MIZEL MUSEUM

Movies that Matter: Film Study & Social Justice "Surviving Skokie"

Teacher Resources & Lesson Plans

Acknowledgments

The following curriculum materials were arranged by the Mizel Museum
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Museum Introduction:

The Mizel Museum, an educational, nonprofit organization, is Denver's only museum that addresses today's social justice issues through the lens of Jewish history and values. We encourage people of all ages and backgrounds to celebrate diversity and equality and to combat discrimination and hatred. Our programs, events, and exhibits address these and other social issues and encourage positive change in our communities. Our museum is dedicated to fostering cross-cultural understanding, combatting racism, and promoting social justice. We achieve our mission through educational programming, events, and exhibits that connect universal Jewish values to the larger world.

Miryam Brand Films:

Miryam Brand was a Holocaust survivor and a dedicated volunteer of the Mizel Museum who devoted much of her passion and energy to education. In her memory, her family has provided the Mizel Museum with the opportunity to host a film program each year for schools and communities. A Miryam Brand film reveals the lived experiences of survivors of the Holocaust or of those whose dedicated their lives to the liberation of the Jews during the Holocaust. Each selected film reminds us of the significance of this historical event, and in an effort to continue educating the public about the Holocaust, provides a distinct message about what it means to stand up for others to ensure it never happens again.

Unit Background:

The study of films to understand the depth and complexity of significant events in history allows students to interact with primary source materials in meaningful ways. The narrative focus of film documentaries can share evocative stories of strength, survival and courage, all key themes reflected in the study of social justice issues. The following film has been carefully selected to emphasize meaningful historical events. It focuses on a key individual who has made the cause to stand up for themselves and others their life's work, demonstrating remarkable bravery, initiative and resilience. This film addresses the importance of becoming civically engaged in our communities, cultures and countries to positively impact those affected by the most prevalent social justice issues throughout history and today.

"Surviving Skokie" (2015)

This documentary presents the story of Holocaust survivor, Jack Adler, who returns to his native Poland with his son, Eli, to share the story of his family members, many who perished in the ghettos and death camps during the Holocaust. Throughout the film, Jack describes his life before, during and after the Holocaust, initially taking Eli back to his hometown of Pabianice,

Poland. From there, they journey to Auschwitz where Jack further describes his survival story from the death camps and his eventual liberation during the Dachau Death March on May 1, 1945. He was resettled into America after the war, and after college and getting married, he moved to Skokie, Illinois in 1959. Just over twenty-five years later, Jack and the community of Skokie must once again confront the rise of Nazi hate with the uprising of a Neo-Nazi organization led by Frank Collin (whose own father was a Holocaust survivor). Collins's anti-Semitic march leads them to the streets of Skokie, a first amendment right protected by the ACLU. In this community, where 10% of its 70,000 citizens were concentration camp survivors (Salem, 1984, p. 67), the march was a chilling reminder of personal history and an affront to moral decency. Though they were obviously traumatized, the survivors refused to be silent and allow hatred and anti-Semitism to rise once again.

Implications for Unit Study:

The Mizel Museum's goal is to provide a cohesive, educational experience that puts social justice issues into context and empowers students to confront hatred and bigotry. Through the study of documentary films, students can recognize how social change is the result of continual advocacy. These films also help promote understanding and empathy for others, in particular those who are disenfranchised or the object of discrimination and oppression. This particular film depicts the individual and collective struggle to make progressive change and demonstrates how human rights activism is rooted in dedication and personal sacrifice. The aim is to motivate students to act, and, ultimately, to help mold a responsible participant in civil society who will continue to combat bigotry and hatred today and in the future.

