

# Today's Menu

## I. Justice (Cont.)

A. How should we decide what is just?

B. Entitlements and Justice

C. The Libertarian's Answer

D. Should We be free to own all of the fruits of our talents? Or are our talents collective assets?

G. The Market System is not Unchangeable

## II. Nationalism

A. Freedom and Equality are not Enough

B. Large Parts of the Human Experience that Freedom and Equality Leave out

C. The Nation as Community

D. The Creation of National identity: Land, Language, Symbols, Religion

E. National Identity is Mystical

F. Nations are communities that fill the vacuum left by freedom and equality

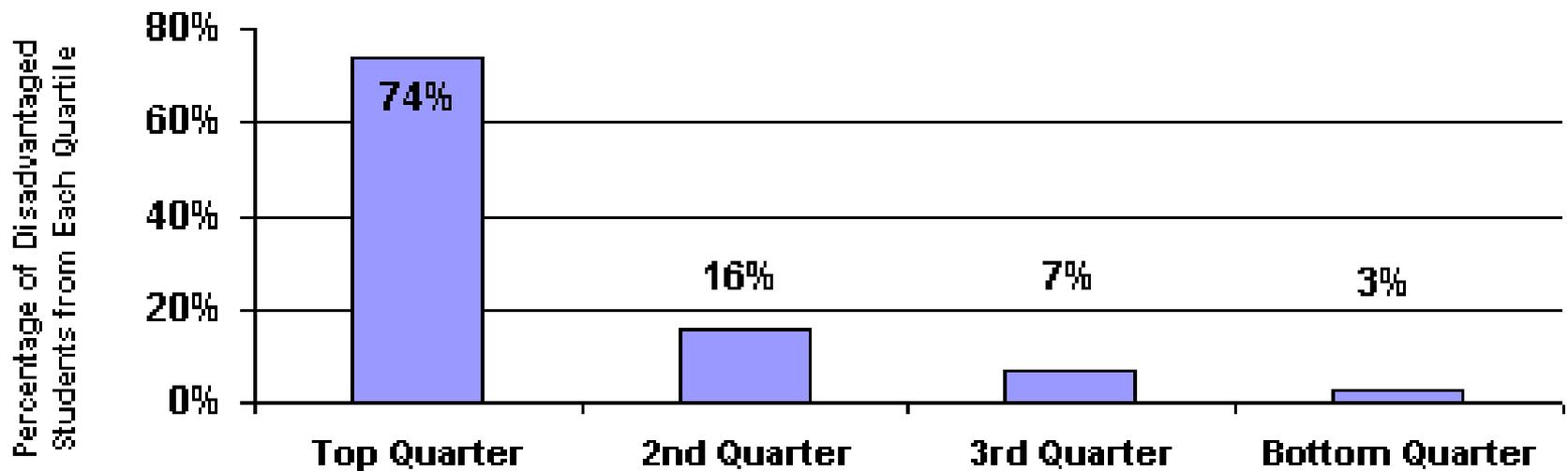
G. They Depart From previous Communities in many Ways

## c. How should we decide?

- renounce old social order. Justice is Blind. It applies to all equally. (Liberal , egalitarian view)
- Equal distribution (Marxist view)
- Equality of opportunity is Necessary. (equity—fairness—based on merit)
- is it enough? (level playing field)
- Does it still leave room for arbitrary factors that create inequality? Talent? Effort?
- Redistributive Principle

