

MA IN NATIONALISM STUDIES**POLITICAL THOUGHT AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION****COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OUTLINE**

Lecturer: David Jiménez Torres

Email address: dajimeneztorres@ucm.es

Class schedule: Mondays, 15:30 – 18:30.

Office hours: Thursdays 13:00-14:00, Fridays 13:00-14:00.

DESCRIPTION

This module examines the interrelation of political thought and nationalism. It will analyse the various ways in which the main modern ideologies (liberalism, conservatism, socialism, anarchism, fascism) have addressed the issue of what nations 'are', and how these perspectives have evolved over time in response to specific historical circumstances and processes.

CLASS DYNAMICS AND EXPECTATIONS

All classes will begin with a 30-minute presentation by the lecturer. This will be followed by an extended debate on the required reading for that week. All students will be expected to have done the required reading before the session. Each week, one student will also be expected to find an extra 'item' (a campaign poster, a political advertisement, a film extract, a passage from a novel, a song...) that is pertinent to that week's topic/reading, and share it with the rest of the group.

All course materials (including class slides, weekly readings and introductory videos for each of the four topics) will be posted online beforehand.

ASSESSMENT

40% of the final grade will be based on active participation during the weekly seminars.

20% of the final grade will be based on short presentations during the weekly seminars.

40% of the final grade will be based on a written assignment, to be presented at the end of the semester.

COURSE OUTLINE

1. INTRODUCTION

Week 1 (9/9)

Introduction to the course.

Week 2 (16/9)

Required reading:

- Craig Calhoun, "State, Nation and Legitimacy", in *Nations and Nationalism*, pp. 66-85
- Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe", in *Mapping the Nation* pp. 78-96

Supplementary reading:

- Margaret Moore, "Nationalism", in *Routledge Companion to Social and Political Philosophy*
- Michael Freeden, "Is Nationalism a Distinct Ideology?", in *Liberal Languages*
- Joep Leerssen, "Nationalism and the cultivation of culture", *Nations and Nationalism* 12 (4), 2006, pp. 559-578.
- Benner, "Nationalism: Intellectual Origins", in *Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*

Week 3 (23/9)

Required reading

- Emilio Gentile, *Politics as Religion*, Introduction.

Supplementary reading

- Dean Kostantaras, *Nationalism and Revolution in Europe, 1763-1848*, chapters 2 ("Enlightenment Era Representations of the Nation") & 3 ("The Enlightenment Nation as a Site of Practice").
- James Goodman, "Nationalism as a Social Movement", *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*,
- Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "Formal and informal nationalism", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16 (1)
- X. M. Núñez Seixas, "Nations in arms against the invader: on nationalist discourses during the Spanish Civil War", in *The Splintering of Spain*

2. LIBERALISM

Week 4 (30/9)

Required reading:

- Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (Book 2: 1-4, 8-11; Book 3: 8)

Supplementary reading:

- Bernard Yack, "Popular sovereignty and nationalism", *Political Theory* 29 (4), 2001, 517-536
- Duncan Kelly, "Popular sovereignty as state theory in the 19th century", in *Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective*, pp. 270 - 296
- Richard Tuck, "Democratic sovereignty and democratic government", in *Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective*, pp. 115-141
- Eric Hobsbawm, "The nation as novelty: from revolution to liberalism", *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Canto, pp. 14-45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1992)
- Paul Kelly, "Liberalism and Nationalism", in *The Cambridge Companion to Liberalism*, 2015

Week 5 (7/10)

Required reading:

- Ernest Renan, "What is a nation?"
- John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, chapters 16 & 18

Supplementary reading:

- Dean Kostantaras, *Nationalism and Revolution in Europe, 1763-1848*, chapter 7 ("Revolutions of 1848")
- Krishan Kumar, "Nation-states as empires, empires as nation-states: two principles, one practice?", *Theory and Society* 39, 119-143, 2010.
- Stefan Berger & Alexei Miller, "Introduction: Building nations in and with Empires – A Reassessment", in *Nationalizing Empires*, 1-30 (2015)
- Neil Evans, "'A World Empire, Sea-Girt': the British Empire, State and Nations" in *Nationalizing Empires*, 31-98 (2015)

Week 6 (14/10)

Required reading:

- George Orwell, "Notes on Nationalism", *Polemic*, 1945
- Friedrich Hayek, "Why I am not a Conservative", in *The Constitution of Liberty* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960)

Supplementary reading:

- James Mayall, "Nationalism and imperialism", in *Cambridge History of Twentieth Century Political Thought*, 104-122.
- Camilla Schofield, "A nation or no nation? Enoch Powell and Thatcherism", in In B. Jackson & R. Saunders (Eds.), *Making Thatcher's Britain* (pp. 95-110). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012
- Quinn Slobodian, "Chapter 1. A world of walls" in *Globalists. The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism*, 2018.
- Erez Manela, "Chapter 2. Fighting for the Mind of Mankind", *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*, 2007

3. CONSERVATISM, CATHOLICISM AND FASCISM

Week 7 (21/10)

Required reading:

- Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, Addresses 8 ("What a people is in the highest sense of the word") & 11 ("On whom the execution of this plan of education will devolve")

Supplementary reading:

- Joep Leersen, "From Bökendorf to Berlin: Private Careers, Public Sphere, and how the Past changed in Jacob Grimm's Lifetime", in *Free Access to the Past: Romanticism, Cultural Heritage and the Nation*, 2010
- Walter Schmidt, The nation in German history The nation in German history. In M. Teich & R. Porter (Eds.), *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context* (pp. 148-180). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Thomas Kohut, "Chapter 8. Personal Symbol of the nation", in *Wilhelm II and the Germans*
- Eric D. Weitz, "Self-Determination", *American Historical Review*, 2015.

