

**Master in Political and Social Sciences.
Current Democracies: Nationalism, Federalism and
Multiculturalism**

Edition 2010-2011

**“Democracy and Political Liberalism: theoretical and
institutional features”**

*Ferran Requejo
Professor of Political Science*

1. Presentation

This subject deals with the analysis of the main theories and institutions of democracy and political liberalism, focusing specially on the current debates on socioeconomic and cultural and national justice in diverse societies. The democracy of Ancient Greece and different conceptions of political liberalism and modern and contemporary democracy will be addressed from key concepts of political legitimacy: equality, liberty, pluralism, justice, federalism, representation, and participation. Political theory, applied empirical comparative politics and history are the main approaches included in this subject.

2. Prerequisites

A general overview of the main institutions of Ancient and liberal democracy, as well as of the history of political liberalism (from Locke to Rawls and Taylor) and the basic elements of the current debate on justice, liberal democracy, federalism and cultural/national pluralism.

3. Competences to be achieved

At the end of the term, students must be familiar with the main concepts, historical experiences and normative and institutional references and challenges of present day liberal democracies. Students are also expected to have ability to write a research paper on the subject, focusing on current debates on theories of democracy, political liberalism, federalism, cultural/national pluralism or theories of justice. Oral presentations, ability of reasoning and critical discussion are expected in the development of this subject, as well as the ability to identify and develop new conceptual and analytical ideas in the field.

4. Assessment

The following criteria will be taken into account for the final assessment:

- a) Presentations and comments of the discussants or minimum of 6 summaries of the compulsory readings for the sessions (two for Part One and four for Part Two) (20%)
- b) Participation during the sessions (credit will be given for the quality of comments) (10%)
- c) Students should hand in a Paper (max. 9000 words) (70%)

5. Methodology

a) Teaching Language:

English is the official language in this Master programme. Papers may be also written in Catalan, Spanish, Italian and French.

b) Basic structure of each session:

Lecture (Ferran Requejo) (55 min)

Initial discussion (15 min)

Break (15 min)

Presentation of the two-three compulsory reading texts (2-3 students) (30 min)

Introductory comments by the *discussant* (1 student) (15 min)

Open discussion and conclusions led by the *discussant* (40 min)

Presentation of the readings for the next session (Ferran Requejo)(10 min)

c) Contact:

ferran.requejo@upf.edu

Office 113 (Jaume I building)

Office Hours: Thursday from 16.30h to 17.30h

Phone 93 542 23 77. Please, arrange an appointment with Cristina Sánchez (cristina.sanchez@upf.edu).

6. Contents

"In political and philosophical theories as well as in persons, success discloses faults and infirmities which failure might have concealed from observation"

J.Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859

"No doctrine which inspires a movement or a party has ever to my knowledge been refuted by argument –it expires as a result of changes in the world"

I.Berlin, *To Nora Beloff*, 1988

"God protect us from a form of democracy that is too democratic. In other words, a form of democracy that is absolutely democratic. God protect us from a government by the people for the people, and from an equality of individuals that could be implemented literally! In this case the adversaries and detractors of democracy, from Ch. Maurras to B. Mussolini, would be partially right.

Antoni Rovira i Virgili, *Defensa de la democràcia* (1930)

6.1 Compulsory readings

PART ONE

Session 1. Presentation

Presentation of the subject: aims, methodology and academic organisation

Democracy, political liberalism, socio-economic justice and cultural/national pluralism: introductory remarks

Comments on the bibliography

Readings: None

Session 2. Democracies: concepts, theories and models. The democracy of Ancient Greece (I)

Readings:

Sartori, G 1987: chaps 2 and 10 (for the completed references, see section 7 "General bibliography" at the end of this programme)

Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Book II, 35-46 (Pericles), Book V, 85-114 (Melian) (editions recommended: in English, The LOEB Classical Library; in Catalan, the Fundació Bernat Metge's; in Spanish, the Gredos' and Alianza's)

