

Nations and Nationalism

Course code: POS 204/2

Semester and year: Fall 2026

Day and time: Thursdays, 11.15-14.00.

Instructor: Dr William F. Eddleston, M.A., PhD.

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Consultation hours: Thursdays, 16.30-17.30 online via Microsoft Teams.

Credits US/ECTS	3/6	Level	Intermediate
Length	15 weeks	Pre-requisite	TOEFL iBT 71
Contact hours	42 hours	Course type	Bachelor Required

1. Course Description

Nations and Nationalism aims to provide students with a firm grounding in the history and theory of the concept of the nation, national identity, and nationalism in its European context from antiquity to the end of the Second World War. The seminar programme will focus on the major theories and theorists of nationalism.

The lectures will examine the history of nationalism and the formation of European nation-states from the late mediaeval period to the end of the Second World War, with a particular emphasis on the period between 1789 and 1945. The course will devote attention to such questions as the origin of the nation state; the existence of nations and nationalism in antiquity and the Middle Ages; the growth of the consciousness of national identity in the 18th century; the impact of the French Revolution on the growth of nationalism; the period of liberal nationalism and its contradictions; the 1848 revolutions, especially in their Central European context; the rise of nationalist chauvinism and racism; the disastrous consequences of the treaty of Versailles in Eastern Europe and the Near East, and the culmination of extreme nationalism in fascism. The final class will look at the aggressive re-emergence of nationalism in Europe in the wake of the collapse of Yugoslavia and the Soviet empire. Throughout the lectures we will be discussing the ideas of many of the founding fathers of nationalism, such as Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Giuseppe Mazzini.

The student presentation and discussion seminar units – representing the real core of the course – will critically examine the writings of some of the major 20th century theorists of nationalism, focusing on methodological disputes between the various competing schools of interpretation: primordialism, perennialism, ethnosymbolism, early modernism, modernism, Marxism and postmodernist critiques of classical theories of nationalism. We will also consider the ideas of Stephen Grosby, Anthony D. Smith, Adrian Hastings, Liah Greenfeld, Philip Gorski, Isaiah Berlin, Elie Kedourie, Ernest Gellner, John Breuilly, Benedict Anderson, Miroslav Hroch, Tom Nairn, Eric Hobsbawm, George L. Mosse, Rogers Brubaker and Umut Özkirimli.

2. Student Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of this course, students should be able to:

- Comprehend the development of nations and nationalism in Europe from antiquity to the Second World War.
- Discern the relationship of nationalism to racialism and fascism.
- Understand different historical forms of nationalism such as Hans Kohn's famous distinction between civic and ethnic nationalism.
- Comprehend the main theoretical models in the study of nationalism: primordialism, perennialism, ethnosymbolism, early modernism, modernism, Marxism and postmodernism.
- Be familiar with principal ideas of some of the fathers of nationalism, such as Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Giuseppe Mazzini.
- Explore the connections between 18th and 19th century nationalism and Romanticism.
- Understand the ideas and arguments of major 20th and 21st century theorists of nationalism.
- Think critically about the relationship between nationalism and Soviet communism, both in the Soviet Union and in the former Soviet Bloc.

3. Reading Material

Required Materials

Textbooks

The following works will serve as textbooks and make up the bulk of the weekly readings in the Course Reader:

- Grosby, Steven. *Nationalism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Hutchinson, John & Anthony D. Smith, eds. *Nationalism*. Oxford Readers. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Özkirimli, Umut. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. 2nd ed. New York: St Martin's Press, 2000.
- Smith, Anthony D. Smith. *Nationalism and Modernism*. London & New York: Routledge, 1998.

List of required books and articles

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. 2nd ed. London & New York: Verso, 1991.
- Anderson, Benedict. "Imagined Communities" & "Creole Pioneers of Nationalism." In Hutchinson, John & Smith, Anthony D., eds. *Nationalism*. Oxford Readers. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, 137-40.
- Brubaker, Rogers. *Nationalism Reframed*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 23-54.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nationalism*. London: Phoenix, 1997.
- Greenfeld, Liah. *Nationalism: A Short History*. Washington, D.C.; Brookings Institution Press, 2019, 13-33.
- Gorski, Philip. "The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism." *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 105, No. 5 (Mar, 2000): 1428-1468.
- Griffin, Roger. "Withstanding the Rush of Time: The Prescience of Mosse's Anthropological View of Fascism." In Payne, Stanley, Sorkin, David J. & Tortorice, John, eds. *What History Tells: George L. Mosse and the Culture of Modern Europe*. Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004, 110-33.
- Grosby, Steven. *Nations and Nationalism in World History*. London: Routledge, 2021.

