

BLOCK : III
CONTENDING PERSPECTIVE ON
NATIONALISM

Unit 1 :**Aurobindo Ghose : Philosophical and Spiritual Foundations**

Unit Structure :

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Objectives
- 1.3 Aurobindo's Philosophical and Spiritual Foundations
- 1.4 Summing Up
- 1.5 References and Suggested Readings

1.1 Introduction:

Sri Aurobindo was one of the leading figures in the history of the Indian renaissance movement and Indian nationalism. A man gifted with the power of intellect and mysticism, Sri Aurobindo's moral, spiritual, and intellectual accomplishments on human progress and spiritual evolution have a deep influence over the mind of the Indian intelligentsia. Sri Aurobindo was a multifaceted genius, a philosopher, yogi, maharishi, poet, journalist and Indian nationalist. His magnum opus, 'The Life Divine' had gathered attention of some of the leading intellectuals of the world and his epic poem 'Savitri' is considered as dawn of new era in the realm of spiritual poetry. Rabindranath Tagore hailed him as the most pronounced exponent of the spiritual message of India to the world. Romain Rolland regarded him as the highest synthesis of the genius of Asia and the genius of Europe.

Sri Aurobindo was born in Calcutta, Bengal Presidency, on 15 August 1872 to a well to do Bengali Kayastha family. His father was a distinguished surgeon who studied medicine in Britain and wanted his children to be educated there, free from any kind of Indian influence. Although his family were Bengali, young Aurobindo was brought up speaking English as his father believed the British culture to be superior. After few years of schooling in Loreto Convent in Darjeeling, young Aurobindo and his two elder brothers were sent to Manchester, England. From the young age of seven until he was twenty one- for fourteen years Aurobindo stayed in England for study. During his stay in England, Aurobindo showed signs of genius and penetrated deeply into the Greek and Latin classics. He studied some of the great works of great European masters from Homer to Goethe. When he returned back to India, Aurobindo worked as a professor of English at Baroda (Central India) where he studied the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Gita.

The vedantic synthetic philosophy of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda deeply influenced him. From 1905 to 1910, Aurobindo pursued a political career as a leader in the nationalist movement in Bengal. He was one of the acknowledged leaders of the new extremist party of nationalists. Aurobindo along with Lokmanya Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal were the champions of an assertive nationalism. He advocated the sanctification of patriotism as the dedicated worship of India. He was a prophet of pure religion of nationalism. He was the one who showed the courage to champion the faith of absolute swaraj for India as early as 1907. As a political leader and writer, he wanted to construct a synthesis of the ancient Vedantic and modern European political philosophy. His 'Political Vedantism' was not merely a restatement of the world affirming tendencies of the Upanishads but also a concrete political philosophy for reconstruction of the social and political life of a dependent nation. During his lifetime, Aurobindo wrote some of the acclaimed books: The Life Divine, Essays on the Gita, The Synthesis of Yoga, Savatri and others. His books reveal a synthesis of eastern sacred literature and western metaphysics.

1.2 Objectives:

This unit is an attempt to study the political and spiritual foundation of Sri Aurobindo with special reference to his idea on Nationalism. After reading this unit you will be able to

- Explain his philosophy on history and culture
- Discuss his spiritual foundation on politics

1.3 Aurobindo's Philosophical and Spiritual Foundations

As a political philosopher, Sri Aurobindo is a believer of spiritual determinism of History. He saw a spirit behind the external historical currents and forces. History is the manifestation and progressive self-revelation of Brahman, the Absolute. Aurobindo accepted the reality of a universal Omnipresent being or existence "which fulfils itself in the world and the individual and the group with an impartial regard for all as equal powers of its self-manifestation". History is the fulfilment of the divine spirit. Politics can be conceived as a fulfilment of the spirit on the historical plane. Hence, the movement of swaraj can be regarded as the fulfilment of God by the fulfilment of people through their independent mode and patterns of individual, social, communal and national life. As a mystic, he declared that God was behind Indian Nationalism and God was the real leader of the movement. The repression, humiliation, coercion used by the British was also in plan of the divine dialectic, which

was using these methods to train the Indian people in the art of self discipline. Aurobindo illustrated his theory of the dynamic activity of Kali, the directing force of the spirit, with special reference to two historical movements- the French Revolution and Indian Nationalist Movement. According to Aurobindo, the French revolution occurred due to the will of the God. As long as the leaders of the revolutions like Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, and Napoleon- manifested in their action the will of 'Kali'(or Zeit- Geist), she allowed them to work.