Session 3. The democracy of Ancient Greece (II)

Readings:

Isocrates, *Areopagiticus, II*, Harvard University Press 1982
(*Discursos*, vol II, Gredos, Madrid 1980)

Hansen 1991: chap 4

Session 4. Liberal democracy (I)

Readings:

Berlin I, "Two Concepts of Liberty" in *Four Essays on Liberty*, Oxford University Press 1969 ("Dos conceptos de libertad", *Cuatro ensayos sobre la libertad*, Alianza, Madrid 1988)

Madison J, *The Federalist*, n.10, Basil Blackwell 1987 (2nd ed)
(*El Federalista*, Institut d'Estudis Autònoms, 2009)

Session 5. Republicanism

Readings:

Offe C - Preuss U, "Democratic institutions and moral resources" in D. Held (ed), *Political Theory Today*, Polity Press, Cambridge 1991
("Instituciones democráticas y recursos morales", *Isegoría 2*, Madrid 1990)

Pettit Ph, 1999: chap 1: 35-75

PART TWO

Session 6 Liberal democracy (II). J. Rawls and contemporary theories of socio-economic justice.

Readings:

Rawls J, "Fundamental ideas", in *Justice as Fairness. A Restatement* (Erin Nelly edit), Harvard University Press, Cambridge-London 2001 (*La Justicia como equidad. Una reformulación*, Paidós, Barcelona-Buenos Aires-México 2002)

Gray J, "Liberal Toleration" in J. Gray, *Two Faces of Liberalism*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2000

("Tolerancia liberal", *Las dos caras del liberalismo*, Paidós, 2001)

Session 7. Liberal democracy (III). J. Rawls and contemporary theories of socio-economic justice.

Readings:

Walzer W, "The communitarian critique of liberalism", *Political Theory*, vol 18, n 1: 6-23, 1990

Taylor Ch, *Multiculturalism and "the Politics of Recognition"*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1992

Requejo F, "Revealing the Dark Side of Traditional Democracies in Plurinational Societies", *Nations and Nationalism*, London School of Economics, vol 16, n.1, 2010: 148-168.

Session 8. Liberal democracy (IV). Theories of cultural/national justice. From communitarianism to cultural and national pluralism.

Readings:

Taylor Ch, "Shared and Divergent Values" in Watts R – Brown D.M (eds), *Options for a New Canada*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1991: 53-76 ("Valores compartidos y divergentes", in Fossas-Requejo 1999, chap 2)

Requejo F, "Political Liberalism and Multinational Democracies" in *Multinational Federalism and Value Pluralism*, Routledge, London-New York 2005, chap 1

Session 9. Liberal democracy (V). Federalism and national pluralism

Readings:

Kymlicka W - Norman W (eds), "Citizenship in Culturally Diverse Societies: Issues, Contexts, Concepts", in Kymlicka W-Norman W (eds) *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2000

Requejo F, "Federalism and Democracy. The Case of Minority Nations: a Federalist Deficit", in M. Burgess - A. Gagnon (eds), *Federal Democracies*, Routledge, London 2010: 275-298

Session 10. Democracy at the beginning of 21st Century

Readings:

To choose three among the following readings:

Resnick Ph, "Twenty-first Century Democracy, or Cleisthenes Revisited", in Resnick 1997, chap1

McRoberts K, "Canada and the Multinational State", *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, December 2001

Dahl R, "Can international organizations be democratic?. A skeptic's view" in Shapiro I-Hacker-Cordón C (eds) *Democracy's Edges*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1999

Requejo F, 2009, "Revealing the Dark Side of Traditional Democracies in Plurinational Societies", *Nations and Nationalism, London School of Economics and Political Science*, 2009 (forthcoming)

Dworkin-Williams-Nagel-Taylor, "Pluralism", in R.Dworkin-M.Lilla-R.Silvers, *The legacy of Isaiah Berlin*, New York Review Books, 2001