- Hastings, Adrian. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Hayes, Carleton J. H. "Contributions of Herder to the Doctrine of Nationalism." *The American Historical Review*, Vol 32, No. 4 (July, 1927): 719-736.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth and Reality*. 2nd Ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press/Canto, 1992.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. "The Nation as an Invented Tradition" & "The Rise of Ethno-Linguistic Nationalism." In Hutchinson & Smith, *Nationalism*, 76-83, 177-84.
- Hroch, Miroslav. "From National Movement to Fully-formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe." In Balakrishnan, Gopal, ed. *Mapping the Nation. With an Introduction by Benedict Anderson*. London & New York: Verso, 1996, 78-97.
- Hutchinson, John. "The Continuing Relevance of George L. Mosse to the Study of Nationalism." *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol 56, Issue 4 (2021): 1-18.
- Ichijo, Atsuko & Uzelac, Gordana, eds. *When is the Nation? Towards an Understanding of Theories of Nationalism*. London & New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Kedourie, Elie. *Nationalism*. 4th ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994.
- Kedourie, Elie. "Dark Gods and Their Rites." In Hutchinson and Smith, *Nationalism*, 205-9
- Kohn, Hans. "Western and Eastern Nationalisms." In Hutchinson, John & Smith, Anthony D., eds. *Nationalism*. Oxford Readers. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, 161-65.
- Kohn, Hans. "The Modernity of Nationalism." In Tipton, C. Leon, ed. *Nationalism in the Middle Ages*. European Problem Studies. New York: Rinehart & Winston, 1972, 7-13.
- McClelland, J. S. *A History of Western Political Thought*. London & New York: Routledge, 1996, 594-615.
- Mosse, George L. "Mass Politics and the Political Liturgy of Nationalism." In Kamenka, Eugene, ed. *Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1973, 38-54.
- Mosse, George L. "Fascism and the French Revolution." In Mosse, George L. *The Fascist Revolution: Toward a General Theory of Fascism*. New York: Howard Fertig, 1999, 69-95.
- Mosse, George L. *The Nationalisation of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*. New York: Meridian, 1975.
- Nairn, Tom. "The Maladies of Development." In Hutchinson and Smith (eds), *Nationalism*, 70-76.
- Özkirimli, Umut & Sofos, Spyros A. *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey*. London: Hurst & Company, 2008.
- Patten, Alan. "The Most Natural State: Herder and Nationalism." *History of Political Thought* 31, no. 4 (2010): 657-689.
- Reynolds, Susan. "Regnal Sentiments and Medieval Communities." In Hutchinson & Smith, *Nationalism* (1995), 137-40,
- Slezkine, Yuri. "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism." *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Summer, 1994): 414-452.
- Sluga, Glenda. "Identity, Gender, and the History of European Nations and Nationalisms." *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol 4., No. 1 (1998): 87-111.
- Smith, Anthony D. "Were there Nations in Antiquity?" In Smith, Anthony D. *The Antiquity of Nations*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004, 127-153.
- Smith, Anthony D. "Memory and Modernity." In Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations*, 62-81.

- Sikka, Sonia. "Herder on the Relation between Language and the World." *History of Philosophy Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (2004): 183-200.
- The Nation: Real or Imagined? The Warwick Debates on Nationalism - "Anthony D. Smith Opening Statement: Nations and their Pasts" & "Ernest Gellner Response: 'Do nations have navels?'" in *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 2, Issue 3 (Nov., 1996): 358-370.

Recommended Materials

- Berlin, Isaiah. "Nationalism: Past Neglect and Present Power." In Berlin, Isaiah, *Against the Current: Essays in the History of Ideas*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, 333-355.
- Berlin, Isaiah. "The Bent Twig: On the Rise of Nationalism." In Berlin, Isaiah. *The Crooked Timber of Humanity: Essays in the History of Ideas*. London: John Murray, 1990, 238-261.
- Bosworth, R. J. B. *Nationalism*. London: Pearson Education, 2007.
- Breuilly, John. *Nationalism and the State*. 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
- Gentile, Emilio. "A Provisional Dwelling: The Origin and Development of the Concept of Fascism in Mosse's Historiography." In Payne, Stanley, Sorkin, David J. & Tortorice, John, eds. *What History Tells: George L. Mosse and the Culture of Modern Europe*. Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004, 41-109.
- Greenfeld, Liah. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Kohn, Hans. *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background*. New York: Collier Books, 1944.
- Minogue, Kenneth. "Managing Nationalism." *New Left Review*, Vol. 23 (Sept-Oct, 2003): 95-99.
- Mosse, George L. *Confronting History: A Memoir*. Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004.
- O'Brien, Connor Cruise. "Nationalism and the French Revolution." In Best, Geoffrey, (ed.), *The Permanent Revolution: The French Revolution and its Legacy, 1789-1989*. London: Fontana Press, 1989, 17-48.
- O'Leary, Brendan. "In Praise of Empires Past: Myths and Method of Kedourie's Nationalism." *New Left Review* 2nd series, Vol. 18 (Nov-Dec, 2000): 106-30.
- O'Leary, Brendan. "Ernest Gellner's Diagnoses of Nationalism: A Critical Overview, Or, What is Living and What is Dead in Ernest Gellner's Philosophy of Nationalism?," 40-90. In Hall, John A. ed. *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Özkirimli, Umut & Grosby, Steven. "Nationalism Theory Debate: The Antiquity of Nations?" *Nations and Nationalism* 13 (3), 2007: 523-537.
- Smith, Anthony D. *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publishing, 2008.
- Tipton, C. Leon, (ed.) *Nationalism in the Middle Ages*. European Problem Studies. New York: Rinehart & Winston, 1972.

