

Spring 2008
Nationalism, Culture and Politics Under and After Dictatorship:
Spain and Yugoslavia in the 20th Century
(HISP 340, SOCI 340)
TR 3:00-4:15, King 343

Veljko Vujačić
 Dept. of Sociology
 King 305a, x85444
 Mailbox: King 305
 Office hrs: Tues., 12.30-2, Wed., 10-12
 E-mail: veljko.vujacic@oberlin.edu

Sebastiaan Faber
 Dept. of Hispanic Studies
 404 Peters, x58189
 Mailbox: 301 Peters
 Office hrs: T, W, Th., 11-12am
 Email: sebastiaan.faber@oberlin.edu

Introduction

This course explores the interaction among nationalism, culture, and politics in twentieth-century Spain and Yugoslavia. Special attention is paid to the politics of late state-building, the rise of competing nationalisms, civil wars and their legacies, dictatorship, collective memories, democratic transition (Spain), and state collapse (Yugoslavia). We will study these issues by integrating sociological and historical material with literary works and visual materials (feature and documentary films). The course will be comparative not only in a thematic sense—combining Spain and Yugoslavia—but also from a disciplinary perspective, combining sociology and history with literary approaches and the study of culture.

The twentieth-century histories of Spain and Yugoslavia parallel each other in important ways. Both countries were historically on the political-economic (not only geographic) periphery of Europe. Both are nation-states whose unity has long been undermined by strong competing nationalisms that cut across and complicated severe political differences. Both countries lived through a violent civil war—Spain in 1936-39, Yugoslavia in 1941-45—that led to long-term dictatorial regimes identified with a single, authoritarian leader (Spain's Franco and Yugoslavia's Tito). In both countries, the legitimacy of the regime was rooted in the figure of the charismatic leader, so that the leader's death led to a legitimacy crisis and, ultimately, a democratic transition (Spain) or state dissolution (Yugoslavia). In both cases, authoritarian rule managed temporarily to suppress the tensions that had led to civil war without resolving the historical traumas and collective memories of different political factions and ethnic groups. As a result, in both societies the end of the dictatorship resulted in a dramatic "return of the repressed," albeit with very different consequences.

These differences between Spain and Yugoslavia make the comparison between the two countries exceedingly interesting. Most obviously, Franco was a right-wing dictator, first identified with fascism and later with anti-communist traditionalism, while Tito was a

left-wing anti-Stalinist. A second important difference concerns the contrast between Spain's unitary state and Yugoslavia's socialist federalism. Thirdly, Spain's transition to democracy was relatively successful while Yugoslavia's post-dictatorial trajectory was disastrous. Spain today is a prosperous nation-state with a functioning democracy in a parliamentary monarchy; Yugoslavia, after years of internal violence and external intervention, has ceased to exist as a unified state, while its former republics are still struggling to enter the European Union. Why did two societies that shared many historical similarities end up following such different paths? This central question will be explored through an analysis of the long-term historical legacies of state and nation-building, civil wars, the dictatorial regimes that were established in their aftermath, and the clash between official regime ideologies and collective memories.

Required Books

- Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983. ISBN: 9781405134422
- Aguilar, Paloma. *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*. New York: Berghahn, 2002. ISBN 1571814965.
- Graham, Helen. *The Spanish Civil War: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford UP, 2005. ISBN 0192803778.
- Cercas, Javier. *Soldiers of Salamis*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2004. ISBN 1582344728. (Spanish-speaking students are encouraged to buy and read this title in Spanish [\$20 at amazon.com]; four Spanish copies are on reserve.)
- Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998. ISBN 0-8047-3181-0.
- Ivo Andrić, *The Bridge on the Drina*. University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Fiction Series, ISBN: 978-0-226-02045-7 (paper)
- Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia. The Third Balkan War*. New York: Penguin, 1996. ISBN: 0-14-025771-3.

Note: All other readings can be found on the designated Blackboard site for this class under the heading “course documents.”

