NATIONS AND NATIONALISM Professor Ronald Suny

Instructor: Professor Ronald Grigor Suny William H. Sewell, Jr. Distinguished University Professor of History Office: 1767 Haven Hall Office Hours: Tuesday 4:00-5:30; and by appointment. Email: rgsuny@umich.edu

Graduate Student Instructors:

Kelly Hannavi	kelhan@umich.edu
Office Hours:	Wednesday 4:00-6:00
Location:	1631 Haven

Dalen Butler dcbutler@umich.edu Thursdays 11:00-1:00 1631 Haven



History is the database from which we learn what human beings have done in the past and are able and likely to do at present and in the future. Understanding the past is a portal to the present and our individual and collective futures. This course explores the history, politics, and recent literature on the formation of nations and the development of nationalism.

Theories of the nation have moved from ideas of their essential, primordial quality through a moment of social construction featuring the processes of modernization to a more cultural, discursive approach emphasizing the role of imagination and invention. 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.

Requirements:

- 1. All students are required to attend all the lectures and discussions, complete the assigned reading, and participate in discussions.
- 2. A **mid-term take home examination** will be handed out on October 10th and turned in on October 19, 2018 by 5:00pm. The mid-term paper will be 6-8 pages, typed, double-spaced, and will be based on the lectures, discussions, and readings.
- 3. Each student will select an additional book on nationalism that deals with the national formation, identity, or history of the nationalism of a particular people or state. It is advised that students consult with the professor about their choice of extra reading. A **short review** of that book (3-5 pages) must be turned in by 5:00 pm, Friday, November 16, 2018 in the GSI's office or by email to the GSI. **Option:** Instead of a book, a student may read the articles listed at the end of the syllabus under Optional Reading and write a short review essay on them.
- 4. A **final take home examination** -- a short synthetic research paper or "thinkpiece" (8-10 pages) -- will be handed out on November 29 and turned in on December 14, 2018 by 5:00 pm in the GSI's office or by email to the GSI. The final should be typed, double-spaced, that uses the readings, lectures, and discussions, as well as any outside reading the student might wish to include.
- 5. Graduate students, in additional to the two examinations, will write a research paper of 15-20 pages that uses additional readings. They must register with Professor Suny for an independent studies course. Their final paper is due December 14, 2018 by 5pm.

Required Books:

- Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism (London-New York: Verso, 1983, 1991).
- Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, *Becoming National: A Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- Anatol Lieven, America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004; Second edition, 2012).
- Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

Grading Scale:

 90%--100%
 A

 80%--89%
 B

 70%-79%
 C

 60%-69%
 D

 Below 60%
 Failing

Grade Breakdown:

Midterm - 30% Final - 30% Review of extra reading - 20% Attendance and participation - 20%

Lectures and Readings:

Topic 1– Theoretical Approaches to Nationalism.

Topic 2 – Before There Were Nations.

Topic 3 – Religion and Community.

Reading: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London-New York: Verso, 1991), pp. xi-82.

- Etienne Balibar, "The Nation Form, History and Ideology," in Eley and Suny, pp. 131-149.
- Uffe Ostgergard, "Peasants and Danes: The Danish National Identity and Political Culture," in Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, *Becoming National: A Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 178-201.
- Stuart Hall, "Ethnicity: Identity and Difference," in Eley and Suny, pp. 337-349.

Topic 4– Nations and the Revolutionary Age.

Topic 5– History and the Romance of the Nation.

Reading: Ronald Grigor Suny, "The Empire Strikes Out...," in Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin (eds.), *A State of Nations: Empire and Nationmaking in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 23-66. [CANVAS] William H. Sewell, Jr., "The French Revolution and the Emergence of the Nation Form." [CANVAS]

Topic 6– Nineteenth-Century Nationalisms.

Topic 7– Race and Nation.

Reading: Johann Gottlieb Fichte, "To the German Nation, 1806." [CANVAS]

Anthony Smith, "The Origins of Nations," in Eley and Suny, pp. 105-130.

Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?" in Eley and Suny, pp. 41-55.

Topic 8– Marxism and Nationalism.

Topic 9– World War and the Explosion of Nationalism: New States, New Nations.

Reading: Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe," in Eley and Suny, pp. 59-77.

Tom Nairn, "Scotland and Europe," in Eley and Suny, pp. 78-104.

Topic 10– Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide: The Ottoman and Turkish Cases.

Topic 11– Making an Ethnonational Republic: Turkey.

- **Reading:** Ronald Grigor Suny, "*AHR* Forum: Truth in Telling: Reconciling Realities in the Genocide of the Ottoman Armenians," *American Historical Review*, CXIV, 4 (October 2009), pp. 930-946. [CANVAS]
 - Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, "Introduction: From the Moment of Social History to the Work of Cultural Representation," in Eley and Suny, pp. 3-37.

MID-TERM EXAM HANDED OUT (on CANVAS).

Topic 12– FALL STUDY BREAK. NO LECTURE.

