

## **Secession & State Creation**

Government 85.19

Winter 2013

Class Period: 3A (M 3-5:50) X(Th 4-4:50)

Classroom: 370 Berry Library

Bridget Coggins

Office Hours: W 2-5

(or by appointment)

Silsby Hall 209, x2026

### **Course Description**

Secessionist demands and their attendant problems are fixtures of modern politics. Literally hundreds of independence claims have been proffered since 1900. However, secession's importance extends well beyond its frequency. Many of the world's most violent and enduring civil wars are rooted in secessionism. And secessionist demands often ignite violence and controversy outside their borders as well. Conversely, many of these disputes are resolved peacefully or without significant violence. In these cases secessionists and their governments contest their claims across the negotiating table or at the polls. But what explains the difference between the two trajectories? What leads groups to demand independence in the first place rather than seeking autonomy or expanded civil rights? What leads governments to oppose their demands? Can multiple national identities be successfully accommodated within a single state? Or is permanent separation sometimes justified? May groups and governments decide independence contests with whatever means they see fit? Or should laws and norms govern secession? Finally, who decides which secessionist movements become states?

In this course, we will work our way through the problem of secession. The class begins with a discussion of the relationship between states and nations in contemporary politics. We then pursue an empirical investigation of a recent, ongoing conflict in Somalia and a historical case in Nigeria to shed light on the characteristics of secession. Next, we survey domestic and international laws, probing secessionism's legality. Then we continue on to normative theorists' proposals for how governments, and indeed the world, ought to deal with secession. The coursework concludes by reviewing the literature on empirical patterns in secessionism.

Because this course is a seminar, our studies will take a dynamic format. For some topics, we will read a fair amount of jargon-laden scholarly and legal material. For others, we will read transcripts, watch documentary films and visit Web sites. At a minimum, students will gain extensive background on three ongoing conflicts (through in-depth case studies) and a general appreciation for the complexities involved in secession (legal, normative and political), not only for secessionists themselves, but also for their governments and the larger international community.

### **Assignments & Exams**

Class Participation	10%
Discussion Leadership	10%
Midterm Paper	20% (due 2/8)
Final Paper	30% (due 3/11)
Final Presentation	10% (weeks 9-10)
Final Exam	20% (3/14)

#### **Class Participation:**

Because this course is a seminar, your regular and active participation is mandatory. Your class participation grade has two components, the first is attendance (simply showing up) and the second is your substantive contribution to our discussions during class (the active component). For my part, I will offer numerous opportunities to engage the material in class. Our course covers controversial topics without answers that are decidedly right or wrong, so group conversations aren't merely a pedantic rehashing of the readings, but rather a way for all of us to think through the complex issues

surrounding these conflicts. Students should make a particular effort to contribute productively to "debate and discussion" dates during the first part of the course.

### **Discussion Leadership:**

For most class meetings, two class members will be assigned to be the discussion leaders. It is the discussion leader's responsibility to read and carefully review that day's assignments ahead of time. Discussion leaders should also prepare at least five questions or discussion topics, based upon the readings, for the group's consideration during our meeting. The questions should be blitzed (now an anachronism) to the class members (and Professor Coggins) at least 1 hour prior to our scheduled meeting. Class participants should come to class ready to respond to the questions for that day. I will serve as the discussion leader for the first set of readings to give you a sense of what I am looking for.

### **Midterm Paper:**

A short, descriptive paper on the contemporary secessionist movement of your choice will be due on **Friday, February 8th**. The paper should explain the origins of the secessionist movement and the national identity underlying their claim; identify the major actors involved in the conflict; outline the state's response to the secessionist demand and the course of events that followed; and detail the contemporary state of affairs. The paper should be approximately 5 pages, **single-spaced** and include a working bibliography. More details will follow in class.

### **Final Paper:**

The final paper will expand upon the work of the midterm paper to form an analytical argument regarding secession. The project should first put forward a basic normative framework by which secessionist movements should be handled by the international community. Then, applying that framework to your specific case of secession, explain whether or not the movement should rightfully receive independence and statehood. Finally, the paper should predict whether or not (regardless of whether it is just) the secessionist movement will meet that fate in reality. The final paper is due by **Monday, March 11th @ 5pm**.

### **Final Presentation:**

As a complement to the final paper, each student will prepare a 10-minute presentation on his or her secessionist movement. The presentation should cover the most important aspects of the conflict and make a normative recommendation to the class about how the conflict ought to be resolved. The presentations also give individuals an opportunity to learn about how their secessionist conflict compares with those in other parts of the world (potentially a useful consideration for the normative analysis in the term papers). Presentations will occur during week 9. Again, further details will follow in class.

### **Final Exam:**

The final exam for this course is online, cumulative, multiple choice, and will include material from the reading assignments and lectures. You will have one hour to complete the exam and it begins, as scheduled, **March 14th @ 11:30am**.

