

Nations and Nationalism

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

History 341 / Political Science 397

Winter 2023 -- Tu & Th -- 2:30-3:50 -- Location: 3460 CCCB

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Discussion Sessions: Fridays

11:00AM - 12:00PM

R2320 BUS

12:00PM - 01:00PM

2271 AH

02:00PM - 03:00PM

3347 MH



This course explores the history, politics, and recent literature on the formation of nations and the development of nationalism. Earlier forms of political organization are investigated as well as the formation of empires and modern nations. Theories of the nation have moved from ideas of their essential, primordial quality to a more cultural, discursive approach emphasizing the role of imagination and invention in the social construction of modern nations. These theoretical advances have been developed primarily by historians and literary analysts, but in recent years social science thinking on nationalism has borrowed freely, often critically, from the emerging literature. We will both develop a narrative of the emergence of nations and explore some of the ways in which social science has employed and developed the body of theory on nationalism, looking at paradigms taken from international relations, identity theory, anthropology, and various psychological theories through case studies from around the world. In addition to academic readings, we will watch and discuss pertinent documentary films and historical movies.

Course Requirements:

Participation: Undergraduate students are required to attend all the lectures and discussions, complete the assigned reading, and participate in discussions.

Midterm Exam: A midterm take-home examination (6-8 pages, typed, double-spaced).
(Due: February 23).

Film Review: A review of one or several of the assigned films in terms of their contribution to understanding nationalism (4-6 pages, typed, double-spaced). **(Due: March 31).**

Final Paper: A final take-home examination or paper, a short synthetic research paper or “think-piece” (8-10 pages, typed, double-spaced), that uses the readings, lectures, films, and discussions, as well as any outside reading the student might wish to include. The paper should demonstrate that you have read, understood, and can critically employ the material in the course. Graduate students will write a slightly longer final paper (15-20 pages) and will use additional readings. **(Due: April 24).**

Class Format:

The course meets for two lectures and one discussion group per week from January 4 to April 18, 2023.

Grading:

Attendance 10%

Participation in discussion sessions 10%

Film review % 10

Midterm Exam 30%

Final Paper 40%

ALL THE ASSIGNED READINGS WILL BE ON CANVAS.

Academic Integrity Policy

History 341/Political Science 397 follows the academic integrity guidelines set forth by the College of LSA [<https://lsa.umich.edu/lsa/academics/academic-integrity.html>]. Students should familiarize themselves with this document, which explains the standards of academic integrity and clarifies the prohibited forms of academic misconduct. Clarifying the disciplinary standards of research ethics and source citation is part of the educational mission of this course, and students should consult the faculty instructor and/or GSI regarding any questions. The penalties for deliberate cases of plagiarism and/or other forms of academic misconduct are zero on the assignment or failure for the course, within the parameters of LSA policy. Cases that the instructor judges to be particularly serious, or those in which the student contests the charge of academic misconduct, will be handled by the office of the Assistant Dean for Undergraduate Education. All cases of deliberate academic misconduct that result in formal sanctions of any kind will be reported to the dean’s office, as required by LSA policy, which also ensures due process rights of appeal for students.

WEEK 1

January 5 - Current Historical Conjuncture: Russian occupation of Ukraine

Paul R. Pillar, "Ukraine and the power of nationalism," *Responsible Statecraft*, May 23, 2022.

Marlene Laruelle, "Russian Nationalism and Ukraine," *Current History* (2014) 113 (765): 272–277. (5 pages)

Dominique Arel, "A short history of Ukrainian nationalism — and its tumultuous relationship with Russia," *The Conversation*, March 17, 2022. (5 Pages)

WATCH: "[Patriotism reinvented - The battle over national identity](#)" (Ukraine)| DW Documentary

WEEK 2

January 10 - Before There Were Nations.

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York and London: Verso Press, 1983; revised ed., 2006), pp. 1- 46.

Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?" text of an address delivered at the Sorbonne on March 11th, 1882, in Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*, trans. Ethan Rundell (Paris, Presses-Pocket, 1992).

