

NATIONALISM

Nationalism



NATIONALISM



For some,
nationalism is
equated with
racism, but for
others it
creates
solidarity and
stability...
preconditions
for freedom



Nationalism is blamed for this century's wars,
but nationalism need not mean militarism. And
the nation-state has been the laboratory of
liberty.

(George Will)

NATIONALISM

The challenge for political theorists is to explain how the “nation” can be a source of value and an object of allegiance.

NATIONALISM

TEACHES YOU TO TAKE
PRIDE IN SHIT
YOU HAVEN'T DONE &
HATE PEOPLE
YOU'VE NEVER MET

///T.Liberty.me



NATIONALISM

The reason **Hoffman** and **Graham** see this as a particularly difficult challenge is due the influence of *liberalism* (the dominant ideology of our time), which presupposes that the individual human being is the ultimate source of value, and as such, the individual has claims against collective entities, such as the nation.



The difference between patriotism and nationalism is that the patriot is proud of his country for what it does, and the nationalist is proud of his country no matter what it does; the first attitude creates a feeling of responsibility, but the second a feeling of blind arrogance that leads to war.

(Sydney J. Harris)

NATIONALISM

Nations and Nationalism

The period from around 1850 to the start of the First World War in 1914 denote a marked rise in popular nationalist consciousness.



NATIONALISM

What follows is a variety of definitions of “nation” and “nationalism” as a way to identify commonalities and divergences...



NATIONALISM

“The totality of people who are united by a common fate so that they possess a common (national) character. The common fate is primarily a common history; the common national character involves almost necessarily a uniformity of language.”

Otto Bauer



Otto Bauer

* 5. Sept. 1881
† 4. Juli 1938

NATIONALISM



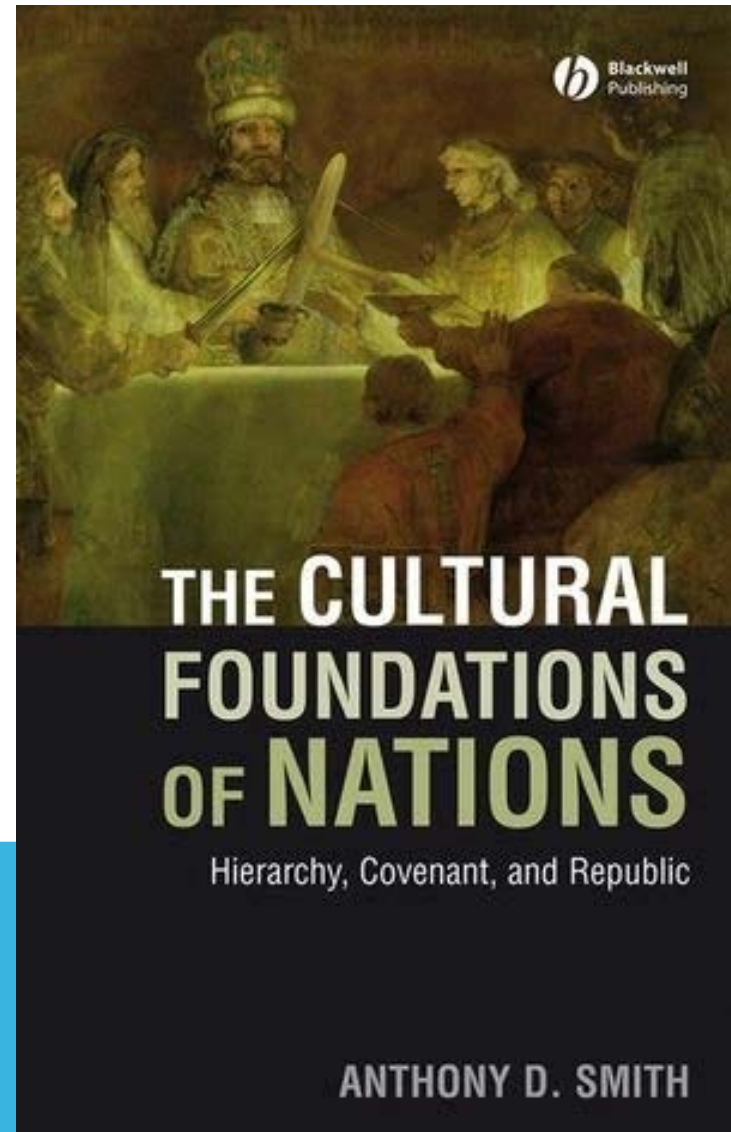
“A nation is a community of sentiment that could adequately manifest itself in a state of its own: hence a nation is a community which normally tends to produce a state of its own.”

