. "The Clash of Civilizations?." In *Culture and Politics*, pp. 99-118. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2000.

### Week 2: What is the Nation-State?

Tuesday, January 31

- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Cornell University Press (2006). Chapters 1 and 9 (18 pages).
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. Verso (2006). Chapters 1, 3, 6 (30 pages).
- Connelly, John. *From Peoples into Nations: A History of Eastern Europe*. Princeton University Press, 2020. Introduction.

### Week 3: Invasions

Tuesday, February 7

- Putin's 21 February speech: <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/statements/67828>
- Putin's 24 February speech: <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/statements/67843>
- Finkelstein, Norman. *Gaza: An Inquest into its Martyrdom*. Univ of California Press, 2021. Chapters 1, 2, and Conclusion (45 pages).
- Manor, Ilan, and Rhys Crilley. "Visually framing the Gaza War of 2014: The Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Twitter." *Media, War & Conflict* 11, no. 4 (2018): 369-391.

### Week 4: Paramilitaries

Tuesday, February 14

- Póczik, Szilveszter, and Eszter Sárík. "Vigilante Militias and Activities Against Roma and Migrants in Hungary." In *Vigilantism Against Migrants and Minorities*, pp. 103-128. Routledge, 2019 (24 pages).
- Staniland, Paul. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Insurgent Fratricide, Ethnic defection, and the rise of Pro-State Paramilitaries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56, no. 1 (2012): 16-40.

- Anderson, Walter, and Shridhar Damle. *The Brotherhood in Saffron: The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism*. Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2019. Chapters 1 and 2 (45 pages).

### **Week 5: Identitarianism**

*Tuesday, February 21*

- Pierce, William Luther. *The Turner Diaries*. National Vanguard Press, 1978.
- Zúquete, José Pedro. *The Identitarians: The Movement Against Globalism and Islam in Europe*. University of Notre Dame Press, 2018. Chapter 1 (23 pages).

### **Week 6: Independent Militias**

*Tuesday, February 28*

- Crothers, Lane. *Rage on the Right: The American Militia Movement from Ruby Ridge to the Trump Presidency*. Rowman Littlefield, 2019. Chapter 4 (30 pages).
- Belew, Kathleen. *Bring the War Home*. Harvard University Press, 2018. Chapters 1 and 2 (34 pages).
- Bauer, Shane. "I Went Undercover With a Border Militia. Here's What I Saw." *Mother Jones*. 2016. <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/10/undercover-border-militia-immigration-bauer/>.
- Leech, Garry. *The FARC: The Longest Insurgency*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011. Chapters 1 and 5 (40 pages).

### **Week 7: Non-Violent Religious Fundamentalism**

*Tuesday, March 7*

- Keith, Ronald C., and Zhiqiu Lin. "The "Falun Gong Problem": Politics and the Struggle for the Rule of Law in China." *The China Quarterly* 175 (2003): 623-642.
- Rosenberg, Emma. "Amish and Hasidic Litigation: A Survival Strategy." *Journal of Church and State* 63, no. 3 (2021): 485-505.
- Stewart, Katherine. *The Power Worshipers: Inside the Dangerous Rise of Religious Nationalism*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2020. Chapter 10 (30 pages).

### **Week 8: SPRING BREAK NO CLASS**

*Tuesday, March 14*

- NO CLASS SPRING BREAK

### **Week 7: Domestic Violent Religious Fundamentalism**

*Tuesday, March 7*

- Juergensmeyer, Mark. *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*. Vol. 13. Univ of California Press, 2017. Chapters 2 and 3 (67 pages).
- Miller-Idriss, Cynthia. *The Extreme Gone Mainstream*. Princeton University Press, 2018. Chapters 4 and 6 (44 pages).

### **Week 10: Midterm: Group Project Presentations**

*Tuesday, March 28*

- Midterm: Group Project Presentations.

### **Week 11: Foreign and Transnational Violent Religious Fundamentalism**

*Tuesday, April 4*

- Alexander, Yonah. *Palestinian Religious Terrorism: Hamas and Islamic Jihad*. BRILL, 2021. Chapter 1 (22 pages).
- Vasilopoulos, Pavlos, George E. Marcus, and Martial Foucault. “Emotional Responses to the Charlie Hebdo Attacks: Addressing the Authoritarianism Puzzle.” *Political Psychology* 39, no. 3 (2018): 557-575.
- Stern, Jessica. *Terror in the Name of God*, New York: Ecco, 2003. Chapter 9 (50 pages).

### **Week 12: Separatism**

*Tuesday, April 11*

- Mohammed, Jihan A., and Abdullah F. Alrebh. “Iraqi Kurds: The Dream of Nation State.” *Digest of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 2 (2020): 215-229.
- Zubrzycki, Geneviève. *Beheading the Saint: Nationalism, Religion, and Secularism in Quebec*. University of Chicago Press, 2016. Chapter 5 (40 pages).

### **Week 13: Antifa and the Left**

*Tuesday, April 18*

- Klein, Adam. “From Twitter to Charlottesville: Analyzing the Fighting Words Between the Alt-Right and Antifa.” *International Journal of Communication* 13 (2019): 22.
- Vysotsky, Stanislav. *American Antifa: The Tactics, Culture, and Practice of Militant Antifascism*. Routledge, 2020. Chapter 1 (23 pages).

### **Week 14: Coups and Dictatorships**

*Tuesday, April 25*

- Greitens, Sheena Chestnut. *Dictators and their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence*. Cambridge University Press, 2016. Introduction and Chapter 8 (45 pages).
- Roessler, Philip. “The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa.” *World Politics* 63, no. 2 (2011): 300-346.
- Harkness, Kristen A. “The Ethnic Army and the State: Explaining Coup Traps and the Difficulties of Democratization in Africa.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60, no. 4 (2016): 587-616.
- Esen, Berk, and Sebnem Gumuscu. “Turkey: How the Coup Failed.” *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 1 (2017): 59-73.

### **Week 15: Democratic Erosion: Can the Nation-State Survive in the 21st Century?**

*Tuesday, May 2*

- Vachudova, Milada Anna. “Ethnopolitism and Democratic Backsliding in Central Europe.” *East European Politics* 36, no. 3 (2020): 318-340.
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. “Populism and the Erosion of Democracy in Poland and in Hungary.” In conference “Global Populisms: A Threat to Democracy.” 2017 (7 pages).
- Rogenhofer, Julius Maximilian, and Ayala Panievsky. “Antidemocratic Populism in Power: Comparing Erdoğan’s Turkey with Modi’s India and Netanyahu’s Israel.” *Democratization* 27, no. 8 (2020): 1394-1412.