

Andrea Graziosi

***Peoples, Nations, Classes, Races, Ethnies, Languages etc.
Human Classification, Social Analysis, and Political Action
from Herder to Gumilëv***

Ph.D. Program “Global History and Governance”
Spring term, 2022/2023

Please note that this is not a definitive text. Do not circulate

Office Place: SSM, Largo San Marcellino 10, 80138 Napoli

Office hours: by appointment

Time: Tuesday, 15-17 (March 14, 21, 28, April 4, May 5); Wednesday, 11-13 (April 12, 19, 26)

Room: Aula 2

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Course requirements in view of the final grade:

1. Regular attendance -10 per cent.
2. Participation in discussions based on suggested readings -35 per cent.
(Please note: each participant will have to intervene at least once in each session)
3. A final essay on a specific topic to be agreed with Professor Graziosi by the end of April, 5,000-6,000 to 8,000 words for Ph.D. and graduate students, 2,500 to 3,000 words for undergraduates -55 per cent.

NB. Whenever possible, reading materials will be available in OneDrive.

SESSIONS

I. *Background: Human Unity and Human Differentiation (Linguistic, Bodily, etc.)*

(March 14, 2023: 15-17 pm)

II. *Peoples, Nations, Nationalities, and Social Hierarchies from the Enlightenment to Thierry*

(March 21, 2023: 15-17 pm)

III. *Romagnosi, Mazzini, Mancini, Mamiani: The Italian Solution and its Impact*

(March 28, 2023: 15-17 pm)

IV. *Linguistics, Anthropology, Sociology, and the Darwinian Revolution*

(April 4, 2023: 15-17 pm)

V. *From Marx and Engels to Lenin and Stalin: Classes, Nations, or Peoples?*

(April 12, 2023: 11-13 am)

VI. *WWI and its Aftermath: Self-Determination, its Promises, and its Problems*

(April 19, 2023: 11-13 am)

VII. *Socialism, Nationalism, and their Hybrids: Building, Un-Building, and Destroying Peoples, 1918-1948*

(April 26, 2023: 9-11 am)

VIII. *Decolonization and its Impact: The Re-emergence of Race/Color*

(May 2, 2023: 15-17 pm)

IX. *Papers' Presentation & Discussion*

tba

X. *Papers' Presentation & Discussion*

tba

I. Background: Human Unity and Human Differentiation (Linguistic, Bodily, etc.)

(March 14, 2023: 15-17 pm)

Main Topics:

1. *Introduction*
 - A few words about the instructor
 - Presentation of the course
 - Organization of the course (Please note: each participant will have to intervene at least once in each session)
 - Readings
 - Presentations and papers (NB. Choice of papers by participants to be agreed with the instructor by Session 4)
2. *How I got here*
3. *General overview and background of the phenomenon*

Readings:

1. Mandatory for everybody

J. Fisch, *The Right of Self-Determination of Peoples. The Domestication of an Illusion*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015: 1-58

2. Plus one of the following options:

2a

David Reich, *Who We Are and How We Got There. Ancient DNA and the New Science of the Human Past*, New York: Pantheon Books, 2018: XI-XXV, 2-22 and 77-98.

2b

M. Ruhlen, *The Origin of Language. Tracing the Evolution of the Mother Tongue*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1994: 1-59.

2c

Claude Nicolet, *Le métier de citoyen dans la Rome républicaine*, Paris : Gallimard, 1976: 71-121.

2d

Andrew Whitby, *The Sum of People. How the Census Has Shaped Nations, from the Ancient World to the Modern Age*, New York: Basic Books, 2020, "A World Census": 175-216.