4. Teaching methodology

This second-year level course will be taught via a combination of lectures (with a history of ideas focus) by the instructor; student presentations, and class (and possibly online) discussion.

Most weeks, the instructor will deliver a lecture on the history of nations, nationalism and the “idea of the nation” from antiquity to the end of the 20th century. To the largest extent possible, the instructor has attempted to mirror, in the historical lectures, what will be discussed in the theoretical seminar for each week.

Pedagogically, the emphasis of the class will be on student presentations and discussions of the major theories and theorists of nationalism. Although the instructor will guide these discussions, set weekly readings and provide advice and criticism, **it will be the students themselves who will deliver presentations in small groups and lead discussions on the major figures and interpretative schools of nationalism.** Each student group will give one presentation. Those students not giving presentations on a particular week will be expected to have read at least the minimal essential readings and to participate in discussions about theories and theoreticians of nationalism.

Topics for detailed discussion within the seminar programme include:

- The relationship between nationalism, ethnicity and religion
- Conceptual and methodological debates about the possibility of nations and nationalism in the ancient and mediaeval worlds
- Early modern “covenantal” or “biblical chosen people” nationalisms
- Nationalism and Romanticism
- Nationalism as a “Messianic” political cult
- Late modern nationalism as a reaction to internal or external imperialism and colonialism
- Nations as “imagined communities”
- The invention of tradition for nationalist purposes
- The connections between nationalism and racialism
- Nationalism and fascism
- Nationalism and communism.

5. Course Schedule

Date	Class Agenda
Session 1 Thursday September 3 rd , 2026	Topic: Introduction. Description: General introduction to the course. Explanation of the course and syllabus (grading structure and teaching methods). In this first class, reading and seminar presentation groups will be decided on, and seminar presentations assigned to students. Reading: Kohn, Hans. “Western and Eastern Nationalisms.” In Hutchinson, John & Smith, Anthony D., eds. <i>Nationalism</i> . Oxford Readers. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994: 161-65; Özkirimli, Umut. <i>Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction</i> . New York: St Martin’s Press, 2000, 35-37; Smith, Anthony D. Smith. <i>Nationalism and Modernism</i> . London & New York: Routledge, 1998, 16-17. Assignments/deadlines: Come to class prepared to discuss and answer questions on the very short reading extracts, above.
Session 2 Thursday September	Topic: Primordialism: Were there Nations in the Ancient World?

10 th , 2026	Description: Although Ernest Renan had challenged the idea of the primordality of nations in the late 19th century, most nationalists before the mid-20th century believed that nations had ancient roots, stretching back into the tribal past of European peoples. Following the pioneering scholarship of Carleton S. Hayes and Hans Kohn, this view was almost universally rejected in favour of the theory of the modernity of nations and nationalism – i.e., that no “nations” or “nationalism” had existed before the 18th or 17th centuries at the very earliest. But in the 1980s and 1990s, this modernist paradigm was challenged by “primordialist” scholars like Steven Grosby. Seminar 1 – a lecturer presentation – will examine the work of Grosby and other primordialists who argue for the existence of nations in early antiquity. We will also explore Anthony D. Smith’s “halfway house” between primordialism and modernism – “ethnosymbolism.” Reading: Grosby, Stephen. <i>Nationalism: A Very Short Introduction</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 27-97; Özkirimli, <i>Theories of Nationalism</i>: 49-71; Smith, Anthony D. “Were there Nations in Antiquity?” In Smith, Anthony D. <i>The Antiquity of Nations</i>. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004, 127-153. Assignments/deadlines: Presentation Groups A, B, C, D, E and F – read and take notes on the Essential Readings for Seminar 1. Come to class prepared to discuss your readings and debate the “questions for discussion.” Should you choose this option, your follow up 1-2 paragraph response to my NEO Forum prompt on Primordialism, in which you will briefly outline what you have learned both from your assigned reading and from the lecture and classroom discussion. This response is due Sunday, September 20th 2026 by 23.59/11.59pm CET.
Session 3 Thursday September 17 th , 2026	Topic: Perennialism: Were there Nations and Nationalism in the European Middle Ages? Description: Most scholars of nationalism concur that nationalism and the nation itself are European phenomena which were subsequently spread to other parts of the world. But how old is the European nation? Did some peoples – such as the English – achieve a “national consciousness” long before other peoples did: perhaps as early as the Middle Ages? This week’s lecture explores the complexities of the question of possible national sentiment in the European Middle Ages. Discussion Seminar 2 will examine the “perennialist” thesis of the late Adrian Hastings: mediaevalist, theologian and heterodox theorist of nationalism. Like Seminar 1, its focus is on one of the schools of thought which challenges the predominant paradigm of the modernity of nations and national sentiment. Reading: Hastings, Adrian. <i>The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationality</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996: 1-65; Reynolds, Susan. “Regnal Sentiments and Medieval Communities.” In