Aurobindo applied his theory of divine determinism in history to the Indian Nationalist Movement. The partition of Bengal provided an opportunity for the development of an exalted nationalism in India. "Nationalism is immortal; nationalism cannot die, because it is no human thing; it is God who is working in Bengal. God cannot be killed, God cannot be sent to jail." Aurobindo believed that God or Atman was the leader of the movement, and hence in his speeches, he advocated a return to the spirit and the realization of its plans and dictates. Being a mystic who believe in the will of God in history, Aurobindo interpreted that all events in the course of Bengal nationalist movement and the Indian Nationalist Movement as designed and willed by God. This type of theodicy in Aurobindo, or what Hegel would call the justification and rationalisation of the history in divine terms, represents a fusion of the ideas of the Bhagavadgita and German idealism. According to Gita, the hero or the great man is only an instrument of God. Aurobindo believed that the real leader of the Indian nationalist movement was not Tilak or Ashwini Kumar Dutta, but God himself. It is important to note that this theory of divine determinism of history and the notion of God's leadership in political movement is a fundamental belief of the Hindu philosophical mind. In Indian mythology like Mahabharata and Puranas there are stories illustrating god's intervention in the course of history. In Gita, it is stated that wherever there is anything great and colossal in human and cosmic history that is due to the will of Divine spirit. The Vedas also contains stories where God King Indra is solicited to kill demon Vritra.

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SAQ:

Do you think Aurobindo's philosophy on History and Culture can be related to the modern world? Give reasons in support of your answer.

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Aurobindo's being a metaphysician and a mystic believes that philosophy of history has a note of chiasm and futurism. The futuristic chiasm makes Aurobindo a teleologist in history. Aurobindo believes that history is not aimless, purposeless random conglomeration of mechanical forces; there is an inward spiritual purpose running throughout the historical structure. Aspiration of mankind for freedom, light, peace and immortality are going to be realized through the supernatural progression of history and evolutionary nature.

Stop to Consider: Important Works of Aurobindo:

Aurobindo was a poet and a journalist. He edited a newspaper called Vande Mataram. His main works are – The Life Divine which deals with the principles and methods of Internal Yoga. Another important work is Savitri : A Legend and a Symbol.

Aurobindo's philosophy of the cyclical evolution of human cultures and civilization was influenced by Karl Lamprecht's typology, although the concept of the cycle can be traced back to the ancient Vedanta and Puranas. Lamprecht analysed five stages in the course of German political evolution: The symbolic ages of primitive Germany, the early middle stage, the conventional later middle age, the individualistic age from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, and the subjective age starting with Romanticism. Aurobindo was influenced by this typology and applied Lamprecht's typology to India. Aurobindo in this book 'The Human Cycle' mentioned the Vedic age as the symbolic era of Indian history. He interprets varna (social Order) as a social institution and the caste system as a conventional social form. Aurobindo believes that despite of increasing impact of western civilization, age of individualism in the Eastern world that rational age would not last long in the eastern world because the traditional subjectivism of the Orient would assert itself. Aurobindo thought that the subjective age would be replaced by the spiritual age when the full power of the human spirit, which is an eternal portion of divine, would guide the evolution of man. Thus Aurobindo's philosophy of culture was both psychological and spiritual.

Since he was a yoga practitioner, he developed a spiritual practice called integral yoga at Pondicherry. Evolution of human life in to a divine life in divine body was his primary vision. He was guided by the belief that spiritual realisation not only liberated but transformed human nature which enables a divine life on earth. Later in 1926 Aurobindo Ashram was founded in

collaboration with his spiritual partner Mirra Alfassa, who was popularly known as the mother.

Check Your Progress:

1. Mention the name of a Book written by Aurobindo.
2. Discuss briefly Philosophical and Spiritual Foundations of Aurobindo.
3. Write a note on Aurobindo's philosophy of cyclical evolution.

