

**The Idea of Nationalism
Philosophy 5961-640**

**Stephen P. Steinberg, Ph.D.
Master of Liberal Arts Program**

**SYLLABUS
Fall 2023**

Nationalism has been the most important geo-political phenomenon of the past two hundred years. Its continuing power has been amply demonstrated by recent events in many parts of the world. This MLA seminar course will explore the ideology of nationalism, what it means, its philosophical foundations, and its underlying assumptions about the nature of human identity. In the process, we will explore such questions as: What is a nation? Does every identifiable ethnic or national group have a valid claim to a nation-state of its own? How are claims to national self-determination justified? How do nations differ from states, peoples, groups, communities, and citizenries? How does nationalism relate to notions of "chosenness" or ethnic and cultural superiority? Why do nationalist movements seem so often to engender political extremism and violent ethno-political conflicts? Is national self-determination compatible with our commitments to individualism, rationality, and universal human rights?

- Primarily intended for students in the **Master of Liberal Arts Program**.
- No previous background in philosophy is required.
- No prerequisites.
- Requires student use of **Canvas**, **Zoom**, and other online applications
- **Undergraduates must obtain permission of the Instructor, their Faculty Advisor, and their College Office, in order to obtain a permit to register from the College of Liberal and Professional Studies (LPS).**

Course Format: Weekly Seminar Meetings (Tuesdays, 5:15-8:15 p.m.)

Class Location: Van Pelt Library 402 (Weigle Teaching Seminar Room)

Instructor: [Stephen P. Steinberg, Ph.D.](#), *Lecturer in Philosophy*

Email: sps@upenn.edu **Phone:** 215-384-6264

Please do not use Canvas email to contact the instructor.

Office: 429 Claudia Cohen Hall, Philosophy Department

Office Hours: Immediately after class or by appointment (in-person or via Zoom).

Drop-in Office Hours: 2:00-3:00 p.m. Tuesdays (when classes are in session).

Course Goals:

- Develop familiarity with and understanding of major philosophical issues in the development of nationalism as an ideology from the Enlightenment to the 21st Century. [Module II]
- Develop the ability to critically engage philosophic issues raised by the evolution of nationalism as an ideology and its consequences. [Module III]
- Identify, analyze, and evaluate the role of nationalism as an ideology in specific nationalist movements. [Modules I and IV]

Course Structure

- **Assigned Readings** (from the required textbooks and PDF readings available on Canvas).
- **Weekly Canvas Discussion Forums** (for reflections, questions, and comments on the readings).
- **Weekly Seminar Meetings** (lecture and discussions).

Required Assignments & Assessments

- **Two Short Mid-Term Essays** on topics selected from lists distributed on Canvas.
- **Reflections, Questions, and Comments**, posted to the Canvas Discussion Forums, on each week's readings.
- **Roundtable discussions** of students' preliminary final paper topics.
- **Brief Written Proposal** for the student's final paper.
- **Final Paper** on a topic of the student's choice, approved by and developed in consultation with the instructor.

Weekly Student Schedule

- **Wednesday to Tuesday:** Critically read and take notes on the weekly assigned readings and prepare for active participation in the Tuesday seminar meetings.
- **Wednesday to Tuesday:** Post reflections, questions, and comments on the readings on the Canvas Discussion Forum (**by noon on Mondays**) for the Tuesday seminar discussions.
- **Tuesday:** Participate actively in the weekly seminar discussions focused on student questions/comments and important aspects of the readings and lectures.

Estimated Total Student Workload

Approximately 10-15 hrs./wk., including class time, reading, and preparation of student papers. [The amount of reading and paper preparation time will vary from week-to-week.]

About this COURSE

Critically engaging the **readings and seminar discussions** are the primary learning modalities in this course, so keeping up with the assigned readings, contributing to the weekly discussion forums on Canvas, and participating regularly and actively in the weekly seminar discussions should be prioritized. There is a lot of reading, and good philosophical reading often requires repeated readings and carefully analyzing and evaluating what you are reading.

About SEMINAR DISCUSSIONS

The **Tuesday Evening Seminar Discussions** will provide an opportunity for in-depth discussion of each week's topic. Active participation in the seminar discussions will be essential to developing a deeper engagement with and understanding of Nationalism as an ideology. Each discussion will highlight and explain important aspects of the required readings. Student questions and comments **submitted by noon on Mondays** on the **Weekly Canvas Discussion Forums** or raised during the weekly seminar discussions will be a central focus of these conversations.

About READINGS

There is a lot of reading, and good philosophical reading often requires repeated readings and carefully analyzing and evaluating what you are reading. The course readings are divided into **Required Readings** and optional **Recommended Readings**. The **Required Readings** will be the focus of each week's seminar discussions. Students should come to class having read and reflected on the Required Readings and well prepared to discuss them. The **Recommended Readings** are intended to provide useful background (especially for those with no previous study of philosophy) and opportunities for deeper exploration of particular topics.