	Hutchinson, John & Smith, Anthony D., eds. <i>Nationalism</i>. Oxford Readers. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995: 137-40. Assignments/deadlines: Presentation Groups A, B, C, D, E and F – read and take notes on the Essential Readings for Seminar 2. Come to class prepared to discuss your readings and debate the “questions for discussion.” Should you choose this option, your follow up 1-2 paragraph response to my NEO Forum prompt on Perennialism, in which you will briefly outline what you have learned both from your assigned reading and from the lecture and classroom discussion. This response is due Sunday, September 20th 2026 by 23.59/11.59pm CET.
Session 4 Thursday September 24th, 2026	Topic: Bible and Covenant: England, the Dutch Republic and Early Modern Nationalism. Description: In his ground-breaking 1940s work <i>The Idea of the Nation</i>, pioneering scholar of nationalism Hans Kohn argued the case for 17th century revolutionary England as pioneer of the national idea and nationalism itself. In later years, other influential scholars like Liah Greenfeld have followed Kohn’s lead, seeing an English national identity emerging even as early as the 16th century Reformation. Some scholars have applied an early modern “biblical” or “Covenantal” model to other early modern states such as the Dutch Republic – and even the Hussite Czechs of the 15th and 16th centuries. The lecture looks at early (16th and 17th century) nationalist sentiment in relation to Calvinist Protestantism, with special emphasis on England and the Dutch Republic. This seminar will explore the work of “early modern nationalism” scholars like Kohn, Liah Greenfeld and Philip Gorski, with particular emphasis on concepts such as a national “covenant” and “Chosen People.” We will also explore the possible connections between Reformation literacy, bible reading and a growing national consciousness amongst some early modern peoples. Reading: Gorski, Philip. “The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism.” <i>American Journal of Sociology</i>. Vol. 105, No. 5 (Mar, 2000), 1428-1468; Greenfeld, Liah. <i>Nationalism: A Short History</i>. Washington, D.C.; Brookings Institution Press, 2019, 1-33. Assignments/deadlines: Presentation Groups A, B, C, D, E and F – reading for the discussion Seminar 3 - Bible and Covenant: England, the Dutch Republic and Early Modern Nationalism.
Session 5 Thursday October 1st, 2026	Topic: Nationalism and Romanticism: From Herder to Fichte.

	Description: The eighteenth-century German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder is usually considered the founding father of nationalism – or, at least, the integral nationalism characteristic of nations “East of the Rhine.” The lecture explores Herder and Fichte’s ideas in their historical context as part of the broader Romantic movement, with its intense interest in language, culture and folklore and its repudiation of Enlightenment cosmopolitanism. The discussion seminar also looks at Herder and those nationalists who followed him - like Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Friedrich Jahn - in the context of the Romantic movement of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Reading: McClelland, J. S. <i>A History of Western Political Thought</i>. London & New York: Routledge, 1996, 594-615; Patten, Alan. “The Most Natural State: Herder and Nationalism.” <i>History of Political Thought</i> 31, no. 4 (2010): 657-689. Assignments/deadlines: Presentation Groups A, B, C, D, E and F – reading for Seminar 4 – Nationalism and Romanticism: J. G. Herder and His Legacy.
Session 6 Thursday October 8th, 2026	Topic: Do Nations Have Navels? Ernest Gellner vs. Anthony D. Smith. Description: This session’s historical lecture – the first part of two – looks at the origins and early stages of the French Revolution of 1789. Few modernist accounts of the rise of nations and nationalism have been as intellectually cogent or as influential as that of Ernest Gellner, the legendary Czech Jewish sociologist and emigre to Great Britain. For Gellner, the rise of both nationalism and of nations themselves can only be understood as part of a wider and more profound transformation: the Industrial Revolution, the most important event in human history since the Neolithic agricultural revolution. Anthony D. Smith, Gellner’s student at the LSE in the 1960s, disputed Gellner’s modernism and came to believe that nations had developed from earlier ethnic attachments: configurations of myths, shared histories, geographies and cultural traditions that Smith termed <i>ethnies</i>. Smith doubted that nations could be created <i>ex nihilo</i> – as God had created Adam. Today’s seminar thus poses Gellner’s question: do nations have navels? Reading: The Nation: Real or Imagined? The Warwick Debates on Nationalism - “Anthony D. Smith Opening Statement: Nations and their Pasts” & “Ernest Gellner Response: ‘Do nations have navels?’” in <i>Nations and Nationalism</i>, Vol. 2, Issue 3 (Nov., 1996): 358-370.; Smith, <i>Nationalism and Modernism</i>, 27-46. Assignments/deadlines: Presentation Group A – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 5 - Do Nations Have Navels? Ernest Gellner vs. Anthony D. Smith. Groups B, C, D, E and F – Essential Readings for Seminar 5.
Session 7	Topic: Nations Imagined: Benedict Anderson and the Revolutions in the New World.