II. Peoples, Nations, Nationalities, and Social Hierarchies from the Enlightenment to Thierry

(March 21, 2023: 15-17 pm)

Main Topics:

1. *The Enlightenment and Human Classification between Philosophy and Science*
2. *Rousseau and Herder*
3. *Corsica and Poland*
4. *Revolutions*
5. *Alexander I and Metternich*
6. *Napoleon and Nationality*
7. *In Defeated France: The National explains the Social*
8. *Fichte and Hegel*

Readings:

1. Mandatory for everybody

Isaiah Berlin, *Vico and Herder. Two Studies in the History of Ideas* [1976], London: Chatto & Windus, 1980: 145-216.

or

David Hume, "Of National Characters," in *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, 1758, Part I, 129-138, <https://archive.org/details/essaysandtreati03hume/page/n12/mode/2up>;

Charles Morley, "Czartoryski's Attempts at a New Foreign Policy under Alexander I," *The American Slavic and East European Review*, vol. 12, 4 (1953): 475-85;

Charles Morley, "Alexander I and Czartoryski: The Polish Question from 1801 to 1813," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 25, 65 (1947): 405-26.

2. Plus one of the following options:

2a

A. Marchili, "Rousseau e la fondazione della volontà generale: popolo, nazione, opinione pubblica", in Giovanni Ruocco e Luca Scuccimarra (a cura di), *Il governo del popolo. 1. Dall'antico regime alla Rivoluzione*, Roma: Viella, 2011: 133-160;

Gérard de Puymège, *Chauvin, le soldat-laboureur. Contribution à l'étude des nationalismes*, Paris : Gallimard, 1993: 100-125.

2b

J. Fisch, *The Right of Self-Determination of Peoples. The Domestication of an Illusion*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015: chapters 5-7: 59-90;

D. Di Bartolomeo, “Abuso delle parole (e della storia) nella Rivoluzione francese: il popolo dell’anno III”, in Giovanni Ruocco e Luca Scuccimarra (a cura di), *Il governo del popolo. 1. Dall’antico regime alla Rivoluzione*, Roma: Viella, 2011: 331-356.

2c

Arthur G. Haas, *Metternich, Reorganization and Nationality, 1813-1818. A Study of Foresight and Frustration in the Rebuilding of the Austrian Empire*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1963: 1-16, 149-165;

Philippe Gonnard, *Les origines de la légende napoléonienne: l’oeuvre historique de Napoléon à Saint-Hélène*, Paris : Calmann-Lévy, 1906, Cap. XV, *Napoléon défenseur du principe des nationalités*: 219-32;

Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, *Des Idées napoléoniennes* [London, 1839], Chalon-sur-Saône : Ligaran, 2015, chapters IV and V: 52-68.

2d

A. Aramini, “L’Archéologie linguistique du pouvoir et du peuple chez Augustin Thierry,” *Revue d’Histoire du XIXe siècle*, 2 (2014): 179-193;

L. Rignol, “Augustin Thierry et la politique de l’histoire. Genèse et principes d’un système de pensée,” *Revue d’Histoire du XIXe siècle*, 25 (2002) : 87-100 ;

Hans Kohn, *Prophets and Peoples. Studies in Nineteenth Century Nationalism*, New York: MacMillan, 1946, “Michelet”: 43-75.

III. *Romagnosi, Mazzini, Mancini, Mamiani: The Italian Solution and its Impact*

(March 28, 2023: 15-17 pm)

Main Topics:

1. *Background (Herder, Fichte, Schlegel)*
2. *Romagnosi*
3. *Mazzini*
4. *Mancini*
5. *Mamiani*
6. *Italy's International Impact and Legacy*

Readings:

1. **Mandatory for everybody**

P.S. Mancini, "Della nazionalità come fondamento del diritto delle genti", Prelezione del Corso a Torino, 22 gennaio 1951, in P.S. Mancini, *Saggi sulla nazionalità*, a cura di Flavio Lopez de Oñate, Roma, Sestante, 1944: 1-68.

or

T. Mamiani, *Dell'ottima congregazione umana e del principio di nazionalità*, in *D'un nuovo diritto europeo*, Torino: Marzorati, 1859: 359-442.

2. **Plus one of the following options:**

2a

G. Mazzini, *La Rivoluzione napoletana del 1799 in un inedito di Giuseppe Mazzini*, in Lauro Rossi, *Mazzini e la Rivoluzione napoletana del 1799. Ricerche sull'Italia giacobina*, Manduria: Lacaita, 1995: 129-181.

