

## Nationalism: Then, Now and How?



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### **Welcome to Seminar on Nationalism: Then, Now and How?**

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at

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(**Abstract-** Nationalism is neither a new term nor new need rather it was in use *ab initio* or from time memorial; say since our two epics' era; *Ramayana* or *Mahabharata* or even before. In due course of time, the definitions changed, considering the need of a nation, leadership prevailing *status quo* of the state. Globally, today we can define Nationalism as an ideology that holds any nation as a fundamental unit for human social life, and takes precedence over any principles whether social or political. In this seminar, two aspects have been covered as a main theme, but Author has tried to bring out the third aspect 'how to develop Nationalism and who can we do so with precision, as natural leader'? However, nationalism should not be taken as pure synonym of patriotism, but while citing examples both words may be used interchangeably.

In this paper, certain inputs have been taken from Post graduate students (Mainly Gujarat, India and Africa) as a part of exploratory study and historical examples from the past and contemporary as well. Historical facts have been brought out basically to embed in the minds of the youth as lessons and to know the national character of our ancestors, and follow their foot-steps. To conclude the 'topic of present National dire need', certain recommendations have been given to be considered by all, to rejuvenate the elements of nationalism as well as patriotism.

### **Synopsis:**

**Part-I-** 1. Introduction. 2. Definition. 3. Variable examples.

**Part-II-** 4. Principles of Nationalism. 5. Then and Now (Main movement between 1930-1945). 6. Differences between Nationalism and Patriotism.

**Part-III-** 7. National power and its measurement. 8. What and how-now for rejuvenation of Nationalism? (Catch words, Fundamental duties)

9. Conclusion with a Pledge.

**1. Introduction:** The word Nationalism derived from Latin word (nation meaning born). It gives it a racial or ethical meaning, "etymologically..." Therefore, nation is a people descended from common stock. However, academically Nationalism, is an ideology that holds that a nation is the fundamental unit for human social life, and takes precedence over any principles whether social or political. Nationalism typically makes certain political claims based upon this belief: above all, the claim that the nation is the only fully legitimate basis for a state, that each

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nation is entitled to its own state, and that the borders of the state should be congruent with the borders of the nation. Nationalism refers to both a political doctrine and any collective action by political and social movements on behalf of specific nations. Nationalism has had an enormous influence upon history of the world, since the nation-state has become the dominant form of state organization. Most of the world's population now lives in states which are, at least nominally, nation-states. Historians also use the term "nationalism" to refer to this historical transition, and to the emergence of nationalist ideology and movements.

**2. Definitions:** With a time, definitions have changed but fundamental do not. Some of them are:

**2.1 Nationalism** is a shared group feeling in the significance of a geographical and sometimes demographic region seeking independence for its culture or ethnicity that holds that group together. This can be expressed as a belief or political ideology that involves an individual identifying with or becoming attached to one's nation. Nationalism involves national identity, by contrast with the related concept of patriotism, which involves the social conditioning and personal behaviours that support a state's decisions and actions (**Rothi, et. al., 2005**).

**2.2** No concept in history, politics or sociology are today more important or evident, and yet at the same time, more difficult to define than the term nationality or nation. It seems that nation is a culturally homogeneous social group, which is at once conscious and tenacious of its unity of its psychic life and its expression (**Mc Donnald, 1948-p-743**).

**2.3** Nationalism consists of symbol of devices, which appeal to the minds and emotions of men (**Sehleicher, 1868**)

**2.4** From a political or sociological perspective, there are two main perspectives on the origins and basis of nationalism. One is the primordialist perspective that describes nationalism as a reflection of the ancient and perceived evolutionary tendency of humans to organize into distinct groupings based on an affinity of birth. The other is the modernist perspective that describes nationalism as a recent phenomenon that requires the structural conditions of modern society in order to exist. (**Motyl, 2001, p. 251**).

**2.5** An alternative perspective to both of these lineages comes out of engaged theory, and argues that while the form of nationalism is modern, the content and subjective reach of nationalism depends upon 'primordial' sentiments (**James, Paul ,2006**).

**2.6** A patriotic feeling, principles etc. and nationality is a status of belonging to a particular nation (**Oxford University**).