Max Weber

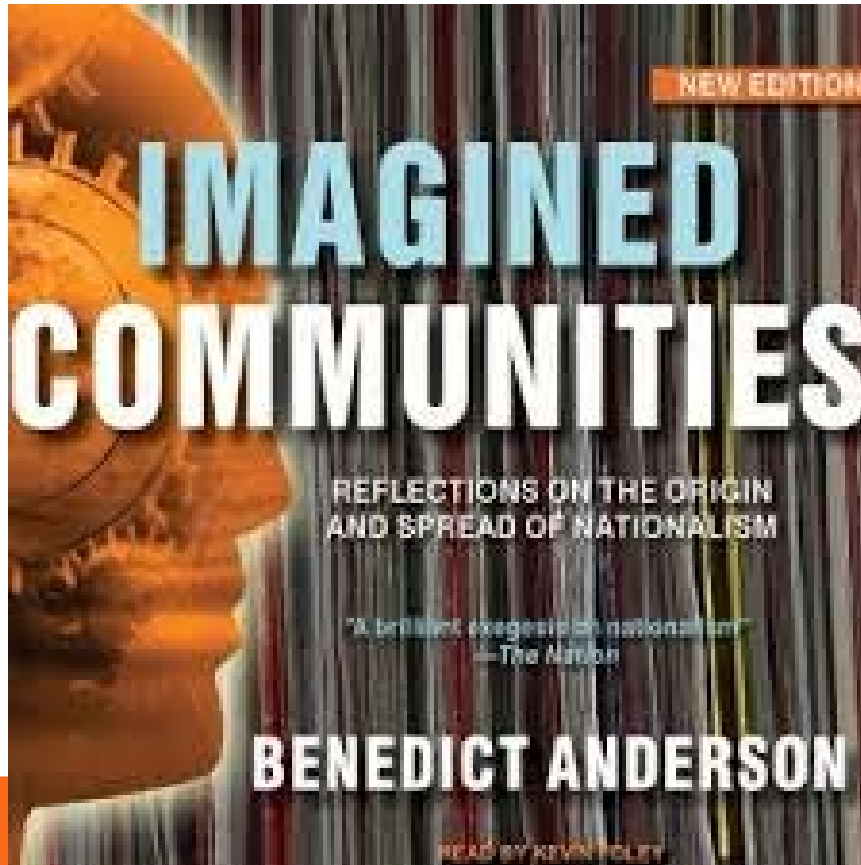
NATIONALISM

“[A nation is] a named human population that shares myths and memories, a mass public culture, a designated homeland, economic unity and equal rights and duties for all members.”

Anthony Smith



NATIONALISM



“[A nation] is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign...all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined.”