1.4 Summing Up:

Sri Aurobindo was one of the great nationalist India had produced. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan called him as “the most accomplished of modern Indian thinkers”. He was a Yogi, a sage, philosopher and one of the makers of Indian nation. Reading of this unit has helped you in learning that he was a humanitarian who preached human unity and taught that without the divine remaking of human nature, our civilization is doomed. Moreover, from this unit you have also learnt that Aurobindo gave a new spiritual dimension to nationalist movement which is above the economic and political context. He always believed that Indian nation was the manifestation of the divine being and refused to acknowledge the superiority of the west. In the next unit we shall discuss his ideas of nationalism and swaraj.

1.5 References and Suggested Readings:

1. Mehta, V. R Ideology, Modernisation and Politics in India, Manohar Publications New Delhi, 1983
2. Panthan Thomas (eds) Political Thoghth in Modern India, Sage Publications, New Delhi. 1986
3. Sarma, G. N. The Vision of Sri Aurobindo, dipti Publications, Pondicherry
4. Varma, V.P. Modern Indian Political Thought. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Educational Publisher, 2008

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Unit 2 :**Aurobindo Ghose: Nationalism**

Unit Structure :

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Objectives
- 2.3 Aurobindo's view on Nationalism
- 2.4 Aurobindo's view on Swaraj
- 2.5 Summing up
- 2.6 References and Suggested Readings

2.1 Introduction

In the previous unit of this block we have discussed at length about the historical and spiritual foundations of Sri Aurobindo's thought. From this unit we have learnt that Sri Aurobindo was one of the leading figures in the history of the Indian renaissance movement and Indian nationalism. . Sri Aurobindo was a multifaceted genius, a philosopher, yogi, maharishi, poet, journalist and Indian nationalist. He was a poet too. He developed a spiritual practice called internal yoga. His spiritual thinking has led to the formations of his new ideas on Nationalism as well as swaraj. In this unit we shall try to discuss Aurobindo's ideas of nationalism and swaraj.

2.2 Objectives

Aurobindo's contribution to India's Renaissance was very significant. He considered India as the mother Goddess. Reading of this unit will help you to

- Discuss Aurobindo's views on Nationalism
- Explain his views on swaraj

2.3 Aurobindo's view on Nationalism:

The fundamental philosophy of Sri Aurobindo was his concept of spiritual nationalism and the divinity of the motherland. His concept of nation was deeply influenced by Bankimchandra- a great Bengali novelist. According to Aurobindo the nation is not just a piece of land nor a mass of human beings. It is neither a figure of speech nor the creation of mind. Nation is something more than a geographical unit or a figment of people's imagination. His view on nation is much more profound than a patriotic

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notion about the nation.

Similarly, he has given a very thoughtful notion of nationalism. Nationalism in his opinion is not merely a political movement or political programme. According to Aurobindo, nationalism is akin to religion. Nationalism is a faith and a creed which one has to live. Nationalism is immortal because it is not a creation of human beings, but a creation of god. Nationalism is like a religion which has come from god. Aurobindo believes that nationalism is a deep and fervent “religious sadhana”. For him “nationalism is a religion by which people try to realise God in their nation, and their fellow countrymen”. While discussing Nationalism, he has also talked about political freedom. In his words, “Political freedom is the life-breath of a nation; to attempt social reform, educational reform, industrial expansion, the moral improvement of the race without aiming first and foremost at political freedom, is the very height of ignorance and futility.”

Aurobindo viewed his beloved country India as his mother and he was highly devoted to her. He glorified India as a mother Goddess and advised the young patriots to work for their nation which is their mother. According to Aurobindo’s understanding, the ‘nation’ is a mighty ‘shakti’ composed of all the shaktis of all the million of units that make up the nation. It is thus a living entity.

Aurobindo’s view on nationalism was cosmopolitan in nature. He believed that nationalism is a necessary stage in the social and political evolution of man towards human unity. In an article in the *Bande Mataram* he wrote: “Nationalism is simply the passionate aspiration for the realisation of the Divine Unity in the nation, a unity in which all the component individuals, however various and apparently unequal their functions as political, social or economic factors, are yet really and fundamentally one and equal. In the ideal of Nationalism which India will set before the world, there will be an essential equality between man and man, between caste and caste, between class and class, all beings as Mr. Tilak has pointed out different but equal and united parts of the Virat Purush as realised in the nation. . . We are intolerant of autocracy because it is the denial in politics of this essential equality, we object to the modern distortion of the caste system because it is the denial in society of the same essential equality. While we insist on reorganizing the nation into a democratic unity, politically we recognize that the same principle of reorganization ought to and inevitably will assert itself socially; even if, as our opponents choose to imagine, we are desirous of confining its working to politics, our attempts will be fruitless, for the principle once realized in

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politics, must inevitably assert itself in a society”.