Suggested: Tara Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis" *Slavic Review*, Spring, 2010, Vol. 69, No. 1 (Spring, 2010), pp. 93-119

WATCH (Suggested): [Japan and the West: The First 500 Years](#) (1298 - 1854)

January 12 - Thinking about Theory: Primordialism, Perennialism, and Constructivism.

Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 1-62.

Hobsbawm, E. (2012). "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (Eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Canto Classics, pp. 1-14). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Suggested: Philip S. Gorski, "The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 105, No. 5 (March 2000), pp. 1428-1468

WATCH: [Ambitions and Conquests: The Story of Europe, Part 3](#) | Full Historical Documentary, directed by Gero von Boehm

WEEK 3

January 17 - Nations and the Revolutionary Age

William H. Sewell Jr., "The French Revolution and the Emergence of the Nation-Form." 1-12.

Conor Cruise O'Brien, "Nationalism and the French Revolution." In *The Permanent Revolution: The French Revolution and its Legacy, 1789-1989*, edited by Geoffrey Best, 17-48. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Franklin W. Knight, "The Haitian Revolution." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 105, no. 1, 2000, pp. 103–15.

WATCH (Suggested): [The French Revolution, directed by Robert Enrico](#) (1989)

January 19 - Religion and Community: The Early Modern Moment.

Peter Burke, "Nationalisms and Vernaculars, 1500-1800," in *The Oxford handbook of the history of nationalism* ed. by J. Breuilly, (UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), 21-35.

Alexei Miller, "The Empire and the Nation in the Imagination of Russian Nationalism" in *The Romanov Empire and Nationalism* (2008), pp. 161-180

Miroslav Hroch, "National Movements in the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires," *The Oxford handbook of the history of nationalism* ed. by J. Breuilly, (UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 175-197.

WATCH: "[The Russian Ark](#)" (2002) directed by Alexander Sokurov

WEEK 4

January 24 - History and the Romance of the Nation.

John Gottlieb Fichte, "To the German Nation, 1806." (2 pages)

Anderson, "Creole Pioneers; Old Languages, New Models" in *Imagined Communities*, pp. 47-82.

David Luban, "The Romance of the Nation-State." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 9, no. 4 (1980): 392–97.

Mehrdad Kia. "Persian Nationalism and the Campaign for Language Purification." *Middle Eastern Studies* 34, no. 2 (1998): 9–36.

WATCH: [The Making of The Birth of a Nation](#) (1915) - 1993 Documentary

January 26 - Nationalism and the state.

John Breuilly, "Conclusion," in *Nationalism and the State*, Second ed. (The University of Chicago Press, 1994 [Originally published in 1982]), 366 - 403.

Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime" in *Bringing the State Back In* (1985), pp. 169 - 191

George Schöpflin, "Yugoslavia: state construction and state failure," in Brad K. Blitz (ed.), *War and Change in the Balkans: Nationalism, Conflict and Cooperation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 13-29

WATCH: [The Death of Yugoslavia, BBC documentary series](#) (1995)

WEEK 5

January 31 - 1848: The Turning Point When History Did Not Turn.

Dean Kostantaras, "Revolutions of 1848." In *Nationalism and Revolution in Europe, 1763-1848*, (Amsterdam University Press, 2020), pp. 173–202.

Anderson, "Official Nationalism and Imperialism" in *Imagined Communities*, pp. 83-111.

John Breuilly, "The Unification nationalism in the nineteenth-century Europe" in *Nationalism and the State*, Second ed. (The University of Chicago Press, 1994 [Originally published in 1982]), pp. 96 -119.

WATCH: [1848: Europe's Year of Revolutions, Epic History TV](#)

February 2 - Nationalism and Empire.

John Darwin, "Nationalism and Imperialism, c.1880-1940" in *The Oxford handbook of the history of nationalism* ed. by J. Breuilly, (UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 341- 358.

E. J. Hobsbawn, "The Transformation of nationalism, 1870-1918," in *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 2nd edition (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.101-130.

WATCH: "[Bloody Sunday](#)," (2001). [Irish civil rights protest in 1972] Paul Greengrass

WEEK 6

February 7 - Race and Nation.

P. Rutland, (2022). Racism and Nationalism. *Nationalities Papers*, 50(4), 629-642.

Anderson, "Patriotism and Racism" in *Imagined Communities*, pp. 141-154.

