

Revolutionary Nationalism in a Global Perspective

Joint Session organized by the International Commission on the History of French Revolution, the Japanese and Korean National Committees, and NOGWHISTO

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Revolutions may have universal objectives and speak the language of the rights of man, but they appear to produce an upsurge of nationalist sentiment and a unique sense of national identity. Revolutionaries often appear to believe that there is something unique about their revolution that is theirs and theirs alone, going so far as to proclaim that only those who are of their nation can truly understand or identify with the revolutionary cause. A global approach to revolutionary history allows us to overcome the narrowness of such national perceptions; indeed, it has been suggested that global history can provide the ultimate cure for nationalism. Recent political transformations as well as advances in the ways national histories can be written from a global perspective have led us to understand that nationalization is linked to global processes and can be interpreted as a reaction to increased interdependency and global flows. Following this logic, recent trends in global history- writing emphasize the interplay of the national and the global rather than focusing on the global alone. This approach can be used to revisit the role revolutions play in fomenting nationalism. We would propose to use this session to examine three different dimensions of this problem:

The transnational circulation of ideas emanating from individual revolutions and leading to the concept of nationalism as a weapon both for and against revolutionary transformation which became a sort of a global norm. The North American and the French revolutions have already been extensively discussed as a point of departure for constitutionalism and nation-state building, with an enormous radius of diffusion. But does this not lead us once more to a Eurocentric story that tends to forget the interplay between revolutions in Western Europe and North America on the one hand and those in the Southern (Black) Atlantic and Asia on the other? A purely diffusionist approach seems inadequate, and we invite contributions that place emphasis on the exchange of ideas and interpretations between the various hot spots of revolutionary agitation.

While nationalization and nationalism became a central tool in the arsenal of societies which had undergone revolutions (with a wide range of variants to be discussed), they also feature in societies which were less infected with the revolutionary bacillus (but which feared that they would be confronted with it). Here both the political and military elites and intellectuals developed their own forms of national consciousness in order to prevent their societies (or, more ambitiously, the world) from being further infected. This kind of anti-revolutionary nationalism merged with other topoi of counter-revolutionary discourse and worked as powerfully on future generations as revolutionary nationalism itself. To date it has been studied as the point of departure for individual national identities – most notably that of Germany - but little work has yet been done on its global outreach.

The more societies distance themselves from their earlier revolutionary experience, the more a tension develops between their social-revolutionary and their nationalist heritage, opening up a space for new debates about the nature of nationalism. Should it be seen as the ultimate goal of their revolution, as an aberration from an earlier revolutionary message, or as an obstacle to later attempts to change society by revolutionary means?

Papers

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De la patrie cosmopolite en paix avec le monde aux nations xénophobes en guerre. L'invention de la géopolitique contemporaine 1776-1815

Sommaire: Le projet de cette communication est de réfléchir sur un paradoxe constitutif de notre modernité, comment les Révolutions patriotiques fondées sur la philosophie des droits des gens ont inventé des Etats Nations qui ont fini par retourner le modèle de l'universalisme pacifique qui prévalait à la constitution de ces nouveaux pays pour instaurer un conflit mondial largement construit autour d'identités nationales exacerbées et finalement aboutissant sous la plume de l'abbé contre révolutionnaire Barruel à l'invention du néologisme « nationalisme » qui allait marquer si fortement les guerres du XIXe puis du XXe siècle.

Ce paradoxe ne se comprend que si les historiens acceptent désormais de complexifier un peu plus leur pensée concernant les guerres de la fin du XVIIIe siècle pour ne pas simplement focaliser comme on l'a trop souvent fait sur les guerre révolutionnaires et napoléoniennes , ce qui déjà dans leur intitulait renvoyait explicitement la responsabilité des nouvelles guerres de patries en danger ou conquérantes sur la seule France mais acceptent de reprendre les derniers acquis d'une histoire mondialisée et plus problématisée de la Contre Révolution.

Ainsi il faudrait remonter quelque peu en arrière, à a guerre de sept ans pour comprendre comment la britannicité crée par Pitt père fut un facteur déterminant d'une victoire éclatante , non sans poser problème puisque c'est à la périphérie que le problème se posa désormais dans le monde colonial qui voulut s'émanciper des métropoles . il était évident désormais que les concepts de patrie , Révolution et guerre d'indépendances devenaient liées pour fonder de nouvelles formes de souveraineté, impliquant à leur tour, des relations diplomatiques plus pacifiées que celle des rois belliqueux.

C'était le vœu de la nation française par la déclaration de paix au monde du mois de mai 1790. Las c'est sans compter sur la force de la Contre Révolution largement structurée autour de la pensée de Burke, à ses interventions de police internationale à Genève, dans le Brabant, en Irlande, à Liège, aux pays Bas néerlandais. Dès lors pourquoi pas en France. Entre la radicalisation républicaine française et la réaction des souverains, le conflit était inévitable. Pour le nouveau régime la patrie en danger et l'invention d'une culture martiale fondée sur la défense de la nation fut essentielle mais conserva une dimension cosmopolite qui se traduit par une devise « guerre aux châteaux paix au chaumières » que la réalité de l'occupation des troupes française ne pouvait que contredire comme le démontrèrent les soulèvements populaires contre les armées françaises.