About CANVAS

The University's Canvas learning management system serves as the central resource for course information and materials and integrates many of the functions and utilities you will need to utilize during the course of the semester. ***It is imperative that you familiarize yourself with Canvas before the beginning of the Spring semester and quickly achieve a level of comfort using it to access course materials and participate in the work of the course.*** For an introduction to or help with Canvas, go to [Canvas for Students](#) or the [Canvas Student Guide](#). You should also review Canvas's [basic computer requirements](#) and [supported browsers](#), and consider downloading the Canvas Student app on your [iOS](#) or [Android](#) devices.

About the CANVAS DISCUSSION FORUMS

The **Canvas Discussion Forums** are fully integrated with and accessed from the course's Canvas website. Students in this course are *required* to post their reflections, questions, and comments on each week's readings to the weekly Canvas Discussion Forum **by noon on Mondays**. These questions and comments will be an important focus of each week's seminar conversation.

About OFFICE HOURS

Students in this course should take full advantage of the instructor's office hours. Office hours may be in-person (either immediately after class or by appointment) or online via Zoom. I will usually be available immediately after each Tuesday Seminar Discussion, which is often the most convenient time to talk, to answer questions, discuss student work, or schedule a longer conversations. If you can't stay after class, or wish to speak more privately or at greater length, just email me to set up an appointment to meet either online via Zoom or in person at a more convenient time. (In your email, please list several times when you're available to meet.)

About FUTURE CHANGES

Please keep in mind that it may be necessary to make changes in the course plans described in this Syllabus, either before the start of or during the Fall semester. *All changes will be announced on Canvas to all students registered for the course.*

In case of EMERGENCY....

Life is unpredictable. Stuff happens. In the event that you encounter sudden health emergencies (for yourself or your family), or any other personal circumstances or issues that may interfere with your participation in this course please **inform your instructor as soon as possible** – either directly via email or via the new **Course Absence Notices** system (accessible from Path@Penn) -- so that alternative arrangements can be made.

Required Texts:

All of the required and recommended texts (new or used) for this course can be purchased or rented online or in-person from the University of Pennsylvania Bookstore or (often at lower cost) from Amazon.com or other online bookstores using the ISBN numbers listed below. Some texts may be available as e-textbooks or in other digital formats.

- ***Theorizing Nationalism***, Ronald Beiner, ed. (SUNY Press,1999, pb.) ISBN #9780791440667.
- ***The Nationalism Reader***, Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay, eds.(Humanities Press, 1995, pb.) ISBN #9780391038677.
- ***Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry***, by Michael Ignatieff et al., Amy Gutmann, ed. (Princeton University Press, 2003, pb.) ISBN #9780691114743.

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- ***Kant: On History***, by Immanuel Kant, Lewis White Beck, ed. (Prentice-Hall (Bobbs-Merrill: Library of Liberal Arts), 1963 or latest edition, pb.) ISBN #978-0023078606. [This book is currently out-of-print, but there are lots of used and library copies available. If you can't get ahold of it, an alternative text (though not as good a translation for our purposes) would be ***Perpetual Peace and Other Essays***, by Immanuel Kant, translated by Ted Humphrey (Hackett, 1982, pb.), ISBN-13: 9780915145478.]
- ***Nationalism***, by Elie Kedourie (Blackwell, 1993, 4th Expanded Edition or latest edition, pb.) ISBN #9780631188858
- ***For Love of Country***, by Martha C. Nussbaum, with Respondents, Joshua Cohen, ed. (Beacon Press, 2002, Revised Edition, pb.) ISBN #9780807043295
- ***Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition***, by Charles Taylor et al., Amy Gutmann, ed. (Princeton University Press, 1994 or latest edition, pb.) ISBN #9780691037790

Recommended Texts:

- ***Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History***, by Anthony D. Smith (Polity Press/Blackwell, 2010, 2nd or latest edition, pb.) ISBN #9780745651286
- ***The Doctrine of Fascism***, by Benito Mussolini, (Zhingora Books, 2017, pb.) ISBN #9781478370918.

Additional Required and Recommended Readings:

- Additional required and recommended readings (marked by “[PDF]” in the reading assignments below) will be distributed as PDF files on the course's Canvas website.

Online Philosophy Resources

The [Philosophy Department website](#) provides an excellent list of online philosophy resources and texts. Among these, the following may be especially helpful:

- [Dictionary of Philosophical Terms and Names](#)
- [Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy](#)
- [Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy](#)
- [Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy](#)

**Course Outline:
Class Schedule, Modules, Weekly Topics, and Reading Assignments**

PLEASE NOTE:

- Readings marked by “[PDF]” will be distributed as PDF files on [Canvas](#).
- Readings marked with an asterisk (*) are especially important or useful.

MODULE I: INTRODUCTION

8/15 Pre-course Survey Available on Canvas [Due 8/28].