Phillips A, "Must Feminists Give Up on Liberal Democracy?", in Held 1993, cap 4

Parekh B, "The Cultural Particularity of Liberal Democracy", in Held 1993 , cap 7

Archibugi D, "From the United Nations to Cosmopolitan Democracy" in Archibugi D – Held D (eds) *Cosmopolitan Democracy*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1995

Tully, J, "Introduction", in A.Gagnon-J.Tully (eds), *Multinational Democracies*, Cambridge University Press, 2001

F. Requejo, "The crooked timber of liberal democracies is still too straight", in N. Walker-B. Shaw-S. Tierney (eds), *Europe's Constitutional Mosaic*, Hart Publishing, Oxford, 2010.

6.2 Recommended Readings:

PART ONE

Session 1

None

Session 2

Requejo 1990: chap 2-4

Dunn 1995: chap 1-2

M.I.Finley, *The Ancient Greeks*, 1963 (*Los griegos de la antigüedad*, Labor, Barcelona 1992)

R. Osborne (ed), *Classical Greece 500-323 BC*, Oxford University Press 2000 (*La Grecia clásica*, Crítica, Barcelona 2002)

W.G.Forrest, *The Emergence of Greek Democracy The character of Greek politics, 800-400 BC*, 1978, chaps 6-9 (*Los orígenes de la democracia griega*, Akal, Barcelona 1988)

D. Musti, *Demokratía. Orígenes de una idea* (1995), Alianza, Madrid 2000, chaps 1-2

R. Morkot, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Greece*, Penguin Books 1996

Session 3

Plato, *Protagoras*; *Republic* (422e-427d, 437b ff, 514a, 518b-519d, (Gredos, Madrid 1981)

Aristotle, *Politics*, 1279a, 1280b-1281a, 1282b-1283a, 1286b, 1293b, 1294a, 1323b,1328b-1329a (*Política*, Centro de Estudios Constitucionales)

E. Hamilton, *The Greek Way*, Norton & Company 1930, chap 11 (*El camino de los griegos*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Madrid 2002)

R.K.Sinclair, *Democracy and Participation in Athens*, Cambridge University Press, 1988, chaps 1,5 (*Democracia y participación en Atenas*, Alianza, Madrid 1999)

F.Gschnitzer, *Historia social de Grecia*, cap 4, Akal, Barcelona, 1987

C Mossé, *Historia de una democracia: Atenas*, chap 1-4, Akal, Barcelona 1987

Pomeroy S.B – Burnstein S.M.- Donlan W – Roberts J.T, *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1999, chaps 5-8 (*La Antigua Grecia*, Crítica Barcelona 2001)

Session 4

B. Constant, "De la libertad de los antiguos comparada con la libertad de los modernos" a *Escritos Políticos*, C.E.C., Madrid 1989

A. Tocqueville, *La democracia en América* 1st vol 2nd part, chap 8; 2nd vol, 2nd part, chaps 1-4

J. Stuart Mill, *Representative Government*, chap 12 (several ed)

J. Stuart Mill, *On "La démocratie en Amérique"* (*Sobre la libertad y Comentarios a Tocqueville*, Espasa Calpe, Madrid 1991)

H.F. Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, University of California Press, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1972, chaps 4,5,7,8,9

B. Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge-New York-Melbourne 1997, chaps 2-5

F. Requejo, "Les senyes d'identitat del liberalisme", in A Castiñeira (ed) *El liberalisme i els seus crítics*, Proa, Barcelona 1996: 13-57

Session 5

J.A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, Harper&Brothers, New York 1942, chaps 20-22 (*Capitalismo, Socialismo y Democracia*, Ed Folio, Barcelona 1984)

K. Marx, *La guerra civil a França*, part III (several ed)

J.J. Rousseau, *Contrato Social*, I, 1-3, 6-7; II, 1-3; III, 1-4

B. Barber, *Strong Democracy*, University of California Press, chap 6, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1984

