PSC 251

Old and New Nationalism: East-West
From the breakup of Empires to Globalization

Nationalism understood (after Gellner) as a “political principle” will be discussed in the context of its founding narratives (myths and politics of history) and in the way nation-states implement it in political life in specific institutions organized and funded by them.

Course’s objectives: through discussion and close analyses of specific case studies of nationalist issues in a variety of concrete contemporary settings we will increase our understanding of the phenomenon of nationalism as a prevailing sentiment despite attempts at internationalization and globalization.

Taking the last two decades as a point of departure, this course will explore the roots and fates of different varieties of nationalisms. We will start with a review of the theoretical approaches to the history of nationalism understood as the way groups collectively distinguish, define, and imagine themselves. Thus founding myths of various nations will be discussed first of all. Then we will move to the role of specific national narratives: the representation of collective memory of such trauma as the last World War in Europe. Finally we will review the “institutional” approach to understanding nationalism. We will end with discussion of recent international conflicts in the context of globalization vs nationalisms (ethnicity, national identity, and perceived national interests) in Eastern Europe.

Texts and reading assignments: Required reading assignments as well as films are considered as basic texts. Readings are placed in the library on reserve.

Participation: All students are required to attend each class, prepare questions based on required reading and actively participate in discussions. You must inform me if you cannot attend by e-mail and present a doctor’s excuse if you miss more than 2 classes.

In-class presentation: Students will give presentations on assigned topics which will be graded. You will sign up for your presentation during the first week of classes.

Grading: attendance 10%, in-class presentation 10%, short paper 10%, midterm 35% and the final test 35% of the final grade.
September 3  Introduction

Week 1

September 8  Definitions.

Gellner, “Definitions,” 1-7 and “What is a nation?” 53-62
_Nations and Nationalism_
Anderson, “Concepts and definitions,” 5-7 _Imagined Communities_

September 10  End of Empires

Hobsbawn, “The End of Empires” 12-16, in _After Empire_
Barkey, “Thinking about Consequences of Empire” 99-114, _After Empire_
Szporluk, “The Fall of the Tsarist Empire and the USSR: The Russian
Question and Imperial Overextension in Russia, 395-430, in: _Ukraine
and the Breakup of the Soviet Union_
Brubaker, “Nationhood and National question in the Soviet Union and its
successor states: an institutional account” in _Nationalism Reframed_

Week 2

September 15  Geo-politics, nationhood and democracy

Brubaker, “Rethinking nationhood,”13-23, _Nationalism Reframed_
Greenfeld, “Democracy, ethnic diversity and nationalism” 25-36,
_Nationalism and Internationalism in the Post-Cold War Era_

September 17  Nations in Eastern Europe

Stokes, “Eastern Europe’s Defining Fault Lines” 15-31 in _Eastern
Europe: Politics, Culture and Society since 1939_ (E-Reserve)
Shoepflin, “Nationalism and Ethnicity in Europe, East, West,” 37-65 in
_Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe_ (E-Reserve)
Jenks and Sofos, “Nation and Nationalism in Contemporary Europe: A
theoretical perspective,” 9-29 in _Nation and Identity in Contemporary
Europe_ (E-Reserve)

Week 3

September 22, 24  Myths of nationhood

Shoepflin, “The functions and Taxonomy of Myth” 19-35
in _Myths and Nationhood_
Smith, “The ‘Golden Age’ and National Renewal” 36-59 in _Myths
Overing, “An Anthropological Perspective: the reality of the really made-
up” 1-18 in _Myths and Nationhood_

Presentation: National myth: examples
Week 4

September 29  Case study: Russia/Soviet Union/Russia

Von Hagen, “The Russian Empire” 58-73, Zaslavsky, The Soviet Union” 73-98 in After Empire
Zassorin, “Modern Russian Nationalism on TV and Radio,” 187-200 in Nationalist Myths and Modern Media
Wolfe, “Past as Present, Myth, or History? Discourses of time and the Great Fatherland War” 249-283, The Politics of Memory
Fenley, “From Soviet to Russian Identity…” 223-250 in Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe
Verkhovsky, “Holy Russia vs the Fallen World” 229-243 in: Nationalist Myths and Modern Media