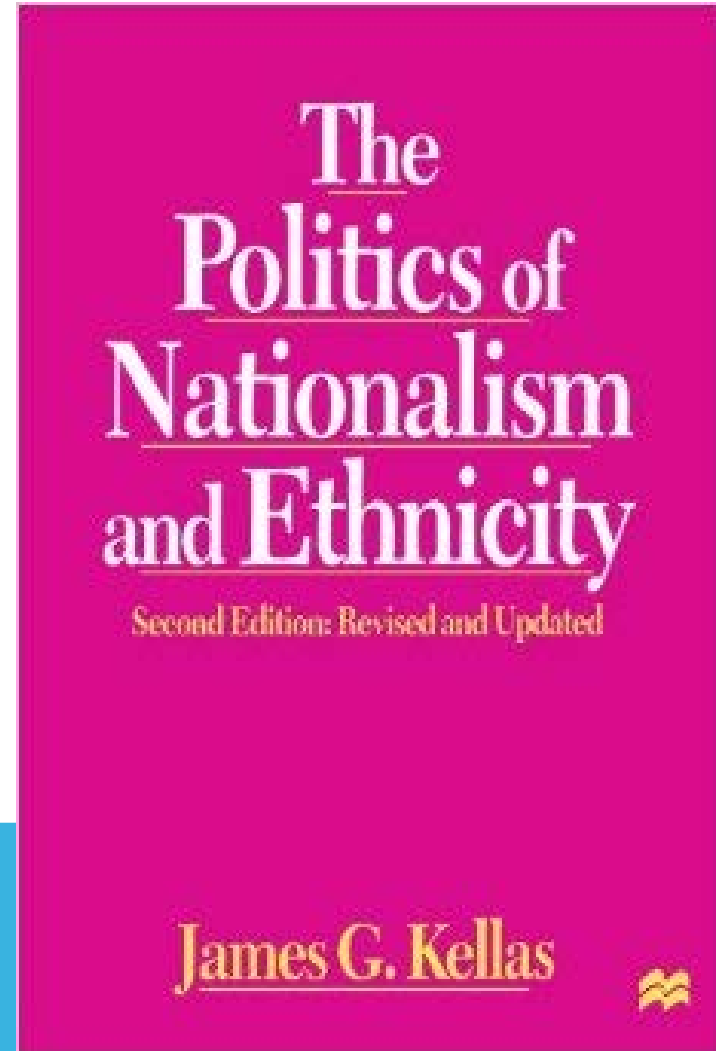
Benedict Anderson



NATIONALISM

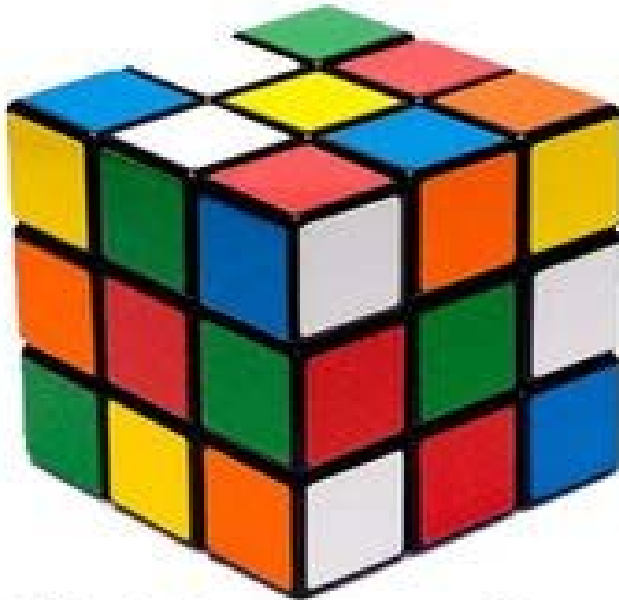
“A nation is a group of people who feel themselves to be a community bound together by ties of history, culture and common ancestry. Nations have ‘objective’ characteristics that may include territory, a language, a religion or common descent, and ‘subjective’ characteristics, essentially a people’s awareness of their nationality and affection for it.”

James Kellas

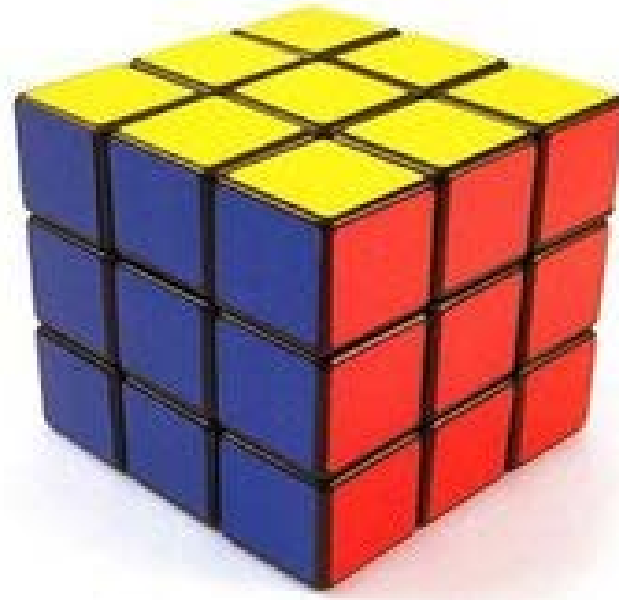


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As there are competing definitions of “nation” so too are there various definitions of “nationalism.” Hoffman and Graham provide us with a few:



Multiculturalism



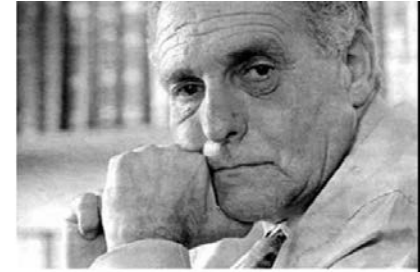
Nationalism

NATIONALISM

“It is a theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones, and in particular, that ethnic boundaries within a given state...should not separate the power holders from the rest.”

