

Copyright © 2018 by Academic Publishing House *Researcher*

Published in the Russian Federation
European Researcher. Series A
Has been issued since 2010.
ISSN 2219-8229
E-ISSN 2224-0136
2018, 9(1): 14-23

DOI: 10.13187/er.2018.1.14
www.erjournal.ru



Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict

Filiz Katman ^{a, *}, Zeki Şafak Toptaş ^a

^a Energy Politics and Markets Research Center, Istanbul Aydin University, Turkey

Abstract

This article is about that nationalist ideology and ethnic conflict issue. The modern world system consists of nation states for that reason ethnic and nationalist disputes are quite significant. Moreover, disagreements about it create a threat for human life and the state to unity and its integrity. Today, around the world, billions life suffer from racism, religionist fundamentalism, ethnic and cultural discrimination. In this study will analysis basis of nationalism and trying to give a new vision about ethnic conflict problem. In the paper, presenting a broad framework from the origins of humanity to capitalism, religious and cultural group until the clash of civilizations.

Keywords: nationalism, nation states, ethnic conflict, racism, capitalism, religion, clash of civilizations.

1. Introduction

All around the world, nationalist and ethnic conflicts are getting create much more chaos day by day. Especially, after the Cold War numbers of armed conflicts keep increasing, and most of them related with racism, fundamentalist religion, ethnic and cultural. Moreover, the rhetoric caused of them is increasing the impact on the world politics. Thus, people are forced to accept differences instead of similarities.

Nationalism is constitutive element of modern states system, and the main purpose is a nation building. Weber, who considers himself as a member of bourgeois, defines of history as the stage of struggle among races and nations. As Benedict Anderson states in his work “Imagined Communities”, first nationalists are part of bourgeoisie. This is so because it is the first class to establish solidarity on an imagined basis. The leaders of nationalist movement, which spread out along the 19th century, are those who studied marginalized folk languages. On the other hand, Samuel Huntington, who explains world system by “clash of civilizations”, claims that cultural relativity will determine the alliances in global politics.

In the article, the notions of race and nation are discussed regarding human nature and its origins; also nationalist concepts such as language, territory, and culture, and religion are examined. Furthermore, capitalism as a topic is also involved in this study, and politicization of the ethnic culture, and the consequences of nationalist conflicts between contending parties striving to build their own states, are investigated. The main question of this article is as follows: Is humanity divided on racial basis? Or is nationalism an imaginary ideology? In addition to this, follows up another question: how is a connection among capitalism, religion and culture regard to nationalism; and what are its consequences?

* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: filizkatman@aydin.edu.tr (F. Katman), z.safaktoptas@hotmail.com (Z.Ş. Toptaş)

2. Discussion

Origins of Humankind

First of all, humans are the member of primate family as species. The term primate which derivate from the Latin word “*Primus*” was firstly used by Carl Linnaeus who is known to be the founder of taxonomy. Linnaeus who published his work named *Systema Naturae* in 1735, has defined primates as intelligent creatures under the sub-species of Prosimii (Lemuroideas, Lorisideas, Tarsioideas) and Anthropeideas (monkeys of the old and new world) within the scope of classification system and has added the humans to this group (Savaş, 2015: 5). Humans are species of the homo species (Roberts, 2013), and all species within the homo specie are human (*homo erectus etc.*); human being is not the only human kind but the last human kind surviving (Bakırcı, 2014: 174).

About the subject, the issue under discussion is that most is the concept of race. The concept of race in biology is used to define groups of beings in species, which do not mix each other genetically, isolated from one another by some ways and look alike in means of genetically and morphologically. If, living beings that separate and evolve befittingly to their environments, diverge enough without losing their fundamental similarities, these two new distinct groups are called “sub-species”. Even so, it must be noted that sub-species are not different species.

As for the modern human that is a *homo sapiens*. Within this kind, there is not only one specie or race. The main drawback here considering the physical difference is not because of difference in evolutionary path but the difference in geographical adaptation. Eventually, evolutionary path of the *homo sapiens* kind has ended without causing a speciation. But the features acquired (black and white skin colour, blonde hair, slant eye, etc.) within this 100,000 years have survived up to this day (Bakırcı 2013: 51).

Furthermore, in means of speciation, the basic concept is evolutionary independence. For example, in a population that reproduces sexually if gene flow is cut because of reproductive isolation with other populations, then, the new diverted issue is defined as a species (Karaytuğ, 2015: 28). Since all living humans are *homo sapiens*, this kind of isolation of reproduction does not exist. If there would be, then people from two different nations would not be able to have a healthy children.

