

Fall 2013

GOV 278-01

NATIONALISM

INSTRUCTOR: Peter Rutland, <prutland>; tel. 2483; Office PAC 203 hours T, Th 10.30-12.00

Check out my blog at [NationalismWatch](#)

ASSESSMENT: Out of 100 points

- 1) A 3-4 page report on one of the **theoretical books** or articles listed in weeks 1-5 of the syllabus. To be submitted by 4.00 pm on Friday Oct 4. Email it to <prutland> as an attached Word file. [15 points]
- 2) A 3-4 page paper on a **randomly assigned country**, due 4.00 pm on Friday Oct 25. You should explain the key elements in country X's national narrative and self-image: symbols, land, religion, race, heroes, key events, relations with neighbors, values, virtues, flaws, etc. *Not* a potted history of the country. [15 points]
- 3) An 8-10 page **final paper**. *Either* (a) analysis of a specific nation or nationalist movement; *or* (b) discussion of a general topic not specific to one country.
The final paper should not be on the same country as the #2 random assignment.
Outline due on Nov 15; email me the paper by 4.00 pm on Dec 13. [40 points]
- 4) A **presentation** in which you present and analyze a specific nation's nationalist politics, in the last two weeks of class. You are encouraged to make an imovie: there will be training on Oct 3. [15 points]
- 5) Class participation and weekly **quizzes** on the reading. Each quiz will have 1 point for a correct answer, exceptionally 2 points may be given. Also **extra credit** for 1-2 page reports on outside lectures, to be emailed to me within one week of the event. [15 points]

Books to buy (three are available free as ebooks through Olin):

Ernest Gellner	<i>Nations and Nationalism</i> (1983)
Eric Hobsbawn	<i>Nations and Nationalism Since 1780</i> (1991) (ebook)
Benedict Anderson	<i>Imagined Communities</i> (1983) (ebook)
Jack Snyder	<i>From Voting to Violence</i> (2000)
Amy Chua	<i>World on Fire</i> (2004) (ebook)

Required readings are marked with *. All the other readings are optional, useful for your papers.

All the articles listed on the syllabus are available on the course's Wesfiles page.

I only use Moodle to post grades.

Unexplained absence from three classes will be treated as withdrawal from the course.

Plagiarism, using material that you did not write and without clear attribution to the source, will be punished.

You can bring a laptop to class, but if I catch you emailing or web surfing I will ask you to leave.

Websites (especially useful for your country reports):

BBC country profiles	Archive of recent articles on each country in the world.
CIA World Factbook	Basic facts.
State Department country notes	Detailed descriptions of institutions and recent events.
Nationalism Project	Definitions, links, articles by academics.
International Crisis Group	Up-to-date reports on countries experiencing conflicts.
Minorities at Risk project	Lots of data on ethnic minorities, esp. those that are politically active.
New York Times	Search the NYT for recent articles using the country box on the right.

Encyclopedias:

John Hutchinson & A. D. Smith (eds)	<i>Nationalism</i> . (2000)	(Olin stacks JC311.N3228)
Alexander Motyl (ed.)	<i>Encyclopaedia of Nationalism</i> (2001)	(Olin Reference JC311.E499)

Sept 3

WHAT IS NATIONALISM?

For an overview of the course theme, see:

Peter Rutland [‘Nationalism.’](#) *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*, 2010

What is ethnic identity? How does it relate to other types of identity?

A review of some classic sociological and anthropological articles on this question.

- * Ernst Renan [‘What is a nation?’](#) (1882)
- * Max Weber [‘Ethnic groups.’](#) in *Economy and Society*, v. 1, 385-98
- Fredrik Barth [‘Ethnic Groups and Boundaries’](#) (1969) 9-38
- Thomas Eriksen [‘What is ethnicity?’](#), *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (1999) ch 1

Sept 5

OBAMA NATION

What does it mean to be American? As the ‘first new nation’ the US sees itself as a new type of civic nation based on political consensus rather than ethnic identity. How does American patriotism differ from other peoples’ nationalism?