Key Terms & Definitions:

Vocabulary Term	Definition
Identity	A set of personal characteristics both physical and emotion by which an individual can be recognized.
Religion	A set of beliefs, values, and practices based on the teaching of a spiritual figure.
Persecution	The act of singling out an individual or a group and directing physical or emotion abuse on them.
Holocaust	A Greek term meaning "Sacrifice by Fire" used to describe the key event in world history that saw the extermination of 6 million Jewish and other people during World War II.
Threat	A person or thing that is regarded as dangerous or likely to inflict harm

Nazi	A member of the National Socialist German Worker's Party founded in 1919 and became a political power under Adolf Hitler in 1933. The word Nazi is often associated with brutality, racism, and tyranny.
Refugee	A person who has fled a given area due to dangerous conditions whether physical or political.
Refuge	A place of shelter or protection.
Europe	A landmass lying between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, separated from Asia by the Urals Mountains on the east and the Caucasus Mountains, the Black and Caspian seas on the Southeast.
Righteous	Acting in an upright, moral, virtuous way
Brave	Having and showing courage in the face of danger, pain or difficult circumstances such as the Holocaust
Genocide	The systemic destruction of all or a significant part of a racial, ethnic religious or national group.
Upstander	A person who stands up for his or her beliefs and does the right thing even if they are alone and facing danger.
Bystander	A person who is present but not taking part; watching but not offering help to a victim
Collective Memories	Refers to the shared pool of information held in the memories of two or more members of a group
Jewish people	The Jewish people are not a race but a cultural and religious group with strong historical ties.
Resilience	The ability to become strong, healthy, or successful again after something bad happens
Systematic	Using a careful system or method or done according to a system
Liberation	The act or process of freeing someone or something from another's control : the act of liberating someone or something
Totalitarian	Controlling the people of a country in a very strict way with complete power that cannot be opposed
Vigilant	Carefully noticing problems or signs of danger
Anti-semitism	Hostility towards or prejudice against Jews.
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
NSPA	National Socialist Party of America

Colorado Academic Unit Standards

Content Area	Grade Level	6th Grade
Standard	**Grade Level Expectations (GLE)**	**GLE Code**
Social Studies	• Analyze and interpret historical sources to ask and research historical questions Human and physical systems vary and interact • Compare multiple systems of government	SS09-GR.6-S.1-GLE.1 SS09-GR.6-S.2-GLE.2 SS09-GR.6-S.4-GLE.2
Language Arts	• Monitoring the thinking of self and others is a disciplined way to maintain awareness • Assumptions can be concealed, and require identification and evaluation	RWC10-GR.6-S.4-GLE.3 RWC10-GR.6-S.4-GLE.2

Content Area	Grade Level	7th Grade
Standard	**Grade Level Expectations (GLE)**	**GLE Code**
Social Studies	• The historical eras, individuals, groups, ideas and themes within regions of the Eastern Hemisphere and their relationships with one another • Compare how various nations define the rights, responsibilities, and roles of citizens • Regions have different issues and perspectives • Different forms of government and international organizations and their influence in the world community	SS09-GR.7-S.1-GLE.2 SS09-GR.7-S.4-GLE.1 SS09-GR.7-S.2-GLE.2 SS09-GR.7-S.4-GLE.2
Language Arts	• Purpose, tone, and meaning in word choices influence literary, persuasive, and informational texts	RWC10-GR.7-S.2-GLE.3

Content Area	Grade Level	8th Grade
Standard	**Grade Level Expectations (GLE)**	**GLE Code**
Language Arts	• A variety of response strategies clarifies meaning or messages • Quality reasoning relies on supporting evidence in media	RWC10-GR.8-S.1-GLE.2 RWC10-GR.8-S.4-GLE.3

Content Area	Grade Level	High School
Standard	**Grade Level Expectations (GLE)**	**GLE Code**
Social Studies	• Use the historical method of inquiry to ask questions, evaluate primary and secondary sources, critically analyze and interpret data, and develop interpretations defended by evidence • The key concepts of continuity and change, cause and effect, complexity, unity and diversity over time • The significance of ideas as powerful forces throughout history • The interconnected nature of the world, its people and places • Purposes of and limitations on the foundations, structures, and functions of government • Analyze how public policy – domestic and foreign – is developed at the local, state, and national levels and compare how policy-making occurs in other forms of government	SS09-GR.HS-S.1-GLE.1 SS09-GR.HS-S.1-GLE.2 SS09-GR.HS-S.1-GLE.3 SS09-GR.HS-S.2-GLE.3 SS09-GR.HS-S.4-GLE.2 SS09-GR.HS-S.4-GLE.3

| Language Arts | • Validity of a message is determined by its accuracy and relevance
• Listening critically to comprehend a speaker's message requires mental and physical strategies to direct and maintain attention
• Logical arguments distinguish facts from opinions; and evidence defines reasoned judgment
• Complex situations require critical thinking across multiple disciplines | RWC10-GR.11-S.1-GLE.2
RWC10-GR.9-S.1-GLE.2
RWC10-GR.12-S.4-GLE.2
RWC10-GR.11-S.4-GLE.2 |

