

Konec národního státu? K proměnám suverenity a sociálního prostoru



Proměny
společností
pozdní doby
2019

Mgr. Petr Lupač, Ph.D.

Demonstrators rallied in Madrid last week in favor of Spanish unity and against Catalonia's push for separation. Credit Pablo Blazquez Dominguez/Getty Images

Photo by: Pablo Blazquez Dominguez/Getty Images

Nacionalismus ve XX. století



My name is Israel. I am 20.

Good people died that I might be born in a land called home.

I have heard the stories and seen the graves.

But now we are here, and the land is ours. Not all milk and honey, but ours.

We share a name, the land and I—Israel. And we share a birthday.

Twenty years. For me, a long time. For my people, who waited thousands of years, almost nothing.

But we have made something of that nothing.

Now the hills of rock are hills of trees. Fifty million trees, Jerusalem pines, planted one at a time.

Cities thrive where nothing thrived.

Orange trees bloom where nothing bloomed.

An almost dead language is alive again. We read the Dead Sea Scrolls as easily as you read this magazine.

We mine copper where King Solomon mined copper.

We make fresh water from the sea,

and we share what we have learned with other nations.

We build airports and schools in Asia, sell baby chickens and farm equipment in Europe, and exchange our students with even younger countries in Africa.

How do we go to so many places?

Easy. We have our own airline.

El Al Israel Airlines.

You don't know what El Al means? It means "to the skies" in that almost dead language.

It also means that our jets are welcome in 17 different nations.

Yes, we have everything now: Universities, symphony orchestras, great museums, politicians, dropouts, traffic jams, a little air pollution—everything.

We are of this century, with all of the strengths and weaknesses and problems of people everywhere.

We will survive.

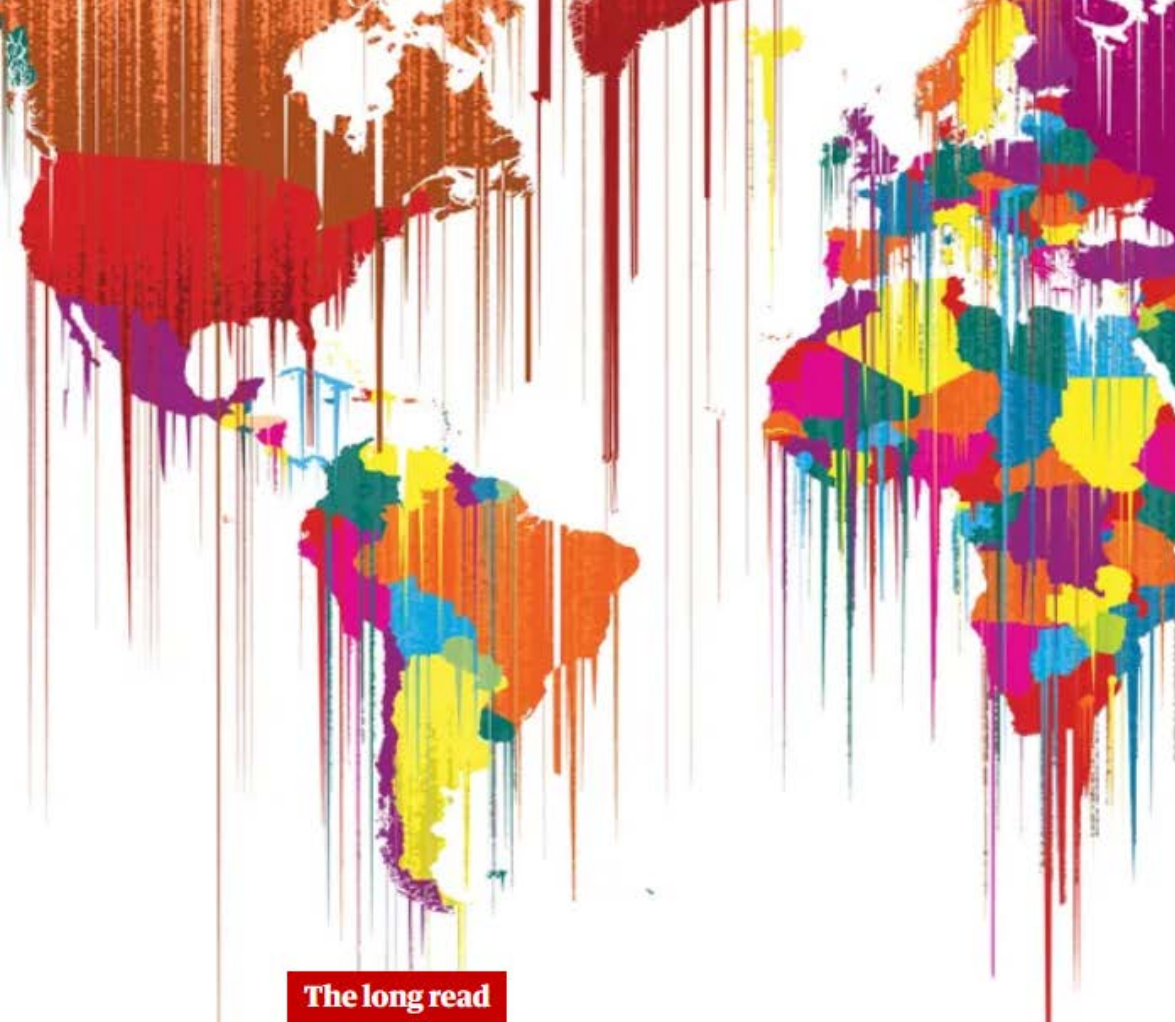
Because, above all, we are here. Alive. In a land called home.

The Airline of the People of Israel



El Al Israel Airlines: New York, Beverly Hills, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Houston, Mexico City, Miami Beach, Montreal, Philadelphia, San Francisco, St. Louis, Toronto, Washington, D.C.



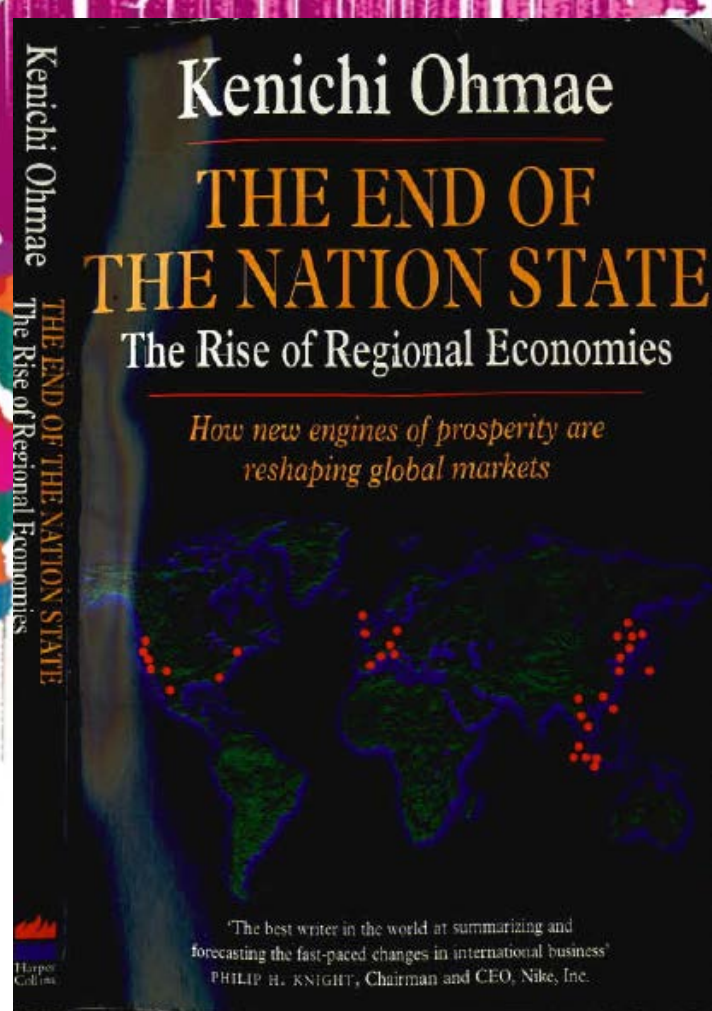


The long read

The demise of the nation state

✎ Christophe Gowans
Illustration:
Christophe Gowans

After decades of globalisation, our political system has become obsolete - and spasms of resurgent nationalism are a sign of its