Ernest Gellner

Ernest
Gellner



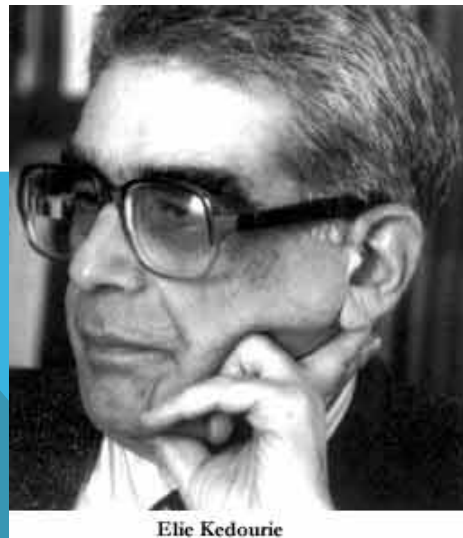
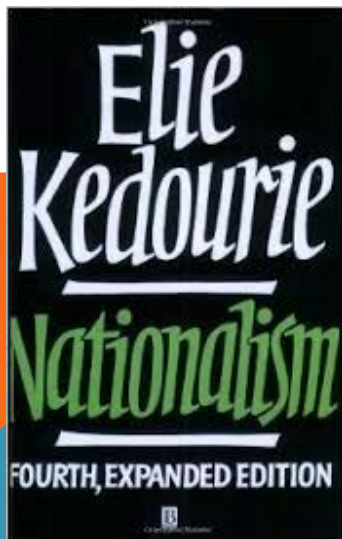
Nationalism: principle that holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent. I.e. "to each nation, a state."

The **nation-state** represents the achievement of this principle (there are very few, if any, *pure* nation-states)

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“Nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the 19th century. It pretends to supply the criterion for the determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively of its own, for the legitimate exercise of power in the state and for the right of organization of a society of states. Briefly, the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government.”

Elie Kedourie



Elie Kedourie

NATIONALISM

“By nationalism I mean the sentiment of belonging to a community whose members identify with a set of symbols, beliefs and ways of life and have the will to decide upon their common political destiny.”

Montserrat Guibernau




NATIONALISM

Political theorists, who tend to operate with *universalist* concepts such as human nature, freedom, equality and justice, have found it difficult to explain nationalism, which is, essentially, *particularist* – that is, it assumes that national boundaries are morally significant.

