Chapter 1. Neo-nationalism and Universities in Historical Perspective


12. See David Madsen (1966), The National University: Enduring Dream of the USA (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press).


**Chapter 2. Neo-nationalism and Universities**

1. Amnesty International (2020), “Hong Kong’s National Security Law: 20 Things You Need to Know,” July 17. The wording of the Hong Kong national security law asserts jurisdiction over people who are not residents of Hong Kong and have never even set foot there. This means anyone on earth, regardless of nationality or location, can technically be deemed to have violated this law and face arrest and prosecution if they are in a Chinese jurisdiction, even for transit. Accused foreign nationals who don’t permanently reside in Hong Kong can be deported even before trial or verdict.


14. “New Nationalism and Universities,” conference held at the University of California, Berkeley, November 16–17, 2019, organized by the Center for Studies in Higher Education.

Chapter 3. The Mystery of Brexit
16. John Stone (2017), “Brexit Lies: The Demonstrably False Claims of the EU Referendum Campaign,” Independent, December 17. Some claims of inaccuracy during the campaign were themselves inaccurate. On the day of the referendum, Ian Duncan Smith, a leading Leave campaigner, told the electorate via the Mail that Cameron was “colluding with the EU and lying” about Turkey not being about to join the European Union on the grounds that EU talks with Turkey were due to restart a few days after the referendum. He said the issue of “Turkey and the future of its 77 million population ought to be in voters’ minds today as they enter the polling booth.” In reality, anyone familiar with the state of diplomatic relations between Turkey and the European Union knew that there was little chance of any progress in the latest set of talks, and indeed in 2018 negotiations came to a complete standstill.
27. O’Malley 2019d.
36. Smith and Reid 2019.

**Chapter 4. Trumpian Nationalism and American Universities**

9. University of California, Berkeley, a historic flashpoint for the free speech debate rooted in the 1960s, has spent at least $2.5 million on security surrounding controversial speakers since February, stated Dan Mogulof, Berkeley’s assistant vice chancellor for public affairs: $200,000 for Yiannopoulos in February, $600,000 for Ann Coulter (whose appearance was ultimately cancelled by the sponsoring student groups), and at least $600,000 for conservative commentator Ben Shapiro in September. Yiannopoulos’s latest appearance, part of Berkeley’s “Free Speech Week,” will cost upward of $1 million, Mogulof estimated. See Caroline Simon (2017), “Free Speech Isn’t Free: It’s Costing College Campuses Millions,” *Forbes*, November 20.


31. Lawrence Bacow to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and Acting Secretary of Homeland Security Kevin McAleenan, July 16, 2019.
32. Jennifer Ruth and Yu Xiao (2019), “Academic Freedom and China: Every Instructor Walks on Thin Ice,” Academe, Fall. Some academics objected. “I am tired of journalists accusing China scholars of caving to the CCP,” Rory Truex, an assistant professor of political science and international affairs at Princeton University, tweeted. Citing Margaret Roberts (author of Censored: Distraction and Diversion inside China’s Great Firewall and a few others), Truex dared, “Tell me the field is craven.” And yet, as the discussion unfolded on Twitter and then during a panel a month later at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC, it became clear that American universities and colleges do have a problem with self-censorship. The problem, however, lies less with academics than with administrators and university officials who either explicitly cater to the Chinese Communist Party (for funding and student recruitment reasons) or preemptively discourage events and projects out of broad fear of offense or ignorance.
38. For example, the Trump administration has relaxed US rules requiring oil and gas firms to reduce leaks of methane, a potent greenhouse gas, at land-based wells and pipelines.
41. Sinan Aral and Dean Eckles (2019), “Protecting Elections from Social Media Manipulation,” Science 365, no. 6456, August 30. It should be noted that the Department of Energy did recently establish the Office of Cybersecurity, Energy Security,
and Emergency Response, but it largely focused on protection the nation's electrical grid.


47. Andrew Kreighbaum (2019), “Trump Signs Broad Executive Order,” Inside Higher Education, March 22. The executive order directs federal agencies to ensure colleges are following requirements already in place. And it doesn’t spell out how enforcement of the order would work. It directs 12 federal grant-making agencies to coordinate with the Office of Management and Budget to certify that colleges receiving federal research funds comply with existing federal law and regulations involving free academic inquiry. Although the administration expects public institutions to uphold the First Amendment, the order says private colleges are expected to comply with their “stated institutional policies” on freedom of speech. The free-speech directive doesn’t apply to federal student aid programs.

48. Ambitious conservative state lawmakers also took up the argument that universities and colleges, on the whole, are intolerant to conservative views, passing laws designed to require institutions to teach conservative political principles. See Gene Nichol (2019), “Political Interference with Academic Freedom and Free Speech at Public Universities,” Academe, Fall. Nichol notes that “a growing array of states, including my own, have enacted versions of a national advocacy group’s Campus Free Speech Law. North Carolina’s is called the Restore/Preserve Campus Free Speech Act. Among its notable features, the statute empowers governing boards to regulate ‘administrative and institutional neutrality with regard to political or social issues’—not exactly tight and precise free-expression language. Even more alarming, President Donald Trump now seems anxious to jump on board with such efforts, as evidenced by his recent statements and executive action on campus free speech.”