Apple as big as Holland

Companies whose stock market value is similar to the economic power (GDPppp) of a state



NTI International rep
2014

37/100

Nation/Corporation			2012 GDP or Revenue \$US billions					
1	United States	15,685	34	Venezuela	382	68	Romania	170
2	China	8,227	35	BP	371	69	Apple	169
3	Japan	5,964	36	Colombia	366	70	ENI	165
4	Germany	3,401	37	Thailand	366	71	Berkshire Hathaway	164
5	France	2,609	38	United Arab Emirates	359	72	Bangladesh	163
6	United Kingdom	2,441	39	Denmark	314	73	Daimler	153
7	Brazil	2,396	40	PetroChina	309	74	AXA Group	151
8	Russia	2,022	41	Malaysia	304	75	General Electric	148
9	Italy	2,014	42	Singapore	277	76	Petrobras	147
10	India	1,825	43	Nigeria	269	77	Gazprom	144
11	Canada	1,819	44	Chile	268	78	Allianz	144
12	Australia	1,542	45	Hong Kong	263	79	Vietnam	140
13	Spain	1,352	46	Egypt	257	80	ICBC	138
14	Mexico	1,177	47	Volkswagen Group	254	81	AT&T	135
15	South Korea	1,156	48	Philippines	250	82	Hungary	127
16	Indonesia	878	49	Finland	250	83	Nippon Telegraph & Tel	127
17	Turkey	794	50	Greece	249	84	Statoil	127
18	Netherlands	773	51	Israel	249	85	BNP Paribas	127
19	Saudi Arabia	727	52	Total	241	86	Angola	126
20	Switzerland	632	53	Pakistan	241	87	China Construction Bank	119
21	Iran	549	54	Toyota Motor	232	88	Banco Santander	113
22	Sweden	526	55	Chevron	225	89	JPMorgan Chase	109
23	Norway	501	56	Portugal	223	90	HSBC Holdings	108
24	Poland	488	57	Iraq	213	91	IBM	105
25	Belgium	485	58	Ireland	213	92	Agricultural Bank of China	105
26	Argentina	475	59	Algeria	210	93	Nestlé	103
27	Taiwan	474	60	Peru	208	94	Bank of America	101
28	Wal-Mart Stores	469	61	Kazakhstan	199	95	Bank of China	100
29	Royal Dutch Shell	467	62	Czech Republic	196	96	Morocco	98
30	Exxon Mobil	421	63	Samsung Electronics	196	97	Slovakia	98
31	Sinopec-China Petroleum	412	64	Qatar	188	98	Wells Fargo	92
32	Austria	399	65	Ukraine	183	99	Citigroup	91
33	South Africa	384	66	Kuwait	176	100	China Mobile	89
			67	New Zealand	173			

Giddens:

definitions of nation-state

- “bordered power-container.”
- a nation “only exists when a state has a unified administrative reach over the territory over which its sovereignty is claimed,”
- “nation-state” is “a set of institutional forms of governance maintaining and administering monopoly over a territory with demarcated boundaries (borders), its rule being sanctioned by law and direct control of the means of internal and external violence.”

Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence* (London: Routledge, 1985)

Národní stát

- Teritorium
- Autorita / moc
- Legitimita moci / Práva

“Nature brings forth families; the most natural state therefore is also one people, with a national character of its own. For thousands of years this character preserves itself within the people and, if the native princes concern themselves with it, it can be cultivated in the most natural way: for a people is as much a plant of nature as is a family, except that it has more branches...

As the mineral water derives its component parts, its operative power, and its flavour from the soil through which it flows, so the ancient character of peoples arose from the family features, the climate, the way of life and education, the early action and employments, that were peculiar to them. The manners of the fathers took deep root and became the internal prototype of the descendants...

Johann Gottfried Herder, 1744-1803 No greater injury can be inflicted on a nation than to be robbed of her national character, the peculiarity of her spirit and her language.”

Primordialistická perspektiva

- Národy jsou reálné procesy
- Národy jsou zakořeněné v pocitu příbuznosti
- Národy jsou nadčasové, sahají do dávných časů

Modernistická / konstruktivistická perspektiva

- Národy jsou produktem modernity
- “Nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way round”.

(Eric Hobsbawn)

- Národy jsou produktem kulturních elit



Ernest Renan, 1823-1892

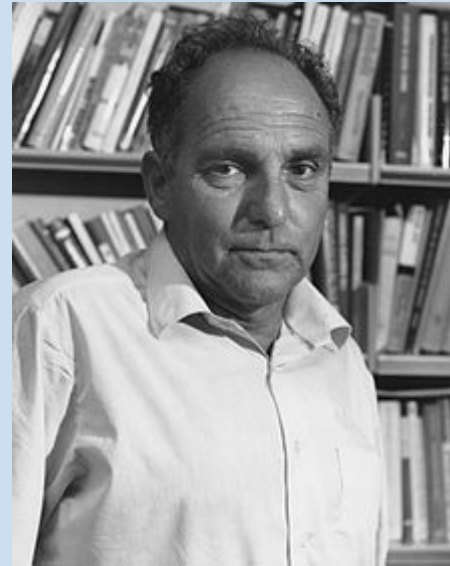
"Nations are not eternal. They had a beginning and they will have an end. And they will probably be replaced by a European confederation"

Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? (1882)

"A nation is therefore a large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future. It presupposes a past; it is summarized, however, in the present by a tangible fact, namely, consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life. A nation's existence is, if you will pardon the metaphor, a daily plebiscite..."

„ (...) mají mnoho společného, ale musí také společně mnoho věcí zapomenout: každý Francouz musí zapomenout na Bartolomějskou noc a na masakry albigenkých.“

Ernest Gellner



"Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent though long-delayed political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures: that is a reality"

(1983:48)



Benedict Anderson: Představy společenství



A nation is “an imagined community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”

“For it shows from the start the nation was conceived in language, not in blood, and that one could be ‘invited into’ the imagined community.”

Westfálský systém



Postwestfálský systém



Selektivní globalizace (Castells)

„Sítě především znamenají možnost připojení čehokoliv, co je hodnotné pro dominantní systém (...) Tato struktura ale také znamená, že vše, co má malou hodnotu – ať už jedinci, regiony, sektory nebo celé společnosti – se připojit nemůže, a zůstane tudíž zatraceno.“

UNESCO Courier (1999, s. 46)

„(...) Zatímco dominantní segmenty celých národních ekonomik jsou spojeny v globální pavučinu, segmenty zemí, regionů, ekonomických sektorů a lokálních společností jsou odděleny od procesů akumulace a spotřeby, jež charakterizují informační, globální ekonomiku.“

Castells (2000b, s. 135)

Denacionalizace (Sassen)

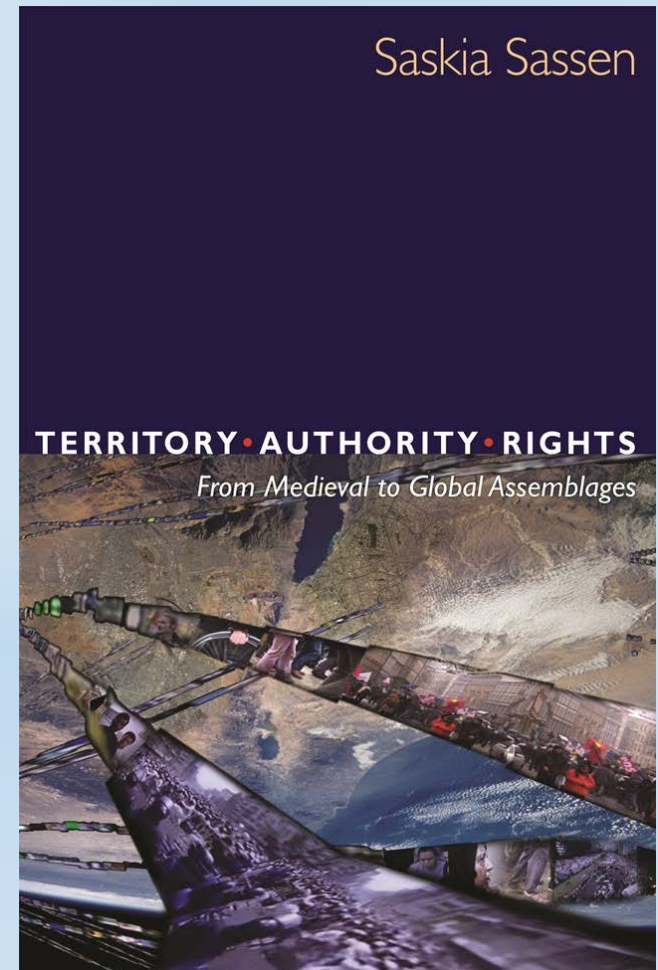
„Assembling and dissassembling
the national“

denationalize [dee-nash-uh-nl-ahyz] [SHOW IPA](#) 

[EXAMPLES](#) | [WORD ORIGIN](#)

verb (used with object), de-na-tion-al-ized, de-na-tion-al-iz-ing.

