



HIEU 109

## ***BLOOD SOIL AND BOUNDARIES: NATIONALISM IN EUROPE FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT***

Fall 2019

**Professor Deborah Hertz**

Class meets MWF at 1 pm-1:50 in Peterson Hall 102

Office hours: Wednesdays 10-11:30 in HSS 6024. [You can call or appear in this time slot, or for more precision use [youcanbook.me](https://youcanbook.me)]

Phone in office: 858 534 4401

Email: [dhertz@ucsd.edu](mailto:dhertz@ucsd.edu): Please reserve use of this email for authentic emergencies.

I am happy to meet around campus rather than in my office.

Please talk to me after class or in office hours rather than sending me emails. I will regularly check the Discussion Board for messages sent to me through that portal.

The reader for this course is Ms Gina Carton. She is responsible for assisting the instructor with the grading. She does not hold regular office hours but she often does attend class. You can reach her at [gcarton@ucsd.edu](mailto:gcarton@ucsd.edu).

**Class Web site:** We will be using the new web site platform called Canvas. The first day of operation will be Wednesday October 1<sup>st</sup>. <https://edtech.ucsd.edu/students/index.html>.

**Aims of the Course.** This is not a class devoted to examination of the various models and definitions of nationalism. Rather we explore historical cases of nationalist movements in Europe from the French Revolution to the present. Wide historical background is not required. Students are **not** expected to articulate arguments and take positions, but rather to read widely and make thoughtful comparisons between various regions in Europe across this era. The approach often taken in lectures and readings is called **micro-history**, in which we concentrate on small episodes of history in addition to traditional chronology. Consider choosing essay topics on charismatic leadership,

signs and symbols of the nation, artifacts of the nation state such as passports and borders, legal and illegal trade across borders, and the invention of tradition. Traditional emphasis on maps, wars, and treaties will also be important for our investigations.

## **Requirements:**

There is no set relationship between points and grades. Students should not translate from points to grades during the quarter. At the end of the quarter the instructor will construct a curve appropriate to the overall trend of the point totals.

**Total points:** 20 Midterm, Essay 30, Final 30, Discussion Board 10, Clickers 10.

**Midterm:** 20 points. The midterm will take place in class on **Friday October 25**. The questions for the exam will be taken from the Topics on the Discussion Board, the red and green clicker questions, and the first and last slides in the lecture Power Points. You will be asked to choose one question out of three, worth 11 points. Then you will write two sentences about your three selected (among 20) historical events, processes and personalities, worth three points each. You must inform us 24 hours before the exam to receive permission to miss the exam, excluding of course genuine emergencies.

**Final:** 30 points. The final will take place in our classroom on **Monday December 9 from 11:30 to 2:30**. The general guidelines noted regarding the midterm apply to the final as well. You will be choosing two questions out of a list of four questions derived from the same sources described above. Each essay will be worth 10 points. You will also write identifications for a total of 10 points, two points per each of five identifications chosen by you

**Essays:** 30 points. Your final essay should be 10 pages in length. Specific guidelines for researching and writing the essay are attached to this syllabus. Before you begin your research, choose one geographical region. Then you can investigate the possible essay themes as noted in the events and personalities listed for each of the lectures. Consider writing about flags, constitutions, disputed regions, obscure leaders, famous intellectual giants, language wars, passports, maps and their distortions. Within your chosen region you should try to limit your topic to a 25-year period. Regions include: Britain, France, Spain, Habsburg Empire, Italy, Germanic lands, Russian Empire, Ottoman Empire [including Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia], Scandinavia [Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark], as well as the category of orphan peoples.

**Essay Schedule:** Your topic should be submitted on the Discussion Board by **October 11th**, worth 5 points. Your choice of four peer reviewed academic articles or one academic biography will be due on **October 21**, to be submitted on the Discussion Board, worth 5 points. Your rough draft will be due on **November 13**, worth 10 points. Please kindly submit in paper form. Final version of the essay due on **December 4**, paper only please, worth 10 points. **If you have not requested an extension 24 hours before the due date, expect to have points deducted for late work. Learning to be efficient is one of the goals of the course.**

Please run your final essay through **Turnitin**. You will find the proper portal on the class web site.