Thursday October 15 th , 2026	Description: The historical lecture for this session continues to explore the impact of the French Revolution on modern nationalism, looking particularly at the way the French Revolutionaries and Napoleon promoted nationalism as a revolutionary doctrine against their enemies. But in both the Vendée and throughout Napoleon's empire, the Revolution provoked a reaction and led to the formation of new types of nationalism. Few works on nationalism have been as influential as Benedict Anderson's <i>Imagined Communities</i>. Yet Anderson himself complained that his book was more talked about than it was actually read and understood. The book aimed to explain the overlooked fact that the first great wave of nationalist revolutions took place not in Europe but in the New World. This seminar will examine Anderson's ideas in the historical context of these revolutions, looking critically at the extent to which the New Left Marxist Anderson's theory is in any plausible sense "Marxist." Reading: Anderson, Benedict. "Imagined Communities" & "Creole Pioneers of Nationalism." In Hutchinson, John & Smith, Anthony D., eds. <i>Nationalism</i>. Oxford Readers. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, 137-40; Smith, <i>Nationalism and Modernism</i>: 117-42; Özkirimli, <i>Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction</i>, 143-56. Assignments/deadlines: Presentation Group B – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 6 - Nations Imagined: Benedict Anderson and the Revolutions in the New World. Groups A, C, D, E and F – Essential Readings for Seminar 6.
Session 8 Thursday October 22 nd , 2026	Topic: Film Class: Nationalism and Fascism in Riefenstahl's <i>Triumph of the Will</i>. Description: We will explore many of the themes examined in the later seminar on George Mosse through a selective viewing of sections of Leni Riefenstahl's <i>Triumph of the Will</i> (1935), a notorious (but brilliant) propaganda film of the Nazi's 1935 Nuremberg rally. Reading: As per Session 12 on George L. Mosse. Assignments/deadlines: Midterm essays are due and must be uploaded to the Turnitin assignment "Midterm Essay" by 23.59/11.59 pm CET Sunday, October 26th, 2026.
October 29th	Fall Midterm Break = No Class
Session 9 Thursday November 5 th , 2026	Topic: Nationalism and Messianism: Elie Kedourie and the "Dark Gods" Theory of Nationalism. Description: Today's historical lecture examines the period from c. 1815-1832, when Romantic nationalism was a radical and revolutionary force, standing against the reactionary spirit of the "Age of Metternich." The Greek War of Independence forms the central focus of this lecture.

	The seminar will examine the work of one the 20th century's earliest and most cogent critics of nationalism, both in its European and post-colonial manifestations. Elie Kedourie was an Iraqi Jew and Orientalist who was forced to flee his country because of what he saw as the alien "virus" of nationalism. Kedourie believed that nationalism was a European disease of the mind, similar to the violent Messianic cults that had plagued late mediaeval Europe. Kedourie's work questions whether Hans Kohn's famous distinction between "good" Western civic and "bad" Eastern integral nationalism is an intellectually sustainable one. Reading: Kedourie, Elie. <i>Nationalism</i>: 4th Ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993, 44-55; 87-112; Kedourie, "Dark Gods and Their Rites." In Hutchinson and Smith, <i>Nationalism</i>, 205-9; Smith, <i>Nationalism and Modernism</i>, 97-116. Assignments/deadlines: Presentation Group C – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 7 - Nationalism and Messianism: Elie Kedourie and the "Dark Gods" Theory of Nationalism. Groups A, B, D, E and F – Essential Readings for Seminar 7.
Session 10 Thursday November 12th, 2026	Topic: From Folklorists to Nationalists: Miroslav Hroch and "Small Nation" Nationalism. Description: The topic of today's historical lecture looks is the revolutions of 1848 and their consequences, the so-called "Springtime of Peoples." Hailing from the same Charles University that nurtured Hans Kohn, few books on the history of nationalism have been as influential as Miroslav Hroch's <i>Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe</i>. His tripartite historical evolutionary scheme of the development of "small nation" national movements has proved to be one of the most recognisable and enduring of all modernist nationalist theories. This seminar will examine Hroch's ideas, with special reference to the Czech national movement. Reading: Hroch, Miroslav. "From National Movement to Fully formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe." In Balakrishnan, Gopal, ed. <i>Mapping the Nation</i>. With an Introduction by Benedict Anderson. London & New York: Verso, 1996, 78-97; Özkirimli, <i>Theories of Nationalism</i>, 113-20. Assignments/deadlines: Presentation Group D – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 8 - From Folklorists to Nationalists: Miroslav Hroch. Groups A, B, C, E and F – Essential Readings for Seminar 8.
Session 11 Thursday November 19th, 2026	Topic: Nations Invented: Eric Hobsbawm and the Invention of Tradition. Description: The historical lecture concentrates on one particular feature of the "Age of Nationalism" (1851-1914) – the dangerous meshing together of racism and "integral" nationalism. We explore this question through particular focus on the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and the Dreyfus Affair of the 1890s.