## **3. Selective Examples based on History and Experience:**

**3.1 During WW-II (1939-1945)**, Japanese soldiers were asked to destroy Allies ship by carrying bombs duly tied around the body and parachute direct into the chimney of the ship. There was big queue but only few were required, left over felt unlucky for themselves;

**3.2 In Indo-Pak war- 1971;** one of my Battalion Officer, Major BG Singh was asked by an Industrialist to rescue a handicapped son and in return offered one factory. Officer said, “I shall save your son as my national duty, but your country can not buy Major BG”. At that time, he was a father of three daughters, belonged to UP-where dowry system was prevailing.

**3.3 Veer Sawarkar,** who was kept in Cellular Jail in Room No. 10, so that he could see from his room, everyday people being hanged, he was taken by ship to London, he escaped from the ship by jumping in to the deep Indian Ocean to escape; and was successful.

**3.4 To see patriotism and secularism,** Shri Guru Gobind Singh, the 10th Guru of Sikhs, wanted (05) *Panch Payare* from all segments of society. Anyone volunteered was being slaughtered as appeared in public, these volunteers were like Khatri, Jat, Water carrier, Washer-man and a Barber etc., who came forward to give life to prove their nationalism). Today, also culture prevails in Punjab; wherein; one has to make a sister or brother after marriage that not from the same religion-so we are!

**4. Principles of Nationalism:** This section sets out the components of nationalist ideology as seen by nationalists themselves. (Academic theories of nationalism are skeptical of some of these beliefs and principles, see below):

**4.1 Nationalism is a form of universalism** when it makes **universal claims** about how the world should be organised, but it is **particularistic with regard to individual nations**. The combination of both is characteristic for the ideology, for instance in these assertions:

"in a nation-state, the language of the nation should be the official language, and all citizens should speak it, and not a foreign language."

"the official language of Bangladesh should be Bengali, and all Bangladeshi citizens should speak it."

**Note: Vasudevam Kutumbkam**-Indian philosophy (That's universal brotherhood).

**4.2 Nationalism as ideology** includes ethical principles that the moral duties of individuals to fellow members of the nation override those to non-members. Nationalism claims that national loyalty, in case of conflict, overrides local loyalties, and all other loyalties to family, friends, profession, religion, or class.

**5. Then and Now (Main movement between 1930-1945):** An exemplary part of nationalism is covered as a Glimpse of Nationalism in India Between WW-I and WW-II (The First World War, Khilafat and Non-Cooperation):

**5.1 Effects of World War-I (1914-1999):** The War led to a huge increase in defence expenditure. This was financed by war loans and by increasing taxes. Customs duties were raised and income tax was introduced to raise extra revenue. Prices of items increased during the war years. The prices doubled between 1913 and 1918. The common people were the worst sufferers because of price rise. Forced recruitment of rural people in the army was another cause of widespread anger among people. Crop failure in many parts of India resulted in acute

shortage of food. Influenza epidemic further aggravated the problem. **According to 1921 census, about 1.2 to 1.3 crore people died because of famines and epidemic.**

**5.2 The Idea of Satyagraha:** Mahatma Gandhi advocated a novel method of mass agitation; called satyagraha. This method was based on the idea that if someone is fighting for a true cause, there is no need to take recourse to physical force to fight the oppressor. Gandhiji believed that a satyagrahi could win a battle through non-violence, i.e. without being aggressive or revengeful. Some early satyagraha movements organized by Gandhi:

- (a) Peasants' movement in **Champaran in 1916.**
- (b) Peasants' movement in **Kheda in 1917.**
- (c) Mill workers' movement in **Ahmedabad in 1918.**

**5.3 The Rowlatt Act (1919):** The Rowlatt Act was passed by the Imperial Legislative Council in 1919. The Indian members did not support the Act, but it was passed; nevertheless. The Act gave enormous powers to the government to repress political activities. It allowed detention of political prisoners without trial for two years.

**On 6th April, 1919; Gandhiji launched a nationwide satyagraha** against the proposed Rowlatt Act. The call of strike on 6th April got huge response. People came out in support in various cities, shops were shut down and workers in railway workshops went on strike. The British administration decided to clamp down on the nationalists. Several local leaders were arrested. Mahatma Gandhi was barred from entering Delhi.