WK. 1 8/29 *An Inquiry into the Ideology of Nationalism:*

- **Introductions and Course Tour**
- **Nationalism in Our Times**

WK. 2 9/5 *What is Nationalism?*

- **Nationalism in Contemporary Conflicts**

REQUIRED READINGS

- ***Selected statements and declarations of nationalist movements. [PDF]**
- *The Nationalism Reader*, Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay, eds.:
 - ***Ch. 25: Sun Yat-Sen**, “Three Principles of the People”
 - ***Ch. 26: Jawaharlal Nehru**, “The Discovery of India”
- **Craig Calhoun**, “Nationalism Matters,” Ch. 2 from *Nationalism Matters: Culture, History and the Cosmopolitan Dream*. [PDF]

MODULE II: THE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF AN IDEOLOGY

WK. 3 9/12 *Modernity and the Rationalization of the Social World*

REQUIRED READINGS

- **Aristotle**, “The State Exists from Nature” from *The Politics*, from *Political Thought*, Michael Rosen and Jonathan Wolff, eds. [PDF]
- ***Isaiah Berlin**, “Nationalism: Past Neglect and Present Power” from *The Proper Study of Mankind*. [PDF]
- ***James MacGregor Burns**, "Enlightenment as Revolution" and "The Revolution in Ideas" from *Fire and Light: How the Enlightenment Transformed Our World*. [PDF]
- **Thomas Hobbes**, “The Misery of the Natural Condition of Mankind” from *Leviathan*, in *Political Thought*, Michael Rosen & Jonathan Wolff, eds. [PDF]

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- **René Descartes**, “Meditation I” and “Meditation II” from *Meditations on First Philosophy*. [PDF]
- **Stephen Toulmin**, “The Modern Worldview,” Ch.3 from *Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity*. [PDF]

WK. 4 9/19 *Nationalism and Enlightenment: Reason, Freedom, and the Principle of Self-Determination*

REQUIRED READINGS

- **Immanuel Kant** in *On History*:
 - "Introduction"
 - *"What is Enlightenment?"
 - *"Idea for a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View"
 - *"Perpetual Peace"
- **Elie Kedourie**, *Nationalism*:
 - *Ch. 1: “Politics in a new style”
 - *Ch. 2: ”Self-determination”
- **Declaration of Independence*. [PDF]

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- **Isaiah Berlin**, “Kant as an Unfamiliar Source of Nationalism” from *The Sense of Reality*. [PDF]
- **Immanuel Kant**, extracts from Chs. 1-2 of the *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*. [PDF]

WK. 5 9/26

***Romanticizing the Nation:
Nationalism Transformed***

REQUIRED READINGS:

- **Elie Kedourie**, *Nationalism*:
 - *Ch. 3: "State and Individual"
 - *Ch. 4: "The Excellence of Diversity"
 - *Ch. 5: "National Self-determination"
- ***Hans Kohn**, "Romanticism and the Rise of German Nationalism After 1800," *The Review of Politics* (Oct., 1950, 12:4). [PDF]
- *The Nationalism Reader*, Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay, eds.:
 - *Ch. 1: **Jean-Jacques Rousseau**, "The Geneva Manuscript" and "The Government of Poland"
 - Ch. 4: **Johann Gottfried von Herder**, "Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind"
 - *Ch. 5: **Johann Gottlieb Fichte**, "Addresses to the German Nation"
 - Ch. 6: **Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel**, "The Philosophy of Right" and "The Philosophy of World History"
- **Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen*. [PDF]

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- **Isaiah Berlin**, "The Restrained Romantics" from *The Roots of Romanticism*. [PDF]
- **Isaiah Berlin**, "Fichte" from *Freedom and Its Betrayal*. [PDF]

10/1

First Mid-Term Essay Topics Available on Canvas [Due 10/15].

WK. 6 10/3

***Absolutizing the Nation:
From National Self-Determination to Fascism***

REQUIRED READINGS

- *The Nationalism Reader*, Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay, eds.:
 - *Ch. 7: **Giuseppe Mazzini**, "The Duties of Man"
 - *Ch. 22: **Charles Maurras**, "The Future of French Nationalism"
 - *Ch. 23: **Benito Mussolini**, "Fascism"
 - *Ch. 24: **Adolf Hitler**, "Mein Kampf"
- *Political Ideologies, A Reader and Guide*, Matthew Festenstein and Michael Kenney, eds., Part 9: "Fascism" (pp. 381-402). [PDF]
- ***Elie Kedourie**, "Nationalism and Politics: I," Ch. 6 in *Nationalism*.
- ***Montserrat Guibernau**, "Nationalism, Racism, and Fascism" from *Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. [PDF]
- ***Zeev Sternhell**, "Fascism: Reflection on the Fate of Ideas in Twentieth Century History," pp. 92-115, from *Reassessing Political Ideologies: The Durability of Dissent*. [PDF]

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RECOMMENDED READINGS

- ***Isaiah Berlin**, “Two Concepts of Freedom” from *Political Ideas in the Romantic Age*. [PDF]
- **Michiko Kakutani**, “In ‘Hitler,’ an Ascent From ‘Dunderhead’ to Demagogue,” *New York Times Book Review*, September 27, 2016. [PDF]
- ***Benito Mussolini**, *The Doctrine of Fascism*.