D. Beetham, "Liberal Democracy and the Limits of Democratization" in Held 1993 (also in *Political Studies* 1992, vol XL, Special Issue)

C.B. Macpherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, Oxford University Press 1976, chap 5 (*La Democracia Liberal y su época*, Alianza Madrid, 1981)

R. Dahl 1992: chap 20

M^a J Villaverde, *LA ilusión republicana*, Tecnos, Madrid 2008

F. Requejo, "Multinational (no postnational) Federalism" in Maiz R - Requejo F (eds) *Democracy, nationalism and multiculturalism*, Routledge, London-New York, 2005

F.Requejo, "Democracia competitiva. La obra de Schumpeter 50 años después" *CLAVES* n. 30, Madrid 1993

PART TWO

Session 6

J.Rawls, "Justice as Fairness" in *A Theory of Justice*, Oxford University Press 1971, chap 1 ("La justicia como imparcialidad", *Teoría de la Justicia*, F.C.E. 1978)

J.Rawls, "The Law of Peoples", *Critical Inquiry*, n.20: 36-68, 1993

Ch.Larmore, "Political Liberalism", *Political Theory*, vol3:339-360, 1990

P.Neal, "Vulgar Liberalism", *Political Theory*, vol 21, n.4: 623-642, 1993

F. Requejo-E. Gonzalo, *Desigualtat en democràcia. Les teories de la justícia socio-econòmica en el segle XXI*, Eumo, Vic 2009

F. Requejo-E. Gonzalo, "John Rawls: Logros y límites del último liberalismo político tradicional", R. Maiz (comp), *Teorías políticas contemporáneas*, Tirant lo Blanch, Valencia, 2001:91-135

F.Requejo, "El cuadrado mágico del liberalismo", *CLAVES de la razón práctica*, n. 46, oct 1994: 2-12

Session 7

S.Wolin, "Democracy in the Discourse of Postmodernism", *Social Research*, vol 57, n 1:5-30, 1990

S. Lukes, "Cinco fábulas sobre los derechos humanos", *CLAVES de la razón práctica*, n.41 abril 1994

W. Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship. A liberal theory of minority rights*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1995, chaps 3 and 6 (*Ciudadanía Multicultural*, Paidós, Barcelona 1996)

U Preuss - F. Requejo (eds), *European Citizenship, Multiculturalism and the State*, Nomos, Baden-Baden 1998

F. Requejo, "Cultural pluralism, nationalism and federalism: A revision of democratic citizenship in plurinational states", *European Journal of Political Research*, 35, 1999: 255-286

Session 8

Watts 1999: 1-20

R Ketcham (ed), *The Anti-Federalist Papers and the Constitutional Convention Debates*, "Introduction", 1986

W. Norman, *Negotiating Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, 2006

F Requejo, "Pluralismo de valores y federalismo multinacional", *Claves de la razón práctica*, n.126, October 2002

F. Requejo 2004: "Federalism and the Quality of Democracy in Plurinational Contexts: Present Shortcomings and Possible Improvements", *Amoretti U – Bermeo N* 2004: 259-278

Session 9

D. Karmis-W. Norman (eds), "Introduction. The revival of federalism in normative political theory", *Theories of federalism. A Reader*, Palgrave Macmillan 2005: 3-21

J.Weber, "An Asymmetrical Constitution" in *Reimagining Canada. Language, Culture, Community, and the Canadian Constitution*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston&Montréal-London-Buffalo 1994: 285-307 ("Una constitución asimétrica", in Fossas-Requejo (eds) 1999, cap 4)

F. Requejo, "Political liberalism in multinational states: the legitimacy of plural and asymmetrical federalism", A. Gagnon-J. Tully (eds), *Multinational Democracies*, Cambridge University Press, 2001