Cases of academic dishonesty will be turned over to the Office of Academic Integrity. We take plagiarism very seriously at UC San Diego and expect you to understand the moral issues involved. Punishments are severe, but you should not need the threat of punishment in order to best utilize the opportunity for improving your research and writing skills with sincere effort. Any students who are discovered to have posted material from the course on illegal web sites should expect to receive negative consequences. <https://students.ucsd.edu/academics/academic-integrity/index.html>

If you or your instructor or Ms Carton are convinced that you could use tutoring to produce your best work, definitely take advantage of the services of the *Teaching and Learning Commons* located on the ground floor of the library. Do not wait to visit them until the end of the quarter as you will find it more difficult to obtain an appointment. <https://commons.ucsd.edu/>

**Clickers:** Students should purchase a clicker from the bookstore, and register your name to the clicker on the class web site. For each lecture there will be a green opinion question with no correct answer posed at the beginning of class and again at the end of class. This will help all of us learn more about how our opinions have evolved by reading, the lectures, and class discussions. Once during each lecture a red right-or-wrong question will be posted. Clickers will first be used on Friday October 4. For each class, you can receive a maximum of 2 points: one for green questions [given one point if you only answer one green question] and one for red question, if you answer correctly. Out of the approximately 50 points possible, 36 will be the maximum possible. **So do not stress if you miss seven classes.** The clicker points will be weighted to give you the maximum of 10% of your total grade.

**Research Workshops during class.** Every two weeks the class will break into Research Workshop groups according to your chosen region during the last 20 minutes of class. Each group will be responsible for making a joint presentation in the last week of the quarter in front of the class, or for choosing individuals to make short presentations. No points awarded but looking forward to your eager participation. Dates of workshops: October 11, November 1, November 15, November 27. A leader will be chosen from each group to coordinate the group's presentation at the end of the quarter.

**Maps as History website:** We will watch some of the 24 episodes available on this platform and you can watch the videos from the Canvas web site. This is not a monitored or a graded educational opportunity. You will need to enter through the link posted on the web site. The code/user name is UCSD and the password is hertzd. You might find the print summaries of each episode useful for your study and you can print these up.

**Power points** will not be posted on a daily basis. A week before the midterm/final, the relevant power points will be posted up on our class web site. **No podcasts** of the class either. The best learning takes place in class, so make it a priority to come to every class.

**Discussion Board:** There will be three types of DB topic threads: daily lecture themes; ongoing thematic topics, and assignments. Make sure you do not start a new thread when you post. There is no deadline for posting the daily lecture blogs but it is helpful if you do them before class, so we can all profit from your insights. Only the daily lecture themes and the thematic topics will count toward your points. Ten points maximum and one point per acceptable post. A post should contain several sentences, be grammatical, and refer if possible to specific passages in our readings.

**Class Etiquette.** Kindly finish your lunch before class. It would be much appreciated by the instructor if you planned to come on time and remain in the classroom until the lecture is finished. It is difficult to concentrate with students entering and leaving during our 45 minutes together as a group.

## BOOKS

All class texts are available at the bookstore, some for rental and some as e-books for your Kindle. The books have been placed on reserve at the library. Many are available in a kindle edition or at your local public library as well.

Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: A Short History*. Brookings Institution 2019.

Derek Hastings, *Nationalism in Modern Europe*. Bloomsbury Publishers, 2018.

Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge University Press, 1990.

George Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*. Howard Fertig Publishers, 1985.

Robert Gerwarth, *The Vanquished*. New York, 2016.

## SCHEDULE

September 27: **Introduction to the course**

**September 30: No class, religious holiday.** Recommended substitute learning opportunity: *Holocaust Living History Workshop* events, either Thursday October 3<sup>rd</sup> at 5 pm or Thursday October 24<sup>th</sup>.