Week 8 (28/10)

Required reading:

- Joseph de Maistre, *On the Sovereignty of the People*, chapters 3 ("Of Sovereignty in General"), 4 ("Of Particular Sovereignities and Nations")
- Roger Scruton, "Chapter 1. Conserving Nations", in *A Political Philosophy. Arguments for Conservatism*, 2007.

Supplementary reading:

- Eric Hobsbawm, "The transformation of nationalism, 1870-1918", in *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Canto, pp. 101-130. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1992)
- Richard Bourke, "Popular sovereignty and political representation: Edmund Burke in the Context of Eighteenth-Century Thought", in R. Bourke & Q. Skinner (Eds.), *Popular*

Sovereignty in Historical Perspective (pp. 212-235). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- John Kekes, “Conservatism” in *Routledge Companion to Social and Political Philosophy*, 2012.

Week 9 (4/11)

Required reading:

- Charles Maurras, “Dictator and King”, in McClelland, ed. *French Right: From De Maistre to Maurras*, Harper & Row, 1970.
- Ramiro de Maeztu, *In Defense of ‘Hispanidad’* [excerpts]

Supplementary reading:

- Mary Vincent, “Religion: The Idea of Catholic Spain”, in *Metaphors of Spain* (2017)
- James McMillan, “‘Priest hits girl’: On the front line in the ‘war of the two Frances’”, in C. Clark & W. Kaiser (Eds.), *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (pp. 77-101). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (2003)
- Michael Sutton, *Nationalism, Positivism and Catholicism, The Politics of Charles Maurras*, chs. 2 & 3

Week 10 (11/11)

Required reading:

- Benito Mussolini and Giovanni Gentile, *The Doctrine of Fascism* (1932) [excerpts]
- Adolf Hitler, *My Struggle* [excerpts]

Supplementary reading:

- Roger Griffin, “Chapter 2. A New Ideal Type of Generic Fascism”, in *The Nature of Fascism*
- George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the masses*, ch. 1
- George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution*, ch. 12 “From Theory to Practice”
- Roger Eatwell, *Fascism: A History*, ch. 1

4. SOCIALISM

Week 11 (18/11)

Required reading:

- Karl Marx, *The Communist Manifesto* [excerpts]
- Otto Bauer, *The Question of Nationalities and Social Democracy* [excerpts]
- Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question* [excerpts]

Supplementary reading:

- John Schwarzmantel, "Nationalism and Socialist Internationalism", in *Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*
- Graham Day & Andrew Thompson, *Theorizing Nationalism*, "Chapter 2. The Marxist Tradition"
- Perry Anderson, "Internationalism: a Breviary", *New Left Review*, 14 (2002)
- Luyang Zhou, "Nationalism and Communism as Foes and Friends. Comparing the Bolshevik and Chinese Revolutionaries", *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes De Sociologie*, 60(3), 313-350, 2019
- Orlando Figes, *The Story of Russia*, ch. 10

Week 12 (25/11)

Required reading:

- Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *The General Idea of the Revolution in the 19th century* [excerpts]
- Emma Goldman, "Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty"
- Rudolf Rocker, *Nationalism and Culture*, Book II, Chs. 1, 2 and 12

Supplementary reading:

- Uri Gordon, "Anarchism and Nationalism", in *Brill Companion to Anarchism and Philosophy*
- Robert Sparrow, "For the Union Makes Us Strong: Anarchism and Patriotism", in *Patriotism: Philosophical and Political Perspectives*
- Gutiérrez & Kinna, "Introduction. Anarchism and the national question – historical, theoretical and contemporary perspectives", *Nations and Nationalism*, 2022, 1-10
- Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination*
- Angel Smith, "Nationalism and Internationalism in the Discourse, Practice and Culture of the Early Twentieth-Century Barcelona Labour Movement", in *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula*

Week 13 (2/12)

Required reading:

- Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, "On National Culture" [excerpts]
- Che Guevara, "Political sovereignty and economic independence"
- Ho Chi Minh, *On Revolution*, "Report On The National And Colonial Questions At The Fifth Congress Of The Communist International"

Supplementary reading:

- Gopal Balakrishnan, "The National Imagination", in *Mapping the Nation*
- Partha Chatterjee, "Whose imagined community?", in *Mapping the Nation*
- Lonsdale, "Anti-Colonial Nationalism and Patriotism in Sub-Saharan Africa", in *Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*
- VVA, "Self-Determination" in 1989. *A Global History of Eastern Europe*.

- Michael Goebel, *Anti imperial metropolis*, ch. 5

5. DEMOCRACY

Week 14 (9/12)

Required reading:

- Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural citizenship*, ch. 9

Supplementary reading:

- William Safran, "Multiculturalism, ethnicity, and the nation-state", in Lecours & Moreno, *Nationalism and Democracy*
- Jan-Werner Müller, "On the origins of constitutional patriotism", in *Patriotism: Philosophical and Political Perspectives*
- Sune Loegaard, "Introduction" in *Nationalism and Multiculturalism in a World of Immigration* (2009)
- Andrew Vincent, "Liberalism and Citizenship" in *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Liberalism*