MODULE III: NATIONALISM AS IDEOLOGY

10/1 **Mid-Course Survey Available on Canvas [Due 10/22].**

Wk. 7 10/10

What is a Nation?

Ethno-nationalism and the Autochthonous Community

REQUIRED READINGS

- ***Elie Kedourie**, “Nationalism and politics: II,” Ch. 7 in *Nationalism*.
- **The Nationalism Reader*, Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay, eds.:
 - *Ch. 8: **John Stuart Mill**, “Considerations on Representative Government”
 - *Ch. 9: **Lord Acton**, "Nationality"
- ***Benedict Anderson**, “Imagined Communities” from *Nationalism*, edited by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith. [PDF]
- **Walker Connor**, “Man is a N/Rational Animal -- Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethnonational Bond” from *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. [PDF]
- *Theorizing Nationalism*, ed. by Ronald Beiner:
 - *Ch. 14: **Roger Scruton**, "The First Person Plural"
 - *Ch. 15: **Bhikhu Parekh**, "The Incoherence of Nationalism"

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- **T. H. Breen**, “How Did the Colonies Unite?” from *New York Review of Books*, 3/11/2021. [PDF]
- ***Martin Heidegger**, “Memorial Address” from *Discourse on Thinking*. [PDF]
- **Anthony D. Smith**, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*:
 - Ch. 3: “Paradigms”
 - Ch. 4: “Theories”
 - Ch.5: “Histories”
- ***Bernard Yack**, “What’s Wrong with National Rights to Self-Determination” from *Nationalism and the Moral Psychology of Community*. [PDF]

10/15 **First Mid-Term Essays Due Via Canvas.**

WK. 8 10/17

What Is National Identity?
Civic Nationalism and the Unencumbered Self

REQUIRED READINGS

- *Theorizing Nationalism*, Ronald Beiner, ed.:
 - * Ch. 4: **Michael Ignatieff**, "Nationalism and the Narcissism of Minor Differences."
 - *Ch. 5: **Bernard Yack**, "The Myth of the Civic Nation."
 - *Ch. 10: **Neil MacCormick**, "Nation and Nationalism."
- ***Ernest Renan**, "What is a Nation?" Ch. 13 in *The Nationalism Reader*.
- ***Michael Sandel**, "The Procedural Republic and the Unencumbered Self," *Political Theory*, February 1984 (12:1). [PDF]
- ***Yael Tamir**, "The Idea of the Person," Ch.1 in *Liberal Nationalism*. [PDF]

10/22

Mid-Course Canvas Survey Due on Canvas

WK. 9 10/24

The Ideology of Nationalism:
Is There a Core Doctrine?

- **First Final Paper Topic Roundtable.**

REQUIRED READINGS

- ***Erica Benner**, "Is There a Core National Doctrine?" from *Nations and Nationalism*, p. 155-174 (7:2). [PDF]
- ***Ernest Gellner**, "Nationalism and Ideology" from *Nations and Nationalism*. [PDF]
- ***Elie Kedourie**, "Introduction to the Fourth Edition" in *Nationalism*.
- **Leszek Kolakowski**, "Why an Ideology is Always Right" and "The General Theory of Not-Gardening" from *Modernity on Endless Trial*. [PDF]
- ***Anthony D. Smith**, "The Doctrine and its Critics" from *Theories of Nationalism*. [PDF]

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- *Theorizing Nationalism*, ed. by Ronald Beiner:
 - Ch. 2: **Wayne Norman**, "Theorizing Nationalism (Normatively): The First Steps."
 - *Ch. 3: **Yael Tamir**, "Theoretical Difficulties in the Study of Nationalism."
- **Anthony D. Smith**, "Concepts" and "Ideologies," Chs.1-2 in *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*.

10/29

Second Mid-Term Essay Topics Available on Canvas [Due 11/12].