Topic 13– Russia, Revolution, and Soviet Nation-Making.

- **Reading:** Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. ix-83.
 - Yuri Slezkine, "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism," in Eley and Suny, pp. 202-238.

MID-TERM EXAM DUE, AT BEGINNING OF CLASS.

Topic 14-- Virulent Nationalism: Fascism.

Topic 15– Guest Lecture: Fatma Müge Göçek: Gendering the Nation.

- **Reading:** Julie Skurski, "The Ambiguities of Authenticity: <u>Dona Barbara</u> and the Construction of National Identity," in Eley and Suny, pp. 370-402.
 - Ann L. Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," in Eley and Suny, pp. 285-322.
 - Anne McClintock, "`No Longer in a Future Heaven': Nationalism, Gender, and Race," in Eley and Suny, pp. 259-284.
 - Marianne Heiberg, "Basques, Anti-Basques and the Moral Community," in Eley and Suny, pp. 323-336.
 - Renata Salecl, "National Identity and Socialist Moral Majority," in Eley and Suny, pp. 417-424.

Topic 16– Guest Lecture: Victor Lieberman: The View from the Other Side.

Topic 17– Why We Hate You: The Emotions of Nationalism.

Reading: Anderson, Imagined Communities, pp. 83-206.

- Ronald Grigor Suny, "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations," *Journal of Modern History*, LXXIII, 4 (December 2001), pp. 862-896. [CANVAS]
- Victor Lieberman, "Why Were Nationalism and Democracy European? Political Community in Europe and Asia c. 1400-1850." [CANVAS]

Topic 18– Cold War and the Collapse of the Soviet Empire.

Topic 19- The Unquiet Region: Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century.

GUEST LECTURER: Dalen Butler: "Opre Roma!: The Romani Social Movement from Provincial to Transnational."

Reading: Suny, *The Revenge of the Past*, pp. 84-160.

- Stephen E. Hanson, "Russia, Ukraine, and the Borders of Europe," paper presented at APSA, September 2015 [CANVAS]
- Veljko Vujačić, "Kosovo: A Case Study in the Unintended Consequences Of Communist Nationality Policy, 1968-1986," in Leandrit Mehmeti and Branislav Radeljic (eds.), *Serbia and Kosovo: Between Individual Options and Shared Consequences* (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, forthcoming) [CANVAS]

DISCUSSION GROUPS FOCUS ON EXTRA READING.

Topic 20– Decolonization and the Proliferation of Nation-States.

Topic 21– The Making of the Modern Middle East.

- **Reading:** Prasenjit Duara, "Historicizing National Identity, or Who Imagines What and When," in Eley and Suny, pp. 150-177.
 - Khachig Toloyan, "The Nation and its Others," in Eley and Suny, pp. 425-431.
 - Liisa Malkki, "National Geographic: the Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity Among Scholars and Refugees," in Eley and Suny, pp. 432-453.

Topic 22-- REVIEWS OF EXTRA READING DUE BY 5pm.

Topic 23– The Unmaking of the Modern Middle East.

Topic 24– NO CLASS.

Reading: Melani McAlister, "A Cultural History of the War without End," *Journal of American History*, LXXXIX, 2 (September 2002), pp. 439-455. [CANVAS] John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby, *London Review* of Books, XXVIII, 6 (March 23, 2006), pp. 3-12. [CANVAS] [http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby]

THANKSGIVING.

NO DISCUSSIONS DURING THANKSGIVING WEEK.

Topic 25– Is America a Nation?

Topic 26– Race, Nativism, and the American Dream.

Reading: Anatol Lieven, *America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, 2012), introduction and chapters 1-3.

FINAL EXAM HANDED OUT.

Topic 27– The Crisis of Bourgeois Democracy and the Failure of the Left.

Topic 28– NO LECTURE.

Reading: Lieven, *America Right or Wrong*, chapters 4-6 and conclusion.

Suggested reading: Francis Fukuyama, "Against Identity Politics: The New Tribalism and the Crisis of Democracy," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2018, pp. 90-114.

Topic 29– Globalization and the Future of the Nation.

FINAL EXAM DUE

NO DISCUSSIONS DURING FINAL WEEK.

Optional Readings from Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*:

Paul Gilroy, "On Nation under a Groove: The Cultural Politics of 'Race' and Racism in Britain," in Eley and Suny, pp. 350-369.

David Held, "The Decline of the Nation State," in Eley and Suny, pp. 405-416.

David Morley and Kevin Robins, "No Place Like Heimat: Images of

Home(land) in European Culture," in Eley and Suny, pp. 454-478.

- Jeffrey M. Peck, "Rac(e)ing the Nation. Is There a German 'Home'?" in Eley and Suny, pp. 479-492.
- Lauren Berlant, "The Theory of Infantile Citizenship," in Eley and Suny, pp. 493-508.

Additional Suggested Readings:

- Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).
- Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 1992).
- James Ron, *Frontiers and Ghettos: State Violence in Serbia and Israel* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).