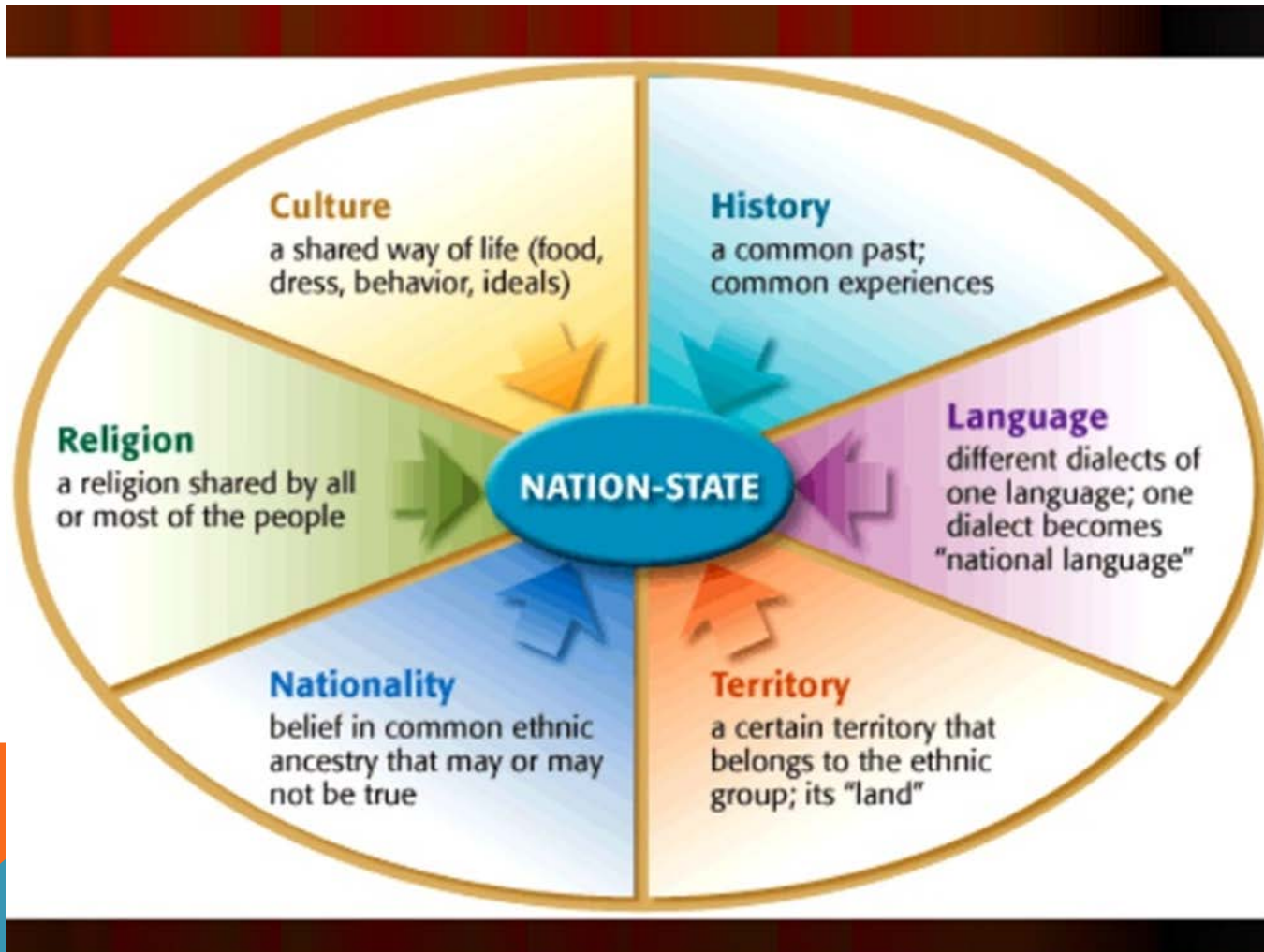


NATIONALISM

**All nationalisms have 3
distinguishing characteristics:**

- 1. They imply a relationship of an individual to the collective that is in significant ways non-voluntary;**
 - 2. They entail partiality;**
 - 3. They involve exclusion**
- 

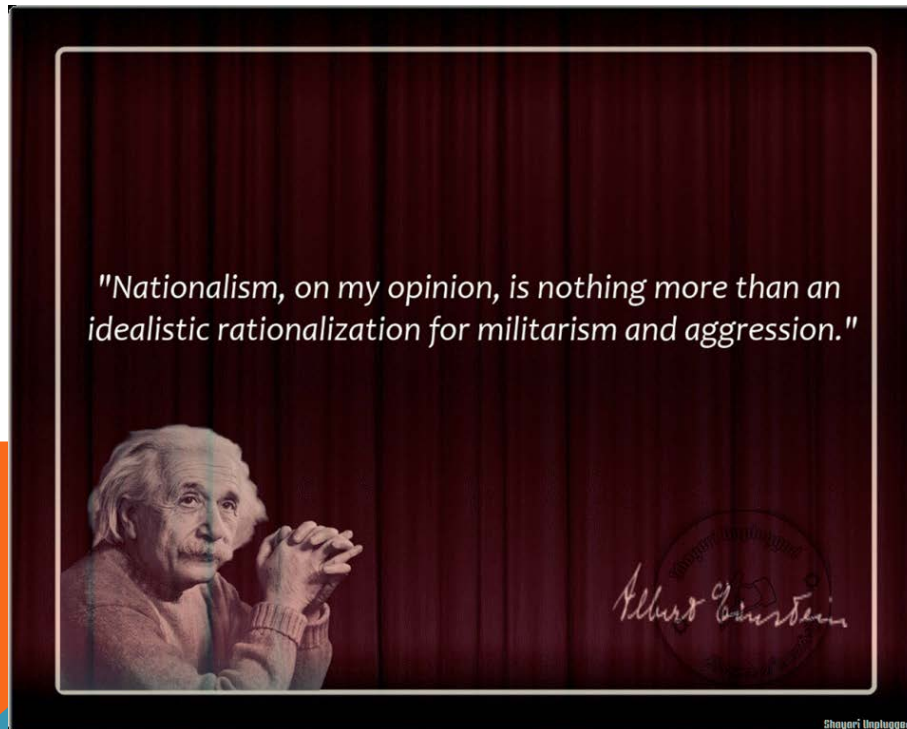
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NATIONALISM