WK. 10 10/31 ***Why We Hate Them:***
Nationalism and Extremism

REQUIRED READINGS

- ***Michael Ignatieff**, “Nationalism and Toleration” from *Europe’s New Nationalism*. [PDF]
- ***Bernard Yack**, “The Moral Problem with Nationalism” from *Nationalism and the Moral Psychology of Community*. [PDF]

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- **Theodor W. Adorno, et al.**, “Introduction to *The Authoritarian Personality*.” [PDF]
- * **Theodor W. Adorno**, “Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda.” [PDF]
- ***Hannah Arendt**, “Ideology and Terror” from *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. [PDF]
- **Sigmund Freud**, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*:
 - Ch. 4: “Suggestion and Libido.” [PDF]
 - Ch. 5: “Two Artificial Groups: the Church and the Army.” [PDF]
 - Ch. 6: “Further Problems and Lines of Work.” [PDF]

MODULE IV: **NATIONALISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY**

WK. 11 11/7 ***A Nation of Nations?***
Multiculturalism, Recognition, Toleration, and Secession

REQUIRED READINGS

- ***Allen Buchanan**, “The Morality of Secession” from *The Rights of Minority Cultures*. [PDF]
- **Judith Lichtenberg**, “Nationalism, For and (Mainly) Against,” Ch. 10 from *The Morality of Nationalism*, Robert McKim and Jeff McMahan, eds. [PDF]
- ***Charles Taylor** et al., *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Amy Gutmann, ed., pp. 3-73.
- **Michael Walzer**, “New Tribalism: Notes on a Difficult Problem,” Ch. 11 in *Theorizing Nationalism*. [Also appears in *The Nationalism Reader*, Ch. 36.]
- **Michael Walzer**, “The Politics of Difference: Statehood and Toleration in a Multicultural World,” Ch. 15 from *The Morality of Nationalism*, Robert McKim and Jeff McMahan, eds.. [PDF]

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RECOMMENDED READINGS

- Commentaries by **Michael Walzer, Jurgen Habermas, and K. Anthony Appiah** in Charles Taylor et al., *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Amy Gutmann, ed., pp. 87-164.
- **Richard Kreitner**, "Why It's Time to Take Secessionist Talk Seriously," *The New York Review of Books*, 1/19/2021. [See also Richard Kreitner, *Break It Up: Secession, Division, and the Secret History of America's Imperfect Union* (2020).] **[PDF]**

11/12 Second Mid-Term Essays Due via Canvas.

WK. 12 11/14

A Kingdom of Ends?

Self-Determination and the Ideology of Human Rights

- **Second Final Paper Topic Roundtable**

REQUIRED READINGS

- ***Hannah Arendt**, "The Perplexities of the Rights of Man" from *The Portable Hannah Arendt*. **[PDF]**
- ***Jeremy Bentham**, "Nonsense on Stilts" from *Political Thought*, Michael Rosen and Jonathan Wolff, eds. **[PDF]**
- **Isaiah Berlin**, "On Human Dignity," *The New Republic* (Jan. 28, 2002).**[PDF]**
- ***Michael Ignatieff, et al.**, *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*, Amy Gutmann, ed., pp. vii-116 (including "Grounding Human Rights" by K. Anthony Appiah).
- **Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. **[PDF]**

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- **Maurice Cranston**, "What are Human Rights?" from *The Human Rights Reader*, Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, eds. **[PDF]**
- **Kenneth Minogue**, "The History of the Idea of Human Rights" from *The Human Rights Reader*, Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, eds. **[PDF]**

WK. 13 11/21 NO CLASS – Thanksgiving Break

11/22 Final Paper Topic Proposals Due via Canvas.

WK. 14 11/28

Nationalism Transcended?
Cosmopolitanism and the Universal Civil Society

REQUIRED READINGS

- ***Martha Nussbaum**, “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism,” and responses by **Kwame Anthony Appiah, Judith Butler, Amy Gutmann, Gertrude Himmelfarb, Robert Pinsky, Hilary Putnam, and Elaine Scarry**, and “Reply” by **Martha Nussbaum**, in *For Love of Country* (pp. vii-29, 45-52, 66-77, 85-110, and 131-144).
- ***Anthony D. Smith**, “Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism,” *The Hedgehog Review*, (Fall 2009, 11:3). [PDF]

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- **Martha Nussbaum**, “Kant and Cosmopolitanism” from *Perpetual Peace*. [PDF]

12/1

Post-Course Survey Available on Canvas [Due 12/31].

WK. 15 12/5

Nationalism Redux?
Globalization and the Nationalist Revival

- **Roundtable Discussion on Final Paper Topics (if needed).**

REQUIRED READINGS

- ***Craig Calhoun**, *Nations Matter: Culture, History, and the Cosmopolitan Dream*:
 - **Introduction** [PDF]
 - **Ch. 1: “Is it time to be Postnational?”** [PDF]
- **James Davidson Hunter**, “Liberal Democracy and the Unraveling of the Enlightenment Project,” *The Hedgehog Review*, Fall 2017 (19:3). [PDF]
- **John B. Judis**, *The Nationalist Revival*:
 - Ch. 1: “Why Nationalism Matters” [PDF]
 - Ch. 2: “(Let’s) Make America Great Again” [PDF]
- ***Elie Kedourie**, “Afterword (1985)” in *Nationalism*.
- **Anthony D. Smith**, “Prospects,” Ch. 6 in *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*.
- ***Manfred B. Steger**, *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*:
 - Ch. 7: “Ideological Confrontations Over Globalization” [PDF]
 - Ch. 8: “The Future of Globalization” [PDF]
- **Yael Tamir**, *Why Nationalism*:
 - *Part I (Chs. 1-5): “The Return of History” [PDF]
 - *Ch. 17: “The Nationalism of the Vulnerable” [PDF]
 - *Ch. 18: “The Nationalism of the Affluent” [PDF]