- 1 to remove (an industry or the like) from government ownership or control.
- 2 to deprive of national status, attachments, or characteristics.



Sociální prostor a stát

- H. Lefebvre
- M. Castells
- S. Sassen



Castells about social space

- '“Space, as a social product,(...) is always specified by a definite relation between the different instances of social structure, the economic, the political, the ideological, and the conjuncture of social relations that result from them. Space, therefore, is always an historical conjuncture and a social form that derives its meaning from the social processes that are expressed through it. [Consequently,] it is absolutely necessary to study the production of spatial forms on the basis of the underlying social structure.”'

Wallerstein

„The norm of universalism is an enormous comfort to those who are benefiting from the system. **It makes them feel they deserve what they have.** (...)

racism, sexism, and other anti-universalistic norms perform equally important tasks (...)

Actually they are really modes of inclusion, but of inclusion at inferior ranks. **These norms exist to justify the lower ranking, to enforce the lower ranking, and perversely even to make it somewhat palatable to those who have the lower ranking.** (...)

Since **polarization has been increasing over time**, racism, sexism, and other forms of anti-universalism have become ever more important, even though **the political struggle against such forms of anti-universalism has also become more central to the functioning of the world-system.**

The bottom line is that **the modern world-system has made as a central, basic feature of its structure the simultaneous existence, propagation, and practice of both universalism and anti-universalism.**

(Wallerstein, 2004, s. 40-41; bold by PL)

Wallerstein – schematizace (?)

Univerzalismus

- mobilita
- meritokracie / výkon
- občanství / multik.
- liberalismus
- globalizace

Partikularismus

- význam lokality
-
- nacionalismus
- naturalismus
-

The Economist

NOVEMBER 19TH - 25TH 2018

Trumponomics: back to the 1980s

Who are the Chinese?

Turmoil at Tata

How to print your own magnet

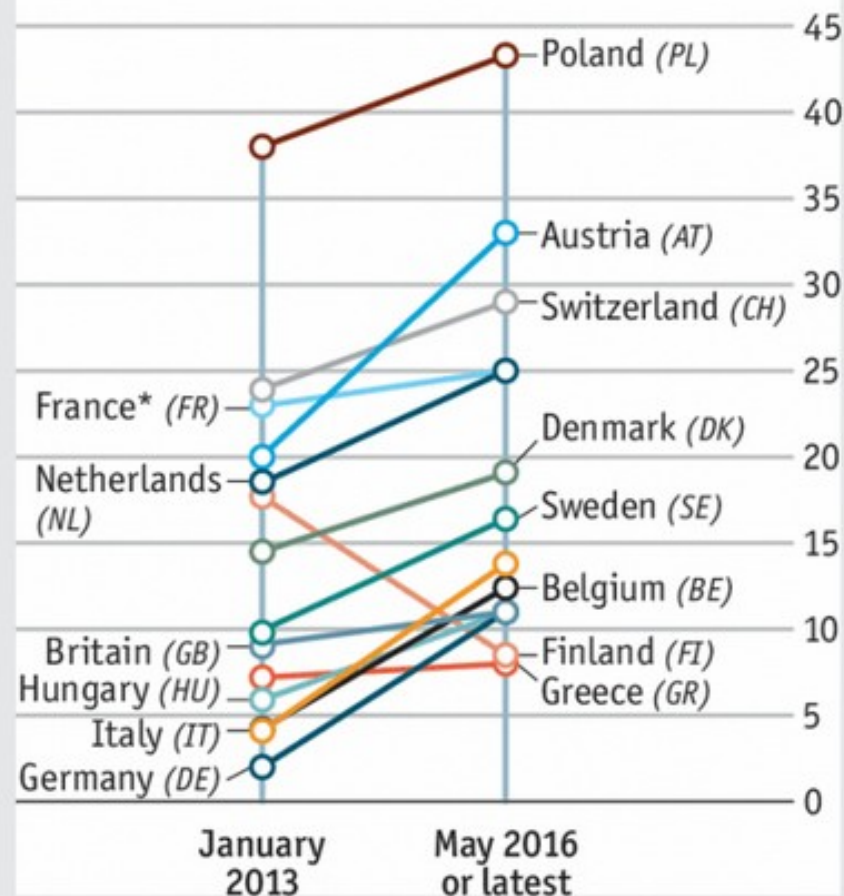
THE NEW NATIONALISM



Nationalist parties are finding a foothold

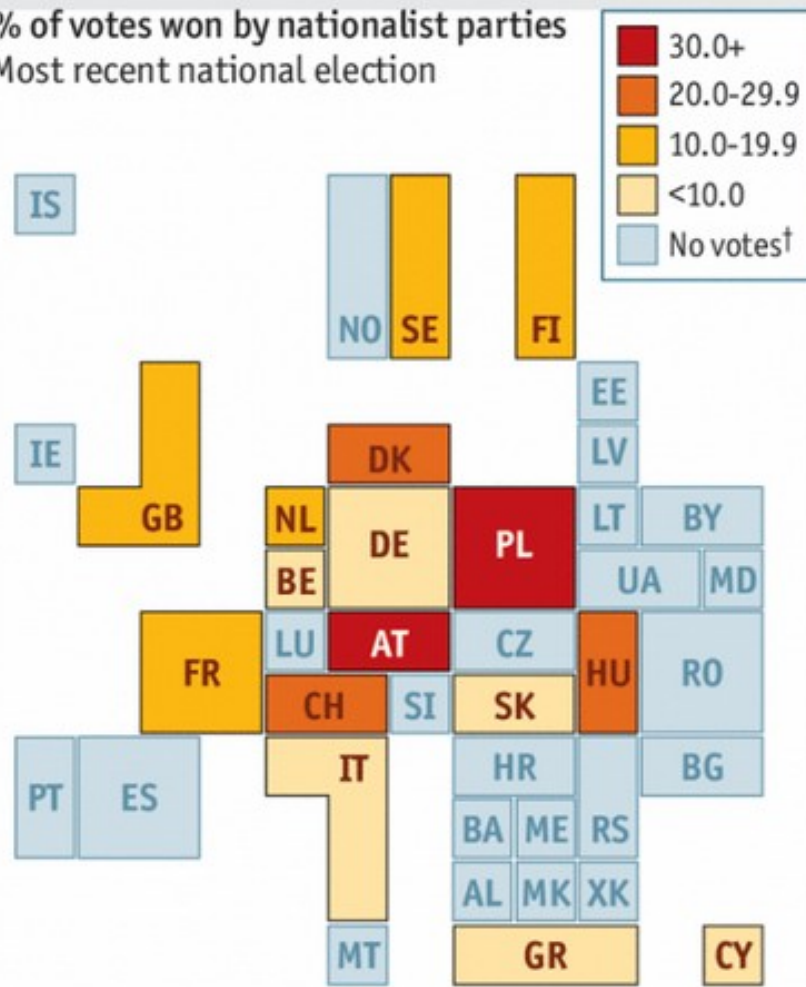
Support in Europe for far-right parties

Voting intention, selected countries
 % of respondents



Sources: Ipsos Mori; YouGov; TNS-Sofres; Gallup; demoskop.se; electograph.com; Niepewne Sondaze; press reports