2b

Hans Kohn, *Prophets and Peoples. Studies in Nineteenth Century Nationalism*, New York: MacMillan, 1946, "Mill": 11-42;

Lord Acton, "Nationality," in *Essays on Freedom and Power*, Gloucester, Ma: Peter Smith, 1972: 141-170 (published for the first time in *The Home and Foreign Review*, I, July, 1862).

2c

Hans Kohn, *Prophets and Peoples. Studies in Nineteenth Century Nationalism*, New York: MacMillan, 1946, "Treitschke": 105-30;

J. Fisch, *The Right of Self-Determination of Peoples. The Domestication of an Illusion*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015: chapter 8: 91-125.

IV. *Linguistics, Anthropology, Sociology, and the Darwinian Revolution*

(April 4, 2023: 15-17 pm)

Main Topics:

1. *Linguistics*
2. *A Wrong Door: Anthropology and Descriptive Classification*
3. *Sociology*
4. *Statisticians and Censuses*
5. *A Misunderstood Revolution: Darwin*
6. *The New, Pseudo-Scientific Racial Ideology*

Readings:

1. Mandatory for everybody

Irwing Louis Horowitz, *Introduction. The Sociology of Ludwig Gumplowicz: 1838-1909*, in Ludwig Gumplowicz, *Outlines of Sociology* [1885], New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1980: 10-85;

or

Michael Banton, *Racial Theories*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998 (second, revised edition), "Race as Type" and "Race as Subspecies": 44-116.

2. Plus one of the following options:

2a

Anna Morpurgo Davies, *La linguistica dell'Ottocento*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1996, capp. VI e VII: 181-262.

2b

David Reich, *Who We Are and How We Got There. Ancient DNA and the New Science of the Human Past*, New York: Pantheon Books, 2018: XI-XXV, 2-22, 99-122.

2c (reserved to those who did not choose it as a mandatory reading)

Michael Banton, *Racial Theories*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998 (second, revised edition), "Race as Type" and "Race as Subspecies," 44-116.

2d

Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (1994), London: Hurst & Co., 2015 (second, revised edition): 21-78.

V. *From Marx and Engels to Lenin and Stalin: Classes, Nations, or Peoples?*

(April 12, 2023: 11-13 am)

Main Topics:

1. *Before Marx and Engels*
2. *1848-49: Classes or Peoples?*
3. *Poles, Irish, Self-Determination and the Problem of Revolution*
4. *Kautsky, Bernstein and Bauer*
5. *Socialism in One Country*
6. *The Colonial Question*
7. *Corradini and his Impact, from Turkey to Japan*
8. *Lenin and Stalin*
9. *Internationalists and Class Purity*

Readings:

1. Mandatory for everybody

O. Bauer, *La questione nazionale* (a cura di Nicolao Merker), Roma: Editori riuniti, 1999 (abridged edition of *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie*, Wien: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1907, 1924): 37-101;

or

J. Stalin, *Il Marxismo e la questione nazionale* (1913), parts I-IV,

<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1913/03.htm>;

J. Stalin, *The National Question and Leninism. Reply to Comrades Meshkov, Kovalchuk, and Others*, March 18 1929 (in “Selskokhoziastvennaia gazeta”, no. 1), *Works*, vol. 11, *January 1928 to March 1929*, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954,

<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1929/03/18.htm>.

2. Plus one of the following options:

2a

E. Corradini, “Classi proletarie: socialismo, nazioni proletarie: nazionalismo”, relazione di apertura al primo congresso del nazionalismo italiano, Firenze 12/1910, in *Il nazionalismo italiano. Atti del Congresso di Firenze*, Firenze: Quattrini, 2011: 22-35;

A. Graziosi, *Communism, Nations, and Nationalism*, in S. Pons, S. Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Communism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, vol. 1: 449-474.

2b

R. Rosdolsky, *Engels and the "Non-historic" Peoples: The National Question in the Revolution of 1848*, Glasgow: Critique, 1986: Section II. *La teoria delle nazionalità della "NRZ,"* 123-73.

2c

R. Gallissot, "Nazione e nazionalità nei dibattiti del movimento operaio," in *Storia del Marxismo*, v. 2, *Il marxismo nell'età della Seconda Internazionale*, Torino: Einaudi, 1979: 787-864.