Stop to Consider

Difference Between Indian Renaissance and European Renaissance

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Both Indian renaissance and European renaissance witnessed the emergence of intellectuals and artists. The revival of intellectual and artistic quest was one of the significant contribution of renaissance both in India and Europe. This period witnessed the emergence of poets, scholars, writers etc. The classical texts like Roman and Greek literature and Vedas and Upanishads etc were also revived and re-examined during renaissance. Though the renaissance brought various changes in the world as a whole yet, the renaissance in India is different from that of Europe. While the European renaissance started from 14th to 17th century, the Indian renaissance took place in 19th and early 20th century. In Europe it had been a collective movement. Every field including science, philosophy, religion etc were affected by the renaissance. It was revolutionary in nature. But in India the renaissance was reformative in nature. It only tried to correct the social ills and no new paradigm was created that sustained. In European renaissance all sections of people participated while in India only the middle class and the intellectuals participated. The European renaissance marked a gradual shift from religious domination to secularism while Indian renaissance witnessed reformism in Hindu religion as well as blending of western ideas with that of Indian tradition. Again, while European renaissance emphasised on individualism Indian renaissance gave importance to the reform of society as a whole. Indian renaissance has a limited impact on political field compared to that of European renaissance.

As a nationalist, the reconciliation of the eastern and western ideas could be seen in the writings of Aurobindo. When he refers to passive resistance, to arbitration in place of the British judicial courts, and to boycott, he is referring to familiar techniques in European political history. Aurobindo also referred several times to Mazzini, the spearhead of the Italian revolutionary movement. Aurobindo also spoke of the Bengalis or the Indians as the ‘chosed people’ for the divine work of winning the political salvation of India. In fact, the ideal of complete freedom is another contribution of Aurobindo. Aurobindo strongly believed that without political freedom real development of India is not possible. Since nationalism was regarded as spiritual in character, Aurobindo believed that there is a need of moral training both for the leaders and for the followers. He stated:

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“Our leaders and our followers both require a deeper sadhana, a more direct communion with the divine Guru and Captain of our movement, an inward uplifting, a grander and more impetuous force behind thought and deed. It has been driven home to us by experience after experience, that not in the strength of a raw unmoralized European enthusiasm shall we conquer. Indians, it is the spirituality of India, the sadhana of India, tapasya, jnanam, sakti that must make us free and great...”

Aurobindo wanted a spiritual reorientation of political life. He believed in the great scriptures of ancient Hindus- the Vedas, the Upanishads, and the Gita that contained the secrets of spiritual wisdom, which was necessary for the liberation of Mankind. Thus for him nationalism is a religion by which people try to realise God in their nation, and their fellow countrymen.

SAQ:

Do you Consider Aurobindo a true Nationalist? (60 words)

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2.4 Aurobindo’s view on Swaraj:

Aurobindo was one of the early Indian political leader to call for complete freedom. India’s liberation from foreign domination was the final goal for Aurobindo. Swaraj i.e. self-rule by Indians was not merely of economic and political nature. It was necessary for India to perform its spiritual mission dedicated to the upliftment of humanity. Writing about swaraj in ‘BandeMataram’ Sri Aurobindo wrote “we of the new school would not pitch our ideal one inch lower than absolute swaraj, self- government as it exists in the United Kingdom”. To strive for anything less than Swaraj, he argued, “would be to insult the greatness of our past and the magnificent possibilities of our future”. According to Aurobindo, Swaraj was something worth fighting for. That is why he challenged people to be aggressive in their resistance to British authority. He believed that Indians should not live as slaves but as free people to work spiritual and intellectual benefit of the human race. To achieve his goal of swaraj he explained the positive methods of political action. One is through secret revolutionary propaganda by setting up revolutionary organization. Secondly, through continuous propaganda against foreign rule through writings, speeches, public contacts etc., thirdly, by mobilising the masses through various organizations to carry open and total opposition to foreign rule through methods of non-cooperation and

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passive resistance. He also advocated methods of economic boycott so that the economic exploitation by the British can be stopped. It is important to note that being a radical nationalist Aurobindo did not oppose the use of force in application of these methods to attain swaraj.