Course requirements and regulations:

- Attendance at all class sessions is mandatory. Any *unexcused* absence over 2 will lower the participation grade by 5 % (i.e., half a letter grade).
- Active class participation.
- Email and Blackboard will be the preferred medium for announcements, questions, and assignments.
- Students are expected to have **read the assigned texts** by the day indicated on the syllabus and be prepared to participate in class discussion. **Responses on the Bb discussion board**, when assigned, need to be posted **by 8 p.m. on Wednesday evenings**. Students are expected to read all the posts prior to class; they are invited but not obliged to respond to each other's comments.
- Students are expected to attend all out-of-class **film and documentary screenings** (generally scheduled for **Mondays, 8.30 p.m.**). For those unable to

attend the scheduled showings, all videos and DVDs will be placed on reserve in the library.

- **Three papers:** a midterm paper (5-6pp), a second paper (6-7pp), and a final paper (8-10pp.)

Evaluation

The final class grade will be broken down as follows:

- Attendance and participation: 15%
- Discussion board postings: 20%
- Midterm paper (5-6pages): 15%
- Second paper (6-7pages): 20%
- Final paper (8-10 pages): 30%

Honor Code

This course and all its assignments are covered by the Oberlin College honor code. This means, most importantly, that—unless otherwise indicated—you are to produce your own work and honor the rules and conventions of scholarly quotation, attribution, and citation. While you are allowed to ask advice and help from librarians and official writing tutors, you are, in the end, to submit work produced by *you*. Some assignments may be collaborative in nature; those will be clearly identified as such. Any case of (suspected) plagiarism will be reported to the Honors Committee. For more details, see

www.oberlin.edu/students/student_pages/honor_code.html

COURSE SCHEDULE

Week One: What is Nationalism?

- Tues 2/5 Introduction to the course and syllabus
- Thurs 2/7 Nationalism (1)
- Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, pp.1-63.

Week Two: Nationalism and Culture

- Tues 2/12 Nationalism (2)
- Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, pp. 63-143.
- Thurs 2/14 Cultural Nationalism
- Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, “The Invention of Tradition,” and John Hutchinson, “Cultural Nationalism and Moral Regeneration,” in Smith and Hutchinson, *Nationalism. A Reader*, pp.76-83, 122-131.
 - **Discussion Board entry 1**

Week Three. Contested Nationhood: State and Nation-Building in Spain

- Tues 2/19 Contested Nationhood, Language, and Nationalism
- Smith, Angel and Clare Mar-Molinero. “The Myths and Realities of Nation-Building in the Iberian Peninsula.” *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula*. Ed. Mar-Molinero and Smith. Oxford: Berg, 1996. 1-30.
 - Mar-Molinero, Clare. “The Role of Language in Spanish Nation-Building.” *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula*. Ed. Mar-Molinero and Smith. Oxford: Berg, 1996. 69-88.
 - Juan Díez Medrano, “Patterns of development and nationalism: Basque and Catalan nationalism before the Spanish Civil War,” *Theory and Society*, 23, 4, August 1994, pp.541-569.
- Thurs 2/21 Spanish (lack of) unity and cultural identity
- Balfour, Sebastian. “The Loss of Empire, Regenerationism, and the Forging of a Myth of National Identity.” *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction*. Ed. Graham and Labanyi. 25-31.
 - Ortega y Gasset, *Invertebrate Spain*, pp.19-46.
 - Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *The Spaniards in their History*, pp. 119-137; 177-180; 192-199; 202-203.
 - **Discussion Board entry 2**

Week Four: The Civil War in Spain
--

- [FILM] *The Spanish Civil War* (Neal Ascherson & Steve Morrison, 1987) ch. 2: “Revolution, Counter-Revolution, and Terror”; ch. 5: “The Revolution”
- Tues 2/26 The Second Spanish Republic and the Civil War
- Helen Graham, *The Spanish Civil War: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford, 2006)
- Thurs 2/28 Literature and Politics in the Civil War
- Aub, Max. “El Cojo,” Trans. Alan A. Gonzalez-Arauzo. *The Humanities: Cultural Roots and Continuities*. Ed. Mary Ann Frese Witt. Vol. 2. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1980. 298-307.
 - Selection of pro-Nationalist literature from Kenwood, *The Spanish Civil War*.
 - **Discussion Board entry 3**

