

Dr. Jessica Kimpell Johnson (jlk2191@columbia.edu)  
Spring 2013  
Political Science W3170  
Mondays and Wednesdays, 10:10 AM – 11:25 AM  
603 Hamilton Hall  
Office Hours: by appointment.

***Course Title: Nationalism, Republicanism and Cosmopolitanism***

Do we have obligations to our co-nationals that we do not owe to others? Might our loyalties or obligations to our fellow citizens be based on a commitment to shared political principles and common public life rather than national identity? Do we have basic duties that are owed equally to human beings everywhere, regardless of national or political affiliation? Do our commitments to co-nationals or compatriots conflict with those duties we might owe to others, and if so, to what extent? Is cosmopolitanism based on rationality and patriotism based on passion?

This course will explore these questions from the perspectives of nationalism, republicanism and cosmopolitanism. We will consider historical works from Herder, Rousseau, Kant, Fichte, Mill, Mazzini and Renan; and more contemporary contributions from Berlin, Miller, Canovan, MacIntyre, Viroli, Sandel, Pettit, Habermas, Nussbaum, Appiah and Pogge, among others.

Objectives: students will be able to think analytically and critically about the normative issues involved in nationalist, republican and cosmopolitan thought; compare them with each other and with other modern ideologies, especially liberalism; and understand and participate in current debates within political theory in these areas.

Delivery: the course will be a lecture course. Each class will consist of a lecture followed by questions and discussion, focusing on different aspects of the topic.

Assessment: students will write two papers over the course of the term, take a mid-term exam and be assessed on their contribution to class.

Grade breakdown:

20% Paper (3-4 pages)

30% Mid-Term Exam

35% Final Paper (6-7 pages)

15% Participation

\*Please prepare for class and discussion by reading the assigned materials. The average amount of reading per week is 70-80 pages.

\*Papers should use one-inch margins, double-spacing and 11- or 12-point font. Papers must be turned in during class on the due date. Late papers will result in a 1/3 lower letter grade for each day late. Papers are due on Feb. 27 and May 6.

\*Mid-term exam (in class) will be essay format.

\*The readings for class can be found on our class Courseworks page (abbreviated as CW in the syllabus) or through the library's E-journals and E-books resources.

## I. NATIONALISM

Jan. 23, Introduction to class

### A. *Theories of Nationalism*

Jan. 28, No readings

Lecture will reference:

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 1991.

Ernst Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1983.

Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 1990.

### B. *Herder, Fichte and early German Nationalism*

Jan. 30

*Herder on Social and Political Culture* (ed.) F.M. Barnard, (Cambridge: CUP, 2010) (selections from Johann Gottfried Herder's *Ideas for a Philosophy of the History of Mankind*): Book IV, ch. VI, pp. 267-272; Book VII, ch. I, pp. 282-284; Book VIII, ch. V, pp. 307-311; and Book IX, ch. IV, pp. 317-326. [CW]

Isaiah Berlin, *Vico and Herder: Two Studies in the History of Ideas* (Hogarth Press: London, 1976, 1992), pp. 156-165; 180-194; 206-213. [CW]

Feb. 4

Isaiah Berlin, "Bent Twig: A Note on Nationalism," *Foreign Affairs*, 51(1)(1972): pp. 11-30. [E-journals]

Johann Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, 1968, Numbers 1, 8 and 13. [CW]

### C. *Liberal Nationalism in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Europe*

Feb. 6

Guiseppe Mazzini, "Duties to Country" and "To the Italians" in *The Duties of Man* (trans.) E Noyes (London: Dent, 1907), pp. 51-66; 221-247. [E-Books]

Feb. 11

Emmanuel Sieyes, "What is the Third Estate?" in *Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, Political Writings* (ed.) M. Sonenscher (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Co., Inc., 2003), pp. 93-105. [CW]

Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?" in H. Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 8-21. [CW]

Daniel Defoe, "True Englishmen" [<http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/173337>].

Feb. 13

John Stuart Mill, "On Nationality" in *Considerations on Representative Government*, (various editions). [E-Books]

John Acton, "Nationality" in J. Frears (ed.), *Selected Writings of Lord Acton*, 1985. [CW]

## ***D. Nationalism in Contemporary Thought***

### ***1. Liberal Nationalism***

Feb. 18

David Miller, *On Nationality*, 1995, ch. 3, pp. 49-80. [E-Books]

David Miller, *Citizenship and National Identity*, ch. 4, pp. 62-80. [CW]

### ***2. National Self-Determination and Secession***

Feb. 20

David Miller, *Citizenship and National Identity*, ch. 7, pp. 110-124. [CW]

### ***3. Critics of Nationalism***

Feb. 25

Michael Ignatieff, "Nationalism and the Narcissism of Minor Differences" in R. Beiner (ed.), *Theorizing Nationalism*, pp. 91-102. [E-Books]

Alan Buchanan, "What's So Special About Nations?" in J. Couture, K. Nelson and M. Seymour (eds.), *Rethinking Nationalism* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1998), pp. 283-309. [E-Books]

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## **II. REPUBLICANISM**

### **\*\*FIRST PAPER DUE\*\***

#### ***A. Rousseau and Republican Patriotism***

Feb. 27

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Part I, Book I, and *The Government of Poland*, in V. Gourevitch (ed.), *The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*, 1997. [CW]