	The late Eric Hobsbawm, perhaps the most famous Marxist historian of the 20th century, made profound contributions to the study of nationalism. A convinced modernist, Hobsbawm believed that nationalism and nationalists created nations, not the other way around. Nationalism was a way in which the world's ruling classes negotiated the crisis of industrial modernity and staved off the threat of socialist internationalism. No study of nationalism can avoid engaging with Hobsbawm and Ranger's famous thesis of "invented traditions." This seminar will examine Hobsbawm's work in the context of his modernism and Marxism. It will also examine his theory of nationalism in relationship to his dispute with another British Marxist theorist of nationalism, Tom Nairn's "anticolonial" theory of national identity which—with its strong Leninist roots – viewed nationalism as a far more positive and progressive phenomenon. Reading: Hobsbawm, Eric. "The Nation as an Invented Tradition" & "The Rise of Ethno-Linguistic Nationalism." In Hutchinson & Smith, <i>Nationalism</i>, 76-83, 177-84; Smith, <i>Nationalism and Modernism</i>, 117-31; Özkirimli, <i>Theories of Nationalism</i>, 116-27. Assignments/deadlines: Presentation Group E – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 9 - Nations Invented: Eric Hobsbawm and the Invention of Tradition. Groups A, B, C, D and F – Essential Readings for Seminar 9.
Session 12 Thursday November 26th, 2026	Topic: The Nationalisation of the Masses: George L. Mosse and Fascism as Cultural Revolution. Description: Our final lecture for the semester explores World War I and the rise of Fascism in Central Europe. George L. Mosse was one of the most original historical thinkers of the 20th century, a scholar who revolutionised the study of Nazism and Fascism. At the core of Mosse's approach to fascism was the belief that many of its principal characteristics could be traced to the French Revolution and its novel "cult of the fallen soldier." Mosse's studies traced the rise of nationalist monuments, festivals and funerary cults through the 19th and early 20th centuries, showing how deeply the ritualistic and mass participatory aspects of fascism were grounded in this legacy. Mosse's ideas on nationalism and fascism are the subject of today's seminar. Reading: Mosse, George L. "Fascism and the French Revolution," 69-95. In Mosse, George L. <i>The Fascist Revolution: Toward a General Theory of Fascism</i>. New York: Howard Fertig, 1999; Mosse, George L. "Mass Politics and the Political Liturgy of Nationalism." In Kamenka, Eugene, ed. <i>Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea</i>. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1973, 38-54; Griffin, Roger. "Withstanding the Rush of Time: The Prescience of Mosse's Anthropological View of Fascism." In Payne, Stanley, Sorkin, David J. & Tortorice, John, eds. <i>What History Tells: George L. Mosse and the Culture of Modern Europe</i>. Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004, 110-33.

	Assignments/deadlines: Presentation Group F - reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 10 – Nationalism and Fascism: George L. Mosse and the Nationalisation of the Masses. Groups A, B, C, D and E – Essential Readings for Seminar 10.
Session 13 Thursday December 3rd, 2026	Topic: Nationalism and Communism. In this class, students will watch, analyse and discuss the first part of the BBC's feted 1995 history of the Yugoslav Wars – <i>The Death of Yugoslavia</i> - Episode 1: Enter Nationalism. The second part of the class will be a wide-ranging discussion about communism and nationalism, focusing especially on Soviet nationalities policies, their origins and their legacies. Reading: Brubaker, Rogers. <i>Nationalism Reframed</i>, 23-54; Slezkine, Yuri. "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism." <i>Slavic Review</i>, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Summer, 1994): 414-452. Assignments/deadlines: Presentation Groups A, B, C, D, E and F – read and take notes on the Essential Readings for our final discussion on communism and nationalism. Come to class prepared to discuss your readings and debate the "questions for discussion." Final essay topics will be opened online before the end of class.
Session 14 Thursday December 10th, 2026	Topic: Final Exam. Description: The final exam will be a formal, in-class exam, consisting of two papers each of c. 800-1000 words and written within a two-hour timeframe. Assignments/deadlines: The exam will commence at 11.30 am and conclude at 13.30/1.30 pm on Thursday, December 10th. All essays must be uploaded to the MyLearning Turnitin assignment "Final Exam" before 13.30/1.30 pm. Reading: None for this class.

6. Course Requirements and Assessment (with estimated workloads)

Assignment	Workload (average)	Weight in Final Grade	Evaluated Course Specific Learning Outcomes	Evaluated Institutional Learning Outcomes *
Primordialism or Perennialism Class Discussion Response Post	c. 2 hours	10%	• Critical reading and comprehension skills. • Knowledge of the main points of controversy surrounding the Primordialism paradigm in nationalism studies. • The ability to read and critically-evaluate a source and to understand it in the context of a wider historical debate. • Conciseness – the ability to write within a 1-2 paragraph limit.	1, 2.
Seminar Presentation – Seminars 5-10	A short – c. 20-25 minute - presentation using PowerPoint or similar presentation software. Preparation Time = c. 24 hours	30%	• The ability to express reasoned opinions about controversial questions relating to 20th and early 21st century theories of nationalism. • Knowledge of key theoretical models: primordialism, perennialism, modernism, Marxism, ethnosymbolism and postmodernism. • Accurate and detailed understanding of the ideas of major 20th and early 21st century theoreticians of nationalism.	1, 2, 3.