### **Required Texts**

Achebe, Chinua. 2012. *There was a Country: A Personal History of Biafra* New York, NY: The Penguin Press. ISBN: 9781594204821.

Bradbury, Mark. 2008. *Becoming Somaliland* (African Issues) Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. ISBN: 0253219973.

Gould, Michael. 2012. *The Biafran War: The Struggle for Modern Nigeria* New York, NY: I.B. Tauris ISBN: 1780764634. (Kindle Edition)

Lewis, Ioan M. 2010. *Making and Breaking States in Africa: The Somali Experience* New York, NY: Columbia University Press. ISBN: 1569022909.

Macedo, Stephen & Allan Buchanan. 2003. *Secession and Self-Determination* New York, NY: New York University Press. ISBN: 0814756891. (Kindle Edition or Used)

### **Course Requirements**

Readings should be completed before each class meeting. This ensures our time together will be spent discussing the material and moving forward rather than repeating the text. The reading load is approximately 250 pages per week. Toward the end of the term, reading assignments will ease allowing students to concentrate more attention on the final exam and paper.

Attendance is mandatory and strong participation is highly recommended. It will be correlated with your performance. If you do miss a class, please contact a classmate for their lecture notes first, and then attend office hours for clarifications. Unfortunately, my own lecture notes are rather schematic and not particularly useful as a study aid. Consistent with Dartmouth policy, accommodations for regular, foreseeable absences must be arranged with me in advance. While legitimate absences will be accommodated, I will not rehash entire lectures for individuals who cannot find the time to attend class.

Please note that there is no late paper policy outlined in this syllabus. Except in extreme and unavoidable circumstances, I do not accept late assignments. As of today, you are aware of all of the deadlines for this course, so please plan accordingly. The same policy holds for make-up exams. If, unfortunately, a legitimate emergency occurs (illness, family emergency, etc.), a written excuse detailing the reason for your absence is required. However, a written excuse is not always sufficient to warrant a make-up. If you know in advance that you cannot attend an exam, make arrangements with me *prior* to the exam date.

Finally, if you begin to struggle with the coursework, please feel free to contact me so we can work together to remedy the problem. Adjustments for different learning styles can be made. Don't wait until the end of the term to ask for help if you need it. I want everyone to succeed.

### **Additional Course Notes**

**Disability:** Students with known disabilities are responsible for informing me by the end of the first week of class. I can only make accommodations if I am aware of any potential difficulties you may have. Course materials can be made available in alternative formats upon request. If you suspect that you might have a disability or mental health problem, I can also assist you in seeking assessment through the College.

**Academic Dishonesty:** I expect all of the work submitted for this course will be your own and uniquely prepared for this class. Absolutely no cheating or plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without proper citation) will be tolerated. If you have any questions about what constitutes either of these offenses, please refer to the academic honor principle. If you have questions about how to appropriately cite resources in your assignments and papers for this course, please consult <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~sources/>. Any and every instance of cheating or plagiarism will be referred to the Committee on Standards consistent with Dartmouth College guidelines.

**Research, Writing & Multimedia Help:** For assistance with your writing, research and multimedia projects, students may use the free tutorial service in 183 Berry. For more information go to [www.dartmouth.edu/~rwit](http://www.dartmouth.edu/~rwit).

**Letters of Recommendation:** I am happy to write letters of recommendation for outstanding students. Unfortunately, my time is limited, so I've devised the following policy regarding letters. If you receive an A or citation in one of my classes, I will write recommendations for internal Dartmouth programs (LSA, FSP, Tuck Bridge Program, etc.). In order to write compelling, credible recommendations for outside programs like graduate school, I need to know you and your work better than a single term together permits. For outside recommendations, you must complete at least two classes with me and receive an A or citation in at least one of them. However, the rules aren't ironclad. If your circumstances do not fall within my guidelines, but would nevertheless like me to write a letter, feel free to stop by and discuss it with me.

**Religious Observances:** Students may wish to take part in religious observances that occur during this academic term. If you have a religious observance that conflicts with your participation in the course, please meet with me to discuss appropriate accommodations.

### Course Schedule

\* Bb indicates that the instructional material is available on Blackboard.