Dès lors quatre modèles de nations virent le jour et s'affrontèrent jusqu'au mois de juin 1815. Le commonwealth comme nation mondiale et commerçante imaginée sur le fondement de la thalassocratie londonienne. L'Etat de la grande nation englobante française, apportant la liberté et ses codes mais de façon autoritaire. L'éveil des nations (Italie Allemagne Espagne, Suisse Irlande, qui allait se construire douloureusement durant le XIXe siècle à la fois stimulée par le message français et rejetant toute influence d'une nation devenue avec Napoléon spoliatrice. Enfin le rêve des républicains démocrates du Directoire encore à construire, une Europe des patries fédérée, qui aurait dépassé le culte destructeur et non philanthropique du nationalisme pour parvenir à Une Europe des peuples.

C'est encore notre horizon à atteindre comme le montre notre histoire européenne en ce début du XXI eme siècle.

Lynn Hunt (University of California at Los Angeles) (email: lhunt@history.ucla.edu)
Fighting for Others: Cosmopolitan Generals at the Origins of Nationalism (Kosciuszko, Miranda, Toussaint, and others)

Although eighteenth-century armies often included foreign soldiers, even whole regiments, the American and French Revolutions introduced a new element: the cosmopolitan general who took a lesson about nationalism from the experience. What was it about participating in a revolutionary war that enabled this transformation?

Michael Rapport (University of Glasgow) (email: michael.rapport@glasgow.ac.uk)
The black cockade and the tricolore: space, place and New York City's reaction to the French Revolution.

Abstract: This paper applies concepts of 'space' and 'place' to contentious politics by using the built environment and the cityscape of New York City in the 1790s as a case study. Historians have increasingly explored space as a factor in human activity in the past and the 'spatial turn' has gained traction in the in a rich range of contexts and this includes the process of revolution and other forms of political contention. Yet 'space' and 'place' can be applied in different ways, carrying different meanings. This paper combines 'locational' concepts of space – the movement of ideas, symbols and people from revolutionary France to republican New York – with the symbolic and material applications of space – the embellishment of buildings, the use and the adaptations of physical spaces – in the reception of the French revolution (and of French revolutionaries) in the city. In so doing, it questions how the translation of French symbols and ideas were altered not just by the rhetoric and practices of politics and culture in the young American republic, but also by the physical environment in which they were received and adapted. In the process, it engages with questions such as the existence of a cosmopolitan, or trans-Atlantic republican identity and political culture, the friction between revolutionary (or post-revolutionary) nationalism and the ideas of universal rights and (in this case) claims about the friendship (or otherwise) between the United States and France, and the matter of historical memory and a 'usable past' in the changing cityscape in the 1790s.

Megan Maruschke (Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics/ SFB 1199) (email: megan.maruschke@uni-leipzig.de)
The French Revolution and the New Spatial Format for Empire

Abstract: The call for papers notes that nationalization may be linked to global processes; it may emerge as a reaction to increased interdependencies. This paper focuses on processes of territorialization during the French Revolution, which is often linked to nationalization projects as a strategy to regain control of flows of goods, capital, and people. In a synthesis that draws together research on the French Revolution's spatial turn, which is often situated in the domestic context of the revolution, with research on the global turn, this paper investigates the territorialization of France during the French revolution. The territorialization of France, which developed out of imperial and transregional exchanges, was emblematic of the new type of empire that becomes a prevailing model for societal organization in the nineteenth century: the nation state with imperial extensions. This paper situates its findings, therefore, in global history and new imperial history debates on territorializing nation states and enduring empires in the 19th century and argues that global historians should take this moment of the transformation of empire more seriously.

Fukamachi Hideo (Chuo University Tokyo) (email: hfukamac@tamacc.chuo-u.ac.jp)
Who are to be the Chinese Nation? The Legitimacy of the Chinese Republic's Multi-Ethnic Rule

Abstract: As a result of the 1911 Revolution, in which the Qing Dynasty was overthrown and the Chinese Republic was established, the Chinese state was transformed from a monarchy into a republic. How did this regime transition affect China's ethno-politics?

It is well known that the 1911 Revolution meant independence for the Han Chinese from the Manchus. Nevertheless, the former imperial family and the aristocracy were not deprived of their status and property in the newly established republic. At the same time, the Mongolian and Tibetan Living Buddhas, who had been subject to the Manchu Emperor, tried to take advantage of this occasion for their own independence. However, the Chinese Republic in its attempt to maintain the Qing Dynasty's existing territory advocated the "republic of the five peoples (wuzu gonghe)", i.e. the Han, the Manchus, the Mongols, the Muslims, and the Tibetans.

