

NATIONALISM AND MILITARY POWER/ NATIONALISM AND EXPANSIONISM

I. Nationalism- Definition (Crude Working Definition)

A. The condition or situation in which large numbers of people begin to identify their individual welfare (on any of several dimensions) with that of a group.

1. The group has some or all of the following shared characteristics
USUALLY NEED A COUPLE TO GET THIS INTENSE FEELING GOING

- a) Language--Perhaps most important
- b) Culture
- c) History
- d) Religion
- e) A "Territorial" referent (even if only a lost land)
- f) Notions of Common Origin- including racial or ethnic notions

2. The group is of a size that cannot easily meet together, even in a place as large as a stadium-- So the shared feeling cannot be that of a mob; Rather to sustain the shared feeling and identification an "ideology" a system of linked ideas and evidence is necessary-- a crude image of the nation is carried in people's heads-- and remains there in any situation (vicarious communication)

B. Nationalism usually caters to, and offers a remedy for, some shared sense of deprivation:

- a) Status or Prestige
- b) Security - *psychological / or physical - person or property*
- c) Wealth

Thus, Nationalist movements, in one sense or another, are Power seeking / *STATE*
Seekers

C. Nationalism often has some Territorial objective as a key goal--

i.e. Unifying all those defined as members of the Nation under a single designated territorial state (ie Kurds in three states now/ none Kurdish)
--or Liberating a given territory already populated by members of one "Nation" from the dominance of outsiders-- such as Nationalist anti-colonial

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revolutions (Vietnam vs the French/arguably vs US, Iran vs the entire WEST, Algeria vs ~~French~~) or "seceding" from a larger Political entity, run by members of another group i.e. leaving the Turkish or Austro-Hungarian or Russian Empire-- if you are a Bulgarian/ Czech/ or Pole

-- as we shall see below, often involves some "irredentism" i.e.

a big national-territorial-state like Germany in the 1930's, wanting

(linguistic, cultural, ethnic)
to absorb its scattered/brethren and their territory-- i.e. Austria-

Hungary/ parts of Poland, the Sudetenland/ and even German colonies

long settled in parts of Russia (Later we'll see a key cause of expansionism)

D. Finally, important to distinguish two very "rough" patterns

1. A kind of bottom to top insurgent Nationalism- Largely aiming

at using the idea of the NATION as a way of demanding participation

in government or access to goodies- (early 19th century Middle-Class
late 19th century Lower class)

The French Revolution

Most Anti-colonial revolutions

2. A kind of top down nationalism

--National elites, threatened by social change, especially class

based, attempt to generate a nationalist ideology to convey, the

idea that "we are all in this together!" the things that unite

us are greater than the things that divide us; aimed at cooptation;

often involves doling out the very goodies demanded on class grounds--

but controlling the quantities and terms--specifically to buy more

time and new legitimacy for the threatened elite--As we shall see,

often turns expansionist; Best examples- Bismarck's social legislation

In Germany-- the "Limp's" similar efforts in Britain after turn of

the century.

II. Causes of Nationalism

A. Inherent in the previous discussion are at least three causes

1. Potential Energy of Shared Characteristics
2. A keenly felt sense of deprivation
3. An ideology generated by wordmen

B. But "3" depends on "2" and "1", which depends on a 4th--

Theorists call "SOCIAL MOBILIZATION" a key factor- What makes peoples Socially Mobilized?

1. (MCNEILL) Population Explosion,, Particularly in largely agrarian societies. You ultimately reach a point where there are too many people in the countryside for agriculture to support. Forces them into towns to look for work. (Marty Gueve)
2. Economic change- especially the growth of the market economy and the Industrial revolution-- which pulls these people into towns + cities; forces them into a totally alien and oftentime INSECURE lifestyle--ie business cycle/ volatile wages/physical danger/ industrial rhythm
3. URBANIZATION accompanies Industrialization, increasing the intensity of communications and interactions among people from different parts of a country
4. A revolution in national communications especially, roads, rr, and canals, plus telegraph etc increases intensity of national communication--
5. Increases in overall literacy often accompany these other changes-- Permits more vicarious/non-verbal communication//Allows the few to reach the many - In late 19th + early 20th century the "penny press" was manipulated by unscrupulous political groups. In Germany, both Navy + Foreign Office
6. All this implies greater mass awareness of the importance of events outside the scope of your daily life and direct activities

C. These factors, which promote Social mobilization--the energizing of previously politically inert people to demand greater political participation--
--When these different events happen very quickly, they often

create a host of unmet needs-- i.e. a sense of deprivation--
 --Also enhances the reality and perception of shared characteristics
 --also permits the "wordmen" to do their dirty deeds by enhancing
 their ability to communicate "vicariously" (not face to face)

D. The sense of Deprivation (can be real) create the potential energy
 for either INSURGENT or ESTABLISHMENT wordmen to exploit.