Read: Hobsbawm, Introduction, 1-13

### I: From 1789 to 1848

October 2: *France from Empire to Nation*

Read: Hastings Chapter Two, 21-36

**Personalities and Events:** Estates-General; Third Estate; Marquis de Lafayette; Rousseau and the General Will; Abbe Emmanuel Sieyes; storming of the Bastille; Declaration of the Rights of Man; Benjamin Franklin; King Louis XVI; Declaration of Pillnitz; Battle of Valmy; Maximilian Robespierre; guillotine as punishment; Reign of Terror; Jacobins; Cult of the Supreme Being; Jacques-Louis David; Olympes de Gouge; women's march to Versailles

**Thursday October 3: *Holocaust Living History Workshop*, 5 pm in the Seuss Room of the Library. Topic: *Learning from Germans: Race and the Memory of Evil*.**

October 4: *Comparing French to British Nationalism in the Age of Enlightenment*

Read: Greenfeld, Chapter Two

**Personalities and Events:** Antoine de Montchretien; economic nationalism in France; institutions for the “mad;” Glorious Revolution in England; “noblesse de race,” noble poverty in France; status anxiety of French aristocracy; from subjects to citizens; Voltaire; Montesquieu; Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen; “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity;” Jean-Paul Marat; nationalism in Enlightenment thought; “notebooks of grievances;” King Louis XVI; emergence of the notions of left and right.

October 7: *Napoleon, Robespierre, and Other Charismatic Leaders*

Read: Hastings, 36–55.

**Personalities and Events:** biographies of Napoleon, Robespierre, Robert Burns; Thomas Muir; Talleyrand; Lord Nelson; Andreas Hofer; Ignac Marinovics; The Directory; Thermidorian Reaction; Coup of 18<sup>th</sup> Brumaire; the *Grand Armee*; status of the Papal States; Spanish Independence movement; Scandinavian nation states; Bastille Day in Belfast 1792; United Irishmen.

October 9: *No class religious holiday.* Supplementary educational opportunity to attend one of the two fall *Holocaust Living History* lectures.

October 11: *Vienna Congress: The Map for the Nineteenth Century*

Read: Hastings, 51–60; Hobsbawm, Chapter One

**Personalities and Events:** Confederation of the Rhine; Klemens von Metternich; Lord Castlereagh; Prussian expansion; Czar Alexander I of Russia; Napoleon’s escape from Elba; Jewish salons in Vienna; Karl Ludwig von Haller; French king in Sweden; British Act of Unity with Scotland

**Please enter the proposed topic of your essay on the Discussion Board by class time today.** This declaration does not mean that you need to write on that topic, as inevitably the topic shifts as you pursue your research. Title is worth 5 points.

**Research Workshop in class**

October 14: **Romantic Nationalism and the Invention of Tradition**

Read: Hobsbawm 46–63; Greenfeld 85–102, and Mosse, “Friendship and Nationalism,” 66–89

**Personalities and Events:** Johann Herder; Johann Fichte; Oktoberfest in Munich; Walhalla Monument; cult of friendship; Jean-Jacques Rousseau; Christian Garve; Wars of Liberation; the *Volk*; Heinrich von Kleist; Caspar David

Friedrich; homosocial and homosexual; gymnastics movement; Turnwater Jahn; British boarding schools; Scouts movement

### October 16: **Poland Vanishes from the Map of Europe**

Greenfeld, 66-81 and Hastings, 46-47; Gerwarth 190-194

**Personalities and Events:** Tadeusz Kosciuszko; Ignacy Potocki; Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; three partitions of eighteenth century; Jan Henryk Dabrowski; Duchy of Warsaw; the Pale of Settlement restricting Russian Jews; Adam Mickiewicz, nationalist poet

### October 18: **Greek Independence from Ottoman Empire**

Hastings 72-77

**Personalities and Events:** views of Greek antiquity; major powers help Greece; Rigas Velestinlis, revolutionary anthem; Adamantios Korais; Friendly Society of Odessa; Alexander Ypsilantis; Ali Pasha; Sultan Mahmud II; Petrobey Mavromichalis; Greek constitution; Lord Byron; William Parry

### October 21: **1848 Revolution: Truly a Failed Revolution?**

Read: Hastings, 7-88 and Hobsbawm, 80-100

**Personalities and Events:** King Louis-Philippe; Karl Marx; Friedrich Engels; *The Communist Manifesto*; banquet campaign in France; Alphonse de Lamartine; National Workshops in France; Charles Rogier; duel Rogier and Charles Gendebien; civil conflict in Switzerland; Irish Rebellion; Reform Society of Stockholm; Magyarization in Hungary; Lola Montez; King Ludwig of Bavaria; resignation of Metternich