% of votes won by nationalist parties
Most recent national election

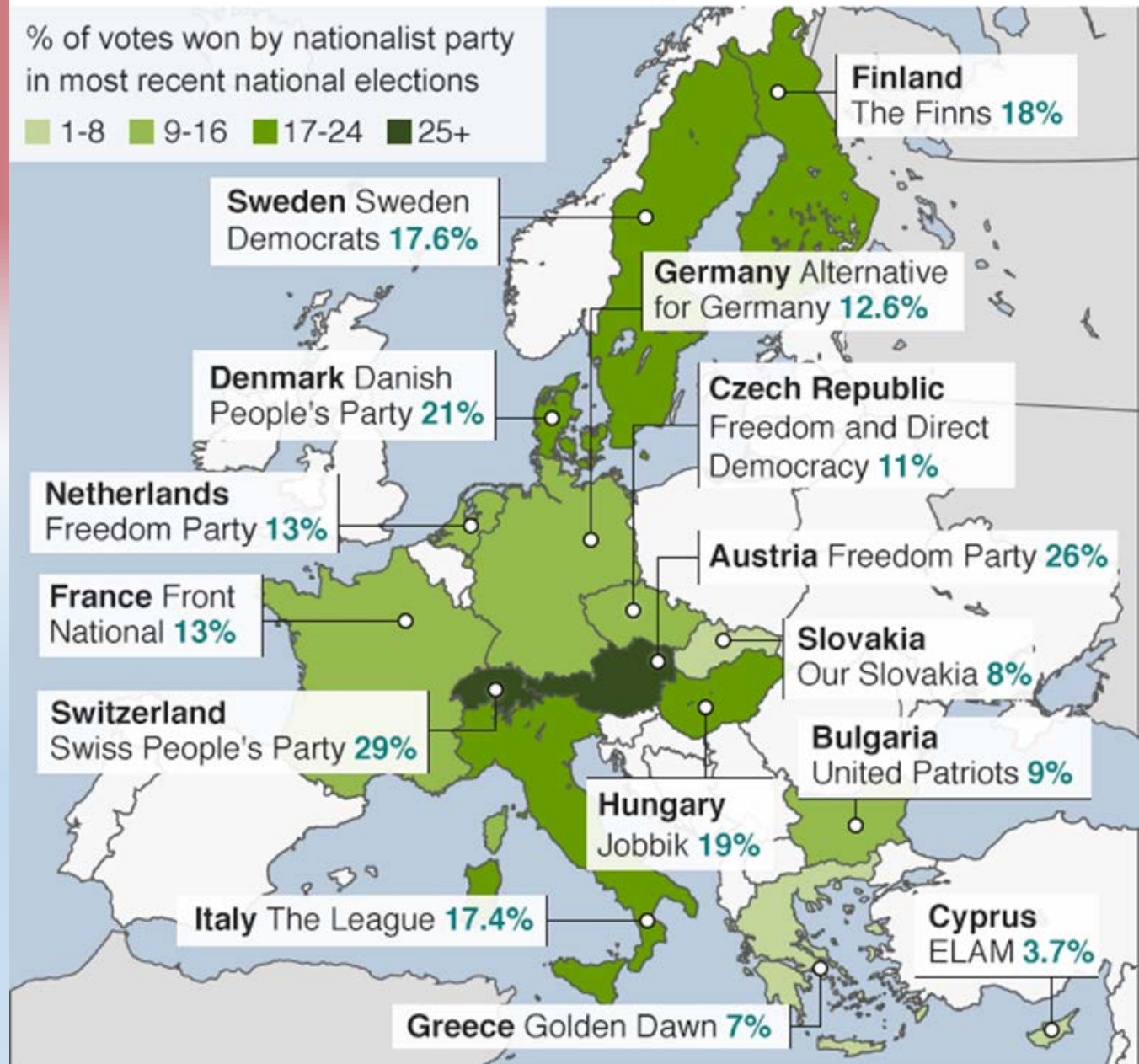


*% with positive sentiment towards
†Or very low vote share

Rise of nationalism in Europe

% of votes won by nationalist party
in most recent national elections

1-8 9-16 17-24 25+



In many countries nationalists got higher scores in European Parliament elections and opinion polls

Last updated: September 2018

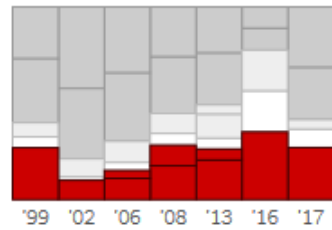
Party ideology in parliamentary elections*

