

Nationalism and Economic Nationalism



Which World do you want to live in?

Get out your clickers! Assume you are an American....

- Which world would you prefer to live in:
- A. a world in which every American is **25 per cent wealthier** than he/she is now, but every Chinese Indian, and Brazilian is much wealthier than the average American.
- B. A world in which Americans are **only 10 per cent wealthier than now but ahead** of the average Chinese, Indian, or Brazilian?

Today's Menu

- I. Review
 - A. Redistribution and Community “ **People may benefit from their advantage in the genetic lottery but only on terms that improve the lot of those who are least well off. Tax them and redistribute the income.**”
 - B. Filling the Void
 - C. The six ingredients of National Identity
 - D. The seventh ingredient: A National Economy
 - E. Nation and State
- II. Civic Nationalism
 - A. History
 - B. Critique
- III. Ethnic Nationalism
 - A. History
 - B. Critique
- IV. Economic Nationalism
 - A. List
 - B. Principles



A. Venn Diagram

Group Identity

Plato
Aristotle
Aquinas
Polanyi

**Virtue and compassion
Define "The Good Life"**

Community

Bentham
Rousseau
Sandel

**Self-actualization of all
Defines "The Good Life"**

Communism

Gift economy
communal giving
defines the good life

Egalitarianism

Egalitarianism

Smith
Safety nets and
Redistribution

**Individual
Identity**

**Class Identity
(under capitalism)**

**Equality
(Marx)**

Equal opportunity

Freedom

Markets

Mill
Locke
Levitt and Dubner

**Wealth and freedom
Define "The Good Life"**



Nations depart from other communities because they are led by states

What is a State?

- Territory
- People living in the territory
- Power over the people in the territory
- A monopoly on violence

“Necessary evil” Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau

“Form of False Consciousness”

- National identity serves a political purpose
- National identity is socially constructed
- It is an ideology constructed by a political elite to serve the interests of the elite

A cultural view..... The state is the soul of the nation and is a “positive good

States need Nations and Nations need states



Civic Nationalism and Ethnic Nationalism

- Opposing views of national identity: ethnonationalism tends to win out.....
- Civic (liberal) Nationalism
 - National identity is based on the social contract— individual choice to be a member of the political community—citizenship is voluntary
 - Individualist ideologies and liberal democratic states
- Ethnic Nationalism
 - National identity is inherent
 - Collectivist ideologies and sometimes authoritarian states

The State Creates the Nation: Civic Nationalism in Britain and France

- Britain and France as “early nationalizers” and “liberal nationalizers
- Britain: The state created nationalism (the six ingredients)
 - Henry VIII unified British territory
 - Religion: The Church of England
 - Unified economy
 - Language
 - Traditions and ideology
 - Civic nationalism (based on Liberal ideology)
- France
 - Mystical interpretation of Rousseau
 - From “freedom” to “general will” to the Terror: men were “forced to be free.”
 - Napoleon and the Imperialism of “freedom”

Critique of Civic Nationalism

- **Liberal Nations are in Tension**
 - Immigration
 - Trade
 - Religion
 - National security
- **Will liberalism give way to nationalism because civic nationalism is weak?**
 - Does civic nationalism lack the emotion, sense of family, blood ties, mysticism that ethnic nationalism possesses?
- **When push comes to shove, will liberalism give way to nationalism? Two liberal thinkers:**

Adam Smith:

The love of our own country seems not to be derived from the love of mankind. We do not love our country merely as a part of the great society of mankind: we love it for its own sake...

The wise and virtuous man is at all times willing that his own private interest should be sacrificed to the public interest ... the greater interest of the state or sovereignty, He should ..be willing [to sacrifice] to the greater interest of the universe....However, the care of universal happiness is the business of God and not of man. To man is allotted a much humbler department, but one much more suitable to the weakness of his powers, and to the narrowness of his comprehension; the care of his own happiness, of that of his family, his friends, his country

Giuseppe Mazzini

You are free, and therefore responsible. From this moral liberty is derived your right to political liberty, your duty to conquer it for yourselves and to keep it inviolate, and the duty of others not to limit it. Do not be led astray by hopes of material progress which in your present conditions can only be illusions. Your Country alone can fulfill these hopes. **You cannot obtain your rights except by obeying the commands of Duty. O my Brothers ! love your Country.** Our Country is our home, the home which God has given us, with which **we have a more intimate and quicker communion of feeling and thought than with others;** a family which by its concentration upon a given spot, and by the **homogeneous nature of its elements,** is destined for a special kind of activity. Our Country is our field of labour; the products of our activity must go forth from it for the benefit of the whole earth; **In labouring according to true principles for our Country we are labouring for Humanity;**

The Nation creates the State: Ethnic Nationalism in Germany

- Language the only identity marker—no tangible frontiers
- Upper classes spoke French
- nationalism was inhibited from the outside:
 - Other nations wanted to keep Germany fragmented
- But Nationalism grew from the inside: Language and Religion.....Luther and the Bible (Printing Press + Translation of the Bible into German
 - Used “German” symbols to fight the Catholic church
 - Protestant religion in Northern Germany
- Backlash against French imperialism
- Along came Herder

Tiny states.....1966-67



Herder

- Don't imitate the French!
- Each "people" have their own spirit and character (collective vs. individual identity)
 - The "Volk" and rejection of individual identity
 - Herder began to fight against the ideology of freedom and individualism:
 - Emphasized collective intuition and genius as opposed to individual reason
 - Emphasized cultural difference rather than human equality
 - He did not see reason as the center of human nature:
 - He believed that every nation should have its own state and the state was a "positive good"
 - Shared community more than equal rights
 - A moral community



- "The savage who loves himself, his wife, and his child with quiet joy and glows with limited activity for his tribe as for his own life is, it seems to me, a more genuine being than that cultured shade who is enchanted by the shadow of his whole species.... In his poor hut, the former finds room for every stranger, receives him as a brother with impartial good humor and never asks whence he came. The inundated heart of the idle cosmopolitan is a home for no one...."
- **NO SENSE OF NATIONAL SUPERIORITY! Just difference...**

Germany: A budding Nation in Search of a State

- Germans looked over at France---that Nation had a State!!!
- German Failure to create a liberal state
- The Prussian State became the German State
- Prussia put a militaristic mark on German nationalism and combined with the seeds of ethnic nationalism
- What were these seeds?



Father Jahn

- Father Jahn: organized a German youth movement
 - Nationalism through exercise: “political gymnastics” — calisthenics for the Fatherland
 - Taught kids that they should be suspicious of Jews and foreigners (Jews were “internationalists”)



Fichte

- Slipped from cultural uniqueness to German superiority
- He wanted a state that could isolate itself from the world to develop its own volksgeist
- The Volksgeist could not be tainted by other cultures.
- He moves from cultural nationalism to political nationalism
- “closed commercialism” = economic nationalism



Economic Nationalism Continental

Style: Fred List

- Mercantilism (Review)
 - Smith and Ricardo argued strongly against this
 - List argued strongly against Smith and Ricardo. Three main ideas:
 1. Free Trade and National Power
 2. The division between Politics and Economics—the role of the state
 3. Economics and Identity



**Was a Tariff bad or good
for Germany**

	Free Trade	The State	Source of identity in political economy
Smith and Ricardo	Good for all countries; creates aggregate wealth	A neutral umpire in making sure trade remains free	The free individual
Marx	Allows the capitalist class to roam the world, exploiting labor	Committee to manage affairs of the ruling class	Economic class
List	Only rich and powerful states like Free trade. It destroys weaker states	Protector of society; it must amass wealth for the good of the nation	The nation