October 1  Ethnic minorities and national conflict in Russia

Brubacker, “National minorities, nationalizing states and external national homelands in the New Europe” 55-78 in Nationalism Reframed
Shami, “The little nation: Minorities and majorities in the context of shifting geographies” 103-124 (especially 103-109) in Nationalism and Internationalism in the Post Cold War Era
Kaufman, (4) “Georgia and the Fear of Majorities” 85-128, in Modern Hatreds The symbolic Politics of Ethnic War
King, Making Virtual (Non)sense of the Past: Russian Nationalist interpretation of XX-tieth century history” in Nationalist Myths and Modern Media

Presentations: Russian-Georgian conflict as reported in America

Week 5

October 6  Fall Break

October 8  Ukraine vs Russia

Szporluk, “Nationalities and the Russian Problem in the USSR: a Historical Outline” 1-29,
----“The Imperial Legacy and the Soviet Nationalities Problem” 229-258,
In: Russia, Ukraine and the Breakup of the Soviet Union

Presentation: Ukraine and Crimea
Week 6

October 13 The construction and politics of collective memory

Lebov, “The Memory of Politics in Post War Europe” 1-39, The Politics of Memory in Post War Europe

Judt, “The past is another country: myth and memory in post-war Europe”157-183, Memory and Power

October 15 Collective memory of WWII in Germany

Augustin, Patriotism vs Nationalism? German Notions of Political Normality since 1990” 109-125 in Nationalist Myths

W. Kansteiner, “Loosing the war, winning the Memory Battle: the Legacy of Nazism, WWII, and the Holocaust ” 102-146, The Politics of Memory

Or: Herf, “”The emergence of legacies of divided memory:

Germany and the Holocaust after 1945” 184-205, Memory and Power

Levy and Dierkes, “Institualizing the past: shifting memories…in German immigration law, 244-264, Memory and Power

Brinks “Germany’s New Right” 125-139 in Nationalist Myths and Modern Media

Presentations: German nationalism today

Week 7

October 20 Collective memory and national myths in Poland


Davies, “Polish National Mythologies” 141-157 in Myths and Nationhood

Steinlauf, Memory Regained p122-147 in Bondage to the Dead, Poland and the Memory of the Holocaust (e-reserve)

Tomaszewski, “From internationalism to nationalism? Poland 1944-96” 67-86 in Nationalism and Internationalism in the Post-Cold War Era

Presentations: Poland in new Europe

October 22 Overcoming the past in the borderlands of Europe

Snyder, “Memory of sovereignty and sovereignty over memory:
Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine, 1939-1999” 39-58, **Memory and Power**
Wilson, “Myths of National History in Belarus and Ukraine,” 182-198
**Myths and Nationhood**
Millard “The Failure of Nationalism in Post Communist Poland”
201-222 in **Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe**

Week 8

October 27  Midterm

October 29  Nationalism and private property: Romania

Verdery, chapter 1, National Ideology under socialism: Identity and cultural politics in Ceaucescu’s Romania
Verdery, Nationalism, internationalism and property in the post-Cold War era” 87-102 in **Nationalism and Internationalism**

**Presentations:**  Romania, Czech, Slovak, Belarus cases

Week 9

October 27  Collective memory of WWII in Italy

Fogu, “*Italiani brava gente* : The Legacy of fascist Historical Culture on Italian Politics of Memory” 147-176, **The Politics of Memory**
Poggiolini, “Translating memories of war and co-belligerency into politics: the Italian post-war experience” 223-243 **Memory and Power**
Brierly and Giacometti, “Italian Identity and the Failure of Regionalism” 172-197 in **Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe**

**Presentation:**  Italian national identity today

October 29 Collective memory of WWII and national redefinition in France

Golsan, The Legacy of WWII in France 73-101 **The Politics of Memory in Post War Europe**
Gildea, “Myth, memory and policy in France since 1945” 59-75, **Memory and Power**
Jenkins, Copsey “Nation, Nationalism and National Identity in France”
101-124 in **Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe**

