

# Symbols of Defeat in the Construction of National Identity

STEVEN J. MOCK

*Balsillie School of International Affairs*

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

# Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	page vii
Introduction	r
1 Theories of Nations and Nationalism	13
<i>Modernism and Ernest Gellner</i>	13
<i>The Limits of Modernism</i>	18
<i>Ethnosymbolism and Anthony Smith</i>	23
<i>The Limits of Ethnosymbolism</i>	27
<i>Symbols of Defeat: Authenticity and Modernity</i>	31
<i>The Nation as a Surrogate Religion</i>	44
2 Totem Sacrifice and National Identity	50
<i>Totem Violence and Social Order</i>	51
<i>The Function of Sacrificial Ritual and Myth</i>	62
<i>Religion, Nation, and State</i>	68
<i>Theories of Nations and Nationalism Revisited</i>	74
<i>Symbols of Defeat and National Totem Sacrifice</i>	82
3 Symbols of Defeat in National Monument and Ritual	92
<i>Focal Points in National History</i>	100
<i>"Axis -natio"</i>	105
<i>Negotiating the Transition from the Universal to the National</i>	122
<i>Unity, Diversity, and Contestation</i>	142
4 The Defeat Narrative in National Myth and Symbol	155
<i>The Kosovo Covenant</i>	157
<i>The Savior</i>	162
<i>The Prince's Supper</i>	171
<i>The Hero</i>	173
<i>The National Eschatology</i>	184

	<i>The Sacred Executioner</i>	193
	<i>The National Theodicy and the Not-So-Golden Age</i>	20:1:
	<i>The Traitor</i>	2:1:5
	<i>"Without death there is no resurrection"</i>	223
5	Implications to Politics and Diplomacy	232
	<i>Defending the Totem: Defeat Monuments as Axis Points</i>	232
	<i>Heroes and Saviors and the Autocratic Democrat: The Career of Slobodan Milosevic</i>	242
	<i>Enemies and Traitors: Defining Insider-Outsider Boundaries</i>	254
6	Exceptions	260
	<i>Imperial Nations</i>	261
	<i>Nations Without States</i>	267
	<i>Conclusions</i>	275
	<i>Bibliography</i>	283
	<i>Index</i>	293