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Office Hours: Wednesday, 4-6pm

NATIONALISM AND POLITICAL THEORY

G8622x

Wednesday, 2:10-4:00pm

711 International Affairs

This class provides an introduction to the classical and contemporary literature on nationalism in political theory. It asks and attempts to answer the question of whether there exists a coherent nationalist political *philosophy*. We shall approach this question in two ways: to begin, we will read several of the classic treatments of nationalism by nineteenth century political philosophers, who often saw the question of national identity as closely linked to the project of democracy. Why did they think so? Did these nineteenth-century thinkers mean the same thing by “nationalism” as we mean by it today? Afterward, we will delve into the contemporary philosophical literature on nationalism, much of which takes up questions of political solidarity, the justification of territorial sovereignty, and the claims of international justice. Does implementing a politics of equal freedom for all persons require the nation-state or is the nation-state merely a hindrance to attaining a moral world order? Is there such a thing as an individual “right” to culture? What are the just limits of the territorial, political, and coercive claims that cultural communities can make, both against their members and against outsiders?

TEXTS:

Books: Available for purchase at Labyrinth Books

Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*

J.G. Herder, *Treatise on the Origin of Language*

Yael Tamir, *Liberal Nationalism*

David Miller, *On Nationality*

Alan Patten & Will Kymlicka, eds. *Language Rights and Political Theory*

Allen Buchanan, *Secession: The Morality of Political Divorce*

Chapters/Excerpts/Articles: These readings, marked with a (*), are available through electronic reserve.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

You may choose one of two available paper tracks for this course.

1. Short Papers Track: 4 papers, each worth 25% of final grade

You will write 4 short response papers (approximately 6-8 pages, double-spaced), due at the points indicated in the schedule. One of the papers (due October 10) will respond to the theories about the value of cultural membership examined in the first half of the class. At least two of the other papers will analyze how the theories of language policy, secession, and migration covered in the latter half of the course apply to one of the

following cases: the US, Canada, or Belgium. A list of background sources to be used in these case studies will be distributed in class.

2. Short/Long Paper Track: Short Paper 20%, Long Paper 80% of final grade

You will write 1 short response paper (approximately 6-8 pages, due October 10) on the theories of the value of cultural membership examined in the first few weeks of the class. You will also write one long paper (approximately 20-25 pages, due Monday, December 17). The topic for the long paper shall be determined in consultation with me, but must include in-depth consideration of how the theories examined in the course apply to at least one particular case. (This may be one of the cases for which background reading has been distributed in advance, or another case of your choice, if approved by me).

SCHEDULE:

Sept 5: Introduction

Sept. 12: What is Nationalism?

1. (*) Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (entire).
2. Charles Taylor, "Nationalism and Modernity," in *Theorizing Nationalism*, ed. Ronald Beiner

Sept. 19: Nineteenth-Century Antecedents: Romantic Nationalism

1. (*) J.G. Herder, *Treatise on the Origin of Language*, ed. Moran/Gode.
2. Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, trans. R.F. Jones, Trumbull, Addresses 4-8, pp. 52-151
3. Wilhelm von Humboldt, *On Language*, ed. Michael Losonsky, 11-87

Further Reading:

J.G. Herder, *Ideas for the Philosophy of History of Humanity*

Isaiah Berlin, *Vico and Herder*

Charles Taylor, "Language and Human Nature," in *Philosophical Papers I: Human Agency and Language*

Sept. 26: Nineteenth Century Antecedents: Democratic Nationalism

1. Giovanni Mazzini, "An Essay on the Duties of Man Addressed to Workingmen" and "To the Italians," in Mazzini, *Duties of Man and Other Essays*, trans. Jones, 1-122; 221-247.
2. Giovanni Mazzini, "Principles of Cosmopolitanism" and "Pact of Young Europe," in *Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini*, 1-40.
3. J.S. Mill, "Of Nationality as Connected to Representative Government," in *Considerations on Representative Government* ed. Williams, (selections)

Further Reading:

Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?," in *Becoming National: A Reader*. ed. Geoff Eley and Ronald Girgor Suny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Chaim Gans, *The Limits of Nationalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), ch. 1

Alfred Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1918).

Ernest Barker, *National Character and the Factors in its Formation* (London: Methuen & Co., 1927).

Oct. 3: Nationhood and the Value of Culture.

1. Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, ch. 5 and 6
2. Avishai Margalit and Joseph Raz, "National Self-Determination," *Journal of Philosophy*, 87/9, 1990
3. Joseph Raz, "Multiculturalism," in *Ethics in the Public Domain*.
4. Charles Taylor, "Irreducibly Social Goods," in *Philosophical Arguments*.
5. Jeremy Waldron, "Minority Cultures and the Cosmopolitan Alternative," *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform* 25 (1992).
6. Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality*, ch. 7

Further Reading:

K. Anthony Appiah, *The Ethics of Identity*, ch. 4 + 5

Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*

Chaim Gans, *The Limits of Nationalism*, ch. 2

Will Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community, and Culture*, ch. 4, 7, 8.

Avishai Margalit and Moshe Halbertal, "Liberalism and the Right to Culture," *Social Research*, 61 (1994).

Oct. 10: Liberal Nationalism 1. First Short Paper due (both tracks).

1. (*) Yael Tamir, *Liberal Nationalism*, (entire)

Oct 17: Liberal Nationalism 2

1. (*) David Miller, *On Nationality*, (entire)

Further Reading:

Arash Abizadeh, "Liberal Nationalist versus Postnational Social Integration: On the Nation's Ethno-Cultural Particularity and 'Concreteness'." *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 10. no.3 (2004).

Arash Abizadeh, "Does Liberal Democracy Presuppose a Cultural Nation? Four Arguments." *American Political Science Review* vol. 96. no. 3 (2002).