VI. WWI and its Aftermath: Self-Determination, its Promises, and its Problems

(April 19, 2023: 11-13 am)

Main Topics:

1. *The Impact of the War-Revolution*
2. *Lenin and the Mancini-Wilson Moment: The Prevalence of the National*
3. *Self-determination and the League of Nations*
4. *Mandates and the Colonial World*
5. *Critics: Weber, Mises, Namier, Toynbee, Hayes, and Kohn*
6. *Demography, Races, and the Decline of the West*
7. *Huxley: Races and Ethnic Groups*

Readings:

V.I. Lenin, *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (1914),

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1914/self-det/>;

J. Fisch, *The Right of Self-Determination of Peoples. The Domestication of an Illusion*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015: chapters 9-10: 126-74.

or

W. Wilson, *The Fourteen Points Speech*, 8 gennaio 1918,

https://www.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President_Wilson's_Fourteen_Points;

Henri Hauser, *Le principe des nationalités: ses origines historiques*, Paris: Alcan, 1916 (and in *Revue politique internationale*, mars-avril 1916): 1-30 ;

Vilfredo Pareto, "Il supposto principio di nazionalità," *Rivista d'Italia*, 31 luglio 1918 now in *Écrits sociologiques mineurs*, a cura di Giovanni Busino, vol. 22, Genève: Librairie Droz, 1980: 744-54;

Max Weber, "Relazioni di comunità etniche," in *Economia e società*, Milano: Edizioni di comunità, 1995 [1922, postumo], vol. II: 87-104.

2. Plus one of the following options:

2a

A. Graziosi, *Il mondo in Europa. Namier e il "Medio oriente europeo", 1815-1948*, "Contemporanea", 2 (2007): 193-228;

Carlton J.H. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, New York: MacMillan, 1926, 1. *What is Nationalism?* 1-29 and 8. *Nationalism -Curse or Blessing?* 245-276.

2b

A. Ferrara e N. Pianciola, *L'età delle migrazioni forzate. Esodi e deportazioni in Europa, 1853-1953*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2012: 131-156 e 183-200;

2c

Alfred Cobban, *The Nation State and National Self-Determination* [1945], New York: Thomas Crowell, 1969, chapters IV. "The Application of Self Determination in the Peace Treaties of 1919" and V. "The Sequel to the Peace Treaties, 1919-1939": 57-100;

2d

Julian Huxley, A.C. Haddon, A.M. Carr-Saunders, *We Europeans. A Survey of "Racial" Problems*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1935: 63-93;

Andrew Whitby, *The Sum of People. How the Census Has Shaped Nations, from the Ancient World to the Modern Age*, New York: Basic Books, 2020, *Paper People*, 131-174.

VII. *Socialism, Nationalism, and Their Combinations: Building, Un-Building, and Destroying Peoples, 1918-1948*

(April 26, 2023: 9-11 am)

Main Topics:

1. *The Soviet Experience: Affirmative Action, Thoroughbred Proletarian, Nation-Building, and the Decline of Class*
2. *India's Nations, Religions, "Ethnic" Nationalities, Tribes, and Castes towards Self-Government and Self-Determination*
3. *Atatürk's Turkey*
4. *Soviet Unbuilding. The Case of Ukraine*
5. *The Intellectual Reaction:*
 - Totalitarianism
 - The Discovery of Genocide
6. *Lemkin as Radical Critic of Group Destruction*

Readings:

1. Mandatory for everybody

T. Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire. Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001: 1-73 or N. Pianciola, "Gruppi senza etnicità: alla ricerca delle nazioni in Asia centrale (1917-1924)," *Storica*, 43-45 (2009): 257-311.

or

A. Ferrara e N. Pianciola, *L'età delle migrazioni forzate. Esodi e deportazioni in Europa, 1853-1953*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2012: 201-272.

2. Plus one of the following options:

2a

J. Fisch, *The Right of Self-Determination of Peoples. The Domestication of an Illusion*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015: chapter 11: 175-89

D. Irvin-Erickson, "Genocide, the 'Family of Mind' and the Romantic Signature of Raphael Lemkin," *Journal of Genocide Research*, 15, 3 (2013): 273-96.