They meld shared characteristics, together into ideologies of "INCLUSION", with
 great appeal to large numbers of people who perceive themselves excluded.

These ideologies promise:

1. Financial or status or "political" security --as in bourgeois
 revolutions (France, beginning -TALE OF TWO CITIES)

2. Psychological security-- especially for masses of people just
 ripped off the farm-- shorn of family ties, clan, village, etc.

(RETURN OF MARTIN GUERRE)

3. Economic security for these same people, now virtual prisoners
 of a capitalist/industrial/market economy that in the days of
 laissez faire could from time to time cause them a lot of grief

SPECULATION ON NATIONALISM VS SOCIALISM? COMMUNISM

--Social mobilization often also provide a fertile ground for left wing movements
 For example, we shall see that late nineteenth century Germany saw a rapid growth
 not only of trade unionism but of the Socialist Party/ in Britain the LABOR party
 --Often goes hand in hand however, with growth of nationalism

--NATIONALISM in many ways appears to be a stronger force, I suspect because it
 manipulates symbols/attributes close to the lives and experiences of the average
 person.

--This greater strength tends to manifest itself most intensely in foreign policy.
 Especially at the outset of World War I, social democratic parties put aside
 their beliefs in the international brotherhood of labor to fight for their NATION

III. NATIONALISM AND MILITARY POWER

(McNeill's account of the French revolution provides an illustration of most, if not all, of the effects of aroused nationalism on the military capabilities of states. Those of you who have followed the Iran/Iraq War, as it enters its fifth year, will note some similarities)

A. An aroused NATIONALISM permits a growth in the size of armies,

1. McNeill notes that the French Army doubled in size, with only a 30% increase in population between 1700-1789

2. Partly the causes of Nationalism help cause the increase in size, i.e. the rapid increase in rural population, BUT

3. Increases in size are also permitted by the greater ease of getting some combat capability out of a man who is motivated to fight for means other than money, or safety, or "small unit, "buddy" cohesion"

4. Increase in size is also permitted by the ease of recruitment.

In the first blush of revolution, volunteers often flock to the colors.

Conscription orders, the levee en masse, will be met with greater compliance, due to their great legitimacy-- more efficient than

press gangs. *(In 19th century this perceived benefit may have been a cause of N-ism purveyed by elites -- as in Germany)*

B. The greater emotional commitment to the outcome of the war has

several other effects on combat capability:

1. Permits greater tactical flexibility; can rely more on the initiative of the individual, or the small unit led by a corporal, sergeant or lieutenant-French skirmishers/ WWI-German "storm trooper" infiltrators/

Iraq Revolutionary Guardsmen "street fighters" in cities on border --especially important as the effects of improvements in firepower are felt, since firepower causes dispersal

2. Great commitment to the cause permits more aggressiveness in the offense; especially true of the French willingness to press home the assault with bayonette, in dense columns

- .. 3. Nationalism tends to produce greater reliability and cohesion,
 - permits foraging, living off the land
 - speedy movement through broken country

BOTH Would have permitted desertion in the old professional armies so not permitted.

a) This same improvement in reliability, cohesion, as well as other attributes probably made for greater cohesion in defense (When the NATION is at stake, defended by nothing more than blood and iron, the tenacity of the soldier is critical- The thin line on the Golan Heights in '73)

C. Enhanced upward mobility-

1. Nationalist revolutions tend to delegitimize barriers to promotion --Prior to the Revolution, commoners could not become officers in the French Army; the revolution permitted competence to be rewarded and promoted; others see this and begin to act to achieve promotion --to some extent also facilitates innovation, as the defenders of the "old" doctrine are weakened in strength--Purveyors of new ideas receive a better hearing- Reforms in French Artillery design and tactics, military organization, and infantry tactics all spread quickly through the army after the revolution

D. Increases in Literacy, which tend to precede or accompany intensified NATIONALISM, permit military practice to become more sophisticated -- including conveyance of tactical instructions -- but probably also the rapid training on new technologies and tactics that came to characterize armies in WWI

E. Finally, These factors all, to a greater or lesser degree, affect the civilian society that must not only produce the conscripts, but must produce their food, transportation, and weapons.