Oct. 24: "Constitutional Patriotism".

1. Jürgen Habermas, *The Inclusion of the Other*, ch. 4, 5, 8.

2. Jürgen Habermas, “The Postnational Constellation” in *The Postnational Constellation*
3. Bernard Yack, “The Myth of the Civic Nation,” in Beiner ed. *Theorizing Nationalism*.
4. Ciaran Cronin, ‘Democracy and Collective Identity: in Defence of Constitutional Patriotism’, *European Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2003.
5. Jan-Werner Mueller, “Three Objections to Constitutional Patriotism,” in *Constellations* (forthcoming) accessible online at:
<http://www.princeton.edu/~jmueller/ocp.html>

Further Reading:

Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality*, ch. 4, 5.
 Attracta Ingram, ‘Constitutional Patriotism’, *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 22, (1996).
 Patchen Markell, “Making Affect Safe for Democracy? On Constitutional Patriotism.” *Political Theory* 28, no. 1 (February 2000).
 Nicholas Xenos, “Civic Nationalism: Oxymoron,” in *Critical Review*, (1996).
 Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging*, ch. 1,2, 4.
 Andrew Mason, *Community, Solidarity, and Belonging*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Oct. 31: Nationalism and Language Politics. Second Short Paper Due.

1. (*) Alan Patten & Will Kymlicka, eds. Language Rights and Political Theory, essays by Laitin and Reich, Pogge, May, Van Parijs, Blake, Levy, Weinstock, Patten
2. David Laitin, *Identity in Formation*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), ch. 2-5

Further Reading:

Alan Patten, “Political Theory and Language Policy”, *Political Theory* 29/5, (2001),.
 Alan Patten, “Liberal Neutrality and Language Policy”, *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 31:4 (2003).
 Phillippe Van Parijs, “The Ground Floor of the World: On the Socio-Economic Consequences of Linguistic Globalization,” *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 21, No. 2, (Apr. 2000).

Nov. 7: Nationalism and Territorial Claims.

1. Will Kymlicka, *Politics in the Vernacular*, ch. 4-7.
2. Jeremy Waldron, “Superseding Historic Injustice,” *Ethics*, vol. 103, October 1992
3. Chaim Gans, *The Limits of Nationalism*, ch. 3-4
4. Michael Blake and Matthias Risse, “Migration, Territoriality, and Culture,” KSG Working Paper Series, online at:
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=963130
5. Tamar Meisels, “Can Corrective Justice Ground Claims to Territory?,” *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Vol. 11, No. 1, (2003).

6. A. John Simmons, "Historical Rights and Fair Shares," in *Justification and Legitimacy*.

Further Reading:

Jeff Spinner-Halev, "Land, Culture, and Justice: A Framework for Group Rights and Recognition," *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 8, Number 3, 2000, 319-342.

David Lyons, "The New Indian Claims and Original Rights to Land," in *Reading Nozick*

Nov. 14: Secession and Self-Determination 1

1. (*) Allen Buchanan, *Secession: The Morality of Political Divorce*.
2. Daniel Philpott, "In Defence of National Self-Determination," *Ethics*, no. 105, 1995
3. Allen Buchanan, "Theories of Secession," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, vol. 26, no. 1, 1997.

Nov. 28: Secession and Self-Determination 2. Third Short Paper Due

1. Lea Brilmayer, "Secession and Self-Determination: A Territorial Interpretation," *Yale Journal of International Law*, 16 (1991), 177-202.
2. Margaret Moore, *The Ethics of Nationalism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 137-241
3. A. John Simmons, "On the Territorial Rights of States," *Philosophical Issues* 35(2001)
4. Alan Patten, "Democratic Secession from a Multinational State," *Ethics*, 112 (April 2002).

Further Reading:

Christopher Wellman, *A Theory of Secession*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Steve Macedo and Allen Buchanan, ed. *NOMOS XLV: Secession and Self-Determination*, (New York: NYU Press, 2003).

Percy Lehning, ed. *Theories of Secession*, (New York: Routledge, 1998).

Margaret Moore, ed. *National Self-Determination and Secession*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Nov. 21: Thanksgiving Holiday (reschedule?)

Dec. 5: Nationalism and Immigration.

1. David Miller, 'Immigration: The Case for Limits' in Andrew Cohen and Christopher Wellman (eds.), *Contemporary Debates in Applied Ethics*
2. Viet Bader, "The Ethics of Immigration," *Constellations*, 12/3, (2005) 331-361.
3. Joseph H Carens, 'Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders', *Review of Politics*, 49/3, (1987) 251-273.

4. Joseph H Carens, 'Migration and Morality: A Liberal Egalitarian Perspective', in Brian Barry and Robert Goodin (eds.) *Free Movement: Ethical Issues in the Transnational Migration of People and Money*, (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatcheaf, 1992), 25-47.
5. Michael Dummett, *On Immigration and Refugees*, ch. 1-5, pp. 1-85

Dec. 10: Nationalism and Immigration 2 (suggested rescheduled session)

1. Michael Blake, "Immigration," in *A Companion to Applied Ethics*, Blackwell Companions to Philosophy, ed. R.G. Frey and Christopher Wellman.
2. Robert Goodin, 'If People Were Money...', in Brian Barry and Robert Goodin (eds.) *Free Movement: Ethical Issues in the Transnational Migration of People and Money*.
3. Hillel Steiner, 'Libertarianism and The Transnational Migration of People', in Brian Barry/Goodin (eds.) *Free Movement*.
4. Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice*, (Basic Books: 1983), ch. 2.
5. Samuel Scheffler, "Immigration and the Significance of Culture," in *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, vol. 35, no. 2 (2007).

Monday, December 17: Fourth Short Paper and Long Paper due.