F. Requejo (ed), *Democracy and National Pluralism*, Routledge, London-New York 2001

F. Requejo, "Federalism and Democracy. The Case of Minority Nations: a Federalist Deficit", in M. Burgess - A. Gagnon (eds), *Federal Democracies*, Routledge, London 2010: 275-298

Session 10

None

7. General bibliography

- Amoretti U - Bermeo N (eds), *Federalism, Unitarism and Territorial Cleavages*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 2004
- Axtmann R, *Liberal democracy into the twenty-first century*, Manchester-N York, Manchester University Press, 1996
- Berlin I, *The Power of Ideas*, Chatto&Windus, London, 2000 (*El poder de las Ideas*, Madrid, Espasa, 2000)
- Berlin, I, 1998, *The Crooked Timber of Humanity: Chapters in the History of Ideas*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press
- Berlin I, *Four Essays on Liberty*, Oxford University Press 1978 (*Cuatro ensayos sobre la libertad*, Alianza, Madrid 1988)
- Burgess, M. 2006, *Comparative Federalism. Theory and Practice*. London, Routledge.
- Castiñeira, A (dir) *El liberalisme i els seus crítics*, Proa, Barcelona 1996
- Dahl R, *Democracy and its critics*, Yale University Press, 1989 (*La Democracia y sus Críticos*, Paidós, Barcelona 1992)
- De Waal, F, *Our Inner Ape*, 2005 (*El mono que llevamos dentro*, Tusquets, Barcelona, 2007)
- De Waal, F, *Chimpanzees Politics: Power and Sex among Apes*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1982, 1998 (*La política de los chimpancés*, Alianza, Madrid 1993)
- Dworkin R – Lilla M – Silvers R (eds), *The Legacy of Isaiah Berlin*, New York Review Books, 2001
- Elazar D, *Federal Systems of the World*, Essex, Longman, 1991
- Elazar D, *Exploring Federalism*, Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1987
- Fossas E - Requejo F (eds), *Asimetría Federal y Estado Plurinacional, El debate sobre la acomodación de la diversidad en Canadá, Bélgica y España*, Trotta, Madrid 1999
- Gagnon A - Tully J (eds), *Multinational Democracies*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2001
- Gagnon A - Guibernau M - Rocher F (eds), *The Conditions of Diversity in Multinational Democracies*, Institute for Research on Public Policy, Montréal 2003
- Hansen, M.H, *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes* , Blackwell,1991
- Held, D *Models of democracy*, Stanford University Press, 1987 (*Modelos de democracia*, Alianza, Madrid 1992)

- Held, D *Prospects for Democracy* , Polity, 1993
- Karmis, D–Norman, W (eds) 2005, *Theories of Federalism. A Reader*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan
- Kymlicka W – Norman W (eds), *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2000
- Kymlicka. W, *Multicultural Citizenship*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1995 (*Ciudadanía multicultural*, Barcelona, Paidós, 1996)
- Lijphart, A, *Patterns of Democracy*, Yale University Press 1999 (*Modelos de Democracia*, Ariel, Barcelona 2000)
- Maiz R – Requejo F (eds), *Democracy, Nationalism and Multiculturalism*, Routledge, London-New York 2005
- Mulhall S & Swift A, *Liberals and Communitarians*, Blackwell, Oxford 1992
- Norman, W 2006, *Negotiating Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Parekh B, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, Macmillan Press 2000
- Pettit P, *Republicanism. A History of Freedom and Government*, Oxford University Press, 1997 (*Republicanism. Una teoría sobre la libertad y el gobierno*, Barcelona, Paidós, 1999)
- Pocock, J.G.A, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republic Tradition*, Princeton, Princeton University Press 1975 (*El momento maquiavélico*, Madrid , Tecnos 2002)
- Pomeroy S.B – Burnstein S.M.- Donlan W – Roberts J.T, *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1999, chaps 5-8 (*La Antigua Grecia*, Crítica Barcelona 2001)
- Preuss U - Requejo F (eds), *European Citizenship, Multiculturalism and the State*, Baden-Baden, Nomos 1998
- Rawls J, *A Theory of Justice*, Harvard College, 1971 (*Teoría de la Justicia*, F.C.E, México 1978)
- Rawls J, *Political Liberalism*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1993 (*El Liberalismo Político*, Crítica, Barcelona 1996)
- Rawls J, *Justice as Fairness. A Restatement* (Erin Nelly edit), Harvard University Press, Cambridge-London 2001 (*La Justicia como equidad. Una reformulación*, Paidós, Barcelona-Buenos Aires-México 2002)