**Presentation:**  Nationality issues in today’s France
Week 10

November 3  European identity and nationalism

Weiler, “To be a European Citizen” 170-194 in Nationalism and Internationalism
Riekmann, “The Myth of European Unity” 60-71 in Myths and Nationhood
Price, Memory, the media and NATO: information intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina In 137—156 in Memory and Power

November 5

Judt, “The past is another country: myth and memory in post-war Europe” 157-183 In Memory and Power
Neumann, “Europe’s post-Cold War memory of Russia” 121-136 in Memory and Power in Post-War Europe

Week 11

November 10  American national narrative

Grant, “Making History: Myth and the Construction of American Nationhood 88-106 in Myths and Nationhood

Presentations: American national myths

November 12  European anti-Americanism
Documentary film in class

Week 12

November 17  Globalization and diversity

Tamir, Who is afraid of global state? 244-267 in Nationalism and Internationalism in the Post-Cold War Era


November 19  No class
See feature film: Flags of Our Fathers  2006, directed by Clint Eastwood

Assignment: write a short paper (up to 3 pages) about the issue of patriotism and national minorities as represented by Clint Eastwood
Week 14

November 24  Democracy, Human rights and Nationalism

Bogdanor, “Overcoming the Twentieth Century: Democracy and Nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe” 1-15 in Human Rights in Eastern Europe

Thornberry, “International and European Standards on minority rights” 14-22 in Minority Rights in Europe (E reserve)

Mayall, “Sovereignty and Self-Determination in the New Europe” 4-14 in Minority Rights in Europe

Presentations: American and European view on minority rights

November 26  Thanksgiving break

Week 15

December 1  Can Liberal pluralism be exported?

Kymlicka, “Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe” 13-85 in Can Liberal Pluralism be Exported?

Kymlicka, “Rethinking the Liberal Tradition” 49-74 in Multicultural Citizenship

Anaya, The Capacity of International Law to Advance Ethnic or Nationality Rights Claims”321-331 in The Rights of Minority Cultures

Week 16

December 8  Conclusions

December 10  Final test
BOOKS

In the bookstore and on reserve in the library:

*After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation Building
The Soviet Union, and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires

*Brubaker, Roger, Nationalism Reframed. Nationhood and the
Myths and Nationhood Hosking and Schoepflin (ed), , Routledge, 1997

*Memory and Power in Post-War Europe. Studies in the Presence of the
Past, ed Jan-Werner Mueller, Cambridge 2002

*National Myths and Modern Media. Contested Identities in the Age
of Globalization, Brinks, Jan Herman, Stella Rock, and Edward Timms (eds)
Palgrave Macmillan 2006

*The Politics of Memory in Post-War Europe, Richard Lebow, Wulf

*Szporluk, Roman, Russia, Ukraine and the Breakup of Soviet Union,
Hoover Institution Press 2000

The following additional books have been placed on reserve in RR:

Anderson, Benedict, Imagined Communities
Hosking and Schoepflin (ed), Myths and Nationhood, Routledge, 1997
Rothschild, Return to Diversity, a Political History of East Central Europe
since World War II, Oxford 1993
Gati, C. The Bloc That Failed, Indiana1990
Gellner, E. Nations and Nationalism, Cornell, 1983
Gellner, E. Encounters with Nationalism
Goldmann, K., Hannerz, U., Westin, C. Nationalism and Internationalism in
the Post-Cold War Era, Routledge, 2000
Hobsbawn, E. H. Nations and Nationalism since 1780, Cambridge 1992
Ignatieff, M. Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism
Jenkins, B. & Sofos, S. Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe, 1996
Kaufman, S. Modern Hatreds: Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War, Cornell 2001
Rau, Z. (ed) The Reemergence of Civil Society in Eastern Europe and the
Soviet Union, 1991
Stokes, G. From Stalinism to Pluralism. A Documentary History of E. Europe
since 1945, Oxford 1996