On the other hand, according to racist theses, human communities have different intellectual abilities and moral behaviours due to their genetic inheritances. Thus, an inequality is present among human communities. But, according to the evolutionary theory, the base of cultural inequality is not biological but historical. Some communities advance, some remain stable and some regress. At this point, what is important is to understand and to find out the historic reasons why some communities advance or not (Strauss, 2014: 77). Therefore, no nation is superior to another one biologically. Essentially, all personalities are same around the world and they present the same behaviour all around the world. If we go back enough in history and obtain a universal outlook, we will understand that human self is same in any corner of the world (Oppenheimer, 1997: 71-72).

Such is that, since the nationality would not be chosen, the concept would thrive from skin colour, generation and parents or to the homeland, thus a choice of interest would be considered as not possible, because every natural event involves non-selectivity. Hence, the nation can always demand sacrifice from you. Moreover, the uniqueness of the modern wars is not the number of deaths but the number of people whom have been prepared to die. The belief in fate promotes the people for dying but it was not their choice. Thus, death gains a noble aspiration and magnificent meaning (Anderson, 2011: 162-163).

Nationalism

First of all, nation is a psychological community historically evolved from language, territory, partnership of economical life and culture (Hobsbawm, 2014: 19). If we take nationalism as resistance against the foreigner in cultural and political terms, then we will come across nationalism throughout all history. But nationalism is an ideology and movement, which sees the nation as a *sui generis* category, which is the original element of world system and political power (Smith, 2010: 80). Secondly, within historical process, first, the states were found, and then the nations occurred. Within the hundred years of time, French state has standardized the education by deciding on a certain dialect, and has created a notion of French. Thus, French nation invented by French state. All states are partially artificially constructed (Roskin, 2012: 1).

It is a fact that the independent nation-state model became copy-able after the second decade of the 19th century. The model actually had a complexity that was in the elements of American and French. The first ones to copy this model were the coalitions of who were marginalised and educated in their native language (Anderson, 2011: 98). That is why the link between racism and nationalism became very visible in means of language. As in the example of Aryans and Semites, race and language may be easily confused. In addition to that, there is a regression between the purification and hybridization of the language and the scariness of it for the pure race. What is more, the racial/national term is being used concurrently with generalizing it roughly. For instance, before the English-French entente in 1904, a French author claimed that an agreement between these countries was impossible because there is a hereditary rivalry. It means the linguistic and ethnical nationalism strengthens one another (Hobsbawm, 2014: 133).

But assuming that the nationalism thrived from language, union would not suit with historical facts. For instance, German and Italian languages were the languages of a minor group. Probably the percentage of the people speaking Italian when the unification of Italy was developed was only 2.5 percentages. The rest of the people spoke various languages and generally could not understand one another (Hobsbawm, 2014: 55). Moreover, Greece defined the people in parts of Macedonia, which it annexed, as “Slavic speaking Greeks”. In short, linguistic monopoly hid within non-linguistic nation disguise. It was obvious that nation was a complex structure that could not be grasped only with language (Hobsbawm, 2014: 121).

According to Anthony D. Smith (2010: 32), the definition of national identity can be divided into articles as follow: a historical territory/country or homeland, common myths and historical memory, common duties and legal rights for all individuals, and an economy which can move freely within the whole country.

In addition to these, nationalism in the sense that geographical location and historical belonging to a place is about the land. This is why to define a nation by a geographical location, depends on reading the ethnic history which assumes link with the land which it left historical marks. This does not refer to this nation being antique but only subjectively in many nations there are pre-modern elements (Smith, 2010: 116).

What is more, the most common contemporary myths belong to nationalism. In the centre of this, myth lies the idea of the nation exists since an unknown time and had to be awoken by nationalists in order for them to keep their existence. What keeps the national salvation and resurrection dramas effective are the memories, symbols and the reflection of them in traditions (Smith, 2010: 40).

Therefore, during the construction of the nation, there is the need of two psychological facts. The first is “chosen traumas” and the second is “markers of identity”. A chosen trauma that became the markers of identity becomes significant within the mass group. Furthermore, when history-myth-trauma-mourning are composed, a monument can affect the chosen trauma of the group very well. For example, Slobodan Milosevic tried to revive the Serbian nationalism in 1987 with this method. With the help of the Serbian Church and some Serbian intellectuals, a huge monument was constructed on the battlefield of Kosovo for this purpose. Kosovo Battle was between the Serbians and the Ottomans in 1389. For centuries, the Prince Lazar who died in this battle was the chosen trauma of the Serbians. The aim of the statue built six hundred years after the war was to make the wound bleed and to create an enemy. In this process Bosnians and Albanians replaced Ottomans in the minds of Serbians. The psychological target of the statue was to enflame the vengeance feelings against the enemy (Volkan, 2009: 210-212).