How did this new national republic, established through an ethnic group's independence from another ethnic group, legitimize its multi-ethnic rule? This question is not only related to the self-definition of the Chinese Republic itself, but it is also crucial to the ethno-politics of the entire region of East Asia. Moreover, the current Chinese authorities still claim for their legitimate rule over the Qing Dynasty's territory (except Outer Mongolia). Such a claim appears to be derived from the self-definition of the Chinese Republic based on the new legitimacy after the 1911 Revolution.

This paper first outlines the traditional ethnic relations under the Qing Dynasty's regime and their modern transformation, and analyzes two issues in particular: (1) the process in which the revolution to "exclude the Manchus" resulted in the establishment of the Chinese Republic based on the idea of the "republic of the five peoples," (2) the diverse discourse concerning the new republic's ethno-politics, e.g. the dialogue between the Han revolutionaries and the non-Han nobles, the Sino-Mongolian official dispute over the Mongols' independence, the Han public opinion concerning the turmoil in the "frontier." Finally, the conclusion examines the Chinese Republic's multi-ethnic rule in a broader historical context.

Kyoungan Bae (Pusan National University) (email: khbae@silla.ac.kr)
"Revolutionary Nationalism" in East Asia. The 1920s Chinese Nationalist Revolution and Anti-imperialist alliance among the colonized countries in East Asia-

Abstract: From 1924 to 1928, the nationalist revolution in China was crucial to China's creation of a new national system, the basic framework of the nation-state, after the fall of the feudal dynasty, Qing. The goals of the revolution that the Kuomintang, the leader of the national revolution, presented at that time were two-fold: The First goal was the "anti-imperialism" that protects China's national independence from the invasion of imperial powers, and the another goal was the "anti-feudalism" which aimed to replace the imperial monarchy of the traditional China with the democracy and republic nation of which the general people owns the power.

"Anti-imperialism" movement was proceeded by directly resisting to the military and economic invasion of the foreign powers, through the campaign mobilizing mass organizations. By mobilizing mass organizations such as workers, peasants and merchant societies at the time, they tried to destroy the concessions which symbolically represented the invasion of imperial powers. Nationalist government also tried to promote the 'Revolutionary Diplomatic Policy' by repudiating the unequal treaty systems. In this regards, we can understand that the "anti-imperialism" movement during the Nationalist Revolution period is one of the most representing cases of the "revolutionary nationalism" in Chinese history.

That said, the Nationalist Revolution was promoted under the strong influence of Comintern from the beginning of the movement, highlighting the international alliance of the "anti-imperialism" movements among the colonized and semi-colonized countries in East Asia. Of course, such "anti-imperialism" alliance was on the basis of the fact that the most of the

countries in East Asia at the time shared the same challenge, namely the independence from the imperial foreign powers. In other words, the common history of countries in East Asia during the first half of the 20th century shared the same context of “revolutionary nationalism” movement.

In this contribution, the author will examine the alliance of “anti-imperialism” among East Asian colonized and semi-colonized countries, such as China, Korea, Vietnam, Philippines, India and Indonesia in relation to the Chinese Nationalist Revolution. Further, the author discussed the issues, including how the alliance of “anti-imperialism” was proceeded, what kind of role such “anti-imperialism” alliance played, and what is the significance of the “anti-imperialism” alliance in history? On the basis of the discussions, the author tried to understand the historical significance of “revolutionary nationalism” in East Asian history. In addition, the author would like to discuss the “anti-imperialism” alliance as of now which may have the role in the on-going dramatic change of the international relations in East Asia, the trend which is named by some critics the “revival of nationalism.”

Ian Coller (University of California at Irvine) (email: icoller@uci.edu)

Muslim Patriots: The French Revolution and Nation-Building in the Muslim World

Abstract: During the 1790s, the real or potential participation of Muslims as French citizens emerged as a key element of French revolutionary discourse. Like Jews, Muslims embodied the religious diversity that revolutionaries saw as an essential bulwark against the institutional power of the Church. But Muslims also represented the closest societies beyond Europe, and therefore the most immediate vector of revolutionary universalism. The response from the Muslim world was ambivalent. Most Muslim polities in the region remained neutral toward the Revolution, but in North Africa and South Asia, revolutionary ideas found more fertile ground. Muslims—both in France and beyond—were attracted to a “constitutional patriotism” that could be aligned with Islamic conceptions of justice. These ideas have proved more durable than the nationalisms associated with nineteenth-century volkist ideologies, and can be traced through Destour constitutionalism and the Young Ottomans to the Young Turks, and from the anticolonial revolutions in North Africa to the Arab Spring of 2011. This paper will examine the cases of Tunis, Istanbul and Mysore as key points of attachment of constitutional patriotism.