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RECOMMENDED READINGS

- **Isaiah Berlin**, “The Bent Twig: On the Rise of Nationalism” from *The Crooked Timber of Humanity: Chapters in the History of Ideas*. [PDF]
- **Wendy Brown**, “Neoliberalism’s Frankenstein,” from *Authoritarianism: Three Inquiries in Critical Theory*, Wendy Brown, ed.. [PDF]
- **Jonathan Haidt**, “When and Why Nationalism Beats Globalism” from *The American Interest*, 7/10/2016. [PDF]

RECOMMENDED READINGS on the Debate over Kedourie’s Nationalism:

- *New Left Review*, 18 (Nov.-Dec., 2002) and 23 (Sept.-Oct., 2003):
 - **Brendan O’Leary**, “In Praise of Empires Past: Myths and Method in Kedourie’s Nationalism” [PDF]
 - **Kenneth Minogue**, “Managing’ Nationalism” [PDF]
 - **Brendan O’Leary**, “Status Quo Patriotism” [PDF]
- **Anthony D. Smith**, “The Imitation of Kant” from *Theories of Nationalism*. [PDF]

12/21 Final Case Study Paper Due via Canvas

12/31 Post-course Survey Due via Canvas

Course Requirements, Policies, and Resources

1. Readings and Class Participation

This course is a seminar, and as such, its success depends largely on the responsible preparation and active participation of all its members. ***Familiarity with all assigned readings, and attendance and active participation in the Tuesday seminar meetings are required. Students are expected to do all of the readings before class and come to class prepared with questions and comments on the material.***

Your grade for participation will reflect how often and substantively you contributed to both the online discussion forums and the in-class discussions, as well as the degree to which your contributions were constructive and generative of further response(s) from your fellow classmates. Failure to participate, or combative posturing, defamatory remarks, or statements that are off-topic may negatively impact your participation grade.

2. Final Grade Components

20% Seminar Participation and Engagement with the Course: Keeping up with the assigned readings, posting discussion board questions and comments, and active participation in the weekly seminar discussions.

40% Two Mid-term Essays (20% each): Two short essays (*approximately* 5 pp. or 1250 words each) responding to a question selected from a list of topics distributed on Canvas. These essays are intended to demonstrate familiarity with the readings, lectures, and seminar discussions and to provide practice in philosophical analysis and argumentation.

40% Final Paper (including 1-2 pp. Written Proposal and participation in Roundtable Class Discussions): A final paper (*approximately* 15 pp. or 3500 words) on a topic of the student's choosing approved by and developed in consultation with the instructor.

3. Grading Standards

A = Outstanding, nearly flawless work; assignment(s) completed thoroughly; technically excellent in spelling, grammar, format, citations, etc.; excellent in writing style, presentation, organization, and clarity of philosophical analysis; evidence of real intellectual engagement with the course content; thorough grasp of the philosophical issues and connections among issues; and synthesis of individual elements into a broader narrative or analysis.

B = Good, generally satisfactory work; all aspects of assignment(s) completed thoroughly and competently; technically competent (though perhaps not perfect) in spelling, grammar, format, citations, etc.; adequate in writing style, organization, presentation and clarity of philosophical analysis; limited grasp of the philosophical issues and connections among issues.

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C = Less than fully satisfactory work; assignment(s) not completed thoroughly or according to instructions; basic grasp of issues not always evident; more than occasional technical flaws in writing, presentation, organization, spelling, grammar, format, citations, etc.

D = Basic work of course (or assignment) not done; little effort evident.

F = Failure in all or virtually all of the above criteria.

4. Major Written and Oral Assignments

Satisfactory and on-time completion of several written and oral assignments will be required:

- **Two short mid-term essays (approx. 5 pp. or 1250 words each) on topics selected from lists of topics distributed via Canvas -- due via Canvas on Sunday, Oct. 15th and Sunday, Nov. 12th.** These essays are intended to demonstrate familiarity with the readings and seminar discussions and to provide practice in critical analysis and argumentation.
- **A brief (1-2 pp.) written proposal for the student's final case study (explained below) -- due via Canvas on Wednesday, Nov. 22nd.** This proposal should include a brief description of the nationalist movement selected by the student for their case study or defining a philosophic problem raised by the course content to be addressed in the student's final paper. Proposals should include a thesis statement, a brief sketch of the student's anticipated argument, a preliminary list of major source materials, and identification of any special questions or problems posed by the topic.