In short, the nation is neither the essential nor the constant element. The concept of nation is a specific and historically recent element. The word nation is a meaningful social unit only if it is related to modern national state. If not so, then it is meaningless to discuss nation or nationality. What is more, in the creation of nations, invention and social engineering are the most important factors. The claim of there is a godly or natural politic fate in the categorization of humans by the nations is no different than an urban legend. Nationalism sometimes converts the existing cultures into nations and sometimes invents nations from blank. In brief, nationalism comes before nation. Meaning, it is not nation what creates the state, it is the state that creates the nation (Hobsbawm, 2014: 24).

Modern nationalism becoming a political power does not predates late nineteenth century even in Western Europe. Therefore, in the World War I, the Turks still cannot be defined as nationalist

patriots (Hobsbawm, 2014: 101). The developments in the West have developed nationalism almost coincidentally but in the East nationalism was created by design (Smith, 2010: 159).

Eventually, according to B. Anderson, nation is an imaginary political society. This society is also a community which has also imagined itself a conscious sovereignty and boundary. Nation is an imaginary concept because the members of the smallest nation will not recognise others. Moreover, most of them will not hear anything about those, but imaginary nation created by the community will continue to survive (Anderson, 2011: 20).

Nationalism and Capitalism

The first imaginary community was the bourgeois class existing only through the copies because the link between the fabricator in Lille and the fabricator in Lyon was limited through a common affection. In truth, they had no reason to know the existence of one another. They neither shared inheritance nor married to other ones' daughter. But because of the publication language of they could imagine the existence of thousands of other audiences. It is impossible to imagine a bourgeois class to lack of literate. Therefore the bourgeois are the very first class that managed to interdependence on an imaginary base. But when the Latin was beaten by the capitalist publisher of the vulgar tongue, the interdependence created by the vulgar tongue had a limit of an area drawn by the comprehensibility of these languages (Anderson, 2011: 93).

On the other hand, within the peace agreements signed after the First World War, taking the nationalism as the primary point of consideration has defeated the socialism that is based on class struggle (Hobsbawm, 2014: 148-149). It has helped the nationalism and capitalism to strengthen in the process. According to Wallerstein, racism is a method to ban the communication among the workforce within the same economic structure. Meaning, racism has nothing to do with "the foreigners". Racism has provided an ideological legislation to the workforce to become hierarchic and to the high unbalance of the sharing the benefits. Furthermore it was claimed that sweated economically or politically and also culturally is "below". If the position changes in the economic hierarchy, the social hierarchy will change as well.

For that reason, racism has functioned as an ideology that provides legitimacy to the inequality. Moreover, it communalized the economic roles of the groups. This helped the individual to take prejudice and discrimination natural. That is why sexism, just like racism, is an ideology that limits the expectations and causes self-suppression on individuals (Wallerstein, 2012b: 68).

Eventually, capitalism is dependent on extra-economic conditions, political and legal assistance. And no one has before found a more effective method for supporting the political form of capitalism like nation state. A global capital required stability, regularity, and predictability for capital accumulation (Wood, 2002: 179).

Well, is there any correlation among capitalism and civil war? Here, violence inter-groups are categorized as civil war. But official wars between two states or two populaces and also the revolts in the lands under invasion were left out of the case. According to this, it could be called that "civil war" invented by the capitalist world economy. Actually, civil war is the outcome of the complex relation between constructed nation and constructed state (Wallerstein, 2012b: 105).

Religion and Nationalism

Nationalism is fundamentally a secular ideology; however religion is not a foreign concept for nationalism. Not only nationalists refer to the religious feelings of masses, but also define religious societies within ethnic society. But, expected ethno-religious outcry, as self-consciously has been came true in nationalist era. However, ancient Judaism per se was not has a nationalist ideology (Smith, 2010: 84).

Therefore, religion has managed to establish a link of fraternity among people who have no other common ground, as a method of establishing a commune by common practice. Some religions such as Jewish have been designed to be a member of some specific people communities. In means of pre-nationalism, religion was a threat to establishing nationalist link. But for the modern nationalism, religion is paradoxical cement. In time, nationalism was getting similar to religion. This is very observable on the Poland, Ireland, Zionist Israel and Arab nationalisms (Hobsbawm, 2014: 89).