**5.4 Jallianwalla Bagh:** On 10th April 1919; in Amritsar; the police fired upon a peaceful procession. This provoked widespread attacks on government establishments. Martial law was imposed in Amritsar and the command of the area was given to General Dyer. The infamous Jallianwala Bagh massacre took place on 13th April; the day on which Baisakhi is celebrated in Punjab. A crowd of villagers came to participate in a fair in Jallianwala Bagh. This was enclosed from all sides with narrow entry points. General Dyer blocked the exit points and opened fire on the crowd. Hundreds of people were killed in the incident. Public reaction to the incident took a violent turn in many north Indian towns. The government was quite brutal in its response. Things took highly violent turn. Mahatma Gandhi called off the movement as did not want violence to continue.

**5.5 Need of Wider Spread of Movement:** The Rowlatt satyagraha was limited mainly to the cities and towns. Mahatma Gandhi felt the need of a more broad-based movement in India. He was convinced that it could be only possible by bringing the Hindus and Muslims on a common platform.

**5.6 Khilafat Movement:** The Khilafat issue gave him the opportunity to bring the Hindus and Muslims on a common platform. The Ottoman Turkey was badly defeated in the First World War. There were rumours about a harsh peace treaty likely to be imposed on the Ottoman emperor; who was the spiritual head of the

Islamic world (the Khalifa). A Khilafat committee was formed in Bombay in March 1919 to defend the Khalifa. **This committee had leaders like the brothers Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali.** They also wanted Mahatma Gandhi to take up the cause to build a united mass action. At the Calcutta session of the **Congress in September 1920, the resolution was passed to launch a non-cooperation movement in support of Khilafat and also for swaraj.**

**5.7 Non-Cooperation Movement:** In his famous book Hind Swaraj (1909) Mahatma Gandhi declared that British rule was established in India with the cooperation of Indians, and had survived only because of this cooperation. If Indians refused to cooperate, British rule in India would collapse within a year, and swaraj would come. **Gandhiji believed that if Indians begin to refuse to cooperate, the British rulers will have no other way than to leave India, but in a peaceful manner.** Some of the proposals of non-cooperation movement:

- (a) Surrender the titles which were awarded by the British government (Like decoration and titles like Rai Bahadur).
- (b) Boycott civil services, army, police, courts, legislative councils and schools (Like Martyr SC Bose-ICS).
- (c) Boycott foreign goods.
- (d) Launch full civil disobedience campaign, if the government persisted with repressive measures.

**5.8 Differing Strands within the Movement:** The Non-Cooperation-Khilafat Movement began in January 1921. Various social groups participated in this movement, each with its own specific aspiration. All of them responded to the call of Swaraj, but the term meant different things to different people

**5.9 The Movement in the Towns (Town Halls, now we call them Gandhi Halls):**

- (a) The movement started with good participation from the middle-class in the cities.
- (b) Thousands of students left government-controlled schools and colleges, headmasters and teachers resigned, and lawyers gave up their legal practices.
- (c) The council elections were boycotted in most provinces except Madras. In Madras, the Justice Party, the party of the non-Brahmans, felt that entering the council was one way of gaining some power – something that usually only Brahmins had access to.
- (d) Foreign goods were boycotted, liquor shops picketed, and foreign cloth burnt in huge bonfires. The import of foreign cloth halved between 1921 and 1922, its **value dropping from Rs 102 crore to Rs 57 crore.** The boycott of foreign cloths helped in increasing the demand of cloths made in India.

**5.10 Reasons for Slowdown of Movement:**

- (a) Khadi was more expensive than mill-made cloth. The poor people could not afford to buy khadi.

- (b) Boycott of British institutions posed a problem of lack of alternative Indian institutions. Such institutions were slow to come up. Students and teachers began coming back schools. Similarly, lawyers resumed their work in the courts.
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**5.11 Rebellion in the Countryside:** From the cities, the Non-Cooperation Movement spread to the countryside. It drew into its fold the struggles of peasants and tribals which were developing in different parts of India in the years after the war.

**5.12 Awadh:** The peasants' movement in Awadh was led by Baba Ramchandra. He was a sanyasi who had earlier worked in Fiji as an indentured labourer. The peasants were against the high rents and many other cess which were demanded by talukdars and landlords. The peasants demanded reduction of revenue, abolition of *begar*, and social boycott of oppressive landlords.