**Please enter the references to be used in your essay on the Discussion Board by class time today. Worth 5 points.**

## II: 1848-1914

### October 23: **Unification of Italy**

Read: Hastings, 91-99

**Personalities and Events:** Vincenzo Gioberti; Piedmont; Pope Gregory; Pope Pius IX; march to Monte Cavallo; stabbing of Pellegrino Rossi; Risorgimento; Mazzini; Garibaldi; Camillo di Cavour; Victor Emmanuel; red shirts; gesture of hand in coat; Crimean War

**Thursday October 24: *Holocaust Living History Workshop*, Atkinson Hall, 5 pm. Topic: *Racism in German and American Cinema of the Twenties***

October 25: **MIDTERM.** Guidelines for the midterm can be found at the beginning of the syllabus. Please bring a blue book to the exam.

October 28: **How Nationalism Undermined the Dutch and the Hapsburg Empires**

Hobsbawm Chapter Four and Hastings, 65–66

**Personalities and Events:** Belgian Revolution 1830; Daniel Auber’s romantic opera; Hendrik Conscience, novelist; Walloons and Flemings; modernization of city of Vienna; Ruthenians, Croats, Germanization policy in Austria; Emperor Franz Joseph

October 30: **How Wars United the Germanic Lands**

Read: Hastings, 99–108

**Personalities and Events:** Otto von Bismarck; German liberalism; the Schleswig-Holstein conflict; antisemitism in the Germanic lands; city-states and small nation-states in the Germanic lands; the Little Germany versus the Big Germany; German Confederation; 1864 war with Austria; 1870–71 Franco Prussian War; Protestants and Catholics in Germanic lands; rapid German industrialization and national unification; Emperor Franz Joseph of Habsburg Empire; North German Confederation

November 1: **Gender Symbols and Women’s Roles in Nationalist Movements**

Read: Mosse, Chapter Five, “What Kind of Woman?”

**Personalities and Events:** Marianne and Germania; sexuality in boarding schools; primary education and literacy rates for girls; women’s participation in political congresses; migration rates by gender; Charles Kingsley novels; Rudyard Kipling and masculinity; sexologists Magnus Hirschfeld and Krafft-Ebing; Oscar Wilde; Edward Carpenter

**Research Workshop in class**

November 4: **“Sick Man” of Europe: The Shrinking of the Ottoman Empire**

Read: Hastings, 115–117; Gerwarth 210–212 and Chapter 15

**Personalities and Events:** Bulgarian War of Independence 1878; Serbian uprising 1804; conversions to Islam in Europe; harems in Turkish courts; minority policies in Ottoman Empire; Sephardic Jews; pan-Slavism; Kemal; Atatürk; did Islam have a reformation

November 6: **“A People without a Land?” The Historic Logic of Zionism**

Read: Hastings, 132–33 and Gerwarth 181–186

**Personalities and Events:** Theodor Herzl; degeneration critique; Max Nordau; images of Herzl by Ephraim Lillien; women in the Zionist movement; Manya Shochat; Jewish emigration to Palestine; left-wing Zionism; creation of the kibbutz; flags of imaginary state; grass-roots fundraising; diplomacy by upstarts; humiliation of Alfred Dreyfus

### III: 1914 to the Present

November 8: **World War One**

Read: Mosse, Chapter Six, “War, Youth and Beauty,” and Gerwarth Chapters One, Three and Five

**Personalities and Events:** German war aims; the Schlieffen plan; socialist votes for war; the notion of the 30 years’ war in twentieth century Europe; Italy’s shifting alliances; the German home front; military technology; Woodrow Wilson and Europe; women’s peace movement; soldier letters as a source

November 11: **NO CLASS VETERAN’S DAY**

November 13: **The Deep Causes of the Russian Revolution**

Hastings, 59–60; Gerwarth Chapter Two, and Greenfeld Chapter Three

**Personalities and Events:** Alexander Kerensky; Vladimir Lenin; Leon Trotsky; Jews as Bolsheviks; Mensheviks; Social Revolutionaries; Cadet Liberals; Treaty of Brest-Litovsk; sealed train; industrialization; the Worker’s Councils; representative democracy; the novel and film Dr Zhivago; comparison Russian Revolution to nineteenth-century European revolutions; Zionists in Soviet Russia; Jewish radicals in Russian left