Liberalism and Nationalism: Mill and Herder

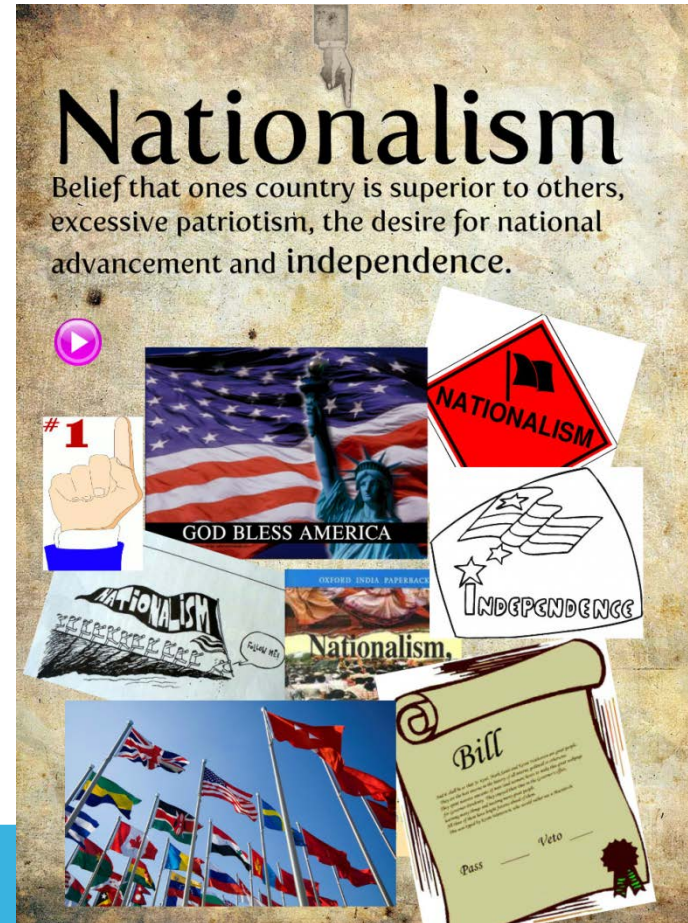
Although liberalism assumes that the nation may be a threat to individual liberty and international justice, there are two arguments that suggest nation-states are actually better at securing liberty and justice.



(Obviously, Einstein didn't agree!)

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First, the “civic” or “instrumental” argument holds that the world is more stable and efficient if organized around nation-states, where each nation respects the territorial integrity of the others.



(this was **Mill's** position).

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The second “ethnic” or “intrinsic” argument holds that individuals need culture as a means of self-expression and the nation-state is the embodiment of culture.

(this was **von Herder's** position)

NATIONALISM

Socialism and Nationalism: Marx and Engels

They argue that workers have no nation of their own and that national divisions are increasingly irrelevant as capitalism has developed.

The capitalists have created a single world bound together by free trade.

However, if nationalist movements serve the class struggle they are to be tolerated.

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Liberalism and Soft Ethnic Nationalism