Check your progress:

1. Comment on Aurobindo's view on Spiritual Nationalism.
2. Elucidate Aurobindo's view on Swaraj and his positive methods of political action.
3. Critically analyse the role of Aurobindo as a revolutionary and advocate of spiritual conception of nationalism.

2.5 Summing Up

After reading this unit you are now in a position to discuss Aurobindo's view on nationalism. As a nationalist he gave a new understanding to nationalism by interpreting the concept in spiritual terms. As a prophet of Bengal Swadeshi movement, Aurobindo stood for an inspired and exalted patriotism. From this unit you have learnt that according to Aurobindo Swaraj was something worth fighting for. That is why he challenged people to be aggressive in their resistance to British authority. Moreover, this unit has also helped you in learning that as a nationalist, Aurobindo emphasised on the reconciliation of the eastern and western ideas. Thus, after reading this unit it is now clear to you that fundamental philosophy of Aurobindo was his concept of spiritual nationalism and the divinity of the motherland.

2.6 References and Suggested Readings

1. Varma, V.P. Modern Indian Political Thought. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Educational Publisher, 2008
2. Gupta, R.C. Great Political Thinkers: East and West. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Educational Publisher, 2008
3. Mehta, V. R Ideology, Modernisation and Politics in India, Manohar Publications New Delhi, 1983
4. Sarma, G.N. The Vision of Sri Aurobindo, dipti Publications, Pondicherry
5. Panthan Thomas (eds) Political Thought in Modern India, Sage Publications, New Delhi. 1986

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UNIT 3

Savarkar : Social Ideas, Theory of Hindutva

Unit Structure :

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Objectives
- 3.3 Early Political Life
- 3.4 Savarkar's interpretation of History
- 3.5 Cultural Nationalism and Savarkar
- 3.6 Savarkar's view on Hindutva
- 3.7 Summing Up
- 3.8 References and Suggested Readings

3.1 Introduction :

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, an ardent nationalist, revolutionary and a politician was born in Bhagur, near Nasik, on 28 May 1883. Widely known as 'Veer' Savarkar, he gained a fame as an ardent Hindu nationalist who developed the political ideology of 'Hindutva'. He was a leading figure in Indian National Movement and the Hindu Mahasabha. From his childhood Savarkar was inspired by the revolutionaries Wasudeo Balwant Phadke and Chapekar brothers, who had taken revolutionary measures against the British. He was also inspired by Lokamanya Tilak's strong nationalism and political ideas. Tilak's belief in Hindu identity and Hindu Sangathan immensely influenced Savarkar's political thought.

V.D. Savarkar represented an unconventional strand of political thought in India in contrast to political theories propounded by the leaders of mainstream nationalist movement. V.D.Savarkar propounded the theory of "cultural nationalism" in contrast to the theory of territorial nationalism put forwarded by the leaders of the mainstream nationalist movement. The uniqueness of his personality and thinking can be estimated from the fact that while one school of thought calls him an 'ardent nationalist, heroic revolutionary and terrorist', the other considers him as 'an angry, resentful, vengeful, violent and intolerant prophet'. However it must be admitted that V.D. Savarkar won fame by his daring and assertive nationalistic political ideas in the early decades of twentieth century. Being an ardent Hindu nationalist, Savarkar believed that the real traits of India could be restored only by reviving India's glorious past and re-establishing what he called 'Hindu Rastra'. Savarkar's political philosophy revolves round the ideological foundation of homogeneity of Hindu population living in a particular tract of land and creation of nation

based on the culture of the majority. Savarkar's nationalistic ideas have deep influence of the values of Hindu religion and culture and aspiration of reviving the glorious legacies left by the great Maratha rulers like Shivaji.