Nevertheless, unlike philosophy, religious and public thinking may not form a consciousness because these may not unify or integrate. It is not possible only for collective conscience but also within individual conscience. To make them unify or integrate can be possible only through use of force. In the past, this was possible within some borders (Gramsci, 2014: 20-21).

Moreover, verses revealed to the Prophet by the God look like they are about specific cases that the followers around the Prophet (Ramazan, 2003: 44). That is why according to Hegel, the major world religions are not correct, but are ideologies that refer to the needs of the followers at the time (Fukuyama, 2011: 97).

In his book "The Failed Hypothesis", Victor J. Stenger said that there could not be found out any proof of existence of Jesus nor has he met any data of the kingdoms of David or Suleiman have had a Golden Age as it is described in the holy book. It is certain that incidents the experiences of prophets Abraham, Moses and Jesus are myths. In a sense while the archaeologists can find out proofs for primitive human tribes, they cannot find out any context on the scripts of Egypt nor Mesopotamia about the Exodus or the Jewish Kingdom.

About morality, in means of religion, it has been proven that neither in the Quran nor in the Bible there not any original moral principles. The moral principles which could be acknowledged by the modern people were known much before these religions in Greece, Indian, Egyptian, Babylon and Persia as it is presented with examples in the study (Stenger, 2013: 165-184).

Culture and Nationalism

Culture is formed from the accumulation of a specific civilization relation with the world and it forms a certain order. Culture builds houses, cultivates crops, and creates objects (Strauss, 2014: 65). While the culture refers to a national social life, civilization refers to an international social life. A community's common values of religion, moral, justice, reasoning, aesthetics, language, economy and science form its culture. When these elements create harmony and common values, it will create civilization. For instance, between Europe and America, there is a Western civilization that forges the common values. However, within this civilization, there are English, French, German, etc cultures as well (Gökalp, 2004: 25).

All human groups have developed sui generis identity since the beginning of history. In primitive times, this process was supported with myths about creation. The purpose of this was to support the illusion of being chosen. Imagine that in primitive times, a group of people is wearing the feathers of a red bird on their head, and the neighbour group wearing the feathers of a green bird, thus these two groups acknowledging themselves as different kinds (Volkan, 2009: 262). All communities would like to clarify the differences than others by banning a food group. Milk for the Chinese, pork meat for Jews and Muslims, fish and/or deer meat for some American tribes etc. even, such phenomenon which looks like simple causes of create a lot of differences among peoples (Strauss, 2014: 20).

As Freud (2013: 35-36) noted, big differences create taboos hard to break. Moreover, when considering male-dominated nature of capitalism that provides an environment conducive to aggression, and emerge out that how much widespread of underestimation especially towards minorities and neighbour countries. So what is the way to follow for humans to form one group? According to Freud, to form a group, intolerance must be eliminated. In this process, individual within the group tolerate and equalizes one another member of group.

Cultural Group and Ethnic Nationalism

Ethnic group is a type of cultural collectiveness and the distinctive that are cultural differences such as, myths depending on lineage, historical memories, religion, tradition, language or institutions. For example, the Turks living in Anatolia before 1900s, lived with the dominant Ottoman and Islam identity and knew very little about the Turkish identity. Thus, kinship as in village or region was more important. The features of an ideal ethnic society are as follows: a collective special name, common lineage myth, shared historical memories, one or more component that distinguishes the common culture, link to a specific homeland, feeling solidarity with most of the population.

Perhaps among them the most important one is the myth of lineage. Because the "we came from..." feeling is essential to define who they are. In addition to this, love and feeling of belonging to a piece of territory has a mythological and holy place. That is why even if the ethnic group gets separated from its territory for a long time, it may remain linked with nostalgia and spiritual devotion. Jewish and Armenian Diasporas are communities are models to this (Smith, 2010: 41-45).

On the other hand, biological approach to the ethnic root is baseless, because as a type of social organization, main element of an ethnic group is not biological but cultural. Moreover, other than modern migration, populations of wide territorial nation-states are so heterogeneous that they cannot claim a common ethnic origin. When examining the demographic history of Europe, it

is easier to understand the variety of roots of ethnic groups. For the ethnic root of each group in Southeast Europe, it is a matter of debate to be a mixture of Caucasian, Ottoman Turks or Greek and Slavic (Hobsbawm, 2014: 84).