- * Anthony Lewis [‘A new national scripture.’](#) *New York Times*, 16 Jan 2009
- * Michael Walzer [‘What it means to be ‘American?’](#) *Social Research*, 57, 1990, 591-614
- * Minxin Pei [‘The paradoxes of American nationalism.’](#) *Foreign Policy*, May 2003
- * Graham E. Fuller [‘America’s uncomfortable relationship with nationalism.’](#) Stanley Foundation Policy brief, July 2006
- Martha Nussbaum [‘Patriotism and cosmopolitanism.’](#) in Joshua Cohen (ed) *For Love of Country* (1996)
- Alexander Aleinikoff [‘A multicultural nationalism?’](#) *American Prospect*, 36, Jan 1998, 80-86
- Samuel P. Huntington [‘The Hispanic challenge.’](#) *Foreign Policy*, March 2004
- Michael Lind [‘In defense of liberal nationalism.’](#) *Foreign Affairs*, May 1994, 87-99

Sept 10

NORTHERN IRELAND

We start by looking at Ireland and Quebec: tough cases where nationalism has led to persistent conflict. Note the contrasting roles played by religion and language in the two cases.

What was driving the conflict in Northern Ireland? Why did peace arrive when it did? Will it last?

- * Richard Rose [‘Northern Ireland: The irreducible conflict.’](#) in Joseph Montville, (ed) *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies* (1990), ch 9
- * PBS Newshour [‘Peace in Northern Ireland, but the religious divide remains.’](#) 07/11/12
- * Ted Smyth [‘The unsung heroes of the peace process.’](#) *World Policy* (2005), 79-87
- * John Coakley [‘Has the Northern Ireland problem been solved?’](#) *Journal of Democracy*, 19:3 (Jul 2008), 98-112
- * Fintan O’Toole [‘The taming of a terrorist.’](#) *New York Review of Books*, Feb 27, 2003
- Tom Nairn *The Break-Up of Britain* (1977)
- Sabine Wichert *Northern Ireland Since 1945* (1999)
- Donald Horowitz [‘Explaining the Northern Ireland agreement.’](#) *British Journal of Political Science*, 32: 2 (Apr 2002), 193-22
- Movies: *Bloody Sunday, Wind that Shakes the Barley, Omagh, Michael Collins*

Sept 12

QUEBEC

What do the Quebecois want? Why is language policy so central to the nationalist project?
Does federalism help or hinder nationalist conflicts?
This case provides an opportunity to look at the rational choice school, which argues that ethnic groups form for instrumental reasons, to advance interests rather than to express identities.

- * Hudson Meadwell [‘The politics of nationalism in Quebec,’](#) *World Politics*, 45: 2
Jan. 1993, 203-41
- * Jacques Parizeau [“The case for a sovereign Quebec.”](#) (1995), plus responses
Michael Hechter [‘A theory of ethnic collective action,’](#) *International Migration Review*,
16: 2 (1982) 412-34
- Michael Hechter ‘Explaining nationalist violence’ *Nations & Nationalism*, 1,1995, 53-68
Eva Mackey *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in
Canada* (1999)

Sept 17

ETHNICITY IN THE PRE-MODERN WORLD

What was the character of ethnic identity before the emergence of the modern state?
‘Primordialists’ or ‘perennialists’ consider ethnicity to be a universal human characteristic.
Diaspora nations such as the Jews and Armenians exemplify one type of primordial identity.

- * Anthony Smith [Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism](#) (2009) chs. 1, 2 [ebook]
- * Walker Connor *Ethnonationalism* (1993) [‘Nation building or nation destroying?’](#)
pp. 28-66, ‘Man is a national animal,’ 195-209
- Anthony D. Smith *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1986) 1-46
- Anthony D. Smith *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (2003)
- Special Issue on Smith [Nations and Nationalism](#), 10: 1, Jan 2004
- Khachig Tololyan [‘The Armenian diaspora’](#) (2006)
- John Wilford [‘Languages die, but not their last words,’](#) IHT, 18 Sept 2007
- Michael Erard [‘How linguists share a bible of 6,912 languages,’](#) NYT, 19 Jul 2005

Sept 19

FUNCTIONALIST THEORIES

(a) GELLNER

Is nationalism a pre-requisite for capitalism and the modern state? Why did nationalism arise in 18th century Europe? Gellner explains nationalism as integral to the project of modernity, a by-product of the spread of mass communications and industry. Smith offers a critique of Gellner.