Stop to Consider:

Life Sketch of V.D. Savarkar:

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was born in the Marathi Chitpavan Brahmin Hindu family of Damodar and Radhabai Savarkar. Savarkar began his political activities from a very young age. He and his brother founded a secret society called "Abhinav Bharat Society". During his stay in United Kingdom he involved himself with organizations like India House and the Free India Society. His book 'The Indian War of Independence' about the Indian Rebellion of 1857 was banned by the British Colonial Government. In 1910, Savarkar was arrested for his connections with the revolutionary group India House. On the voyage back to India, Savarkar staged an attempt to escape and seek asylum in France while the ship was docked in the port of Marseilles. But the French port officials handed him back to the British government. Savarkar was sentenced to two life terms of imprisonment for fifty years. He was moved to Cellular Jail in Andaman and Nicobar Island. As a president of Hindu Mahasabha, Savarkar endorsed the idea of India as a Hindu Rashtra. Savarkar as a revolutionary endorsed the militarization of Hindus in order to liberate the country and protect the Hindus. There were two phases in the ideological development of Savarkar. In the first phase of his life, he was influenced by the philosophy of Italian nationalist Joseph Mazzini and supported the concept of composite Indian Nationalism like that of nationalism of Aurobindo and Tilak. During this period religion played an important role in the philosophy of Savarkar but it did not exclude any religious community from it. In the second phase of his life after 1922-23, Savarkar became ardent supporter of Hindu nationalism and began to advocate Hindutva. Savarkar articulated the spirit of the popular slogan 'Hindi Hindu Hindustan'.

3.2 Objectives:

This unit is an attempt to study the socio-political ideas of V.D. Savarkar with special reference to his view on 'Hindutva'. After reading this unit you will be able to

- Explain his view on nationalism and religion
- Analyse Savarkar's interpretation of history

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- Understand his idea of cultural nationalism
- Explain his idea on Hindutva

3.3 Early Political life:

Savarkar had profound adoration for the cultural and philosophical achievements of Hindus. Savarkar being an passionate nationalist from his childhood, he was anguished at the brutalities of the British rule in India which not only suppressed and exploited the Indians but also according to him devalued the pious and glorious religious- cultural traditions of the Hindus in the country. Hence Savarkar developed deep nationalistic feeling to fight for the independence of the country and to work for the cause of the Hindus. Savarkar's nationalist activities earned him the ire of British and he was expelled from Ferguson College, Poona. Later with the recommendation of Lokmanya Tilak, he was offered scholarship to study in London by Shyamji Krishna Verma, the leader of Indian revolutionists in Europe. From 1906 to 1910, he studied in England and carried on revolutionary activities. In England, Savarkar simultaneously came into contact with the other revolutionists like Madame Cama, Lala Hardayal and Madan Lal Dhingra. Savarkar's stay in England and his interactions with the revolutionists apparently helped him in deeper understanding of the history and nationalism. However Savarkar was arrested and sentenced to 50 years of imprisonment at Andamans. After spending rigorous life of more than a decade in Andamans in 1923 and kept interned in Ratnagiri. He was released from the internment on 10th May, 1937. During the periods of his solitary confinement he carried out his intellectual explorations.

Savarkar was a rebel and radical nationalist. He did not subscribe to the Gandhian philosophy of non- violence and satyagraha. On the contrary he supported rebellious mode of struggle for India's independence. As he wrote,

“..so long as that divine age has not arrived, so long as the highly auspicious end remains only in the lines of saintly poets and in the prophecies of divinely inspired, and so long as... the human mind has to be busy eradicating sinful and aggressive tendencies, so long rebellion , bloodshed and revenge cannot be purely sinful.”

Hence, instead of joining the Congress party to fight for the independence, Savarkar joined the Tilakite Democratic Swaraj Party based on the ideology of Radical Swaraj as advocated by Lokmanya Tilak. However he was not satisfied with this party's activities and later he joined Hindu Mahasabha. Savarkar became the president of Hindu Mahasabha in 1937 and retained

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his position till 1945. During his presidency Hindu Mahasabha gained much popularity on the Hindu society where he extensively emphasised on his ideas of the Hindu Rastra as presented in his publication 'Hindutva'. In his book Hindutva he claimed that Hindu thought "has exhausted the very possibilities of human speculation as to the nature of the unknown".