Even so, ethnic union cannot be explained with the concept of cultural community because the number of cultures is more than the number of race (Strauss, 2013: 22). What is more, according to Anthony D. Smith (2008: 333-336), there is no such thing as culture in practice. There are only emotional associations of historical cultures for those who share a common culture. That being said, for a specific class or interest, it is possible to create or invent culture. But for this to be acknowledged by the community compliance with the native motives and reference to a longer past is necessary. Many nations today are based on ethnic-core by the modern elites. This perspective means to agree on that the modern nations are very much structured. It is already very clear that the population that has no notion about a link of nationality has been injected the feeling of nationalism.

In the process of fabrication of nations the method that is used mostly is the cultural politicization. To achieve this, it is necessary to find a cultural base that would collect the attention of the people and be persuasive among the educated portion of the people. The most important ingredients in this process are, among the ones to become a nation to find followers, create enemies, documenting the ethno-history, helping the native language to be spoken more commonly, to practice native traditions and religions, to name the struggle as resurrection. When all of these are provided, it would be easier to persuade the friend and foe. If the process fails, there can be various methods of rescue. These would be referring to holy lands, lost myths and forgotten heroes. But not even all of these are sufficient. The group must be taught who they are, where they come from and where are they heading to. The aim is to nationalize the ethnic root (Smith, 2008: 333-336).

That is why the concepts of cultural nation and state nation were separated from each other by Friedrich Meinecke (Smith, 2010: 24) in 1908. According to him, while the “*kulturnation*” means passive cultural community the “*staatsnation*” means political nation that sets its own will by itself. For instance, in the ancient Greece, there was a community that was passionately devoted to the city state but in means of politics, there were not any nations.

As a result, even though weak, the things described as national identity points a political society. This kind of political society manifests its existence by providing all its members common institutions, rights and duties, and with a territory that has been described vaguely. This is what the French philosophers were trying to express when saying a nation is a group of people living within the same country and abiding to the same law and institutions (Smith, 2010: 24).

Yet, not all nationalist movement aims to express self-determination. Each nation having its own state is the common perspective but it is not a must for the nationalist doctrine. Most of the Catalan, Scottish and Flemish nationalists showed more interest on autonomy and cultural equality than independence. This is a proof that nationalism is a political ideology that has a cultural doctrine within the essence. Besides, nationalism is an ideological movement that provides a nation to gain and maintain autonomy, unity and identity (Smith, 2010: 122).

But in the world of nations, cultural wars were frequently seen. With this method, societies those wish to document their difference and characteristics have initiated some kind of race for annexing ancient civilizations. That is why the Iraqis for ancient civilizations such as Sumerian and Babylonians ascribe to themselves. Turks refer to ascribe Hittites lived in 2000 B.C. Greeks and the Bulgarians dispute over the national origin of the antique Macedonian King Graves. While the Jews and the Palestinians fight over the Nablus and Samaria regions, the Hungarians and Romanians conflict over the Transylvania land.

In short, problems of cultural competition and identity indicators grow because of culture becoming political. It seems not possible to end the conflict between ethnics and nations while there are countless other ethnic societies which are ready to awake upon discovering their ethno-histories which are inseparable from one another (Smith, 2010: 252-253).

The Clash of Civilizations

In his “Clash of Civilizations”, Samuel P. Huntington (2006: 28) presented the cultural characteristics and differences as the main cause of conflicts and disputes. According to him, cultures which have less ability to change have better chance to generate conflicts than those politically and economically. For example, after the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics (USSR), communists could become democrats, the rich could be poor and the poor may be rich but Russians could not become Estonian or Azerbaijani could not become Armenians. In fact, the fundamental question of class and ideology struggle was "which side are you?" so, people could prefer and change sides. For the clash of civilizations, the key question is "What are you?" and this is a data and could not be changed. From Balkans to the Caucasus and from the Middle East to Africa, answering such question wrong can mean a bullet to the head. Moreover, according to Huntington, religion discriminates people more severely than ethnicity. A person can be half-French and half-Arab, or even be citizens of the two countries. However, the more difficult thing is to be half-Catholic half-Muslim.