- * Ernest Gellner *Nations and Nationalism*, esp. chs. 2 and 3
- * Anthony Smith [‘State making and nation-building,’](#) in John Hall (ed),
States in History (1986)
- Anthony Smith *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998) chs 1, 2 [e-book]
- John Hall (ed.) *The State of the Nation: Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism* (1998)
- Gellner web-page <http://members.tripod.com/GellnerPage/Index.html>
- Eugen Weber [Peasants into Frenchmen](#) (1976) 3-22

Sept 24

(b) HOBBSAWM

Discussion of Hobsbawm's book. Did capitalists need the nation-state to organize their production, to seize and unify markets, and to divert their workers from socialist revolution? Consider the paradigm cases of Britain and France in the 17-19th centuries.

- * Eric Hobsbawm *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* (1992) [ebook](#) thru Olin
- * Anthony Smith *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998) chs 3,4 [e-book](#)
- * Timothy Baycroft 'France' in Baycroft & Hewitson (eds), *What is a Nation?* (2006)
- Liah Greenfeld *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (1992)
- Eugene Weber *Peasants into Frenchmen* (1986)
- David Bell 'The unbearable lightness of being French,' *American Historical Review*, 106: 4 (2001) 1215-35

Sept 26

NATIONALISM AS CONSTRUCT

Anderson sees nationalism as an artifact constructed by elites, and goes beyond Europe, looking at the spread of nationalism to the 19th century colonial world: Latin America and Indonesia. Nationalism becomes a tool unifying anti-imperialist struggles.

- * Benedict Anderson *Imagined Communities* (1991) available as [ebook](#) through Olin
- Anthony Smith *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998) chs, 5, 6, 9 [e-book]
- Kwame Anthony Appiah 'The case for contamination,' *New York Times*, 1 Jan 2006
- Nicola Miller 'The historiography of nations and nationalism in Latin America,' *Nations and Nationalism*, July 2006, 12: 2, 201-21
- Eric Hobsbawm (ed) *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) esp. ch. 1 'Highland traditions'
- Wikipedia 'The history of the kilt'
- Nira Yuval-Davis 'Gender and Nation' *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 16:4 (1993) 621-32

Oct 1

(a) IN-CLASS DEBATE:

"This house believes that nationalism is a product of modernity and may recede as quickly as it appeared."

Oct 3

Training on how to prepare i-movie presentations

To be held in the Language Teaching Center in Fisk Hall 1.10-2.30 pm.

Friday Oct 4

FIRST ASSIGNMENT DUE

Write a 3-4 page critical review of *one* of the core theorists (Smith, Gellner, Connor, Hobsbawm, Anderson). Email it to <prutland> as an attached Word document by 4.00 pm.

Oct 8

NATIONALISM AND THE LOGIC OF THE MARKET

Why and how do markets encourage and consolidate ethnic identification?
Amy Chua picks up the theme of vulnerable 'middleman minorities' in the globalizing economy. The classic article by Bonacich explains ethnic segregation in the division of labor. Rodrik makes an economic argument for the persistence of the nation-state in a global economy.

- * Amy Chua *World On Fire* (2002) [ebook](#) thru Olin
- * Eva Bonacich 'Class approaches to ethnicity,' *Insurgent Sociologist*, 10 (1980) 9-22
- Dani Rodrik 'Who needs the nation-state?' *Economic Geography*, forthcoming 2013
- Roger Waldinger 'The other side of embeddedness: the interplay of ethnicity and economics,' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 18, 1995, 555-69

Oct 10

ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF TANZANIA

Visiting lecturer: James McGuire

Why has Tanzania largely escaped the ethnic conflict and civil war which has beset most other post-independence states in Africa?