Pre-Lesson: History in Context

Overview & Activity:

In 1977, the U.S. Supreme Court decided a case between the NSPA, an American Nazi party founded by Frank Collin, and the Village of Skokie, a Jewish community predominately comprised of Holocaust survivors. Collin's intention to hold a Nazi rally in Skokie, Illinois was an affront to the community, and the controversy over letting a neo-Nazi party march in a town where individuals were still recovering from a harrowing past, quickly escalated to near-violent conflict. The case became a marker between what protections should uphold the First Amendment and what could be construed as hate speech or "fighting words". Ultimately, the court decided in favor of the NSPA. However, after months of litigation and controversy, Collin decided against holding the march in Skokie. Study of the history and context of the Skokie case is critical to understanding the importance of Jack Adler's movie, "Surviving Skokie." In this activity, students will explore primary and secondary source materials to better understand how this dispute quickly became a heated conflict and develop an infographic to present the case. More importantly, students will recognize, through the movie and case study, the significance of intolerance for any acts that perpetuate hate.

Objective

Students will synthesize the history of and background of Skokie, Illinois in 1977 and develop an infographic or poster project that presents key events and people from the event.

Resources:

- Skokie Public Library Digital Collections: Attempted Nazi March of 1977 and 1978
- PBS—Skokie: Invaded but Not Conquered
- The Nazis' Neighborhood
- The Life & Times of Skokie
- Video: AP — (17 Jun 1977) Neo-Nazis party headquarters in Skokie, Illinois.
- Video: Yiddish Book Center — Growing Up in Jewish Skokie, Illinois
- Illinois Holocaust Museum & Education Center
- Canva: Infographic Program
- Hackastory Tools: Infographics

Colorado Prepared Graduate Competencies:

- Develop an understanding of how people view, construct, and interpret history
- Analyze key historical periods and patterns of change over time within and across nations and cultures
- Develop spatial understanding, perspectives, and personal connections to the world
- Analyze and practice rights, roles, and responsibilities of citizens
- Analyze origins, structure, and functions of governments and their impacts on societies and

citizens
- Collaborate effectively as group members or leaders who listen actively and respectfully pose thoughtful questions, acknowledge the ideas of others, and contribute ideas to further the group's attainment of an objective
- Articulate the position of self and others using experiential and material logic
- Gather information from a variety of sources; analyze and evaluate the quality and relevance of the source; and use it to answer complex questions
- Use primary, secondary, and tertiary written sources to generate and answer research questions
- Demonstrate the use of a range of strategies, research techniques, and persistence when engaging with difficult texts or examining complex problems or issues
- Exercise ethical conduct when writing, researching, and documenting sources
- Create works of art that articulate more sophisticated ideas, feelings, emotions, and points of view about art and design through an expanded use of media and technologies
- Transfer the value of visual arts to lifelong learning and the human experience

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Post Lesson: Call to Action

Overview & Activity:

Jack Adler's story reminds us that any event in history that is founded in bigotry, hatred and intolerance for others should be unilaterally condemned. The legacy of the Holocaust survivors will always be that we must never allow these concepts to take root and manifest into harmful acts of violence such as those that transpired during World War II. Nevertheless, we find ourselves at the precipice of yet another era in history when such bold pronouncements of Nazism, fascism, and extreme nationalism have taken over streets and towns all over the world. From Charlottesville, Virginia to Warsaw, Poland, the rise of neo-Nazi and nationalist movements founded in bigotry and hate are rising again with anti-Semitic, anti-Islamic, anti-refugee and anti-immigrant beliefs at their core. Like Skokie, Illinois, we are once-again confronted with the reality of the First Amendment right to assemble and speak even when the messages convey hateful rhetoric. Jack Adler's key slogan is: <u>Don't Bite the Bait that Leads to Hate</u>. In this activity, have students reflect on the meaning of this slogan and address the following questions in either a Socratic discussion or writing prompt:
  - How does nationalism either help or hinder this slogan? Use a historical or contemporary example to support your ideas.
  - What effort does it take to counter the messages and beliefs being re-popularized in these organizational movements?
  - How does the survivors of the Holocaust and Skokie demonstrate the necessity to disallow these sentiments to proliferate?
  - How can students be the agents of change to pass on the message of Jack's slogan?

Objective

Students will evaluate historical and contemporary movements of nationalism and reflect upon countermeasures that support Jack Adler's slogan: Don't Bite the Bait that Leads to Hate.

Extension Activity:

Have students analyze the issues surrounding the First Amendment vs. "Fighting Words" or that speech which incites hatred or violence.

Resources:

- [ACLU History: Taking a Stand for Free Speech in Skokie](#)
- [The Washington Post: No, there's no "hate speech" exception to the First Amendment](#)

Colorado Prepared Graduate Competencies:

- Develop an understanding of how people view, construct, and interpret history
- Analyze key historical periods and patterns of change over time within and across nations and cultures

- Develop spatial understanding, perspectives, and personal connections to the world
- Analyze and practice rights, roles, and responsibilities of citizens
- Analyze origins, structure, and functions of governments and their impacts on societies and citizens
- Collaborate effectively as group members or leaders who listen actively and respectfully pose thoughtful questions, acknowledge the ideas of others, and contribute ideas to further the group's attainment of an objective
- Articulate the position of self and others using experiential and material logic
- Gather information from a variety of sources; analyze and evaluate the quality and relevance of the source; and use it to answer complex questions
- Discriminate and justify a position using traditional lines of rhetorical argument and reasoning
- Engage in a wide range of nonfiction and real-life reading experiences to solve problems, judge the quality of ideas, or complete daily tasks

What is Nationalism?

Overview & Activity:

Since the end of the 18th century, the modern movement of nationalism has been a driving force in history around the world, often becoming the foundation of conflict that has led to dire consequences in nation states and the various the groups that reside within them. Nationalism takes root in the idea that one specific culture, language or religion dominates a national identity and those who adhere to that identity construe any infringement upon that identity as a threat to their existence. Nationalism has been a root cause for genocide and ethnic cleansing as was the case with the Holocaust in World War II, in Rwanda in 1994, and more currently, in Mynamar against the Muslim Rohingya. Most recently, the neo-Nazi movements that have begun to voice hateful rhetoric against anyone that does not constitute a Euro-colonial identity is yet another example of how nationalism takes shape to inform sentiments of hatred and bigotry. In this activity, students will analyze four definitions of nationalism as proposed by prominent scholars of nationalism (see Supplement). Then, they will discuss how these definitions befit contemporary issues of nationalism that impact conflicts around the world.

Objective

Students will evaluate various definitions of nationalism and assess how they may or may not be contributing to contemporary global conflicts.

Resources:

*   Encyclopaedia Brittanica: Nationalism
*   Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: Nationalism
*   Video: The History Guy—Skokie's battle: The Skokie Swastika War

Colorado Prepared Graduate Competencies:

*   Develop an understanding of how people view, construct, and interpret history
*   Analyze key historical periods and patterns of change over time within and across nations and cultures
*   Develop spatial understanding, perspectives, and personal connections to the world
*   Examine places and regions and the connections among them
*   Collaborate effectively as group members or leaders who listen actively and respectfully pose thoughtful questions, acknowledge the ideas of others, and contribute ideas to further the group's attainment of an objective
*   Demonstrate skill in inferential and evaluative listening
*   Demonstrate comprehension of a variety of informational, literary, and persuasive texts
*   Engage in a wide range of nonfiction and real-life reading experiences to solve problems, judge the quality of ideas, or complete daily tasks
*   Articulate the position of self and others using experiential and material logic

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SUPPLEMENT
Lesson Plan Materials

Richard Handler, 1988

Nationalism is an ideology about individuated being. It is an ideology concerned with boundedness, continuity, and homogeneity encompassing diversity. It is an ideology in which social reality, conceived in terms of nationhood, is endowed with the reality of natural things.