Center-left, center-right

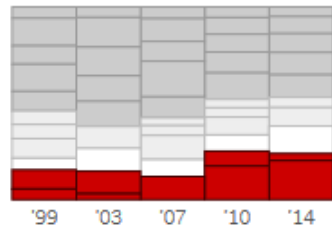
Other parties

Right-wing and far-right

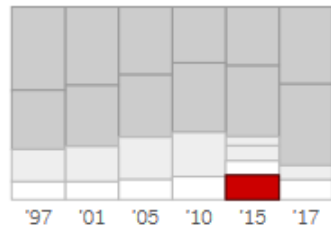
Austria



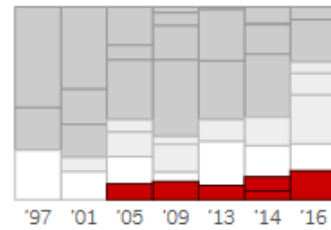
Belgium



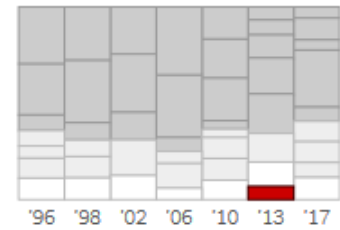
Britain



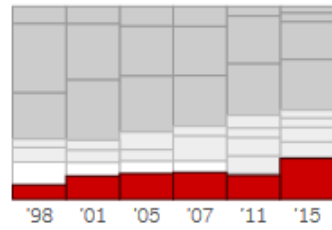
Bulgaria



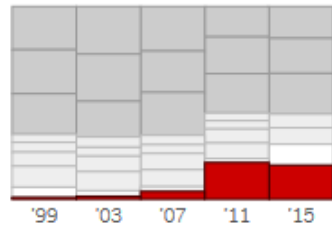
Czech Republic



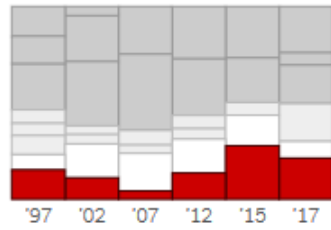
Denmark



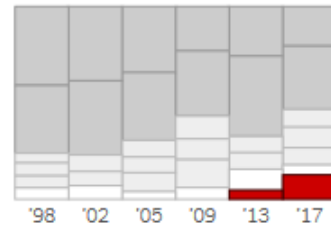
Finland



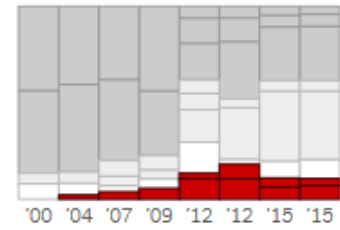
France



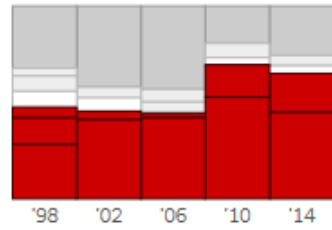
Germany



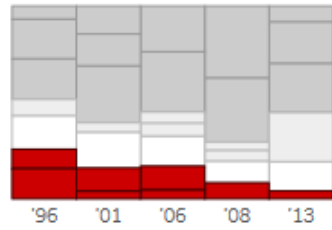
Greece



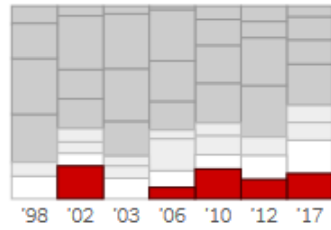
Hungary



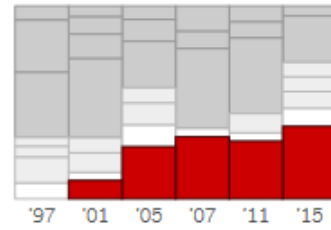
Italy



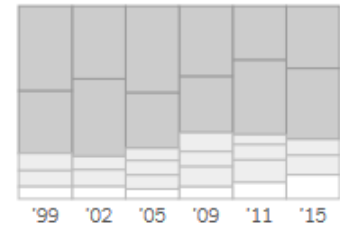
Netherlands



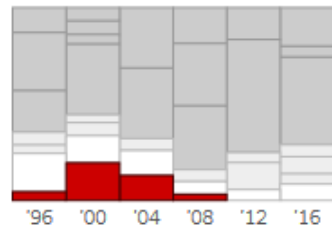
Poland



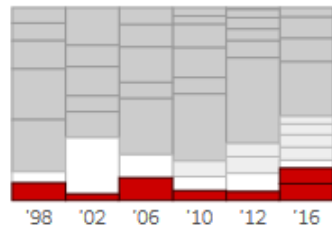
Portugal



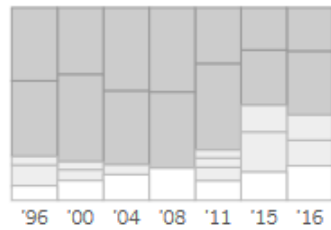
Romania



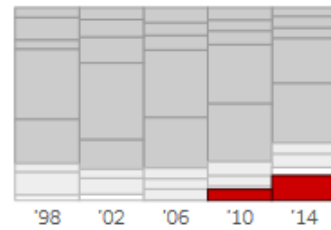
Slovakia



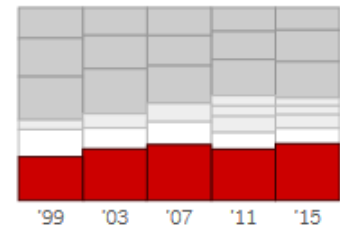
Spain



Sweden



Switzerland



*The 2016 presidential elections in Austria and Bulgaria and the 2015 French regional elections are included to add a more recent result for those countries.

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/05/22/world/europe/europe-right-wing-austria-hungary.html>



SYMPOSIUM

Is Nationalism on the Rise? Assessing Global Trends

FLORIAN BIEBER

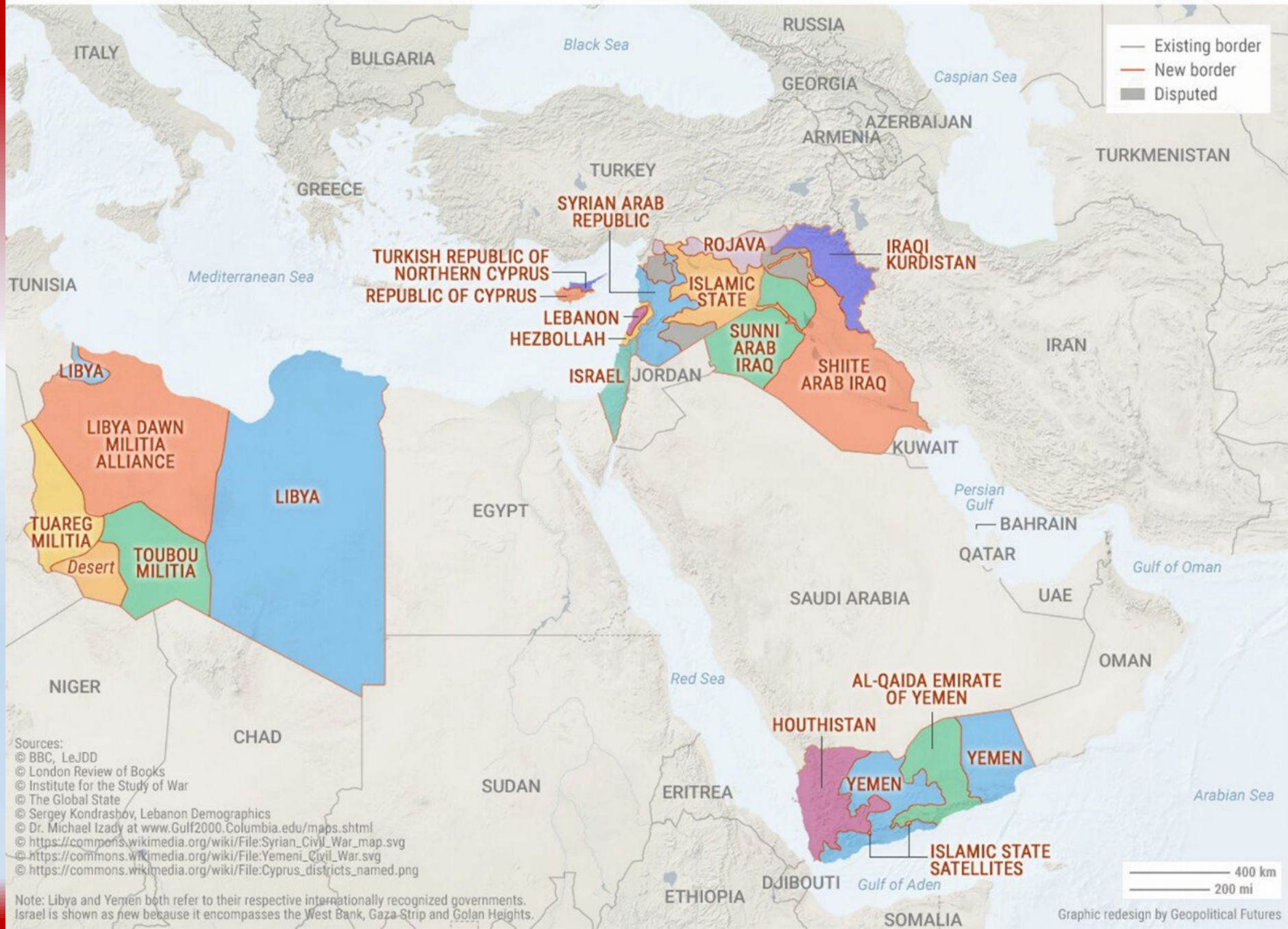
Center for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz, Graz, Austria

1. Introduction

Like air, nationalism is both ubiquitous and elusive. It permeates the global system, states, peoples' behavior and can be seen as both conservative and as a revolutionary force, threatening the status quo. The end of nationalism has been predicted multiple times. When Eric Hobsbawm wrote his seminal study on nationalism in the 1980s, he saw his subject as a dying breed (Hobsbawm, 1990). Yet, the end of the cold war ushered in a period nationalism, reflected in civil wars and genocide from Yugoslavia to Rwanda. Until recently, that period of nationalist resurgence appeared behind us.

Florian Bieber (2018) Is Nationalism on the Rise? Assessing Global Trends, *Ethnopolitics*, 17:5, 519-540, DOI: 10.1080/17449057.2018.1532633

A NEW MAP OF THE MIDDLE EAST



Sources:

- © BBC, LeJDD
- © London Review of Books
- © Institute for the Study of War
- © The Global State
- © Sergey Kondrashov, Lebanon Demographics
- © Dr. Michael Izady at www.Gulf2000.Columbia.edu/maps.shtml
- © https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Syrian_Civil_War_map.svg
- © https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Yemeni_Civil_War.svg
- © https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cyprus_districts_named.png

Note: Libya and Yemen both refer to their respective internationally recognized governments. Israel is shown as new because it encompasses the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights.

Graphic redesign by Geopolitical Futures

Příčiny „nového nacionalismu“

- Reakce na
 - neoliberální globalizaci
 - kulturní globalizaci
 - Kosmopolitismus
- Kulturní šok v CEE
- Vyprázdňení a přeosení tradiční politiky
- Vliv médií
 - Konzervativní tendence
 - Národní mainstreaming effect
 - Operace Infekce
- Setrvačnost nacionalismu
- Fce světového systému kapitalismu
- ... ?