#### ***B. Patriotism and Freedom***

March 4

Maurizio Viroli, "Introduction" in *For Love of Country* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 1-17. [E-Books]

March 6

Isaiah Berlin, 'Two Concepts of Liberty' pp. TBA [CW]

Philip Pettit, *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), ch. 1, pp. 17-27; 31-37. [CW]

#### ***C. Democracy and Community***

March 11

Michael Sandel, *Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 317-333; 338-351. [CW]

Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), ch. 4, pp. 83-91; 99-120. [E-book]

**\*\*MIDTERM\*\***

March 13

***D. Patriotic Partiality***

March 25

Alasdair MacIntyre, "Is Patriotism a Virtue?" in R. Beiner (ed.), *Theorizing Citizenship*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), pp. 209-228. [CW]

***E. "Modern" Patriotism***

March 27

James Madison, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers*, (ed.) I. Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), Nos. 9 and 10. [CW]

"Letters from the Federal Farmer," No. I, pp. 257-264; "Brutus," Essays No. I, pp. 270-280; "Cato," Letter No. V pp. 317-321, in *The Anti-Federalist Papers and the Constitutional Convention Debates*, (ed.) R. Ketcham. [CW]

Andreas Kalyvas and Ira Katznelson, "The Republic of the Moderns: Paine's and Madison's Novel Liberalism," *Polity* 38 (4)(2006): 447-77. [E-journal]

April 1

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, (eds.) H. C. Mansfield and D. Winthrop (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000): Tocqueville's "Introduction," pp. 3-15; (not the editor's introduction); Vol I, Part One, ch. 5: pp. 56-58; Vol II, Part Two, chs. 2-5: pp. 482-492 and ch. 8: pp. 500-503. [CW]

April 3

Richard Dagger, *Civic Virtues: Rights, Citizenship, and Republican Liberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), ch. 2, pp. 11-24. [E-Books]

Michael Walzer, "The Civil Society Argument," in R. Beiner (ed.), *Theorizing Citizenship* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), pp. 153-74. [CW]

***F. "Constitutional Patriotism"***

April 8

Jurgen Habermas, "Citizenship and National Identity" in Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), pp. 491-515. [CW]

April 10

Ciaran Cronin, "Democracy and Collective Identity: in Defence of Constitutional Patriotism," *European Journal of Philosophy*, 11 (1)(2003): pp. 1-28. [E-journals]

### **G. Critics of (Republican) Patriotism**

April 15

Richard Goodin, "Folie Républicaine," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 6 (1)(2003): pp. 55-76. [E-journals]

Margaret Canovan, "Patriotism is Not Enough," *British Journal of Political Science*, 30 (2000): pp. 413-32. [E-journals]

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## **III. COSMOPOLITANISM**

### **A. Universalism**

April 17

Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* in *Political Writings*, (ed.) H.S. Reiss (Cambridge: CUP 1991), pp. 125-130. [CW]

Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism" in *For Love of Country? Debating the Limits of Patriotism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), pp. 3-20. [CW]

Charles Beitz, "Cosmopolitan Ideals and National Sentiment," *The Journal of Philosophy* 80 (10) Part 1 (Oct., 1983): pp. 591-600. [E-journals]

### **B. Global Justice**

April 22

David Held, "Principles of Cosmopolitan Order," in *The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism*, (eds.) G. Brock and H. Brighouse (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 10-27. [CW]

Kok-Chor Tan, "The Demands of Justice and National Allegiances" in *The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism*, pp. 164-179. [CW]

April 24

Thomas Pogge, "A Cosmopolitan Perspective on the Global Economic Order" in *The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism*, pp. 92-109. [CW]

Simon Caney, "Justice and the Distribution of Greenhouse Gas Emissions," *Journal of Global Ethics* 5 (2) (2009): pp. 125-146. [CW]

### **C. Critics of Cosmopolitanism**

April 29

David Miller, *Citizenship and National Identities*, ch. 5, pp. 81-96. [CW]

Charles Taylor, "Why Democracy Needs Patriotism," pp. 119-121; Nathan Glazer, "Limits of Loyalty" pp. 61-65; Benjamin Barber, "Constitutional Faith," pp. 30-37; Michael McConnell "Don't Neglect the Little Platoons," pp. 78-84 in *For Love of Country?* (ed.) Cohen. [CW]

Martha Nussbaum, "Reply" in *For Love of Country?* (ed.) Cohen, pp. 131- 144. [CW]

***D. Reconciling Nationalism, Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism?***

May 1

Kok-Chor Tan, "Liberal Nationalism and Cosmopolitan Justice," *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 5 (4) (2002): pp. 431-461. [E-journals]

Cecile Laborde, "Republicanism and Global Justice: A Sketch," *European Journal of Political Theory* 9(1), pp. 48-69. [E-journals]

Seyla Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism*, pp. 17-20; 32-36 [CW]

May 6

Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism in a World of Strangers*, "Introduction," pp. xi-xxi. [CW]

Concluding remarks and **\*\*FINAL PAPER DUE\*\***