Gary Gerstle, "Race and Nation in the United States, Mexico, and Cuba, 1880-1940," in *Nationalism in the New World*, edited by Don H. Doyle and Marco Pamplona (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 2002), pp. 272-303

WATCH: [Apartheid in South Africa - Documentary on Racism](#) | Interviews with Black & Afrikaner Leaders | 1957

February 9 - Socialism and the National Question

V. I. Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*, no. 1 (October 1916), 143-156.

Joseph Stalin, "Marxism and the National Question," in *Marxism and the National Question* (1942), 9-24.

Michael Lowy, Marxists and the National Question, *New Left Review*, I/96 (March-April 1976), pp. (27 pages)

WATCH (Suggested): [Josip Broz Tito \(2015\), BBC Documentary](#)

MID-TERM EXAM HANDED OUT: FEBRUARY 9

WEEK 7

February 14 - World War and the Explosion of Nationalism: New States, New Nations.

Eric D. Weitz, "From the Vienna to the Paris System: International Politics and the Entangled Histories of Human Rights, Forced Deportations, and Civilizing Missions," *American Historical Review*, CXIII, 5 (December 2008), pp. 1313-1343.

Nader Sohrabi, "Reluctant Nationalists, Imperial Nation-State, and Neo-Ottomanism: Turks, Albanians, and the Antinomies of the End of Empire," *Social Science History* (2018), pp. 1-36.

WATCH: (Suggested) [Gallipoli: How the Ottomans Took the British by Surprise | Gallipoli 1915 | War Stories](#)

February 16 - The Second Age of Revolution, 1905-1925.

Erik Jan Zürcher, "The Young Turk revolution: comparisons and connections," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Volume 55, 2019, pp. 481-498

Amiya Kumar Bagchi, "The Russian Revolution and Its Global Impact." *Social Scientist* 46, no. 3-4 (538-539) (2018): 45-54.

Michael Goebel, "Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third-World Nationalism." *Global and International History*. (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015), Introduction, 1- 20.

WATCH: [Tsar to Lenin \(1937\)](#) directed by Herman Axelbank

WEEK 8

February 21 - Nations and Genocide

Norman Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), Introduction. pp.1-19

Rouben P. Adalian, Chapter 4, "The Armenian Genocide" in Totten, Samuel, and William S. Parsons, eds., *Centuries of Genocide: Essays and Eyewitness Accounts* (Routledge, 2013), pp.117-151

Baines, Erin K. 2003. "Body Politics and the Rwandan Crisis." *Third World Quarterly* 24(3): 479-93.

Suggested: Michael Reynolds, "Troubles in Anatolia: imperial insecurities and the transformation of borderland politics" in *The Clash and Collapse of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, 1908-1918* (2011), pp. 46-81.

WATCH: (Suggested) [They Shall Never perish: The Story of Near East Relief](#)

February 23 - Anti-Colonial Nationalisms

Bruce J. Berman and John M. Lonsdale, "Nationalism in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa," in *The Oxford handbook of the history of nationalism* ed. by J. Breuilly, (UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 308-317.

Adeed Dawisha, "Arab Nationalism and Competing Loyalties: From the 1920s to the Arab Revolt of Palestine" in *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century* (2003), pp. 75-106.

Joya Chatterji, "Nationalisms in India, 1857-1947" in *The Oxford handbook of the history of nationalism* ed. by J. Breuilly, (UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 242-262.

WATCH: "[The Battle for Algiers](#)" Directed by Gillo Pontecorvo (1966)

MID-TERM EXAM DUE: FEBRUARY 23

February 28 - Winter Break

March 2 - Winter Break

WEEK 9

March 7 - Soviet Nation-Making

Suny, Ronald Grigor. "The Empire That Dared Not Speak Its Name: Making Nations in the Soviet State." *Current History* 116, no. 792 (2017): 251–57.

Francine Hirsch, "Toward an Empire of Nations: Border-Making and the Formation of Soviet National Identities." *The Russian Review* 59, no. 2 (2000): 201–26.