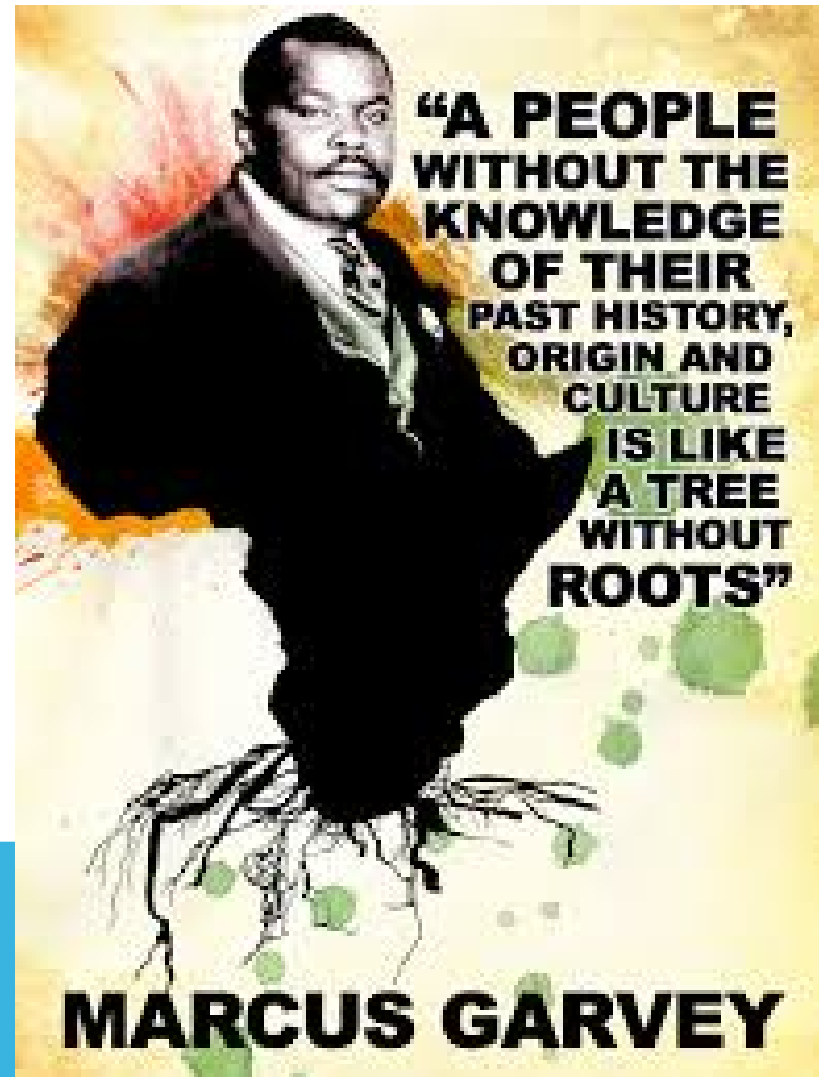
“Liberal” debates
around the idea
of “nation”
focus on 3
distinct
questions:



I want **YOU** to develop a set of ideas
rigid enough to kill you

NATIONALISM

1. What is the nature of the human person, or “self”? Is he or she independent of the community or constituted by that community?



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2. Does the existence of the nation carry special moral duties to our fellow citizens? To what extent do such duties limit our freedom?



NATIONALISM

3. Does the existence of the nation give us a reason for favoring our compatriots over others?

Nationalism is one of many examples of this form of collective narcissism, where the citizens possess an inflated self-love of "their own people," to the exclusion of other human beings.



