

‘Anticipating Nationalism Studies: voices from the early 20th century’: Outline and Key Texts

Modern nationalism studies

1. The 1982-3 texts.
2. Smith critique (1986): constructing “modernism”.
3. ‘Nationalism matters again’: collapse of communism in Europe.
4. A “field of studies”: institutions, teaching programmes, conferences, publications.
5. Discovering early 20th century voices

The case of Ziegler

1. How his 1931 book “anticipated” modern nationalism studies.
2. What was old and what was new.

Detaching nationalism from national history

1. Professional historiography, national history, and nationalism as part of national history.
2. The notions of historical and non-historical nations.
3. Multiethnic dynasties > especially Cisleithian Habsburg Empire > providing non-dominant national movements with institutional space.
4. Revisionist historiography of the late Habsburg Empire.
5. Renner (1902, Bauer (1907) > complicating the nation/nationalism link.
6. Synder’s claim for Kelles-Krausz in his Habsburg period (1901-5).

First world war transformations

1. “Total state” and mass mobilisation; Habsburg Empire and nationalism.
2. The new “nation states” after 1918.
3. Nationalism as a general subject > two key “codifications” > Hayes and Kohn.
4. National majority-minority relations; shifting and emergent nationalisms.

Back to Ziegler

1. Biography: Habsburg youth, Czech citizen, Jewish background, German nationality.
2. Intellectual context: Weimar academic in the new field of sociology.
3. Two key influences: Max Weber and Carl Schmitt.
4. Nationalism as legitimation and myth.
5. Last years of Weimar > authoritarian versus total state
6. Back in Czechoslovakia > German nationalism and Sudetenland.
7. Exiled to Britain > from academia to military service > killed in action, 5 May 1944”.
8. Relating biography to ideas.

Closing down conditions for nationalism studies

1. Communist and fascist closures.
2. Post-45 closure : defeat of “ethnic”, triumph of “civic” nationalism.
3. A bipolar world overshadows concern with pluralist nationalism.
4. Nationalism as historical and ideological, not current and modern: the case of Kedourie.
5. The “end of ideology”.

Re-opening the conditions for nationalism studies

1. Fraying of bipolar order in 70s and 80s. USA > end of Bretton Woods, Vietnam, Iran. Communism: USSR in Afghanistan, China-Vietnam.
2. Other signs > Iran > separatist nationalism in the western world.
3. End of “end of ideology”.
4. Some tentative conclusions.

Key Texts

Anticipations

Heinz O. Ziegler, *Die moderne Nation* (1931); *Autoritärer oder totaler Staat* (1932)

Otto Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (1907; revised edition 1924), English translation (2000)

Karl Renner, *Der Kampf der österreichischen Nationen um den Staat* (1902); revised 1918 as *Das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Nationen in besonderer Anwendung auf Österreich*. To be published in an abridged English translation in 2026.

Timothy Snyder, *Nationalism, Marxism, and Modern Central Europe: A Biography of Kazimierz Kelles-Kraus (1872-1905)*

Pioneering general studies

Carlton J. Hayes, *The Historical Evolution of Nationalism* (1931)

Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (1944, second edition, 2005)

Modern Nationalism Studies: 1980s

John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (1982)

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism* (1983)

Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (1983)

Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (1983)

Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1986)