**5.12.1 Jawaharlal Nehru began touring the villages in June 1920.** He tried to understand the problems of the peasants. *Oudh Kisan Sabha* was set up by October, 1920. It was headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, Baba Ramchandra and a few others. By associating itself with the peasants' movement, Congress was able to integrate the movement in Awadh with a wider non-cooperation movement. At many places, **people stopped paying rents by invoking the name of the Mahatma.**

**5.12.2 Tribal Peasants:** Tribal peasants gave their own interpretation of Mahatma Gandhi and the idea of *swaraj*. The tribals were prevented from entering the forests to graze cattle, or to collect fruits and firewood. The new forest laws were a threat to their livelihood. The government forced them to do *begar* on road construction. Many rebels from the **tribal areas became non-violent and often carried guerrilla warfare** against the British officials.

**5.12.3 Swaraj in the Plantations:** The plantation workers were not permitted to leave the tea gardens without permission; as per the Indian Emigration Act of 1859 (like *bandhua mazdoor*). When the news of Non-Cooperation Movement spread to the plantations, many workers began to defy the authorities. They left plantations and headed towards their homes. But they got stranded on the way because of a railway and steamer strike. They were caught by the police and brutally beaten up.

**5.13 Impact:** Many analysts are of the opinion that the vision of the movement was not properly defined by the Congress. Different people interpreted the term '*swaraj*'

**in their own ways. For them, swaraj meant an end to all their problems.**

However, people from various strata of society began to chant the name of Gandhi and the slogan of *Swatantra Bharat*. In some way or the other, they were trying to relate to the wider movement which was beyond comprehension of common man.

## 6. Difference Between Nationalism and Patriotism:

(Table-1)

Nationalism Difference Patriotism: Nationalism and Patriotism are two terms that show differences between them even though both of them are concerned with individual relationships towards nations.		
Nationalism	Crux	Patriotism
Nationalism consists in showing interest in the unification of a nation based on cultural and linguistic equanimity.	<b>Values</b>	Patriotism consists in developing love for a nation based on its <b>values and beliefs</b> . This is the major difference between nationalism and patriotism.
Nationalism gives a feeling that one's country is superior to another in every aspect and hence it is often described as the worst enemy of peace according to the great thinker George Orwell.	<b>Superiority and Strengthening</b>	Patriotism does not pave the way for enmity towards other nations but on the other hand strengthen the admiration towards one's own country.
Nationalism is rooted in rivalry and hatred.	<b>Root cause</b>	Patriotism is rooted in affection
Nationalism has militancy as substratum and it works from the base of enmity.	<b>Substratum</b> (Bedrock base)	Patriotism has peace as its substratum (In other words it can be said that patriotism works from the base of peace).
A nationalist believes that his country is better than any other country.	Country's <i>status quo</i>	A patriot believes that his country is one of the best and that it can advance in many fields with <b>effort and hard work</b> .
Nationalism is on the other hand aggressive in its concept.	<b>Concept</b>	Patriotism expresses the love of an individual towards his country in a passive way.
nationalist is proud of his country no matter what it does (a feeling of blind arrogance that leads to a war).	<b>Proud of</b>	Patriot is proud of his country for what it does (nationalist is proud of his country no matter what it does).
The pride of nationalism, however, trumpets its country's virtues and denies its deficiencies, while it is contemptuous toward the virtues of other countries. It	<b>Pride</b>	Patriotism is proud of a country's virtues and eager to correct its deficiencies; it also acknowledges the legitimate patriotism of other countries, with their own specific

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wants to be, and proclaims itself to be, “the greatest,” but greatness is not required of a country; only goodness is.		virtues (even enemy’s soldier killed in battle given honour-though he was our enemy).
Nationalism is a group feeling and intense love for nation based on religion, language and such subjective cultural feelings, the most common of which is ethnicity real or imagined	<b>Feelings</b>	Patriotism is an emotional response and pride in country on the basis of values and beliefs.
Nationalism is narrow minded.	<b>Spectrum</b>	Patriotism is broad minded.
Nationalism takes superiority of one’s nation for granted and considers other as inferior.	<b>Inclined to</b>	Patriotism accepts equality of all men throughout the world but leans more towards his country.
Nationalism is a kind of poverty of thought and associated with ethnic tribalism and primordial (evolutionary) emotions.	<b>EQ-v/s IQ</b>	Patriotism is more rational as compared to.
Nationalism which is imagined, superstitious and has been the prime cause of many wars including world wars, nationalism mostly invokes false illusionary utopian ideals of a perfect state and nation with an equally false idea of purity of things such as caste, culture, ethnicity etc.	<b>Particularity v/s neutrality</b>	Patriotism is not based on any cast creed or religion rather in the interest of humanity and a noble cause may be freedom from slavery or where there is no appeal, no <i>daleel</i> , no <i>vakeel</i> (as our patriots declared independence on 26 <sup>th</sup> Jan, 1930).
Nationalism is rooted in rivalry and resentment.	<b>love or hate?</b>	Patriotism is based on affection
Nationalist considers that the people belonging to his own country alone are important.	<b>Crux and Importance</b>	Patriotism is thus considered a common property and is construed equal all over the world.
<p><b>By contrast</b>, nationalism is patriotism transformed into a sentiment of superiority and aggression toward other countries. Nationalism is the poisonous idea that one’s country is superior to somebody else’s.</p> <p><b>Now my question;</b> should be the nationalist or patriot, being a citizen of Vishava guru-nation?</p>		