THE NEW YORK TIMES PRESENTS

Operation InfeKtion

Opinion

7 COMMANDMENTS OF FAKE NEWS

★ Look for **cracks** in target societies

★ Create a **big lie**

★ Wrap the lie around a **kernel of truth**

★ **Conceal** your hand



★ Find yourself a '**useful idiot**'

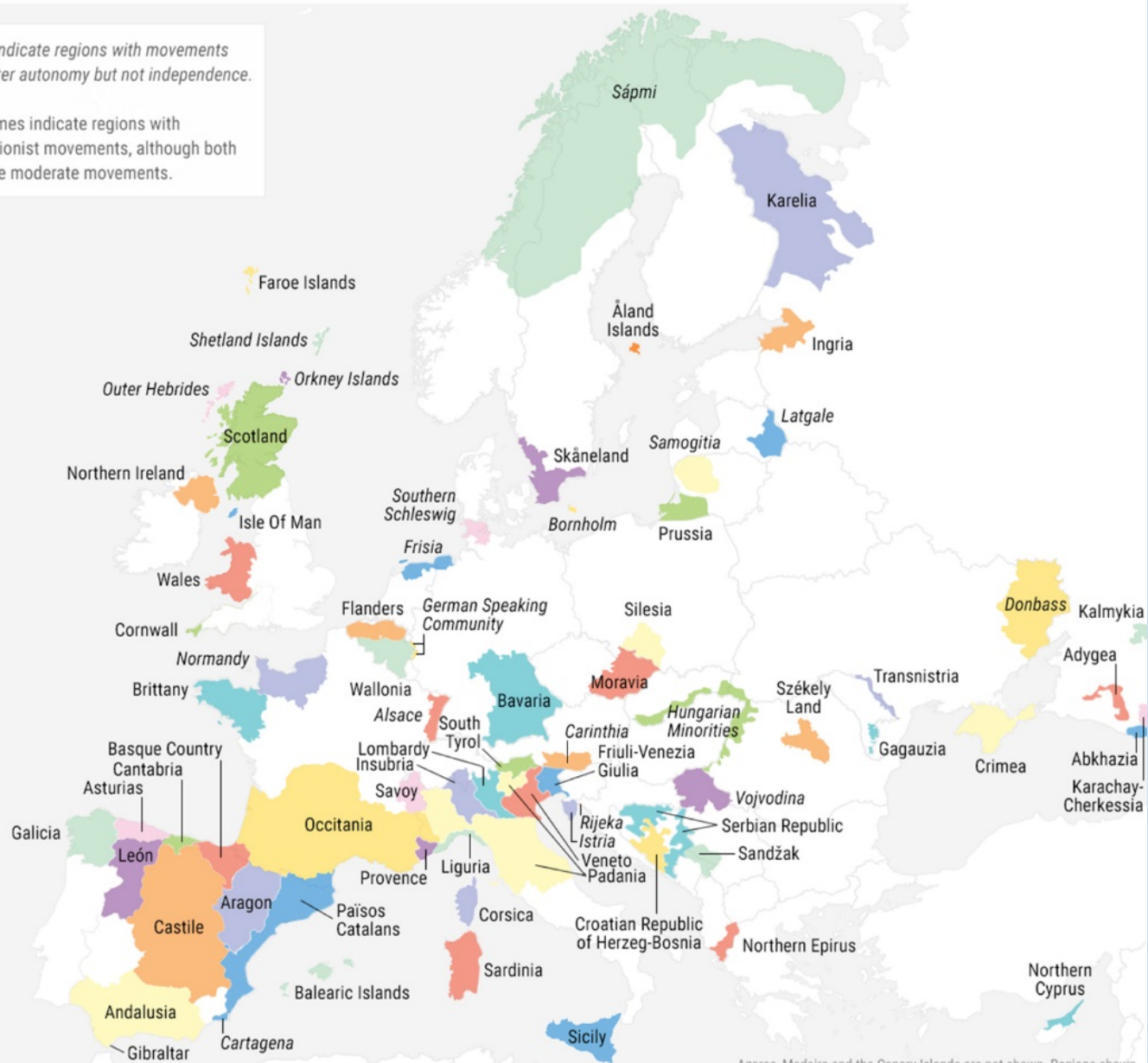
★ **Deny** everything

★ Play the **long game**

AREAS WITH STRONG NATIONALIST TENDENCIES

Italicized names indicate regions with movements agitating for greater autonomy but not independence.

Non-italicized names indicate regions with important secessionist movements, although both categories include moderate movements.

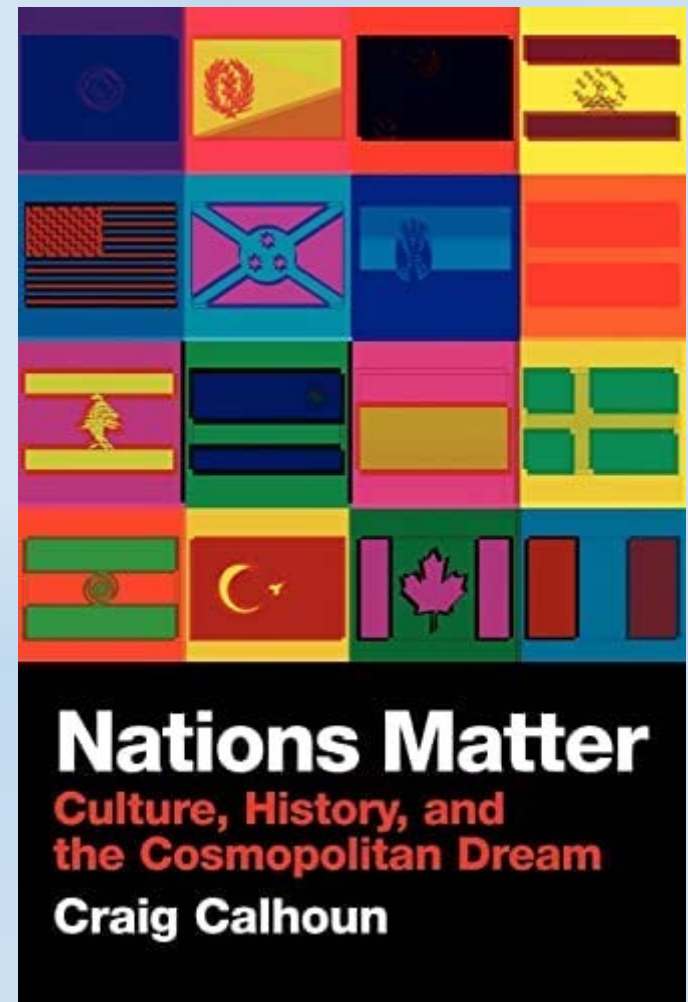


Azores, Madeira and the Canary Islands are not shown. Regions shown have active parties campaigning for greater autonomy or independence. Other regions with weaker movements have not been included.

Graphic redesign by Geopolitical Futures

Craig Calhoun: Nations Matter

- Nacionalismus =
 - Modernita
 - Univerzalismus
 - Aréna politické participace



Catalonia Separatism Revives Spanish Nationalism (NYT)

“When I saw that they wanted to leave, my identity started to feel more Spanish,” said María García, the 60-year-old caretaker of a Madrid apartment block festooned with several large flags. “I felt upset and hurt that they wanted to leave.”

Pakulski – od Webera

“When sociocultural articulation is weak – that is, when

- (1) strata boundaries are blurred,
- (2) group identities and solidarities are weak,
- (3) distances are cross-cutting, (
- (4) and divisions are fickle – social inequalities may take a complex and unstratified form.