Edgar, Adrienne Lynn. "Assembling The Nation: The Creation of a Turkmen National Republic." In *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan*. (Princeton University Press, 2004), 41–69.

WATCH: [Peoples of the Soviet Union \(1952\)](#)

March 9 - Virulent Nationalism: Fascism.

Geoff Eley, "What produces Fascism? Preindustrial Conditions or the Crisis of a Capitalist State," *Politics and Society*, XII, 2 (1983), pp. 53-82.

Carl Levy, "Fascism, National Socialism and Conservatives in Europe, 1914-1945: Issues for Comparativists." *Contemporary European History*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1999, pp. 97–126.

Jonathan Dunnage, "Policing Right-Wing Dictatorships: Some Preliminary Comparisons of Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Franco's Spain." *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies* 10, no. 1 (2006): 93–122.

WATCH: [The Origins of Mussolini's Italy](#) | Secrets of War | Timeline

WEEK 10

March 14 - Cold War, the Collapse of the Soviet Empire, and their Consequences.

Mark R. Beissinger, "Nationalism and the Collapse of Soviet Communism." *Contemporary European History* 18, no. 3 (2009): 331–47.

Veljko Vujačić, "Kosovo: A Case Study in the Unintended Consequences of Communist Nationality Policy, 1968-1986," in Leandrit I. Mehmeti and Branislav Radeljic (eds.), *Serbia and*

Kosovo: Between Individual Options and Shared Consequences (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), pp. 14-36.

Suggested: Anja Franke, et al. "Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan as Post-Soviet Rentier States: Resource Incomes and Autocracy as a Double 'Curse' in Post-Soviet Regimes." *Europe-Asia Studies* 61, no. 1 (2009): 109–40.

WATCH: "[Kolya](#)," directed by Jan Svěrák (1996).

WATCH (Suggested): [Russia 1985-1999: TraumaZone](#) (2022)

March 16 - Decolonization and the Proliferation of Nation-States.

Mahmood Mamdani, "Beyond Settlers and Natives: The Theory and Practice of Decolonization." In *Define and Rule* (Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 85–126.

Richard Reid, "States of Anxiety: History and Nation in Modern Africa." *Past & Present*, no. 229 (2015): 239–69.

John Dunham Kelly, and Martha Kaplan, "Nation and Decolonization" in *Represented Communities: Fiji and World Decolonization*. (University of Chicago Press, 2001). pp.1-29.

WATCH (Suggested): *Blood and Tears: French Decolonisation* (2020)

WEEK 11

March 21 - The Making of the Modern Middle East.

Tom Segev, "View with Favor," a review of Jonathan Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration*, August 20, 2010.

THREE VIDEOS:

David Frumkin, [A Peace to End All Peace: A Century of Intervention in the Middle East](#)

[Rashid Khalidi, Helena Cobban on Sykes-Picot Agreement](#)

[Jonathan Schneer, The Balfour Declaration](#)

March 23 - The Unmaking of the Modern Middle East.

Edmonds, C. J. "Kurdish Nationalism." *Journal of Contemporary History* 6, n. 1 (1971): 87–107.

Jonathan Wrytzen, "Part III: Remaking the Modern Middle East: Chapter 5. "Kurdish Uprisings, the Rif War, and the Great Syrian Revolt, 1924–1927," and Chapter 6. "Endgame Struggles in Kurdistan, Cyrenaica, and Arabia, 1927–1934" in *Worldmaking in the Long Great War: How Local and Colonial Struggles Shaped the Modern Middle East* (Columbia University Press, 2022). pp.170-215 and pp.216-248.

Salem Chaker, "Berber Challenge in Algeria: The State of the Question." *Race, Gender & Class* 8, no. 3 (2001): 135–56.

WATCH: [The Kurdish Female Guerrillas Fighting ISIS \(Warzone Documentary\) | Real Stories](#)

WEEK 12

March 28 - Nationalism and Geopolitics in East Asia

B. C. Upreti, "Nationalism in South Asia: Trends and Interpretations." *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 67, no. 3 (2006): 535–44.

Tianbiao Zhu, "Nationalism and Chinese Foreign Policy." *China Review* 1, no. 1 (2001): 1–27.