In spite of Huntington who addresses the cultural differences for disagreements, Bukharin (2009: 132) points at a much different case. According to Bukharin, societies which have common race, language and culture are the most severe rivals. Germans and the Anglo-Saxons, who are from the very same race, are rivals. They were fighting in both World War I and World War II. Speaking almost the same language and both being member of the Slavic race, Serbs and Bulgarians fought against each other. Ukrainians are hosting both Austrian and Russian partisans. In addition, the alliances between the warring countries bring the most heterogeneous races, nationalities and tribes together. As Bukharin said, allied during the First World War, what racial unity can there be between Turks and Germans? Or how can there be a racial, linguistic or cultural bond between Russia and Syria or Turkey and USA today? It is clear that not the race, language or culture, but some groups of the bourgeoisie supply support to the organizations in the state to declare war. Therefore, it can be found that it is not the cultural unity that determines the alliance in the international system but the capitalist goals in that period of time.

In addition to this, 'Clash of Civilizations' is a concept developed against historical materialist social sciences and a theory with a hidden notion of racism. Here, the main elements of the history are the different and closed societies. This theory, which not describes history through culture but culture through history, presents the problems created by the imperialism as an outcome of the cultural struggle. Thus while the culturalism and imperialism strengthens each other, people are forced to accept differences instead of equality and salvation (Amin, 2006: 412). Huntington's argument proves to be false in realpolitik cases. For example, the Iran-gate incidence has proven that USA can sell weapons even to Iran, and Iran may require arms even from USA which it names as the "The Great Satan" (Oran, 2010: 51).

Nationalist and Ethnic Conflict

The World War I is something new for the world history because it is the first total war in the history. Before this, the wars were limited to political purposes. But now, the meaning of wars has changed and became a nations' matter of life and death. The wars that used to be matters of survival only to the soldier in the frontier, now became disaster for the women, men, the old and even for the children (Sander, 2009: 351-353).

Weber, who considers himself as a member of bourgeois, said "history is the battlefield of the fight of the races and nations to gain wealth and power" (Timur, 2011: 343). That is why after nationalisms' continuous raising, now the idea of single and universal truth is quitted. According to B. Russell, this process began in 1848. Now, there are the facts of English, French, German, Russian or Turkish. If the faith to these facts weakens, there are the facts of war and propaganda (Russell, 2013a: 86). Today many states suffer from identity and ethnic conflicts. This causes problem to the unity of the state. It is important to understand that the Kurds, the Bask or other ethnic groups wish to establish their nation-states because their primary aim is not to exterminate the nation-states but to divide it to units which they can control (Gilpin, 2008: 412-414).

As an example, Kurdish nationalism can be examined in order to understand the conflict between state-nationalism and ethnic-nationalism. The nationalist political movement that has begun with the first Kurdish cultural newspaper in 1908 and the first Kurdish political organization *Kiviya Kurd* (The Kurdish Hope) got interrupted with the end of World War I but with the terrorist movement especially in 1960-70s it revived. The effort of modernizing the Kurdish language and the nationalist-political struggle of the ethnic group that is divided into tribes and engages guerrilla combats against Turkey, Iraq and Iran were *pari passu* (simultaneously) (Smith, 2010: 204). Thus the Turkish nationalism defined by the state and the Kurdish nationalism of the ethnic group have begun fighting.

The developments on communication technologies, especially radio and TV broadcast provide new allies. Most importantly, multi-language radio and TV broadcasting help people, who are not literate and have different native languages in order to create imagined communities (Anderson, 2011: 152). It can be argued that capitalist press created a language of governance which is different than the public languages. Some dialects are more prone to the press language which they have become dominant to the press language. The High German, the English of the King, Central Thai or Istanbul Turkish have formed a new political-cultural structure at this time. This is the reason of the struggle for various sub-nations in Europe inject their status to press and radio at the second half of the 20th century (Anderson, 2011: 60-61).

However, this unnamed struggle of the third world is known as “national independence” or among the Marxists it is considered as “national and social independence”. Essentially, the actual power, colours, clothing and behaviours of the struggle of independence came from the rage against the foreign conqueror, colonizer and to their collaborators. In short, it was anti-imperialist. There were ethnical, religious, and other kinds of pre-national identities among the common people but these were not supporting the national conscious on the contrary, they were the obstacles. This was easily put into motion by the imperialist masters against nationalists. That is why the imperialist powers supporting the tribalism that would divide the people who should form one nation, is the source of the opposite frontier to retaliate the imperialist “divide and rule” policies (Hobsbawm, 2014: 164-165).