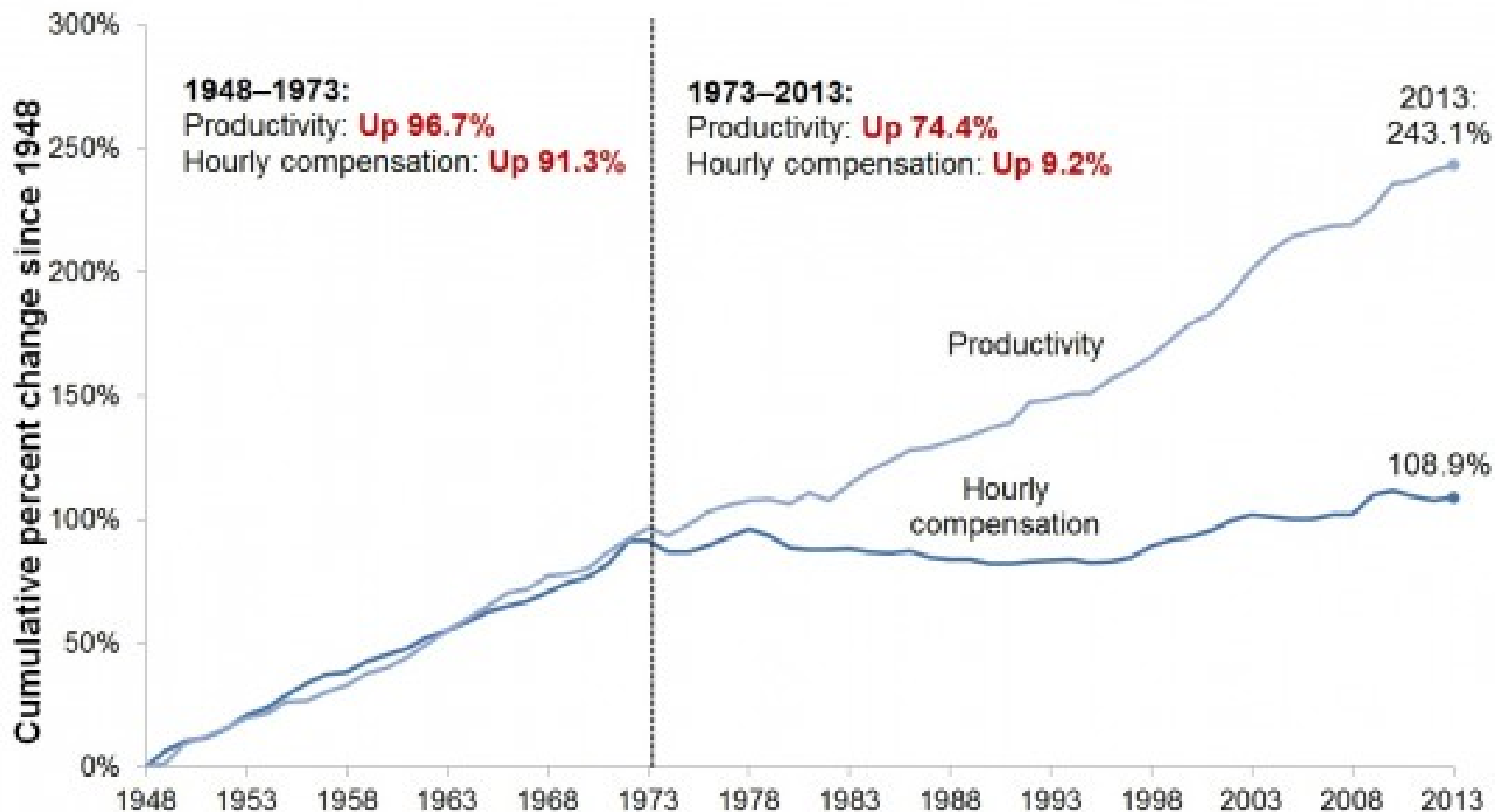
Late modernity ... marks a shift in this direction of complex inequality.”

Pakulski – od Durkheima

Diferenciace:

“...class formation [is] first weakened by occupational differentiation and market fragmentation, then undermined by the unraveling of corporatist deals, and finally destroyed by the decomposition of class elites, organizations (parties and trade unions) and ideologies.”

Vývoj nerovnosti v US

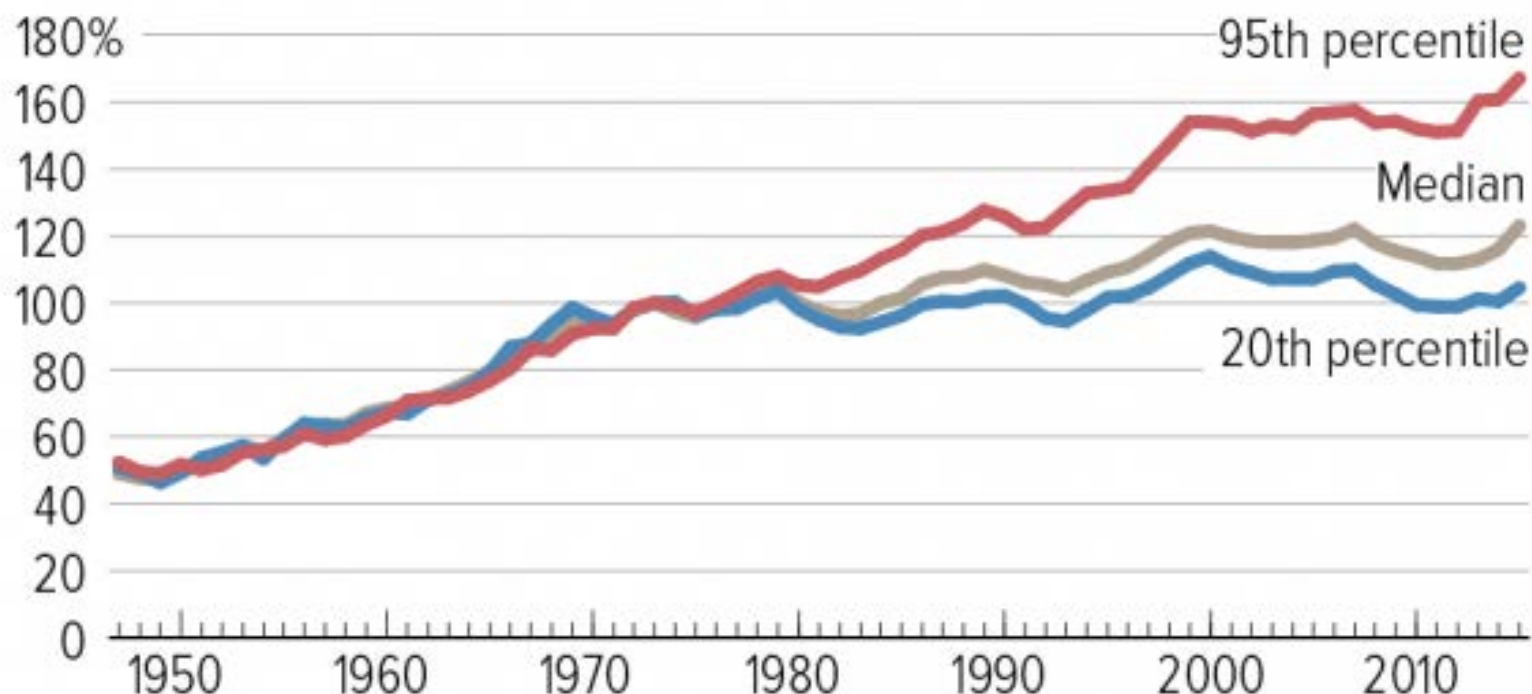


Vývoj produktivity práce a hodinové kompenzace v USA

[zdroj: <http://www.epi.org/publication/charting-wage-stagnation/>]