QUOTEHD.COM

Bryant H. McGill
American Author

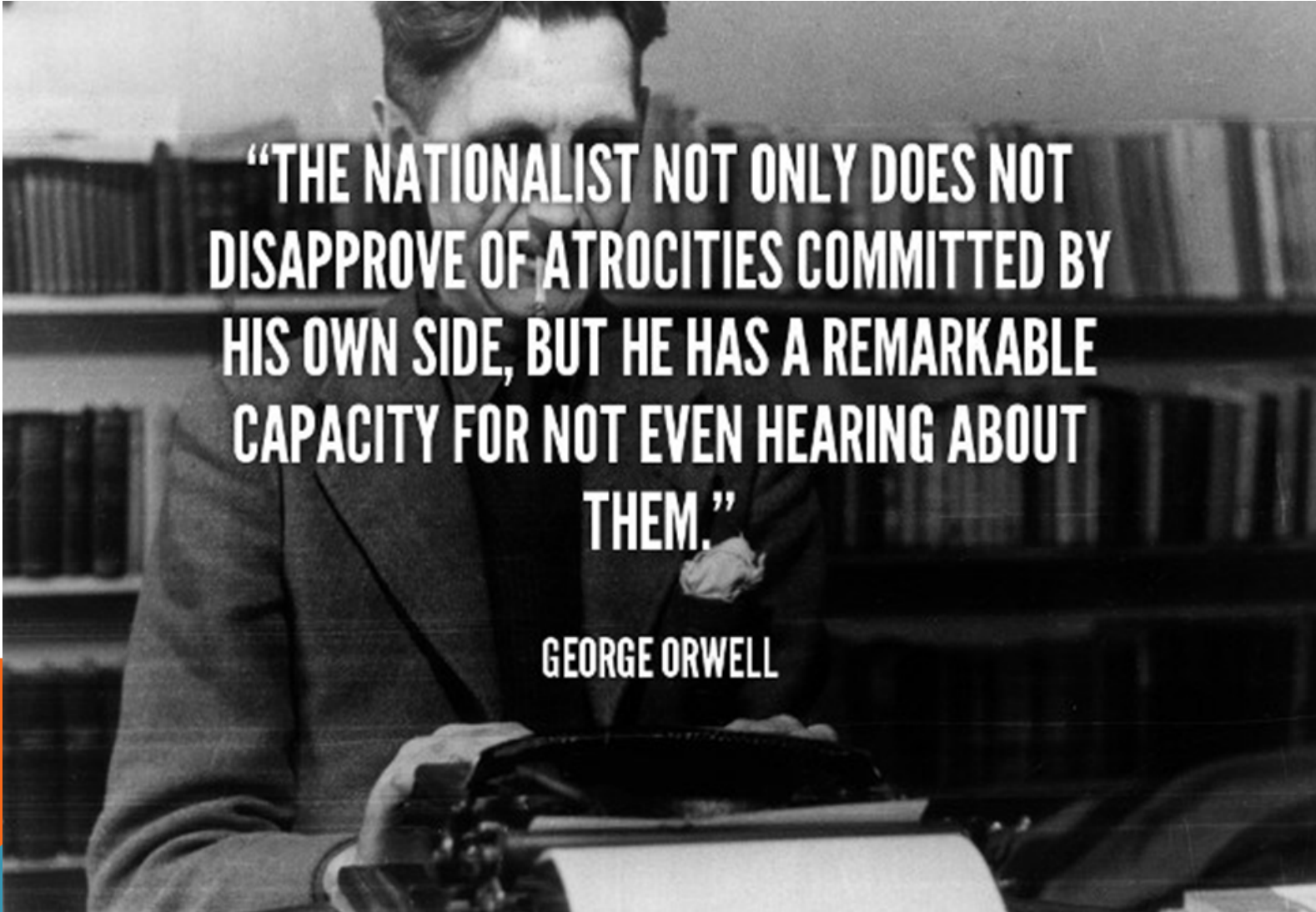
Born 1969

NATIONALISM

Hoffman and **Graham** note that:

“Nationalism depends on forgetfulness: forgetting the factual, highly contingent formation of the nation. The problem for liberal political theorists is less one of the authoritarian implications of elevating the nation over the individual...but much more of the deception necessarily entailed in effectively constructing the nation. Liberals believe in transparency and nationalism is bound up with mythology.”

NATIONALISM

A black and white photograph of George Orwell sitting at a typewriter in a library. He is wearing a dark suit and tie, and has a cigarette in his mouth. The background shows bookshelves filled with books. The text is overlaid on the image in white, bold, sans-serif font.

**“THE NATIONALIST NOT ONLY DOES NOT
DISAPPROVE OF ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY
HIS OWN SIDE, BUT HE HAS A REMARKABLE
CAPACITY FOR NOT EVEN HEARING ABOUT
THEM.”**

GEORGE ORWELL

NATIONALISM

Liberalism and Hard Ethnic Nationalism

This is where an ethnic group is defined in biological, and not just cultural terms.



NATIONALISM

Immigration

How we justify the nation – or indeed if we justify it at all – will determine the question of who can be admitted to it and the criteria for membership of it.

Hoffman and Graham cite 3 perspectives:



NATIONALISM

The Group

If the group is what matters then an immigration policy should be fashioned that maintains the survival of the group beyond the deaths of its individual members. This was very close to **von Herder's** position. The group does not need to have a *biological* reality but it does have a *cultural* reality.



NATIONALISM

The Individual

If we take the individual as the basic unit of value then we might come to several competing policy conclusions:

1. Open borders – no controls on migrants
2. Restrictions justified on the grounds that the world is best organized into states (will immigration undermine social cohesion through welfare payments, health care, housing, etc...?)
3. Can a more liberal immigration policy be supported on utilitarian grounds (will such policies improve the condition of the state)?



NATIONALISM

The Gene

If we focus on genes themselves – and not on the effects that genes have – then the likely conclusion is that there should be a highly restrictive immigration policy.