On the other hand, Rivero says that (2003: 36-37), in rich economies, a kind of global economic tribalism thrives. For Scots, Catalans, Basques, Lombardians, Walloons, Alsatian, Quebecois or Californians, demand of autonomy is becoming more important every day. Their aim is to directly integrate their region or city with the global economy. Moreover, the number of societies who want to have their own state is getting increased such as the Basques and Kurds or American natives and Australian aborigines. When they reach the state purposes they wanted to have, they do not seem to have a real authority over the society or economy order of their own preference. This is why some independence wars have become very expensive victories (Strange, 2008: 156-159).

Today's status shows that it is certainly not important for the country that the ethnic-nationalists want to establish to live independent. As long as there are nationalist elites whom wish to establish a country, there can be countries as many as desired. The only thing that is needed is the international recognition. While the process was boosted as national ethnic pride, there were not any states which were self-sufficient. This put most countries into a worse position than the time they were colonised. As the demand to the raw material and under-skilled workforce decreased, these countries started to wait for their end. In conclusion, while the tribal nationalism was strengthened with Kalashnikov, underdevelopment and national instability are rising (Rivero, 2003: 20-21).

After the Cold War, armed conflicts in the world have not decreased but increased. There have been 23 domestic conflicts of 50 armed groups during this time. These have been in Algeria, Senegal, Angola, Burundi, Congo, Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Lebanon, Turkey, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Afghanistan, India, Sri Lanka, Burma, Cambodia, the Philippines, Indonesia, East Timor, Papua New Guinea, the former Yugoslavia, the Caucasus, Tajikistan and many other countries. Recently Iraq, Syria, Ukraine, Libya and the Central African Republic have also been added among these.

But none of these armed conflicts are about democratic struggles in the world. On the contrary, the main reasons are population explosion, unemployment, ethnic, religious and cultural resentments. All these factors are arising out of these, affect the countries negatively against global economy. In conclusion; the ethnic, religious and cultural fights in the nation-states does not provide neither liberty nor honour but great physical distress, emotional harm and leading to ethnic cleansing campaigns (Rivero, 2003: 114-115).

3. Conclusion

Nationalism, an ideology and movement, became reproducible since the second half of the 19th century. After the First World War, new nations and national borders proliferated. Nationhood became the main principle in defining the borders following the war, and thus socialist ideologies

based on class struggle withdrew. Thus, nationalism and capitalism are reinforced along the process.

So, nationalism is a product of the near past, and nationalist character of the modern states is based on the ideology and movement, which asserts national belonging to be the source of political power and basis of the world system, in a world constituted of sui generis nations. In this regard, unlike the common view, nationalism is not the resistance against the foreigner. Because such a claim would mean that it can be seen nationalism in a historical period. However, in the real historical process, states came first, and then they helped construction of the nations, so that all nations are artificial and constructed in some sense. The nation is an imagined political community.

Furthermore, modern human is the last surviving humanoid specie, and there is not any subspecies or sub-race of modern man (*homo sapiens*). For instance, in a population with sexual reproduction, if the genetic transfer with other populations stops due to the isolation of reproduction, the new differentiated lineage is defined as specie. If an interracial couple from farthest corners of the world can have healthy children, this is because there is no subspecies within *homo sapiens*. Physical differences among human populations are related to geographical adaptations.

All these demonstrate that nations are not homogenous biological groups but rather psychologically assembled communities. Although nationalism is a secular ideology in essence, religion has played the role of a paradoxical cement of society in time. Moreover, the claim that nation predestined by God or nature is an illusion. Biological approaches regarding debates on ethnic origins are invalid because main factor is cultural. Nevertheless, it is possible to invent a culture according to a particular class or ethnic interest, and the ultimate goal is to nationalize the ethnicity. The purpose of ethnic groups is not to destroy nation states but to establish their own. All of these seem to be impossible to end the conflicts between ethnic groups and nations in the modern world system unless humankind united.