			• To argue with those of opposing points of view based upon logic and evidence. • Critical reading and comprehension skills. • <u>Presentation skills</u>-the ability to condense a wide variety of reading into a cogent presentation of a significant historical problem for the benefit of class of peers. • Facilitating and leading classroom debate.	
Midterm Essay	A research essay of c. 1500 c. 6-8 double-spaced pages). Study and Writing Time = 30 hours	30%	• The student's knowledge of the major themes, theoretical models and the ideas of major 20th and early 21st century theoreticians of nationalism. • The student's ability to discriminate between competing schools of historical interpretation, and to argue a reasoned defence or critique of one or the other schools of historical interpretation, using logic and evidence. • The student's ability to discriminate between competing schools of historical interpretation, and to argue a reasoned defence or critique of one or the other schools of historical interpretation, using logic and	1, 2.

			evidence – i.e., critical thinking skills. • Citation skills – citing accurately in Chicago format.	
Final Exam	Two 800-1000-word essays – c. 8-10 pages in total. Study and Writing Time = 30 hours	30%	<u>The final exam will consist of two essays written under formal exam conditions within a two-hour time limit. The essays will test the following:</u> 1. The student's knowledge of the major themes, theoretical models and the ideas of some major 20th and early 21st century theoreticians of nationalism. 2. The student's ability to discriminate between competing schools of historical interpretation, and to argue a reasoned defence or critique of one or the other schools of historical interpretation, using logic and evidence. 3. The student's ability to discriminate between competing schools of historical interpretation, and to argue a reasoned defence or critique of one or the other schools of historical interpretation, using logic and evidence – i.e., critical thinking skills. 4. The student's "global" understanding of	1, 2.

			the entire course through a "compare and contrast" question.	
TOTAL	150	100%		

*1 = Critical Thinking; 2 = Effective Communication; 3 = Effective and Responsible Action

7. Detailed description of the assignments

Primordialism or Perennialism NEO Debate Blog

Following the seminar and classroom discussion of the paradigms of Primordialism and Perennialism in nationalism studies in **Sessions 2 and 3**, all students will upload a brief – one to two paragraph – response to prompts posted by the lecturer on NEO. In your post, you will respond to my prompt regarding **either** Primordialism **or** Perennialism.

The assignment will test the following:

- Critical reading and comprehension skills.
- Knowledge of the Primordialist or the Perennialist paradigms.
- The ability to read and critically-evaluate a source and to understand it in the context of a wider historical debate.
- Conciseness – the ability to write within a 1-2 paragraph limit.
- Correct citation – all arguments need proper citations to the sources you have read.

These debate response blogs are **due by 23.59/11.59 pm Sunday, September 20th, 2026.**

Assessment breakdown

Assessed area	Percentage
Critical Thinking	20%
Ability to Summarise Ideas Within 1-2 Paragraph Limit	20%
Understanding of Assigned Text and Key Points of Controversy	40%
Correct Citation	20%

Class Seminar Presentations

In six small groups lettered A to F, students will give one c. 20-25-minute seminar presentation using PowerPoint or similar presentation software.

Student seminar presentations will be on one of six topics, seminars 5 through to 10, and will mostly take place in the second half of the semester.

The presentation seminars are the following:

5. Do Nations Have Navels?: Ernest Gellner vs. Anthony D. Smith on Nations and *Ethnies* (Session 6).
6. Nations Imagined: Benedict Anderson and the Revolutions in the New World (Session 8).
7. Nationalism and Messianism: Elie Kedourie and the "Dark Gods" Theory of Nationalism (Session 9).

8. From Folklorists to Nationalists: Miroslav Hroch and "Small Nation" Nationalism (Session 10).
9. Nations Invented: Eric Hobsbawm and the Invention of Tradition (Session 11).
10. Nationalism and Fascism: George L. Mosse and the Nationalisation of the Masses (Session 12).

(The first 4 seminars – Seminar 1. Primordialism: Were there Nations in the Ancient World? (Session 2); Seminar 2. Perennialism: Were there Nations and Nationalism in the European Middle Ages? (Session 3); Seminar 3. Bible and Covenant: England, the Dutch Republic and Early Modern Nationalism (Session 4), and Seminar 4. Nationalism and Romanticism: From Herder to Fichte (Session 5), and the final Seminar 11. Nationalism and Communism (Session 13) are **Discussion seminars**. Student groups do not present in these seminars but must come to class prepared to address my Questions for Discussion.

Presentations will be between 20-25 minutes long and no longer, otherwise the presenting group will be penalised. There will be two (2) presentation points chosen by the lecturer that the presenters will need to address. **A maximum of 2-3 students will be presenters**; other students will act as researchers and help to field questions from the class during the discussion phase of the seminar, which the presenting group will lead. **A full 20% of the grade for each presentation will be based on how well the presenting group has managed to encourage class discussion. Remember: these are discussion seminars, not simply presentations.**

It is possible this semester that at least some of the discussion and response to your presentations will be given online via NEO Forum or NEO Debate. Hence, a significant part of your grade will be based on the quality of your follow-up written work on the NEO Forums and/or Debates.

The assessment of the presentation will test the following:

- The ability to express reasoned opinions about controversial questions and theoretical problems relating to the study of nations and nationalism.
- To argue with those of opposing points of view based on logic and evidence.
- Critical reading and comprehension skills.
- Presentation skills- the ability to condense a wide variety of reading into a cogent presentation of a significant historical problem for the benefit of class of peers.
- The encouragement of class questioning and discussion.