- * Donald Horowitz [*Ethnic Groups in Conflict*](#) (1985), 21-41
- * John Iliffe [*A Modern History of Tanganyika*](#) (1979), ch 10 'The creation of tribes'
- * Ali Mazrui ['Francophone nations and English-speaking states,'](#) in Don Rothchild & Victor Olorunsola, eds., *State Versus Ethnic Claims: African Policy Dilemmas*, 25-43.
- movie [*Battle of Algiers*](#) (1965) esp mins 10.00-18.00

Oct 15

RWANDA

Rwanda is the most vivid recent example of the power of ethnicity to bring about evil. Yet Rwanda in some crucial respects is not typical for the African continent.

- * Helen Hintjens ['Explaining the 1994 genocide in Rwanda,'](#) *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 37: 2 (June 1999), 241-86
- Samantha Power ['Bystanders to genocide,'](#) *Atlantic Monthly* (August 2001),
- Donald Horowitz [*Ethnic Groups in Conflict*](#) (1985) chs 4-5
- Alan Kuperman *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention* (2001)
- Alison Des Forges *Leave None to Tell the Story* (1999)
- Frank Chalk & Kurt Jonassohn *The History and Sociology of Genocide* (1990) 3-43
- Jacques Semelin ['From massacre to the genocidal process,'](#) *International Social Science Journal*, 54: 174 (Dec 2002), 433-42
- Mahmood Mamdani ['Politics of Naming,'](#) *London Review of Books*, 8 Mar 2007 [on Darfur]
- Movies *Sometime in April* (2005) *Hotel Rwanda* (2004) *Shake Hands With The Devil* (2007)

Oct 17

THE SOVIET COLLAPSE

What was Soviet nationality policy, and why did the country fall apart in the late 1980s? The collapse of communism in the early 1990s and the spread of democracy coincided with an upsurge of ethnic violence. Why was this? Snyder offers one explanation.

- * Jack Snyder *From Voting to Violence* (2000) chs. 1-2, 5
- * Ronald Suny ['State, civil society and ethnic consolidation in the USSR,'](#) ch. 30 in Gail Lapidus (ed.) *The Soviet System* (1995)
- * Pal Kolsto ['Nation-building in the former USSR,'](#) *Journal of Democracy*, 7: 1 (1996), 118-132
- Victor Kogan ['Chechen separatism'](#) in Metta Spencer (ed.), *Separatism* (1998)
- Vera Tolz ['Forging the nation in Russia'](#) *Europe-Asia Studs*, 50: 6 Sep 98, 993-22
- David Laitin ['Secessionist Rebellion in the Former Soviet Union,'](#) *Comparative Political Studies*, 34: 8 (2001), 839-61
- Valerie Bunce ['Peaceful versus violent state dismemberment: Comparison of the Sov. Un, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia,'](#) *Politics and Society*, 27: 2 1999

Oct 22-24

NO CLASS – FALL BREAK

Friday Oct 25

SECOND ASSIGNMENT

Write a 3-4 page profile of the national narrative and/or ethnic conflicts in a randomly-assigned country. You should explain the key elements in country X's national narrative and self-image: symbols, land, religion, race, heroes, historical events, relations with neighbors, values, virtues, flaws, etc.

Email it to <prutland> as an attached Word document by 4.00 pm.

Oct 29-Nov 5

THE BREAK UP OF YUGOSLAVIA

The Yugoslavia wars left 250,000 dead and political deadlock in Bosnia and Kosovo. Why?

- * Anthony Oberschall [‘The manipulation of ethnicity: From ethnic cooperation to violence and war in Yugoslavia,’](#) *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23: 6, (Nov 2000) 982-1001
- * BBC documentary [The Death of Yugoslavia](#) (1995) at least watch the first 15 minutes
- Daniel Williams [‘Ethnic rivalries still bitter in the Balkans,’](#) *Washington Post*, 11/6/04
- Noel Malcolm *Bosnia: A Short History* (1996)
- Norman Cigar *Genocide in Bosnia* (1996)
- James Gow *Triumph of Lack of Will: International Diplomacy and Yugoslav War*
- Jan Honig & Norbert Both *Srebrenica: Record of a War Crime* (1996)
- Movies *Before the Rain* (1994), *Sarajevo* (1997) *No Man's Land* (2001)

Nov 7

(a) IS THERE A EUROPEAN IDENTITY?