… In principle national being is defined by a homogeneity which encompasses diversity: however individual members of the nation may differ, they share essential attributes that constitute their national identity; sameness overrides difference.

…Nationalism is an ideology of what C. B. Macpherson (1962) called possessive individualism.

It is customary in the literature on nations and ethnic nationalism to distinguish between "nation" and "state." A nation, it is said, is a human group that may or may not control its own state; while a state is a political organization that may or may not correspond to all of one, and only one, nation. It is customary to point out that there are many more nations or potential nations than states; that most nations aspire to statehood yet many have not and will not attain it; and that many states, federal or unitary, encompass more than one nation. It is only slightly less customary to point out that states have created nations perhaps more frequently that nations states; in the classic nation-states of Western Europe state-building bred national identity rather than simply following from it.

…A human group, it is argued, can be bounded by attributes or characteristics that each of its members "possesses." This is objective boundedness… Objective boundedness means that the group actually exists as a group, and can be shown to exist by an external observer. Subjective boundedness is the sense that group members themselves have of forming a group; that is, national or ethnic self-consciousness. … It is only slightly less customary to point out that the actors' sense of group integration may be grounded in an illusion and that their perception of sameness may obscure important objective differences among group members. …The perception of group identity may even be sufficient to overcome large objective differences and bring a national entity into historical existence.

…The reality that may be denied by a lack of shared objective traits is reestablished by the subjective sharing of a sense of identity, and the nation or ethnic group can again be proclaimed to exist. Once again we find a close congruence between actors' ideologies and observers' theories: the "common will to live together" that nationalists see as the necessary capstone to the list of objective traits which form a national entity becomes "group identity" in the jargon of social scientists."

> *Excerpt: Handler, Richard. Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec. New Directions in Anthropological Writing: History, Poetics, Cultural Criticism, ed. George E.; Clifford Marcus, James. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1988, pp. 6-8.*

Ernest Gellner, 1983

In fact, nations, like states, are a contingency, and not a universal necessity. Neither nations nor states exist at all times and in all circumstances. Moreover, nations and states are not the same contingency. Nationalism holds that they were destined for each other; that either without the other is incomplete, and constitutes a tragedy. But before they could become intended for each other, each of them had to emerge, and their emergence was independent and contingent. The state has certainly emerged without the help of the nation. Some nations have certainly emerged without the blessings of their own state. It is more debatable whether the normative idea of the nation, in its modern sense, did not presuppose the prior existence of the state.

What then is this contingent, but in our age seemingly universal and normative, idea of the nation? Discussion of two very makeshift, temporary definitions will help to pinpoint this elusive concept.

1. Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating.
2. Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. In other words, nations maketh man; nations are the artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities. A mere category of persons (say, occupants of a given territory, or speakers of a given language, for example) becomes a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non- members.

Each of these provisional definitions, the cultural and the voluntaristic, has some merit. Each of them singles out an element which is of real importance in the understanding of nationalism. But neither is adequate. Definitions of culture, presupposed by the first definition, in the anthropological rather than the normative sense, are notoriously difficult and unsatisfactory. It is probably best to approach this problem by using this term without attempting too much in the way of formal definition, and looking at what culture does.

Excerpt: Gellner, Ernest. Nations and Nationalism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983, pp. 6-7.

Ernest Renan, 1996

A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present- day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form. Man, Gentlemen, does not improvise. The nation, like the individual, is the culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice, and devotion. Of all cults, that of the ancestors is the most legitimate, for the ancestors have made us what we are. A heroic past, great men, glory (by which I understand genuine glory), this is the social capital upon which one bases a national idea. To have common glories in the past and to have a common will in the present; to have performed great deeds together, to wish to perform still more-these are the essential conditions for being a people. One loves in proportion to the sacrifices to which one has consented, and in proportion to the ills that one has suffered. One loves the house that one has built and that one has handed down. The Spartan song-"We are what you were; we will be what you are" -- is, in its simplicity, the abridged hymn of every *patrie*.