Esteban Flores, "The Japanese Constitutional Amendment: National Defense or A Return to Japanese Militarism?" *Harvard International Review* 38, No. 4 (2017): 10–13.

Ethan Mark, "'Asia's' Transwar Lineage: Nationalism, Marxism, and 'Greater Asia' in an Indonesian Inflection." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 65, no. 3 (2006): 461–93.

WATCH: "[The Sino-Indian War: Why India Turned on China In The 1960s](#)" | Mao's Cold War

March 31- [FILM REVIEW DUE] Race, Revolution and Nationalism in Latin America

Michel Gobat, "The Invention of Latin America: A Transnational History of Anti-Imperialism, Democracy, and Race." *The American Historical Review* 118, n. 5 (2013): 1345–75.

Nicole Miller, "Latin America: State-Building and Nationalism" in *The Oxford handbook of the history of nationalism* ed. by J. Breuilly, (UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), 592 - 614.

Alejandro de la Fuente, "Race, National Discourse, and Politics in Cuba: An Overview." *Latin American Perspectives* 25, no. 3 (1998): 43–69.

WATCH: [Black in Latin America by Henry Louis Gates Jr](#) (2011)

WEEK 13

April 4 - Globalization and the Future of the Nation.

John Hutchinson, "The Past, Present, and the Future of the Nation-State." *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* 4, no. 1 (2003): 5–12.

Michael Hechter, "Containing Nationalism," in *Containing Nationalism* (Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 134 -159.

Liah Greenfeld, "The Globalization of Nationalism and the Future of the Nation-State." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 24, no. 1/2 (2011): 5–9.

Victoria Bernal, "Eritrea goes global: reflections on nationalism in a transnational age," *Cultural Anthropology* 19(1) 2004, pp.3–9

WATCH (Suggested): [Nationalism vs. globalism: the new political divide | Yuval Noah Harari](#)

April 6 - The Past, Present and the Future of Nationalism in America

Susan-Mary Grant, "State-Building and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century USA" in *The Oxford handbook of the history of nationalism* ed. by J. Breuilly, (UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 395 -413.

Michael Kazin and Atossa Araxia Abrahamian, "American Nationalism: A Debate," *Dissent*, Summer 2019.

Kevin D. Williamson, "The Nationalism Show," *National Interest*, March 31, 2019.

WATCH: "[Savage Acts: Wars, Fairs, and Empire 1898-1904](#)," directed by Joshua Brown (2006)

WEEK 14

April 11 - Is America a Nation?

Anatol Lieven, *America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, 2012), Introduction, pp. 11-24

V. P. Franklin. "Introduction—The Legacy of Malcolm X: Black Nationalism, Internationalism, and Transnationalism." *The Journal of African American History* 100, no. 2 (2015): 195–98.

Francis Fukuyama, "Why National Identity Matters," in *Journal of Democracy* v 29, No 4 (2018), pp 5-15

Jason Dittmer, 2010. Chapter 4: "Narration of Nation in the Post WWII US," in *Popular Culture, Geopolitics, and Identity*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. p. 69-90.

WATCH: [Inventing America: Making a Nation \(Broadcast Version\)](#)

WATCH (Suggested): "When We Were Kings," directed by Leon Gast (1996)

April 13 - Race, Nativism, and the American Dream.

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993, pp. 22-49.

Edward Said, "The Clash of Ignorance," *The Nation*, October 22, 2001.

Adam Etinson, "Of Cannibals, Kings and Culture: The Problem of Ethnocentricity," *The New York Times*, February 17, 2013.

WATCH: [A Race for America | The Big Picture](#), by Sanjiev Johal

WEEK 15

April 18 - White Christian Nationalism

Joel Olson, "Whiteness and the Polarization of American Politics" in *Political Research Quarterly* v 61, No 4 (2008), pp 704-718.

Philip S. Gorski, and Samuel L. Perry, *The Flag and the Cross: White Christian Nationalism and the Threat to American Democracy*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022).

WATCH (Suggested): Requiem for the American Dream (Noam Chomsky) directed by Peter D. Hutchison, Kelly Nyks, and Jared P. Scott

FINAL PAPER DUE: APRIL 24