What does it mean to be European? The economic success of the European Union has not led, as some had hoped, to the emergence of a strong European identity replacing national identities. Did the Eastern enlargement in 2004 and 2007 undermine the prospects for a new Euro identity? What are the chances that deeper political integration may create a real European identity?

- * Daniel Williams [‘Nationalism ignites E.U. rebellion,’](#) *Washington Post*, 6 June 2005
- * Thomas Risse [‘An emerging European identity?’](#) Helsinki (25 April 2003)
- Eurozine [‘Changing Europe’](#) (essays, 2006-07)
- Michael Bruter [‘Political identity and European elections,’](#) (2004)
- Zsuzsa Csergo [‘Nationalist strategies and European integration,’](#) *Perspectives on Politics* (2004), 2: 1, 21-37
- & James Goldgeier [‘European integration and the nationalities question,’](#) *Politics and Society*, 32: 3, (2004), 367-88
- Michael Keating

(b) MOSLEM MINORITIES IN EUROPE

A look at Moslem immigrants in Europe, taking the French ‘veil controversy’ as our initial case. The rights of Moslem groups have triggered fierce debates over dress codes, mosque building, free speech issues in many European countries, from the cartoon controversy in Denmark to the killing of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh. The topic has also provoked broader debates about what it means to be British, German etc., leading to changes in citizenship laws.

- * Jane Freedman [‘Secularism as a barrier to integration in France,’](#) *International Migration Review*, 42: 3 (2004) 5-25
- Foulard Affair [newspaper clippings](#)
- Stephanie Giry [‘France and its Moslems,’](#) *Foreign Affairs*, 85: 5 (Sept 2006) 87-104
- Faruk Sen [‘Immigrant Muslims in Germany,’](#) *Turkish Daily News*, 31 Oct 2001
- The Veil Project <http://www.veil-project.eu/>

Nov 8 Make up class, 11.00-12.20 CHINA

Chinese nationalism surged in response to Western incursions in the 19th century, then was displaced by communism, and then returned in the 1990s at both elite and mass level. Does contemporary China's nationalism conform to or depart from Western models?

- * Suisheng Zhao [‘Chinese nationalism and its international orientations,’](#) *Political Science Quarterly*, 115: 1 (2000), 1-33
- * Emily Parker [‘The roots of Chinese nationalism,’](#) *Wall Street Journal*, 1 Apr 2008
- * Sexy Beijing TV [‘Lost in translation’](#) (2008) 7 min. video
- Guangqiu Xu [‘Anti-Western nationalism in China 1989-99,’](#) *World Affairs* (spr 2001)
- Howard French [‘Taiwan and China: Struggle over identity,’](#) *IH Tribune*, 27 May 2005
- Zheng Wang *Never Forget National Humiliation* (2012)
- Peter Hays Gries *China's New Nationalism* (2004)
- Movies *Hero* (2002), *Opium War* (1997) *Once Upon a Time in China* (1991)

Nov 12 JAPAN & KOREA

Japan was the first non-European country to successfully embrace the European nation-state model. However, that led to disaster in 1945, after which Japan reinvented itself as a trading nation. In the post-cold war world, is Japan about to undergo a third transition?

- * Kenneth Pyle [‘The future of Japanese nationality,’](#) *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 8: 2 (1982), 223-63
- * Brian J. McVeigh [‘Postwar Japan's ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ nationalism,’](#) Japan Policy Research Institute, Working Paper no. 73 (Jan. 2001)
- John Nathan *Japan Unbound A Volatile Nation's Quest for Pride and Purpose* 2004
- Takashi Shiraiishi [‘Cool heads needed to solve Japan-China problems’](#) *Yomiuri*, 05/31/05

Divided between North and South, and under strong influence from China, Japan and now the US, Koreans exhibit a robust national pride. But finding a clear political expression for that nationalism in such a challenging international environment has proved very contentious.