More valuable by far than common customs posts and frontiers conforming to strategic ideas is the fact of sharing, in the past, a glorious heritage and regrets, and of having, in the future, [a shared] programme to put into effect, or the fact of having suffered, enjoyed, and hoped together. These are the kinds of things that can be understood in spite of differences of race and language. I spoke just now of "having suffered together" and, indeed, suffering in common unifies more than joy does. Where national memories are concerned, griefs are of more value than triumphs, for they impose duties, and require a common effort.

A nation is therefore a large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future. It presupposes a past; it is summarized, however, in the present by a tangible fact, namely, consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life. A nation's existence is, if you will pardon the metaphor, a daily plebiscite, just as an individual's existence is a perpetual affirmation of life. That, I know full well, is less metaphysical than divine right and less brutal than so called historical right. According to the ideas that I am outlining to you, a nation has no more right than a king does to say to a province: "You belong to me, I am seizing you." A province, as far as I am concerned, is its inhabitants; if anyone has the right to be consulted in such an affair, it is the inbabitant. A nation never has any real interest in annexing or holding on to a country against its will. The wish of nations is, all in all, the sole legitimate criterion, the one to which one must always return.

Excerpt: Renan, Ernest. "What is a Nation?" in Eley, Geoff and Suny, Ronald Grigor, ed. 1996. Becoming National: A Reader. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996: pp. 41-55. See especially pp. 52-54.

Michael Hechter, 2000

It is widely appreciated that there are important differences between nationalist movements. Much effort has been made to create typologies that aim to capture some of the relevant distinctions (see, for example, Hall 1993). Most of these distinguish the liberal, culturally inclusive (Sleeping Beauty) nationalisms characteristic of Western Europe from the illiberal, culturally exclusive (Frankenstein's monster) nationalisms more often found elsewhere. Whereas these normative differences between nationalist movements have been enormously important in history, it is doubtful that they can be explained if the dimensions of nationalism are chosen on normative grounds. To explain why nationalism has taken such different forms in different societies, it is better to seek a typology that is derived from analytical consideration. …

State-building nationalism is the nationalism that is embodied in the attempt to assimilate or incorporate culturally distinctive territories in a given state. It is the result of the conscious efforts of central rulers to make a multicultural population culturally homogeneous. Thus, beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing into the twentieth, the rulers of England and France attempted fitfully perhaps, and with more or less success-to foster homogeneity in their realms by inducing culturally distinctive populations in each country's Celtic regions to assimilate to their own culture. Since the rationale for state-building nationalism is often geopolitical - to secure borders from real or potential rivals - this kind of nationalism tends to be culturally inclusive. However, much less liberal means of skinning a culturally homogeneous cat have been resorted to in history, as well. Central rulers of a given culture also can unify their country by expelling culturally alien populations (as in the Spanish *Reconquista*), or by exterminating them (often the fate of the indigenous peoples of North America).

Peripheral nationalism occurs when a culturally distinctive territory resists incorporation into an expanding state, or attempts to secede and set up its own government (as in Quebec, Scotland and Catalonia). Often this type of nationalism is spurred by the the very efforts of state-building nationalism described above.

Irredentist nationalism occurs with the attempt to extend the existing boundaries of a state by incorporating territories of an adjacent state occupied principally by co-nationals (as in the case of the Sudeten Germans).

Finally, *unification nationalism* involves the merger of a politically divided but culturally homogeneous territory into one state, as famously occurred in nineteenth-century Germany and Italy. In this case, the effort to render cultural and governance boundaries congruent requires the establishment of a new state encompassing the members of the nation. Whereas state-building nationalism tends to be culturally inclusive, unification nationalism is often culturally exclusive.