Permitted the ever growing extraction of military resources from the society, until in WWI, virtually the whole society in the major

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parties to the conflict, especially Britain, France, and Germany was involved. In this sense, War itself became a socially mobilizing engine of tremendous power, further intensifying the forces of nationalism

F. CAVEAT- These effects seem to be greatest in the area of land power, armies. This seems to be true because intense nationalist revolutions tend to drive out the skilled technical types who run navies and air forces. This was true in the French Revolution with the Navy, and with the Iran revolution with airforce and navy. In more mature polities, however, nationalism can even be put to work in these forces. Arguably the Argentine air force, Israeli air force, German U Boats in WWII.

IV. NATIONALISM and EXPANSIONISM AND OTHER SORTS OF TROUBLE

A. Carr uses the notion of "the socialization of the nation" to explain the demise of the relatively open world economy of the mid-19th

century--up to its near complete collapse in the Great Depression after WWI. ^{Welfare → a need for autonomy, also → econ. W. 19th. Evidence late 19th early 20th emergence + spread of social welfare legislation.} But he is really, in my opinion, concentrating too much on

economic effects. What the "socialization of the nation" increasingly meant was that large numbers of people not only identified their interests as individuals with the interests of a larger mass--the nation- but they identified the interests of the nation- with the health, wealth, safety, of the STATE-- the political unit that now belonged to the nation as a whole, instead of just to a bunch of autocrats or a commercial elite. These interests were almost certainly more than economic--although economic interests were important.

I would hypothesize that the nation itself/ and the state that "administered" it-- were fulfilling an important psychological function-- substituting for the shattered agrarian communities/roots that these people had left.

IMPLICATIONS OF STRONG IDENTIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS WITH NATION_STATE?

1. Increasing intensity of the "security dilemma" --Perception

- a) Large masses of people were inclined to support/demand measures that promised security for the state--more concerned about threats to it-- because it had become the font of all value
WILL SUPPORT BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL MEASURES
- b) Because this is true for several states in the late 19th century- ease of spirals-- all seek security, all see security threats-- BOTH CAUSE Spirals.

2. Greater Institutional power within the state for military institutions

- a) People more inclined to give resources to the military- especially their young men to conscription, but also tax money
- b) Likely to be greater deference to the military--Masses are committed to security-seeking behavior, easy marks for those promising security-- not equipped to judge the details--
- c) Consequence, since militaries want autonomy, and wealth They ask for more, and often get it!
(last lecture)
They tend to advise "offense" and the advice gets followed
- d) Both of these tendencies further intensify the security dilemma-- making for more intense rivalries

3. Imperialism as a Show

- a) This is a weak argument in my estimation, but is often made and there is some historical support for it
--elites find that they simply cannot satisfy all demands both of old social groups and the newly socially mobilized
--imperialism of one sort or another may appear as a cheap/ or easy way to appeal to the psychological needs manifested by intense nationalism --This is truer for the kind of imperialism that was practiced vs the "3rd world" in the late 19th century, than for the kind of expansionism and irredentism, we see on the continent itself

B. Pan-Movements-- Closely related to Nationalism, but as Hayes shows probably a good deal weaker.

--attempts to exploit many of the same raw materials of language and culture exploited by nationalism; but usually has to content itself with much weaker factors- ie similar language, or some distant historical connection; only the Pan-Germans really had much to work with, in my opinion. (Pan Turan-ism - Turks + Finns)

--permit those with expansionist motives, either economic, territorial, or institutional to spin up an argument that involves large numbers of people in their concerns-- Hard to specify who these groups were in every case, who really got behind and purveyed these notions --provides a constant justification for a certain amount of nosing around outside your borders, looking for opportunities; helps you legitimize this at home

C. The proliferation of NATIONS-

--as Hayes points out, for whatever reason--the number of nation-states proliferated quickly during this period. First with the breakup of the Ottoman Empire/ the development of Nationalism in the old great powers/ then with the WWI breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the creation of Poland. In a simple sense, just put a lot more energy in the International system- more fear, more threats, more balancing, arms racing etc. all of the intense "NATIONALIST" variant

D. IRREDENTISM

1. Because the "original" political boundaries of Europe did not reflect either linguistic or cultural boundaries, once nationalism began to take hold in Europe, many nation-states found themselves without some number of their NATIONALS safely contained within/ and/or someone else's nationals mixed in with one's own. As HAYES points out, a cause of trouble--

- a) At minimum there is always potential for some group in the state to make a "rescue" argument
 - b) Because nationalism tended to become intense everywhere; the minorities of one nationality, caught in the state of another, tended not to have an easy time of it.
 - c) But if the same nationality controlled a state next door, this sort of oppression would energize the neighbor to make efforts to help its defenseless brethren and save them from oppression.
- SERBS VS SLAVS CONTAINED IN AUSTRO_HUNGARIAN AND OTTOMAN EMPIRES