**Please bring a rough draft of all ten pages of your essay to class today. Paper only. Worth 10 points.**

November 15: **Antisemitism and Other Racisms in Imperial Germany**



Read: Mosse, Chapters Seven and Eight

**Personalities and Events:** Yiddish language; Social Darwinism; definitions of race; status of German Catholics; operas of Richard Wagner; rise and decline of antisemitic parties; Jews on the left; German policy in Africa; belated empire; compare antisemitism in Germany, France and Austria; Stoecker; Schoenerer; Lueger; connections between racism and homophobia and misogyny; Germany as the land of extremes

**Research Workshop in class**

November 18: **The Independence of Ireland and Autonomy of Scotland**

Hastings 61-2, 79-82, and 163-64; Hobsbawm, 85-86 and 103-110 and 135-139

**Personalities and Events:** Daniel O’Connell; Feargus O’Connor; Chartist Movement; James Bronterre O’Brien; Robert Burns; Political Martyrs’ Monument; Walter Scott; Walter Scott novels; Repeal Association; potato famine; migration to United States; Act of Union of 1801; Young Ireland movement; Thomas Davis; legacies of Northern Ireland in the British Empire

November 20: **The Origins and Politics of the Spanish Civil War**

Gerwarth 252-259; Hastings 57-58; Greenfeld 109-112.

**Personalities and Events:** Catalanism; festival of Jocs Florals, Basque nationalism; Sabino Arana; George Orwell; Ernst Hemingway; the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Palestinian Jewish volunteers; Franco; Loyalist; Simone Weil; “dress rehearsal for World War Two;” Spanish Loyalist refugees in France; anarchism and communism; Soviet view of the war; Nazi view of the war; comparative fascism.

November 22: **The Challenges of the League of Nations**

Gerwarth, 216-219 and Chapters Thirteen

**Personalities and Events:** Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points; break-up of European Empires; emergence of international law; protection of minorities; five treaties of the Paris Peace Conference; mandates in various regions; treatment of colonial peoples of color; definition of minorities; International Court of Justice; “nationalism is the new religion” in Joseph Roth novel; Masaryk

November 25: **Nationalism and Racism in World War Two**

Read: Gerwarth, Epilogue and Hastings, 178-197

**Personalities and Events:** uniqueness of Nazism; comparison of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini; industrial mass murder; Polish, Austrian and Hungarian antisemitism; stateless persons; emigration and refugee policies; racist parties in England and France; Raphael Lemkin and concept of genocide

November 27: **Cold War Europe**

Read: Hobsbawm, Chapter Six

**Personalities and Events:** bombing of Japan; United Nations; when did colonialism end in Africa; Soviet control of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia; uniqueness of Yugoslavia; Soviet theory and practice of nationalism; Joseph Stalin; Comintern; fascism and Soviet totalitarianism compared; European leftists and Stalin policies; nuclear diplomacy

**Research Workshop in class**

November 29: **Thanksgiving no class**

December 2: **The Changing Map of Europe After 1945**

Hastings Chapter 8; Greenfeld 131-4

**Personalities and Events:** Mini-Europe park in Brussels; Helmut Kohl; fall of the Berlin wall 1989; Budapest uprising 1956; Velvet Revolution; the Common Market; the visionaries of the European Union; breakup of Yugoslavia; the Czechs and the Slovaks; unified Germany; German Democratic Republic; social democracy; Euro-communism; Marxism as ideology; the crisis of the Jewish refugees and survivors

December 4: **Student Presentations**

Each regional research group should either prepare a joint presentation, or individual students can make presentation. Details of presentations will be explained in class.

**Please bring in a paper copy of the final version of your essay. Worth 10 points.**

December 6: **Student Debates on Theories of Nationalism and Lessons for the Present**

**FINAL: Monday December 9<sup>th</sup>, 11:30-2:30 in our classroom.**

## ESSAY TOPICS

Within your chosen region and chosen time frame [25 year period], focus on:

Any of the personalities or events listed for particular lectures; flags; constitutions; charismatic famous leaders; obscure leaders; passports; maps of the region; language wars; anthems; inventions of tradition; food; trade legal and illegal across borders; status of minorities; ideologies of class and peoplehood; religious conflicts; world fairs.