- John Huer [‘Can we ever understand Korea,’](#) *Korea Times*, 12 Aug 2009
- Gi-Wook Shin et al [‘The politics of ethnic nationalism in divided Korea,’](#) *Nations and Nationalism*, 5: 4, 1999, 465-84
- Katharine Moon [‘Korean nationalism,’](#) ch. 5 in *Korea's Democratization* (2003)
- Gi-Wook Shin *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy* (2006)
- Greg Brazinski *Nation Building in South Korea: Koreans, Americans, and the Making of a Democracy* (2009)
- Gi-Wook Shin et al *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in NE Asia* (2007)

Nov 14 ARAB NATIONALISM

Why has Western style nationalism failed to take root in the Arab world despite persistent efforts by modernizing leaders? What is the relationship between Islam and nationalism? Is Iraq viable as a nation-state? What was the role of nationalism in the Arab Spring?

- * James Gelvin [‘Modernity and its discontents: on the durability of nationalism in the Arab Middle East,’](#) *Nations and Nationalism*, v. 5, n. 1 (1999), 71-89
- * Sami Zubaida [‘Islam and nationalism,’](#) *Nations and Nationalism*, 10, 4, 2004, 407-20
- * Andreas Wimmer [‘Democracy and ethno-religious conflict in Iraq,’](#) in *Survival*, 45: 4, 2003, 111-134 continued....

James Bennet	' The interregnum (Arafat) ,' <i>New York Times</i> , 13 Mar 2005 [on Arafat]
David Ignatius	' Dividing Iraq to save it ,' <i>Washington Post</i> , 4 Oct 2007
John Kierney	' One nation divisible ,' <i>New York Times</i> , 24 Oct 2006
Ira Lapidus	' The Arab Middle East ,' from <i>A History of Islamic Societies</i> (1988)
Sylvia Haim (ed.)	<i>Arab Nationalism: An Anthology</i> , (1962), chs. 9, 10, 15
Adeed Dawisha	<i>Arab Nationalism. From Triumph to Despair</i> (2003)
Rashid Khalidi (ed.)	<i>The Origins of Arab Nationalism</i> (1991)

Friday, Nov 15

Outline for final paper is due.

The outline should be 1-2 pages long, and include the main thesis, an outline of the arguments to be raised, and a preliminary biography. Email it to <prutland@wesleyan.edu> by 4.00 pm.

- Either** (a) an analysis of a specific nation or nationalist movement.
Or (b) discussion of a theme or issue not specific to one country.

Nov 19

THE INTERNET AS A PLATFORM FOR NATIONALISM

The internet and social media are seen as having played a pivotal role in mobilizing popular protests during the Arab Spring. Can it similarly be used to forge new nationalist movements? Evidence is mixed. Some diasporas use the web to create transnational political lobbies, but within individual countries the state and traditional media still seem to have the upper hand.

- * *The Economist* '[Cyber-Nationalism: The Brave New World of E-hatred](#),' 388 (2008)
- * Marshall Van Alstyne '[Electronic communities: Global village or cyberbalkans?](#)' (1996)
- & Erik Brynjolfsson
- Evgeny Morozov *The Net Delusion. The Dark Side of Internet Freedom* (2011)
- Philip Howard *Islam and the Internet. The Digital Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (2009)
- Ronald Inglehart *Cosmopolitan Communications: Cultural Diversity in a Globalized World* (2009).
- & Pippa Norris
- Clay Shirky *Here Comes Everybody. The Power of Organizing Without Organizations* (2009).
- Sabina Mihelj *Media Nations: Communicating Belonging and Exclusion in the Modern World* (2011)
- Xu Wu *Chinese Cybernationalism* (2007)
- S.C. Jansen 'Designer nations: Neo-liberal nation branding Brand Estonia,' *Social Identities*, 14: 1, (2008), 121-42
- Maya Ranganathan 'Nurturing a nation on the Net: The case of Tamil Ealam,' *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 8 (2002), 51-66.
- Rohitashya Chattopadhyay 'The Internet and postcolonial development: India's transnational reality,' *Contemporary South Asia*, 12: 1, (2003), 25-40.

Nov 26-Dec 5

STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

Friday Dec 13

Final research paper due

10-12 pages including notes, the paper should be sent by email to <prutland> by 4.00 pm on Dec 13.