Students wishing to write their final paper on another topic exploring philosophical issues related to the course content must obtain the instructor's permission.

- **A final paper (approximately 15 pages or 3750 words) presenting and critically analyzing a case study of a particular nationalist movement – due via Canvas on Thursday, Dec. 21st.** Students *must* obtain the instructor's approval of the proposed topic as described above. Students will be expected to apply theoretical and analytical perspectives from the readings and seminar discussions to their particular case. Students will be required to periodically present and discuss their evolving case study in class. In most cases, case studies should include the following elements:
 - A brief presentation of the factual circumstances or history of the nationalist movement.
 - A presentation of the arguments and principles put forward by the nationalist movement to justify its claim to national self-determination, and where applicable, the counter-arguments presented by its opponents.

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- An analysis of these arguments and counter-arguments, identifying their respective ideological foundations, values, assumptions, and implications.
- In light of this analysis and the theoretical and analytical perspectives from the seminar discussions and readings, a critical assessment of the arguments and counter-arguments for the nationalist movement's claim to national self-determination, and where appropriate, the possibilities for resolution of the conflict.

5. Additional Oral and Written Assignments

- **Weekly submission of reflections, questions, and comments on each week's required readings:** These should be submitted by **noon. on Tuesdays** on the weekly Canvas discussion forums.
- **Roundtable Discussion of Tentative Final Paper Topics** (tentatively, on *Oct. 24th*, *Nov. 14th*, and, if needed, on *Nov. 28th* and *Dec. 5th*): Periodically during the latter half of the semester, students will be asked to discuss in class the topic of their final paper, their progress working on it, and any problems or difficulties they may be encountering.
- **Satisfactory and on-time completion** of other written or oral assignments, in-class presentations, and exercises that may be assigned on a week-to-week basis during the semester is required.

6. Submission of Written Assignments

- **IMPORTANT:** *Please include your name and your topic number (or title for final papers) on the first page of each essay and in the digital filename.*
- All assignment due dates and times are U.S./Canada Eastern Time.
- All written assignments should be submitted **via Canvas**.
- All written assignments should be submitted as **PDF** documents, double-spaced, with normal 1" margins and numbered pages.
- *All direct and indirect quotations and sources should be cited using the "Notes and Bibliography" system of the Chicago Manual of Style.* See the quick reference guides at:
 - [Chicago Style Introduction](#)
 - [Chicago Manual of Style Citation Guide.](#)
 - [Notes and Bibliography System – Sample Paper](#)
- *All written assignments are subject to automated review for plagiarism.* Students unfamiliar with academic writing, plagiarism, copyright, citation of sources, etc., should

review the [Code of Academic Integrity](#) and seek additional assistance as needed from the [Weingarten Learning Resource Center](#), the [Marks Family Writing Center](#), or the [Information Desk at Van Pelt Library](#).

7. Policy on Grading, Incompletes, and Extensions

- **IMPORTANT:** *All students in this course will receive a grade based on work submitted at the time assignments are due and should therefore submit even incomplete work by that time.*
- In fairness to your fellow students, yourselves, and the instructor, *no incompletes or extensions will be given in this course, except in truly extraordinary circumstances beyond the control of the student.*
- Students who have submitted work on time may, subject to the advance approval of the instructor and applicable University regulations, submit additional work relevant to the course, such as rewrites of the mid-terms or final papers, an additional paper, etc., for additional credit, which will be factored into their final grade along with all of their regular course work and grades.

8. Use of Generative Artificial Intelligence

Your written work in this course should reflect your own understanding, analysis, and synthesis of the material. ***“Generative artificial intelligence” (“generative-AI,” for short), including but not limited to tools such as ChatGPT, Bing, etc., may not be used to complete assignments, mid-term essays, or final papers.*** These tasks are designed to develop and evaluate *your own* understanding of and critical engagement with the course material and your ability to develop and articulate your own philosophical ideas and arguments. Hence, you may not submit any work produced by a generative AI program as your own. Failure to disclose material generated by an AI program and identify the source (i.e., the AI tool) in your footnotes and bibliography will be considered a violation of the University’s Policy on Academic Integrity.

9. Academic Integrity

- **IMPORTANT:** *All students in this course are required to familiarize themselves with and abide by the University’s [Code of Academic Integrity](#).*
- *All written assignments are subject to automated review for plagiarism and the use of generative artificial intelligence.*
- *All suspected instances of academic dishonesty will be referred to the Center for Community Standards and Accountability (CSA) for adjudication.*
- *A confirmed violation of the Code of Academic Integrity will result in a grade of ‘F’ for the course.*