- Requejo F - Nagel K.J (eds), *Federalism beyond Federations: Resymmetrization processes in Europe. A comparative analysis of 10 cases*, Ashgate 2011 (forthcoming)
- Requejo F – Caminal M (eds), *Political Liberalism and Multinational Democracies*, Routledge, London-New York, 2010
- Requejo, F – Gonzalo, E, *Desigualtats en democràcia. Les teories de la justícia socio-econòmica en el segle XXI*, Eumo, Vic 2009
- Requejo, F., *Las democracias. Democracia antigua, democracia liberal y Estado del Bienestar*, Ariel, Barcelona 2008
- Requejo, F, *Multinational Federalism and Value Pluralism*, Routledge, London-New York 2005
(*Federalismo Plurinacional y Pluralismo de Valores*, CEPC, Madrid 2007; *Fédéralisme Multinational et Pluralisme de valeurs*, Peter Lang, Bruxelles 2009)
- Requejo, F (ed) *Democracy and National Pluralism*, Routledge, London-New York 2001
(*Democracia y Pluralismo Nacional*, Barcelona, Ariel 2002)
- Resnick P, *Twenty-first Century Democracy*, Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997
- Sartori, G, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited*, Chatham House Publishers, 1987
(*Teoría de la democracia*, 2 vols, Alianza, Madrid 1988)
- Shapiro I - Hacker-Cordón C (eds) *Democracy's Edges*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1999
- Skinner, Q, *Liberty Before Liberalism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1998
- Spinner J, *The Boundaries of Citizenship*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press 1994
- Tamir Y, *Liberal Nationalism*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1993
- Yaylor, Ch. 2001, «Plurality of Goods», in Dworkin-Lilla-Taylor, *The Legacy of Isaiah Berlin*, Nova York: New York Review Books.
- Taylor, Ch., 1997, *La Liberté des Modernes*, Paris, PUF
- Taylor Ch, *The Sources of the Self*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1989
- Taylor, Ch, *Multiculturalism and the "The Politics of Recognition"*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1992
- Tully J, *Strange Multiplicity. Constitutionalism in an Age of Diversity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1994

Walzer M, *Thick and Thin*, Notre Dame-London, University of Notre Dame Press 1994

Watts R, *Comparing Federal Systems*, 2nd ed, Montreal&Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press 1999

8. Finally, some quotations from works of literature and political theory:

"lo sabemos igual que lo sabéis vosotros: en el cálculo humano, la justicia solo se plantea entre fuerzas iguales. En caso contrario, los más fuertes hacen todo lo que está en su poder y los débiles ceden"

".. en general los hombres más simples gobiernan mejor la ciudad que las grandes inteligencias. En efecto, suelen estos querer aparecer más sabios que las leyes y triunfar sobre todas y cada una de las propuestas presentadas en público, como si no hubiera otras ocasiones más importantes de mostrar su juicio, y a resultas de tal comportamiento terminan frecuentemente por arruinar a la ciudad"

Tucídides. *Historia de la guerra del Peloponeso*

“La tragedia fue una invención griega porque en Grecia el pensamiento era libre. Los hombres pensaban con frecuencia y profundidad en la vida humana, y empezaban a percibir cada vez con mayor claridad que ésta era inseparable del mal y que la injusticia estaba en la naturaleza de las cosas