Week Five: From Empires to Nations in the South Slavic Lands: A literary account

- Tues 3/4 The Imperial Legacy and the South Slavs
- [Background Reading] Wayne S. Vucinich, "Ivo Andrić and His Times," in Vucinich, ed., *Ivo Andrić. The Bridge Still Stands*, pp. 1-46.
 - Ivo Andrić, *The Bridge on the Drina*, pp.1-93, 113-144.
- Thurs 3/6 Modernization and the emergence of nationalism
- Andrić, *The Bridge on the Drina*, , 200-256, 265-314.

First paper, 5-6 pp. (due Sunday 3/10, midnight)

Week Six: Contested Nationhood: Nation-Building in Interwar Yugoslavia

- Tues 3/11 The Evolution of the Yugoslav Idea
- Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation. Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp.1-127.
- Thurs 3/13 Small Nation Nationalisms in Multinational State: Three literary views
- Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, pp.83-88.
 - Miroslav Krleža, "A Form of Prologue or Sentimental Variations on the Blitvinian Question through the Ages," in *Banquet in Blitva*, pp. 1-13.
 - Ivo Andrić, "A Letter from 1920," in Ivo Andrić, *The Damned Yard and Other Stories* (edited and translated by Celia Hawkesworth (Beograd: Dereta, 2000), pp.107-119.
 - ***Discussion board entry 4***

Week Seven: From Occupation and Civil War to Socialist Yugoslavism

- Tues 3/18 The Yugoslav Civil War and its Traumatic Legacy
- [Background Reading:] Veljko Vujačić, "The Yugoslav Revolution" in Jim de Fronzo, ed., *Revolutionary Movements in World History* (Santa Barbara, Denver, and Oxford: ABC-CLIO press, 2006), vol. 3, pp. 955-963.
 - R. V. Burks, "The Yugoslav Epic," in Burks, *The Dynamics of Communism in Eastern Europe* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp.107-131.
 - Aleksa Djilas, *The Contested Country. Yugoslav Unity and Communist Revolution, 1919-1953* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp.103-127.

- Thurs 3/20 “Brotherhood and Unity,” Ethnic Federalism, and Socialist Yugoslavism
- Aleksa Djilas, *The Contested Country*, pp.150-180.
 - Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation*, pp.128-197.

******SPRING BREAK******

Week Eight: Leaders, Dictators, Regimes: Franco and Tito

[FILM] Excerpt: Goran Marković, *Tito and Me*
The Spanish Civil War (Neal Ascherson & Steve Morrison, 1987), ch. 4,
 “Franco and the Nationalists.”

- Tues 4/1 Tito, Titoism, Yugoslavism
- Stephen Pawlowitch, *Tito, Yugoslavia’s Great Dictator. A Reassessment* (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1992), pp.95-109 .
 - Milovan Djilas, *Tito. The Story from Inside* (New York: Hartcourt Brace, 1980), pp.48-69, 92-134, 169-179.
 - Dejan Jović, “Yugoslavism and Yugoslav Communism: From Tito to Kardelj,” in Dejan Djokić, ed., *Yugoslavism. Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918-1992*, pp.157-181.

- Thurs 4/3 Francoism
- Richards, Michael. “Constructing the Nationalist State: Self-Sufficiency and Regeneration in the Early Franco Years.” *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula*. Ed. Mar-Molinero and Smith. Oxford: Berg, 1996. 149-167.
 - “Juan J. Linz: An Authoritarian Regime: Spain,” in Stanley G. Payne, ed., *Politics and Society in Twentieth Century Spain* (New York and London: Franklin Watts, 1976), pp.160-208.
 - Sheelagh Ellwood, *Franco* (London and New York: Longman, 1994), pp.187-214.
 - **Second Paper Assignment Given Out** (paper due April 22)

Week Nine: Civil wars through culture and representation: From Francoism to Democratic Transition in Spain

- Tues 4/8 Representations of the Civil War: Francoism
- Aguilar, Paloma. *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*. New York: Berghahn, 2002, pp. 1-27, 29-50, 58-85, 91-96, 112-148.

