

Nationalism and Economic Nationalism



Which World do you want to live in?



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



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 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**

Guisepppe 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

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

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- "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



Nationalism and Imperialism

- Is all Nationalism imperialistic?
- Civic and Ethnic nationalism breed different kinds of imperialism
- Civic Nationalism
 - Inclusive and superior ideology
- Ethnic Nationalism
 - Tries to conquer territory
 - At its most radical, “ethnic cleansing”

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



Summary of Economic Nationalism

- Competition among states for wealth and power (not Smith and Ricardo's harmony of interests)
- Perspective is national (not global, not a class perspective)
- The State should direct the economy for the good of the nation
- Relationship between wealth and power: state must amass national wealth in order to enhance national power.
- Beliefs about the international economy: It is competitive. States will always struggle for power and wealth, will necessarily be imperialist. Relative wealth and power are what matter most
- Relative gain is more important than mutual gain or aggregate gain.

Econ Nationalism: Specialization and Trade

England trades Portugal 4 units of cloth for 4 units of wine

Exchange rate is 1 to 1.

	Wine	Cloth
England	5	6 (available goods =11)
Portugal	12	4 (available goods =16)

Total goods produced is still 27 but each country is better off than before trade and both are better off than before “efficiency”

What matters is that Portugal is richer, and therefore more powerful than England