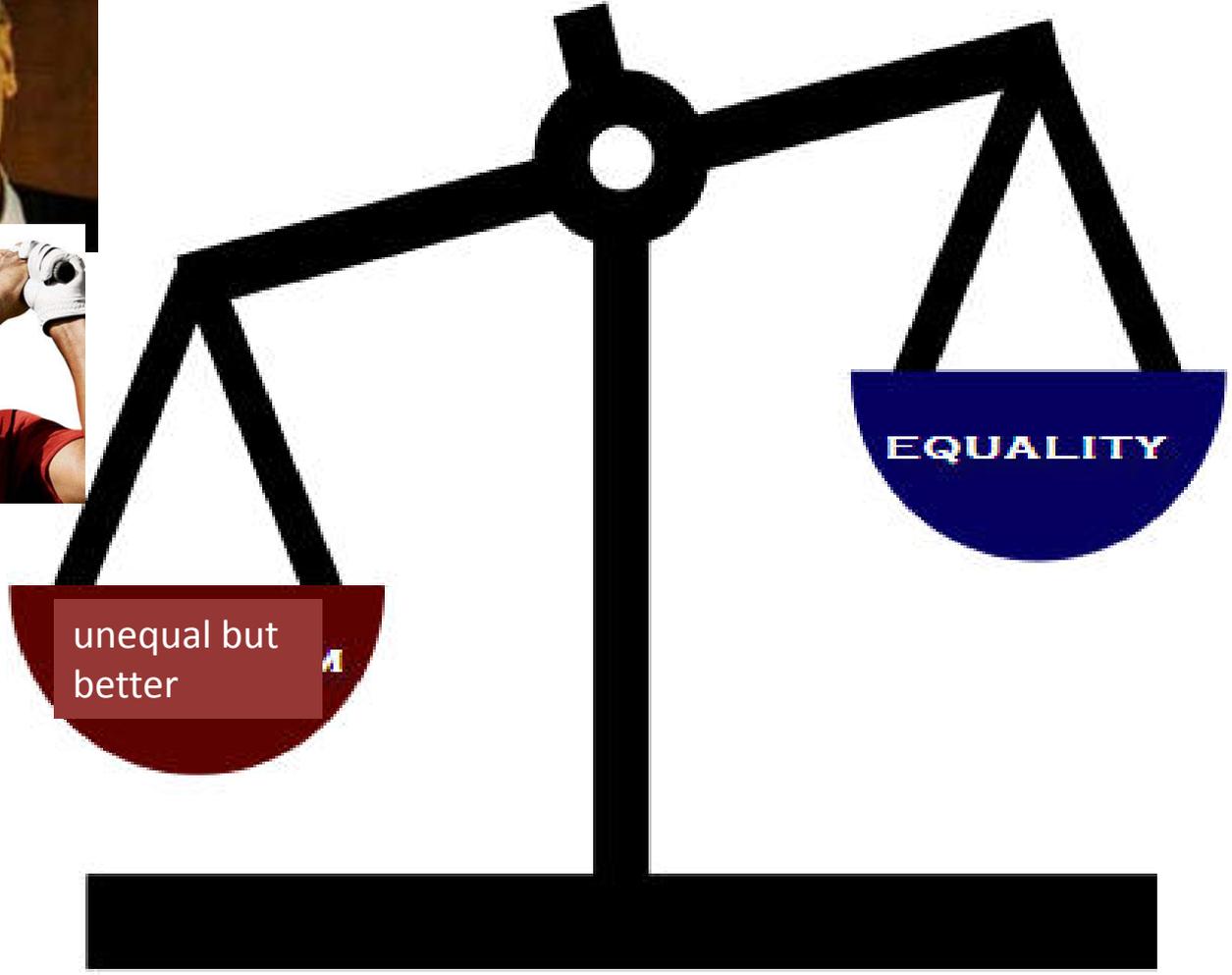


## Socioeconomic Status of Students in Selective Colleges



Percentage of Disadvantaged Students Admitted to Selective Colleges  
by High School Class

# Smith: Redistributive Principle



# D. Entitlements and Justice in The Market system

- Economy : Market provides entitlements but not what we necessarily deserve

Society

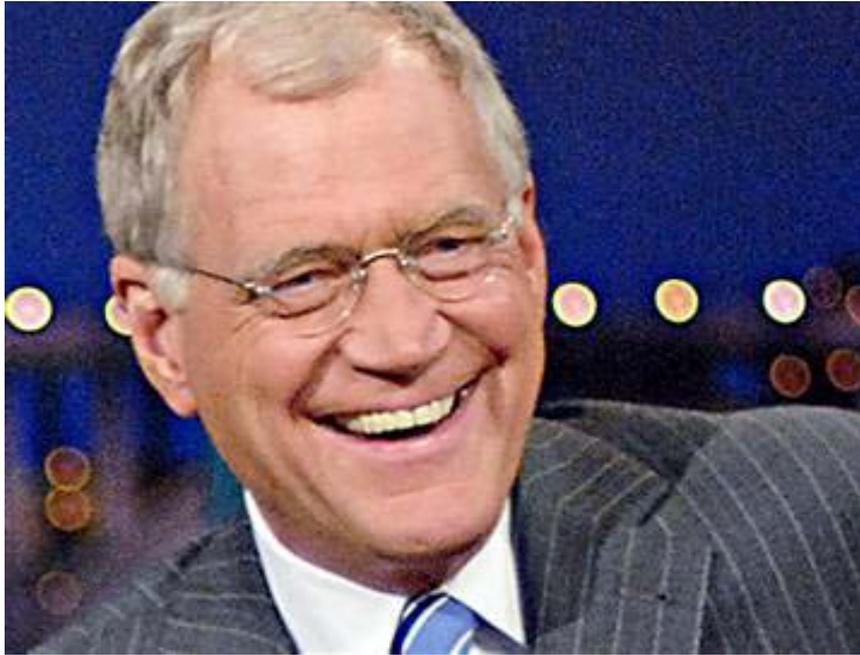
## E. The Libertarian's Answer

- "Life is not fair. It is tempting to think that government can rectify what life has spawned." --Milton Friedman

F. Should we be free to own all of the fruits of our talents?



Or Are our Talents collective assets?



# G. The Market system is not unchangeable.....

## Society

"The social system is not an unchangeable order beyond human control but a pattern of human action.... The principle [of Distributive Justice] is a fair way of meeting the arbitrariness of fortune"

Market

# Nationalism



**From Ancient to Modern  
Theories of Community**

# Why Nationalism?

## Failures of Liberalism.....

The focus on reason leaves out emotion or a set of higher principles to guide human behavior.

the focus on freedom leaves out the human need for security

Market makes no provision for community solidarity

- The “cash nexus” destroys solidarity
- Focus on the individual leaves out community

The focus on competitiveness leaves out cooperation and heroism

Keynes: The decadent international but individualistic capitalism, in the hands of which we find ourselves. . . Is not a success. It is not intelligent, it is not beautiful, it is not just, it is not virtuous, and it doesn't deliver the goods....”