- Thurs 4/10 The Civil War as Collective Insanity: Historical Memory and the Spanish Transition
- Gironella, José María. *The Cypresses Believe in God*. New York: Knopf, 1955. (Selections: 919-941)
 - Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*, pp. 149-152, 162-166, 183-196, 208-211, 260-264, 265-270)
 - **Discussion Board entry 5**

Week Ten: Breaking the Pact of Silence

[FILM] *Vacas* (Julio Medem, 1992)

- Tues 4/15 The Basque Problem: National Identifications, Violence, etc.
- Elorza, Antonio. "Some Perspectives on the Nation-State and Autonomies in Spain." *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction*. Ed. Graham and Labanyi. 332-335.
 - Linz, Juan, "The Basques in Spain: Nationalism and Political Conflict in a New Democracy," in W. Phillips Davison and Leon Gordenker, eds, *Resolving Nationality Conflicts. The Role of Public Opinion Research* (New York: Prager, 1980), pp.11-52.
 - Discuss *Vacas*, relate to Basque identity as discussed by Linz.
 - Cercas, pp. 1-100
- Thurs 4/17 Reconciliation and Memory through Storytelling or Law? Developments since 2000
- Javier Cercas's *Soldiers of Salamis*, pp. 100-224.

Second paper (5-6pp.) due Sunday, April 22 (midnight)

Week Eleven: The Unraveling of Yugoslav Identity

[FILM] *Yugoslavia. Death of a Nation* (aka *Death of Yugoslavia*; BBC, Nicholas Fraser, 1995)

- Tues 4/22 The Decline of Yugoslavism and the Crisis of the Multinational State
- [Background Reading] Veljko Vujčić, "The Dissolution of Yugoslavia" in Jim de Fronzo, ed., *Revolutionary Movements in World History*, pp. 963-974.
 - Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation*, pp.197-227.
 - Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia. The Third Balkan War* (Penguin, 1996), 1-98.
- Thurs 4/24 The War in Slovenia and Croatia
- Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia*, pp.98-138.

Week Twelve: The Civil War, Yugoslavism, and Collective Memory

- [FILM] *Underground* (Emir Kusturica, 1995)
- Tues 4/29 The Bosnian Catastrophe: War, Ethnic Cleansing, and International Intervention
- Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia*, pp.138-293.
- Thurs 5/1 Historical Memory, the Failure of Yugoslavism, and “Yugo-nostalgia”
- Discuss *Underground*
 - Dubravka Ugrešić, *The Culture of Lies. Anti-Political Essays*, pp. pp.3-19, 34-85, 99-128.

Week Thirteen: Yugoslavia and Spain: Memory, Restitution, Lessons
--

- Tues 5/6 Yugoslavia. Lessons, War Crimes, and International Justice
- Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation*, pp.227-245.
 - Tim Judah, “The Star of the Hague,” *The New York Review of Books*, April 25, 2002.
 - Tim Judah, “The Fog of Justice,” *The New York Review of Books*, December 17, 2003.
- Thurs 5/8 Spain: *El Estado de las Autonomías*
- Kenneth McRoberts, *Catalonia. Nation Building Without a State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.139-191.
 - Michael Keating and Zoe Bray, “Renegotiating Sovereignty: Basque Nationalism and the Rise and Fall of the Ibarretxe Plan,” *Ethnopolitics*, 5, 4 (2006): 347-365.
 - Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan. “Political Identities and Electoral Sequences: Spain, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia.” *Exit from Communism*, ed. Stephen R. Graubard. 123-39.

FINAL PROJECT (8-10PP.) DUE: FRIDAY, MAY 16, 7PM