Income Gains Widely Shared in Early Postwar Decades — But Not Since Then

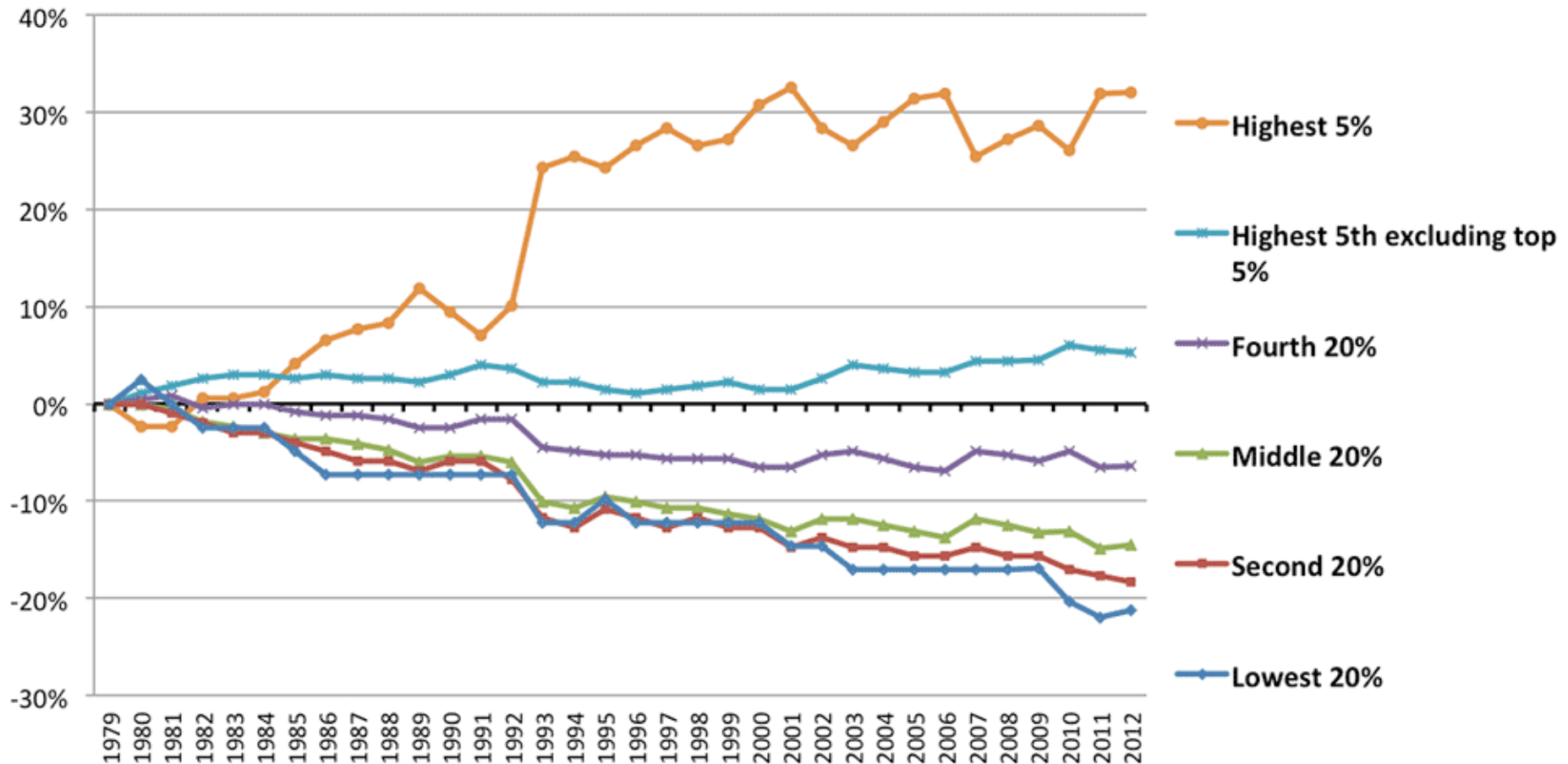
Real family income between 1947 and 2015, as a percentage of 1973 level



Note: In 2014 Census split its sample of survey respondents into two groups to test a set of redesigned income questions. In 2015 (reporting on 2014 income using the new questions), Census released two estimates of 2013 incomes, one based on the old questions and one on the new. The chart uses the estimate based on the old questions, based on CBPP's judgment that, due in part to sample size, it is likely more accurate for 2013.

Source: CBPP calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau Data

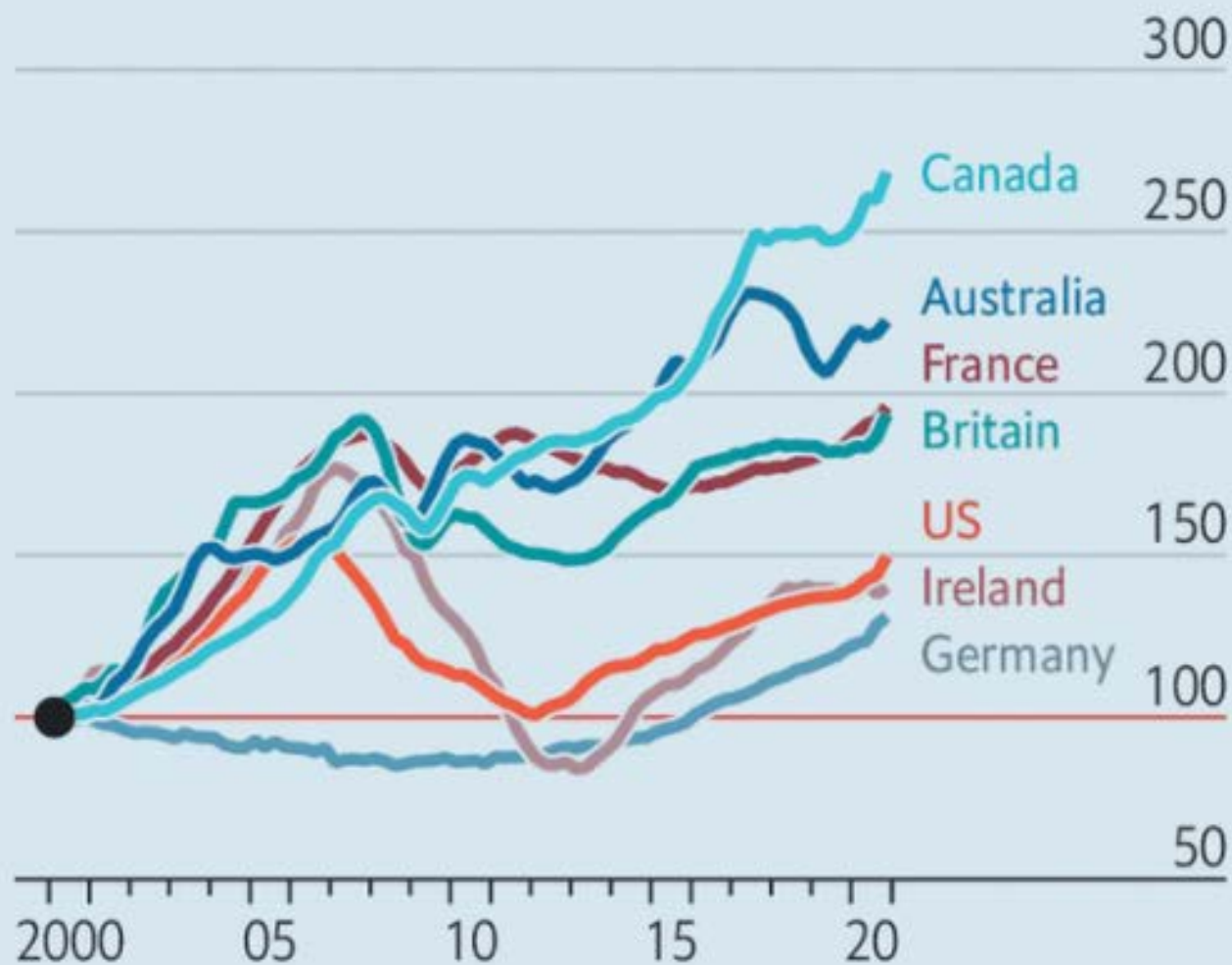
Change in Share of Aggregate U.S. Income Since 1979



Zdroj: <http://www.mn2020.org/issues-that-matter/fiscal-policy/another-indicator-of-growing-income-inequality>

Through the roof

Real house prices, January 2010=100



Sources: OECD; Land Registry; S&P Core Logic; *The Economist*

Globální faktory nárůstu nerovností na úrovni národního státu (Heshmati, 2006; Bornschnierv, 2002)

- Míra integrace do globální ekonomiky
- Ekonomická otevřenost a deregulace (=> ↓ reálných mezd)
- Tech. změny / inovace > geograficky nerovná inovace v oblasti automatizace a informatizace výroby (interakce s místními trhy práce)
- Růst významu science-based oborů/oblastí v průmyslu a službách (↓ pokles významu jiných oblastí)
- Dramatický růst nerovnosti platů mezi elitními řídicími pozicemi a ostatními
- Růst významu průběžného vzdělávání
- Úpadek odborů a přesun od kolektivních k individuálním smlouvám
- Funkční vychýlení distribuce příjmů ve prospěch kapitálu v kontextu globalizace a automatizace burzovních operací