Assessment breakdown

Assessed area	Percentage
Critical Thinking	20%
Use of Evidence to Support Ideas	20%
Answering Presentation Questions	20%
Presentation Skills	20%
Encouragement of Class Questioning and Discussion	20%

Midterm Essay

Students must submit a long (c. 1500 word) midterm essay. The essay is worth 30% of the overall grade for this class. Prompts for the essays will appear on the seminar reading lists from the very beginning of the semester. **Students are therefore advised to begin**

reading, note-taking, thinking through and drafting their essays from very early in the semester, as a high standard of work will be expected.

Midterm essay topics are all taken from seminars that fall in the first section of the course before the midterm break – Seminars 1 through to 5. (Primordialism; Perennialism; Early Modern Nationalism; Nationalism and Romanticism and the Smith vs. Gellner debate.) Essay prompts are marked on the reading lists for Seminars 1-5 with a double asterisk on some discussion questions - **. Any discussion question with a double asterisk may be chosen as an essay prompt; questions without a double asterisk may *not* be chosen.

Essays will be uploaded to the Turnitin assignment for the midterm essay **by 23.59/11.59 pm CET Sunday, October 25th 2026.**

The midterm essay must be submitted double-spaced with footnotes and bibliography in Chicago citation format. **Any essays submitted without footnotes and a bibliography, with inadequate or inaccurate footnotes and/or with incorrectly formatted footnotes and/or bibliography will be heavily penalised: typically, up to a full grade (for example, from B+ down to C+), depending on the severity of the problem. Very serious breaches of citation rules – e.g., no citations at all; or citations without page numbers, or false citations that do not match the work or works cited – may fail the assignment outright because of the high – 40% - technical component.**

The midterm essay will test the following:

1. The student's knowledge of the major themes, theories and schools of thought and major theoreticians regarding the study of nations and nationalism.
2. The student's understanding of the main points of controversy in the postwar study of nations and nationalism.
3. The student's ability to discriminate between competing schools of historical interpretation, and to argue a reasoned defence or critique of one or the other schools of historical interpretation, using logic and evidence.
4. Accurate citation in Chicago format.

Assessment breakdown

Assessed area	Percentage
Critical Thinking	20%
Use of Evidence to Support Ideas	30%
Answering the Question	30%
Grammar & Spelling; Footnoting and Referencing and All Technical Aspects of the Essay	20%

Final Exam

In a formal exam of two hours, students will write two papers of c. 800-1000 words each on topics covered in the seminars held in the second, post-midterm break half of this course. (Theorists of nationalism including Elie Kedourie; Miroslav Hroch; Eric Hobsbawm, George L. Mosse and the question of the relationship between nationalism and Soviet communism.)

There will also be a compulsory “global” essay question, requiring students to compare and contrast two theorists of nationalism studied throughout the course.

The exam will take place either in class or in the university computer lab. There will be no access to the internet. **The exam will last for two hours, commencing at 11.30 and finishing at 13.30/1.30 pm CET December 10th, 2026.**

Students must upload the two papers on a single file to the MyLearning LMS Assignment marked "Final Essays" by the before 13.30/1.30 pm CET Thursday, December 10th.

Any detected cheating will be punished by an absolute failure for the entire course.

The final essays will test the following:

1. The student's knowledge of the major themes, theoretical models and the ideas of major 20th and early 21st century theorists of nationalism.
2. The student's ability to discriminate between competing schools of historical interpretation, and to argue a reasoned defence or critique of one or the other schools of historical interpretation, using logic and evidence.
3. The student's ability to discriminate between competing schools of historical interpretation, and to argue a reasoned defence or critique of one or the other schools of historical interpretation, using logic and evidence – i.e., critical thinking skills.
4. The student's "global" understanding of the entire course through a "compare and contrast" question.

Assessment breakdown

Assessed area	Percentage
Critical Thinking	20%
Use of Evidence to Support Ideas	20%
Answering the Question	40%
Grammar & Spelling	20%

8. General Requirements and School Policies

All coursework is governed by AAU's academic rules. Students are expected to be familiar with the academic rules in the Academic Codex and Student Handbook and to maintain the highest standards of honesty and academic integrity in their work. Please see the AAU intranet for a summary of key policies regarding coursework.

Course specific requirements

There are no special requirements or deviations from AAU policies for this course.

Grading Scale

Letter Grade	Percentage*	Description
A	95–100	Excellent performance. The student has shown originality and displayed an exceptional grasp of the material and a deep analytical understanding of the subject.
A–	90–94	
B+	87–89	Good performance. The student has mastered the material, understands the subject well and has shown some originality of thought and/or considerable effort.
B	83–86	
B–	80–82	
C+	77–79	Fair performance. The student has acquired an acceptable understanding of the material and essential subject matter of the course but has not succeeded in translating this understanding into consistently creative or original work.
C	73–76	
C–	70–72	
D+	65–69	Poor. The student has shown some understanding of the material and subject matter covered during the course. The student's work, however, has not shown enough effort or understanding to allow for a passing grade in School Required Courses. It does qualify as a passing mark for the General College Courses and Electives.
D	60–64	
F	0–59	Fail. The student has not succeeded in mastering the subject matter covered in the course.

* Decimals should be rounded to the nearest whole number.

Prepared by: Dr William F. Eddleston

Date: August 18th, 2026.

Approved by: Dr William F. Eddleston

Date: August 18th, 2026.