10. Writing Resources

- The [Penn Marks Family Writing Center](#) offers individual writing guidance and feedback, scheduled appointments, workshops, etc.
- The [Weingarten Learning Resource Center](#) is a valuable resource for students needing assistance with their research, writing, and preparation of papers.
- For brief guides to writing a philosophy paper, see:
 - ["Guidelines for Writing a Philosophy Paper,"](#) by Jim Pryor (NYU). [PDF]
 - ["Writing Philosophy Papers,"](#) by John Perry, Michael Bratman, and John Martin Fischer, from *Introduction to Philosophy: Classical and Contemporary Readings, 8th ed.* [PDF]
 - [A sample student philosophy paper will also be available on Canvas.](#) [PDF]
- Students needing additional guidance on reading philosophy or who want to improve their analytical, argumentative, and expository writing skills may find the following text helpful:
 - *Writing Philosophy: A Student's Guide to Writing Philosophy Essays*, by Lewis Vaughn (Oxford, 2018, 2nd edition, pb.), ISBN #9780190853013.
- For a brief guide to developing, analyzing, and writing philosophical arguments, see:
 - *A Rulebook for Arguments*, Anthony Weston (Hackett, 2018, 5th revised edition, pb.), ISBN #9781624666544.

11. Getting Help

- **If you need help, ASK FOR IT!**
There are many ways in which students in this course can receive personal assistance, guidance, feedback on their work, etc., such as:
 - Email your instructor [sps@upenn.edu].
 - Participate in your instructor's office hours [after class or make an appointment].
 - Submit Canvas discussion forum questions and comments about the readings and lectures before the Tuesday Seminar Meetings.
 - Participate actively in weekly Tuesday Seminar Meetings.
 - Follow up with your instructor regarding comments on mid-term essays and final paper proposals.
 - Submit the pre-/mid-/post-course Canvas surveys.
 - Contact one of the University Resources listed below or one of the Writing Resources listed above.

- **Course Action Notices:**

Course Support Notices:

Your instructor will use **Course Support Notices** – formerly Course Problem Notices -- to alert students who seem to be having trouble in the course. These notices also go to the student’s faculty advisor and school advising office. This is not intended to be a disciplinary or punitive measure; it is used to make sure that no one falls behind and that students get appropriate help and attention.

Course Absence Notices

You should use **Course Absence Notices** – formerly Course Absence Reports -- to inform your instructor when you will be absent from recitation because of medical issues, family emergencies, or other issues that necessitate missing class. Students can log in to the Course Action Notices system from [Path@Penn](#) and send a report to one or more instructors, indicating the number of days missed and the general reason for the absence. Students who submit Course Absence Notices are still responsible for following up with their instructor about any missed work. Course Absence Notices do not constitute “excuses.”

- **University Resources and Support Services**

There are a wide variety of University Resources designed to help and support students:

[Weingarten Learning Resources Center](#)

The Office of Learning Resources at the Weingarten Learning Resources Center (WLRC) offers individualized instruction and a variety of workshops to guide Penn students towards more efficient and effective academic study skills and strategies. Professional staff provide free and confidential instruction in areas such as time and project management, academic reading and writing, study strategies, exam preparation, and test-taking strategies. Online advising is available. To schedule an appointment with a Learning Instructor, call (215) 573-9235 or consult the WLRC website.

[Tutoring Center](#)

The Tutoring Center offers Penn undergraduates free, accessible, and convenient options to supplement their academic experience. Tutoring is available online, one-on-one, in groups, in workshops, and by appointment.

[Student Disabilities Services](#)

In compliance with Penn policy and equal access laws, your instructors are available to discuss appropriate academic accommodations that you may require as a student with a disability. Except under unusual circumstances, requests for academic accommodations should be made during the first two weeks of the semester. Students must register with Student Disabilities Services (SDS) for disability verification and for determination of reasonable academic accommodations.

Counseling & Psychological Services

Students with concerns of a personal, emotional, social, or educational nature may visit or contact Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) for help and guidance free of charge.

Wellness at Penn

The Wellness at Penn initiative offers support, resources, and practical tools for students in the eight domains of wellness at Penn: physical, emotional, social, intellectual, environmental, financial, occupational, and spiritual.

Technology Support for Students

At Penn, every school, center, and University-affiliated organization has a dedicated IT Support Provider (also known as a Local Support Provider or LSP). Please follow [this link](#) for school-specific remote IT support guides and contact information. Students can also contact the [Tech Center](#), located on the ground floor of Van Pelt Library, for 24/7 desktop support [855-249-3243; techcenter@upenn.edu].

12. Electronic Devices

Electronic devices may be used during class for personal note-taking or accessing digital texts, provided they are used in a manner that is not disruptive or distracting to other students or the instructor. No electronic devices, such as laptops, PDAs, cell phones, iPads, etc., may be used during class for other purposes, including, but not limited to, email, text messaging, social media, web browsing, Internet access, etc. ***Audio or video recording during class is not permitted under any circumstances without the explicit permission of the instructor.***

13. Food and Drink

Where permitted by posted building regulations, students may bring food and drink into class, provided that it is handled and consumed in a manner that is not distracting to other students or the instructor.