Chapter 5. Turbulent Times


25. NCP Poland 2018.

Chapter 6. Neo-nationalism in the European Union and Universities


10. Germany held the rotating EU presidency for the second half of 2020.


12. “EU’s ‘Moment of Truth’ as Leaders Seek COVID Funding Deal” (2020), BBC.


20. However, accession negotiations have stalled since 2016.


22. This was partially reversed in a 2017 referendum intended to ease the naturalization of third-generation immigrants.


27. Laid down in Article 3(2) of the Treaty on European Union (TEU); Article 21 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU); Titles IV and V TFEU; Article 45 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.


34. Another 20,000 are expected from outside the EU-EEA, but these do not count toward the government’s budget, as they usually pay full-cost fees.


67. VSNU 2019.
76. G. Swerling (2019), “Oxford University Agrees to Let in Disadvantaged Students with Lower Grades,” Telegraph, May 21; it should be noted that this statement seems to overlook the fact that early modern Oxford included many endowed benefices for “disadvantaged” students.


Chapter 7. Turkish Academics in the Era of Erdoğan

1. “Turkey Jails Academic after Raids over Gezi Park Protests” (2018), Middle East Eye, November 18.


22. Overall, the purge involved around 1,700 detentions or warrants issued to academics involved in the Academics for Peace petition and the physical detention of more than 1,250 of them. By the end of September 2019, more than 800 signatories of the petition had been tried or their trials were ongoing, and more than 200 had been sentenced. Of these 146 of were sentenced to 15 months in prison, and the rest for between 15 months and three years.
23. Correspondence with the Brendan O’Malley, August 9, 2019.
30. Decree 676, Article 85, cited in Yeni Safak [New dawn], https://www.yenisafak.com/en/15-july-coup-attempt-in-turkey/decreed-law-no-676---education-ohal-khk-en-detail. University leaders have also colluded in pressuring targeted academics. SCF cites the case of Cenk Yiğiter, who was dismissed from his post at Ankara University’s School of Law. He then took and passed the national university exam and was placed at the same university in the radio-TV-cinema department of the communications faculty. But the university’s rector and senate issued a custom-made regulation to deny him enrollment. Stockholm Center for Freedom 2018.
36. Scholars at Risk 2018: 34.

Chapter 8. Nationalism Revived


15. Hayhoe 1996.


43. Mai 2016.
45. Taber 2018.
46. Taber 2018.
64. Chris Buckley (2019).
66. Xia Yeliang, interview with the author, April 2019.


74. Fischer 2014b.


85. James Millward, interview with the author, April 2019.


91. Sophie Richardson, interview with the author, April 2019.

92. Lloyd-Damjanovic 2018.


116. Robert Daly, interview with the author, April 2019.


118. Robert Daly, interview with the author, April 2019.

Chapter 9. Balancing Nationalism and Globalism

1. Hong Kong is home to a majority ethnic Chinese population, which comprises 93 percent of the population, and a very low birthrate, at 1.2 children born per woman. Singapore is home to a more ethnically diverse population, with a majority 74 percent ethnic Chinese population and minority Malay and Indian populations comprising 13 and 7 percent, respectively. Like Hong Kong, Singapore is experiencing a low birth rate, which has dropped to only 1.14 in 2019.

2. Examples from European nations include Catalonia, the Basque territories, Wales, Brittany, and Friesland, which all exert strong resistance to a central national authority based on distinct linguistic and cultural identity that inspires movements for more political autonomy. B. C. H. Fong (2017), “One Country, Two Nationalisms: Center-Periphery Relations between Mainland China and Hong Kong, 1997–2016,” *Modern China*, 43: 523.


7. Basic Law, Article 137 reads, “Educational institutions of all kinds may retain their autonomy and enjoy academic freedom. They may continue to recruit staff and use teaching materials from outside the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. Schools run by religious organizations may continue to provide religious education, including courses in religion.”


13. HKU Staff and Students (2019), joint declaration, October 22.
24. The two highest-ranked universities in Hong Kong, the University of Hong Kong and Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, are currently ranked 36 and 41 in 2019 by the Times Higher Education. These rankings remain impressive but reflect a small decline for HKU’s rankings from before the 2014 Occupy protests (HKU was ranked 21 back in 2011). Times Higher Education, World University Rankings, https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings, accessed July 24, 2019.


**Chapter 10. The Role of Universities in Putin’s Russia**

6. Strong incentives for that were provided by the Law on Autonomous Institutions No. 174-FZ of November 3, 2006.

Chapter 11. Bolsonaro’s Brazilian Neo-nationalism and Universities
ensino superior Brasileiro: Diagnóstico e proposta," Documentos de Trabalho NUPES 1: 98.