Maybe consideration for higher principles, security, human solidarity, and cooperation should also guide allocative systems

But are these principles compatible with the Market?

# And Marxism.....

## Freedom leaves out important social needs

- All behavior is reduced to **private choices**
- The good of the community is identified only with those individuals who are effective **competitors** in the struggle for life.
- All rationality, **no emotion**
- All law, **no heroes**
- Markets → **insecurity, fragmented community**

## Equality (the Marxist critique of Liberalism)

- All **class conflict**, no feeling of human solidarity
- Class conflict → **fragmented community**
- Equality does not erase **alienation**
- **equality does not create communal solidarity**

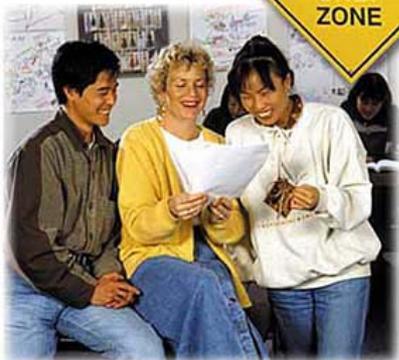
# The Nation as imagined community

- **Humans long for community**
- People crave for an identity bigger than themselves
- National identity is “modern”
  - Identity with strangers in an impersonal world
  - Ties with others are impersonal, remote,
  - Vicarious communication
- A nation is an imagined community
- A nation is a finite community
- What are the ingredients of a national identity?

# The 6 ingredients of National Identity



**English Only  
Please!**



Freedom  
Rings

A graphic of the Liberty Bell, outlined in a rainbow color. The text "Freedom Rings" is overlaid on the bell.

# Possibly the Biggest Ingredient of national identity: Identity with the Land



This Land is Your Land This Land is My Land  
From California to the New York Island

# National Identity is mystical, not rational

- The identity is not an accident but a mystical “given”
  - Mazzini: "Your Country is the token of the mission which God has given you to fulfill in Humanity."
- National uniqueness
  - Mazzini: "To you, who have been born in Italy, God has allotted, as if favouring you specially, the best-defined country in Europe."
- Nations have “souls”
- Nations have “missions”

# Emotion, land, tradition, religion, sense of historical mission,

- "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee i sing." Land of the Pilgram's pride, land where my fathers died, from every mountain side, Let freedom ring.
- My native country thee, Land of the noble free, Thy name I love. I love thy rocks and rills, Thy woods and templed hills, My heart with rapture thrills, Like that above.
- Our fathers' God, to thee, author of liberty, to thee we sing. Long may our land be bright, with freedom's holy light: protect us hv thy might, Great God our King.



**GOD IS  
KING**



# **Nations are ideological communities that fill the vacuum left by freedom and equality**

- They evoke emotion, not reason
- They evoke solidarity
- They provide an identity bigger than ourselves
- They provide security
- They provide an arena for cooperation
  - Mazzini: "A Country is not a mere territory; the particular territory is only its foundation. The Country is the idea which rises upon that foundation; it is the sentiment of love, the sense of fellowship which binds together all the sons of that territory."

# **But they depart from other communities because they are led by states**

Liberals would say that The state is a necessary evil--- individuals create the state

Marx would say.....The State creates the nation

- 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 Nation creates the state

# Liberal and Illiberal Nationalism

- Liberal Nations are in Tension
- 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;**

# How did Liberal Nationalism emerge?

## The Early Nationalizers (some history)

- Britain
  - Henry VIII wanted to unify territory
  - Transfers of loyalty and state-building
  - Religion: The Church of England
  - Language
  - Traditions and ideology
  - Civic nationalism (based on Liberal ideology)
- France
  - Mystical interpretation of Rousseau
  - Napoleon and Liberal Imperialism

# Illiberal Nationalism: Germany

- Language the only identity marker—no tangible frontiers
- Upper classes spoke French
- Other nations wanted to keep Germany fragmented
- 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

# 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: Liberalism
    - Emphasized collective intuition and genius as opposed to individual reason
    - Emphasized cultural difference rather than human equality
  - Herder was the father of "multi-culturalism"
  - Did not say that the German People was "superior"
- Germans began to long for a "state of their own"

# Father Jahn and Fichte

- Father Jahn: organized a 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
  - The German spirit is primordial and immutable
  - More Noble than that of other people

# Militarism needs Nationalism

- Prussian state became the German state
- Prussia put a militaristic mark on German nationalism: militarism + collective identity
- Began to conquer territory for itself and created the “German Reich”
- Bismark used Nationalism to undermine trade unions fighting for workers’ rights
  - Gave workers a sense of protection and unity
  - A deeper worth as part of a group
- German nationalism was collectivistic (ethnic) and authoritarian
- A response to liberal imperialism (French imperialism)
- Could not be based on liberal values
- Came to be “illiberal nationalism” Based on community identity (blood, ethnicity) not “rights” --- rather ascriptive characteristics