## **PART I: Introduction and Two Shared Cases**

### **WEEK 1**

#### **Introduction: States, Nations, & Sovereignty**

Monday 1/7  
Thursday 1/10  
(full class period)

Introduction  
What is a state? What is a nation? What is nationalism?  
E. Gellner *Nations and Nationalism* (Bb)  
R. Emerson *From Empire to Nation* (Bb)  
S. Krasner Interview (Bb)

### **WEEK 2**

#### **Somalia & Somaliland (discussion & debate)**

Monday 1/14

M. Bradbury *Becoming Somaliland* Chapter 1-4  
I. Lewis *Making and Breaking States* Chapter 1-3 & 6-8

### **WEEK 3**

#### **Nigeria & Biafra (discussion & debate)**

Monday 1/21

CLASS CANCELED MLK JR DAY

Thursday 1/24  
(full class period)

C. Achebe *There was a Country*  
M. Gould *The Struggle for Modern Nigeria* Chapter 1-4 & 7

## **PART II: Secession & the Law**

### **WEEK 4**

#### **Secession & the Law**

Monday 1/28

Quebec and the Confederate States of America Fold. (Bb)  
Colonies and Non-Self Governing Territories Fold. (Bb)  
Part III *Secession & Self-Determination* Chapters 8-10  
Human Rights & Indigenous Rights Folder (Bb)  
States & Recognition Folder (Bb)

### **PART III: Normative Approaches to Secession**

#### **WEEK 5**

#### **The Right to Secession or Self-Determination?**

Monday 2/4

Part I *Secession & Self-Determination* Macedo & Buchanan  
p.19-86  
C.Wellman "A Defense of Secession" (Bb)  
Part *Secession & Self-Determination* Chapters 4 & 5  
J.Samuels "Condominium Arrangements" (Bb)

Friday 2/8

Midterm Paper Due

#### **WEEK 6**

#### **Violence & Non-Violence**

Monday 2/11

"Sri Lanka: Living With Terror" (Bb)  
"Mindanao: Islands Under Siege" (Bb)  
"Groundhog Day" P. Woodworth (Bb)  
C.Finlay "Legitimacy & Non-State Political Violence" (Bb)  
"The Dalai Lama's Dilemma" M.C. Goldstein (Bb)  
"Dalai Lama Interview" Robert Thurman (Bb)  
"The Restless Children of the Dalai Lama" NYT (Bb)  
"Q&A: Lobsang Sangay" *WSJ* (Bb)

### **PART IV: Empirical Patterns of Secessionism**

#### **WEEK 7**

#### **Why Secession? Why Violence?**

Monday 2/18

B.Walter "Information, Uncertainty..." (Bb)  
J.Grygiel "The Power of Statelessness" (Bb)  
D. Brancati "Can Federalism Stabilize Iraq?" (Bb)  
"The Road to Kirkuk" (Bb) & "Return to Kirkuk" (Bb)  
"The Fight Over Kirkuk's Oil" (Bb)  
G. Deruguian "The Tale of Two Resorts" (Bb)  
D.Armitage "Secession and Civil War" (Bb)  
M. Stephan & E.Chenoweth "Why Civil-Resistance Works" (Bb)

#### **WEEK 8**

#### **Who Succeeds? Why?**

Monday 2/25

P. Roeder *Where Nation States Come From* Chapter 1 (Bb)  
C. Kaufmann "When All Else Fails" (Bb)  
J. Fearon "Separatist Wars, Partition & World Order" (Bb)  
B. Coggins "Friends in High Places" (Bb)

#### **WEEK 9/10**

#### **Individual Case Studies**

Monday 3/4

(possibly w/extended x-hour)

Presentations

Thursday 3/7

Presentations

Monday 3/11

Final Paper Due @ 5 pm

**TERM PAPER TOPICS:**  
**(Selection on 1/14)**

**Contemporary Secessionist Movements**

Abkhazia (Georgia)  
Azawad - Tuareg (Mali & Niger)\*  
Baluchistan (Pakistan)\*  
Barotseland (Zambia)\*  
Basques (Spain & France)  
Cabinda (Angola)  
Catalonia (Spain)  
Chechnya (USSR/Russia)  
Corsica (France)  
Flanders (Belgium)  
Kashmir (India/Pakistan)  
Katanga (DRC)  
Kurdistan (Iran/Turkey/Iraq)  
Matabeleland (Zimbabwe)\*  
Mindanao (Philippines)  
Mombasa - Coast Province (Kenya)  
Nagorno-Karabakh (Azerbaijan)  
Northern Cyprus (Cyprus)  
Northern League (Italy)  
Quebec (Canada)  
Ogaden (Ethiopia)  
Puerto Rico (USA)  
Savoy (France)  
Scotland (United Kingdom)  
South Ossetia (Georgia)  
South Yemen (Yemen)\*  
Southern Cameroon (Cameroon)  
Tibet (China)  
Transnistria (Moldova)  
Various ethnic armies: Karen, Kachin, Shan, Karenni, Arakanese (Burma)  
Various regional/ethnic groups: Bodo, Assam, Nagas, Tripuras, Meitei (India)  
Western Sahara (Morocco)\*  
West Papua (Indonesia)  
Xinjiang (East Turkestan) (China)

\*Conflicts marked with an asterisk may be particularly challenging due to lack of English news coverage and/or the recency of the secession claim.