Los sentimentales somos nosotros. Nosotros, para quienes la poesía y todo el arte no son sino una decoración superficial de la vida, los volvemos un refugio ante un mundo demasiado rudo para enfrentarlo, sentimentalizándolo. Los griegos lo miraron de frente. No fueron, en absoluto, sentimentales. Fue un romano quien dijo que era dulce morir por la patria. Los griegos nunca dijeron que fuera dulce morir por nada. No conocían mentiras vitales”

E. Hamilton, *El camino de los griegos*

"Per tal que la vida dels homes no fos trista i llòbrega, Júpiter els dotà bastant més de passions que de raó: en la proporció de mitja unça a una lliure"

"mai no hi ha hagut prínceps tan perjudicials per a un estat com quan el govern ha recaigut en algun afeccionat a la filosofia o a la literatura"

Erasmè, *Elogi de la Follia*

“Life’s but a walking shadow; a poor player
that struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
and then is heard no more: it is a tale

told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
signifying nothing

("La vida no és sinó una ombra ambulant, un pobre actor
que es mou enrigidit i consumeix el temps que li toca d'estar a escena
i després ja ningú no el sent més. És un conte
explicat per un idiota, ple de soroll i fúria
que no significa res")

W. Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, V,5 (trad S. Oliva)

"It is only simple conceptions which take hold of a people's mind. A false but clear and
precise idea always has more power in the world than one which is true but complex"

A. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*

- "I always want to know the things one shouldn't do"
- "So as not to do them?" asked her aunt
- "So as to choose", said Isabel"

Henry James, *The Portrait of a Lady*

"Te olvidas de que mentir es parte del combate por la supervivencia -dijo él-. Es la
manera que tienen los seres humanos de manipular las circunstancias para que se
ajusten a la imagen preconcebida que tienen de sí mismos como figuras del mundo. Su
venganza contra los dioses siniestros"

W. Faulkner. *Banderas sobre el polvo*

"Los hombres quieren demasiadas cosas: quieren lo que es lógicamente imposible. Este
es el motivo de que símbolos sagrados como 'libertad' o 'democracia' y 'derecho' de
autogobierno cubran tal cantidad de ideales que están en conflicto los unos con los
otros. Más vale darse cuenta de esto. Las cosas son lo que son, el *status* es una cosa, la
libertad es otra, el reconocimiento no es igual a la no interferencia. Al final, todos
pagamos demasiado caro nuestro deseo de desviar la mirada de dichas verdades, de
ignorar estas distinciones en nuestro intento de acuñar términos que cubran todo lo que
deseamos, en definitiva, por nuestro deseo de ser engañados"

I. Berlin, *La búsqueda del 'status'*

"Mi identidad es lo que hace que yo no sea idéntico a ninguna otra persona"

"A mi entender, la tiranía de la mayoría no es mejor, desde el punto de vista moral, que
la de la minoría"

Amin Maalouf, *Identidades asesinas*

"Ara comprenc que l'encís real de la vida intel·lectual es la seva facilitat ... Viure és molt més difícil que el sànscrit, la química i l'economia.... I és per això (entre altres motius) que hi ha tanta demanda d'alta educació. L'afluència cap als llibres i les universitats és com l'afluència cap als cafès i les tavernes. Les gents necessiten ofegar llur comprensió de les dificultats de viure convenientment en aquest grotesc món contemporani, necessiten oblidar llur deplorable ineficiència com a artistes de la vida ... Els llibres i les conferències serveixen millor per a ofegar les penes que no pas la beguda i la fornicació; car no deixen mal de cap, ni cap d'aquelles desesperadores sensacions de *post coitum, triste*. ... He comprès, també, que la recerca de la veritat no és sinó un nom més refinat per a la diversió favorita de l'intel·lectual, de posar simples i, per tant, falses abstraccions, al lloc de les vivents complicacions de la realitat".

A.Huxley. *Contrapunt*

Ferran Requejo
Barcelona, September 2010