(Source: Gautam,2017)

## 7. National Power and its Measurement:

**7.1 Measurement of National Power:** To know about our own national strength, we got to know various parameters to measure it and same are given broadly as under:

- (a) Geography (Map, size, location, climate and topography).
- (b) Resources (natural resources on land, below and under water).



- (c) Population (Numbers and age).
- (d) Economic development.
- (e) Industrial capacity.
- (f) Technology and R & D.
- (g) Military preparedness.
- (h) Ideology.
- (i) Leadership.
- (j) Quality of government.
- (k) National character and morals.

**7.2 Main Powers required by a Strong Nation:** There three main components to know strength of a nation; Armoured Forces, Economy and Character, as per the precedence (Ghai, 1986). However, author has changed the meaning of character and put in priority-one and same is being explained under paragraph “Measurement of National Power”. Accordingly, explanation given from Military perception and the present convincing statements:

- (a) **Military or Défense Potential as Power:** (If you want peace prepare for war- is famous saying and holds good). Défense Potential is defined as “A power that enables nation to defend her honour, sovereignty and territory” (Gautam, 1987). Had USSR not powerful, it would not have jumped into Afghan war three decades back or last year against SISI, USA jumping in Vietnam half a century back, or India taking responsibility to restore peace in Neighbouring countries (East Pakistan or Sri Lanka).
- (b) **Economic Power:** Second most important element is economy. Economy means to satisfy own needs and also influence/win over other nations.
- (c) **Psychological Power:** This the third most important power called ‘power of opinion’; it also to propagate, carrying whole nation together or changing mind set by certain slogans like; “**Jai Jawan-jai Kisan** or **Hum do hamare do** or **Make in India**” or **savachh bharat abhiyan**.
- (d) **Power of Character:** Author feels it is the most desired power in any nation; meaning thereby, national character, love and respect for nation, desire of wholehearted preparedness for sacrifice.

### **Part-III: How?**

#### **8. Transition: (Video)**

8.1 Rang de vasanti chola, Mere vatan ke logo, Ham Aaye hain, samosa laye hain

8.2 Certain catch words to be known to all and practised in a day to day communication like any simple words; movie, khana peena, aaye she, jayoo shoo and they are;

1. Integrity, 2. Nationalism, 3. Humanity with humility, 4. Honesty, 5. loyalty 6. Leadership traits, 7. Patriotism, 8. Sincerity, 9. Truthfulness, and 10. Wisdom,

#### **8.3 Handout on 11Fundamental Duties:**

**Obligatory Duties of Every Citizen of India incorporated in Constitution of India  
Vide 42nd Amendment of 1976**

**(Inserted in Art. 51A and applicable w. e. f. 31<sup>st</sup> Jul 1977)**

01. To abide by the Constitution and respect the National Flag and the National Anthem;
02. To cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom;
03. To protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;
04. To defend the country;
05. To promote the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India;
06. To preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;
07. To protect and improve the natural environment;
08. To develop the scientific temper and spirit of inquiry;
09. To safeguard public property;
10. To strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity.
11. \*[Who is a parent or guardian to provide opportunities for education to his child or, as the case may be. Ward between the age of six to fourteen.]

\* Inserted by the Constitution (86th amendment) Act 2002. S4.

**9. Conclusion:** To rejuvenate as India a “*Vishav Guru*”-with **Desh bhakti men Shakti- Desh Shakti** can come, if there is only and only Nationalism with patriotism. Henceforth, we all hereby take a pledge to follow 11 fundamental duties (shall be read in English and explained) and **Sankalap** (shall be read in Hindi).

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