Although *patriotism* - the desire to raise the prestige and power of one's own nation state relative to rivals in the international system - is often considered to be nationalistic, the present definition rules this usage out. Patriotism is no form of nationalism at all, for here the

boundaries of the nation and governance unit are already congruent. This limitation is not, however, very damaging. Since few states, if any, qualify as nation states, patriotism (as defined in this book) hardly exists. Most of what passes as patriotism in common parlance implicitly advances the interests of one nation at the expense of others in multinational states. In the present framework, such activities are instances of state-building nationalism.

The preceding typology is not exhaustive. It has no place for nationalist movements - like Zionism and Mormonism - that resulted from the migration of religious groups to distant promised lands. Such movements have been exceedingly rare, however...

Excerpt: Hechter, Michael. Containing Nationalism. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. See pages 15-17.

Adrian Hastings, 1997

Let me begin by briefly setting out my central theses, themes to which we will return from one angle or another again and again.

1. For the development of nationhood from one or more ethnicities, by far the most important and widely present factor is that of an extensively used vernacular literature. A long struggle against an external threat may also have a significant effect as, in some circumstances, does state formation, though the latter may well have no national effect whatever elsewhere. A nation may precede or follow a state of its own but it is certainly assisted by it to a greater self-consciousness. Most such developments are stimulated by the ideal of a nation-state and of the world as a society of nations originally 'imagined', if you like the word, through the mirror of the Bible, Europe's primary textbook, but turned into a formal political philosophy no earlier than the nineteenth century and then next to canonised by President Woodrow Wilson and the Versailles peace settlement of 1920.

2. An ethnicity is a group of people with a shared cultural identity and spoken language. It constitutes the major distinguishing element in all pre-national societies, but may survive as a strong subdivision with a loyalty of its own within established nations.

3. A nation is a far more self-conscious community than an ethnicity. Formed from one or more ethnicities, and normally identified by a literature of its own, it possesses or claims the right to political identity and autonomy as a people, together with the control of specific territory, comparable to that of biblical Israel and of other independent entities in a world thought of as one of nation-states.

4. A nation-state is a state which identifies itself in terms of one specific nation whose people are not seen simply as 'subjects' of the sovereign but as a horizontally bonded society to whom the state in a sense belongs. There is thus an identity of character between state and people. In some way the state's sovereignty is inherent within the people, expressive of its historic identity. In it, ideally, there is a basic equivalence between the borders and character of the political unit upon the one hand and a selfconscious cultural community on the other. In most cases this is a dream as much as a reality. Most nation-states in fact include groups of people who do not belong to its core culture or feel themselves to be part of a nation so defined. Nevertheless almost all modern states act on the bland assumption that they are nation-states.

5. 'Nationalism' means two things: a theory and a practice. As a political theory - that each 'nation' should have its own 'state' - it derives from the nineteenth century. However, that general principle motivates few nationalists. In practice nationalism is strong only in particularist terms, deriving from the belief that one's own ethnic or national tradition is especially valuable and needs to be defended at almost any cost through creation or extension of its own nation-state. If nationalism became theoretically central to western political thinking in the nineteenth century, it existed as a powerful reality in some places long before that. As something which can empower large numbers of ordinary

people, nationalism is a movement which seeks to provide a state for a given 'nation' or further to advance the supposed interests of its own 'nation-state' regardless of other considerations. It arises chiefly where and when a particular ethnicity or nation feels itself threatened in regard to its own proper character, extent or importance, either by external attack or by the state system of which it has hitherto formed part; but nationalism can also be stoked up to fuel the expansionist imperialism of a powerful nation-state, though this is still likely to be done under the guise of an imagined threat or grievance.

6. Religion is an integral element of many cultures, most ethnicities and some states. The Bible provided, for the Christian world at least, the original model of the nation. Without it and its Christian interpretation and implementation, it is arguable that nations and nationalism, as we know them, could never have existed. Moreover, religion has produced the dominant character of some state-shaped nations and of some nationalisms. Biblical Christianity both undergirds the cultural and political world out of which the phenomena of nationhood and nationalism as a whole developed and in a number of important cases provided a crucial ingredient for the particular history of both nations and nationalisms.

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Hastings, Adrian. The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. pp. 2-5.