References

- Amin, 2006** – *Amin, S.* (2006). “Emperyalizm ve Kültürelcilik Birbirini Tamamlıyor”, Yılmaz, M. (ed.), *Medeniyetler Çatışması*, Ankara: Vadi Yayınları.
- Anderson, 2011** – *Anderson, B.* (2011). *Hayali Cemaatler: Milliyetçiliğin Kökenleri ve Yayılması*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Bakırcı, 2013** – *Bakırcı, Ç.M.* (2013). “Türler, Tanımları ve Irklar”, *Bilim ve Ütopya*, no. 228.
- Bakırcı, 2014** – *Bakırcı, Ç. M.* (2014). *Evrım Kuramı ve Mekanizmaları*. İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayım.
- Bukharin, 2009** – *Bukharin, N.I.* (2009) [1929]. *Emperyalizm ve Dünya Ekonomisi*. İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayıncılık.
- Freud, 2013** – *Freud, S.* (2013) [1921]. *Grup Psikolojisi ve Ego Analizi*. Ankara: Alter Yayıncılık.
- Fukuyama, 2011** – *Fukuyama, F.* (2011) [1992]. *Tarihin Sonu ve Son İnsan*. İstanbul: Profil Yayıncılık.
- Gilpin, 2008** – *Gilpin, R.* (2008). “Küresel Ekonomide Ulus-Devlet”, in Held D. & McGrew A. (ed.), *Küresel Dönüşümler: Büyük Küreselleşme Tartışması*, Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi.
- Gökalp, 2004** – *Gökalp, Z.* (2004) [1923]. *Türkçülüğün Esasları*. İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi.
- Gramsci, 2014** – *Gramsci, A.* (2014) [1948]. *Hapishane Defterleri*. İstanbul: Belge Yayınları.
- Hobsbawm, 2014** – *Hobsbawm, E.J.* (2014). *Milletler ve Milliyetçilik: Program, Mit, Gerçeklik*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.
- Huntington, 2006** – *Huntington, S.P.* (2006). “Medeniyetler Çatışması mı?”, Yılmaz, M. (ed.), *Medeniyetler Çatışması*, Ankara: Vadi Yayınları.
- Karaytuğ, 2015** – *Karaytuğ, S.* (2015). “Kitlesele Yokoluş, Ekolojik Fırsatlar ve uyumsal Açılım”, *Bilim ve Ütopya*, No. 253, p. 28.
- Oppenheimer, 1997** – *Oppenheimer, F.* (1997) [1908]. *Devlet*. İstanbul: Engin Yayıncılık.
- Oran, 2010** – *Oran, B.* (2010). *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Ramazan, 2003** – *Ramazan, T.* (2003). *İslam: Medeniyetlerin Yüzleşmesi*. İstanbul: Anka Yayınları.

- Rivero, 2003** – *Rivero, O.* (2003). Kalkınma Efsanesi: 21. Yüzyılın Bağımsız Yaşayamayan Ekonomileri. İstanbul: Çitlenbik Yayınları.
- Roberts, 2013** – *Roberts, A.* (2013). Origins of Us, DVD, BBC Media, Tiglon.
- Roskin, 2012** – *Roskin, M.G.* (2012). Çağdaş Devlet Sistemleri: Siyaset, Coğrafya, Kültür. Ankara: Adres Yayınları
- Russell, 2013** – *Russell, B.* (2013). Aylaklığa Övgü. İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi.
- Sander, 2009** – *Sander, O.* (2009). Siyasi Tarih: İlkçağlardan 1918'e. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.
- Savaş, 2015** – *Savaş, E.* (2015). "İnsanın Yaşayan Akraları", *Bilim ve Ütopya*, No. 250.
- Smith, 2010** – *Smith, A.D.* (2010). Milli Kimlik. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Smith, 2008** – *Smith, A.D.* (2008). "Küresel Bir Kültüre Doğru mu?", in Held D. & McGrew A. (ed.), Küresel Dönüşümler: Büyük Küreselleşme Tartışması, Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi.
- Stenger, 2013** – *Stenger, V.J.* (2013). Başarısız Hipotez Tanrı. İstanbul: Aylak Kitap.
- Strange, 2008** – *Strange, S.* (2008). "Devletlerin Azalan Otoritesi", in Held D. & A. McGrew (ed.), Küresel Dönüşümler: Büyük Küreselleşme Tartışması, Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi.
- Strauss, 2013** – *Strauss, C.L.* (2013). İrk, Tarih ve Kültür. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Strauss, 2014** – *Strauss, C.L.* (2014). Modern Dünyanın Sorunları Karşısında Antropoloji. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Timur, 2011** – *Timur, T.* (2011). Felsefe Toplum Bilimleri ve Tarihçi. İstanbul; Yordam Kitap.
- Volkan, 2009** – *Volkan, V.* (2009). Kimlik Adına Öldürmek: Kanlı Çatışmalar Üzerine Bir İnceleme. İstanbul: Everest Yayınları.
- Wallerstein, 2012** – *Wallerstein, I.* (2012). Tarihsel Kapitalizm ve Kapitalist Uygarlık. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Wood, 2002** – *Wood, E.M.* (2002). The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View. London: Verso.