2b

Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (1994), London: Hurst & Co., 2015 (second, revised edition): 79-102;

E. Szurek, "Appeler les Turcs par leur nom. Le nationalisme patronymique dans la Turquie des années 1930," *Revue d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 2 (2013) : 18-37.

A. Graziosi, *India and the Soviet Model. The Linguistic State Reorganization and the Problem of Hindi in the 1950s*, in M. Flier, A. Graziosi (eds.), *The Battle for Ukrainian: A Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press for HURI, 2017, pp. 527-562.

2c

A. Graziosi, "The Kazakh Famine, the Holodomor, and the Soviet Famines of 1930-33: Starvation and National Un-building in the Soviet Union," in A. Graziosi and F. Sysyn, eds, *Genocide: The Power and Problems of a Concept*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press;

A. Graziosi, O. Chlevnjuk, T. Martin, *Il Grande terrore*, "Storica", 18 (2000): 7-61;

"Reappraising Mass Terror, Repression, and Responsibility in Stalin's Regime, Perspectives on Norman Naimark's *Stalin's Genocides*," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (2012): 155–169.

VIII. *Decolonization and its Impact: The Re-emergence of Race/Color*

(May 2, 2023: 15-17 pm)

Main Topics:

1. *The National and Social Revolution Conquers the World: Herder Triumphant, 1945-1975*
 - Decolonization and Cold War
 - Nationalisms, Socialisms and “Self-determination” -The “Peoples” ‘Triumph?’
 - The Left between Marx and Herder
 - Maos’ China and the War of Races
 - Race in America
 - In the Socialist Bloc
 - L’Africa che svela il problema e sposta il discorso
2. *The Global Big Bang and its Consequences, 1978-2003, 412-432*
 - The Big Bang, 1978-1991
 - Historians Rediscovering the Obvious
 - Primitive Nationalism and the Default Answer to the Crisis of the “Social”
 - 1990s: Mass Categorical Violence and the Boom of Genocide Studies
 - Globalization, Demography, Migrations
 - The Search for Solution: *Ethnofederalism*, Collective Rights and their Problems (Hegel and Mill)
3. *The Crisis of the Modern*

Readings:

1. Mandatory for everybody

J. Stalin, *Marxism and Linguistics*, New York: International Publishers, 1951 -

<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1950/jun/20.htm>;

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), revised edition, London: Verso, 2006: xi-xv, 1-8, 113-140

or

William H. McNeill, *Poliethnicity and National Unity in World History*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985: 1-85

o

Walker Connor, *Ethno-nationalism. The Quest for Understanding*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994: 3-66.

2. Plus one of the following options:

2a.

J. Fisch, *The Right of Self-Determination of Peoples. The Domestication of an Illusion*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015, chapters 12-13: 190-251.

2b.

Ronald Segal, *The Race War*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1966: 9-26;
 F. Fanon, *I dannati della terra* (1961), Cap. IV. "Sulla cultura nazionale": 171-197,
<https://laboratoriodradek.files.wordpress.com/2013/05/fanon-i-dannati-della-terra.pdf>;
 Michael Banton, *Racial Theories*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998 (second, revised edition),
 "Race as Class": 168-195.

2c.

A. Graziosi and F. Sysyn, "Genocide and Mass Categorical Violence," in *Genocide. The Power and Problems of a Concept*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press;
 S. Straus, "The Limits of a Genocide Lens and Possible Alternatives," in *Genocide. The Power and Problems of a Concept*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

2d.

Mark Bassin, "Nurture is Nature: Lev Gumilev and the Ecology of Ethnicity," *Slavic Review*, 68, 4 (2009): 872-97;
 Julian Bromley and Viktor Kozlov, "The Theory of Ethnos and Ethnic Processes in Soviet Social Sciences," *Comparative Studies in History and Society*, 31, 3 (1989): 425-438;
 Marlène Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism. An Ideology of Empire*, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2012: 50-82.

IX. Papers' Presentation & Discussion (tba)

Student name, Title

X. Papers' Presentation & Discussion (tba)

Student name, Title