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Stop to Consider

Philosophical Dimensions of Savarkar :

There are five philosophical dimensions of Savarkar. These are:

1. **Utilitarianism:** Savarkar's strategic agnosticism is deeply rooted in his utilitarian outlook. Savarkar was a staunch follower of the Utilitarianism school of England. Since he studied Herbert Spencer, he internalised utilitarianism as his leading ethical principle.
2. **Rationalism and Positivism:** To propagate his social and political philosophy, Savarkar used rationality as his benchmark. That is why he was sceptical of anything that is devoid of logical explanation and observable facts.
3. **Humanism and Universalism:** Savarkar's thinking was based on humanitarian values and a belief structure founded upon a faith in science, equality and liberty and not on charity of religious considerations.
4. **Pragmatism :** Savarkar was pragmatist in his approach. Savarkar identified a deep contradiction between the fatalism found in religious or philosophical doctrines and the need for action or practical advice for the progress of Indian society.
5. **Realism :** Savarkar was a realist. For him human conduct to adapt to the need and necessity of the time and can not remain same ever. His version of realism was his firm belief in the maxim 'Might is right' as the leading principle in International Politics.

SAQ :

Elucidate Savarkar as a revolutionary nationalist. Give reasons in support of your answer (20+60 words)

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3.4 Savarkar's Interpretation of Indian History:

There is an intense and passionate glorification of vedic Hinduism in

Savarkar's interpretation of Indian history. Savarkar believed that India, which he preferred to call as 'Hindustan', belongs to Hindus and her forcible occupation by Non- Hindus was an act of aggression which must be resented and repulsed by all Hindus of the country. His glorification of Hindutva and nationalist interpretation of history could be found in his book 'Hindu Pad Padshahi', published in 1925 where he glorified the rise of the Marathas hence power in Maharastra. Savarkar also praised the governance of Maratha, as confirming the system of governance as envisaged in the religious scriptures of the Hindus.

There have been six glorious epochs in Indian history.

1. The Maurya Empire founded under the leadership of Chandragupta and Chanakya was the first. Chandragupta was hailed as a "super Alexander" because by his own efforts unaided by any heritage "he founded an Indian empire mightier even than that of Alexander himself".
2. The second epoch was the one manifested in the triumphs of Pushyamitra, the destroyer of the Greek power in India.
3. Vikramaditya, the annihilator of the might of the Sakas manifested the political and cultural splendence of the third glorious epoch.
4. Yashodharma of Malwa, defeated the Huns at Mandasore and captured the powerful and cruel Hun leader Mihiragula. His regime constitutes the fourth glorious epoch of Indian history.
5. The fifth glorious epoch was the foundation of Maratha power as a powerful counter blast to the might of Islamic forces in India. Aggression against the enemy and not merely defence was the policy of the Maratha leaders.
6. The sixth glorious epoch is the period of successful repulsion of the British power in India and liberation of the country from the shackles of an alien imperialism.

Savarkar was one of the earliest exponents of the view that the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 was the first war of Indian independence. According to him the revolt of 1857 was inspired by the noble ideas of "Swadharma and Swaraj".

3.5 Cultural Nationalism and Savarkar:

Savarkar was a man of action, a nationalist who devoted all his energies to the realization of Hindu nationalism, whose fundamental dimensions were unity of the people, their modernization and militarization. He was a supporter

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of Cultural Nationalism who believed in identity formation as the essence of nationalism and according to him India had received such identity from the Hindu religion. This identity was evolved over a long period of time. Savarkar was of the opinion that despite having outward differences, the Hindus were internally bound together by cultural, religious, social, linguistic and historical affinities. It shaped the Hindus into a homogenous and organic nation. According to Savarkar it is the cultural, racial and religious unity that plays an important role in the formation of a nation.

While defining nation, Savarkar wrote that nation meant a political community which had occupied a contiguous and adequate territory and developed independent national identity. This community was internally organised and was bound together by the cultural and racial affinities. Hindus had developed close affinities with the land bound by Himalayas to the Indian Ocean and the Indus River. Hindus considered India as their fatherland and holy land. On the basis of this definition he held that the Hindus had become a nation because they possessed all the characteristics of becoming a nation. It is to be mentioned that Savarkar excluded those people who did not consider India as their holy land as because their sacred religious places were not situated in India. He excluded Muslims and Christians from the Indian nation because they did not consider India as their holy land because their sacred religious places were situated outside India. Savarkar believed that Hindu nationalism stood for the unity of the Hindus and to strengthen the nationalism the common affinities of Hindus should be used. Based on the common affinities of history, culture, geography, the Hindu society should be united.

Savarkar was a rebel. Apart from Hindu Mahasabha, Savarkar was on the only all India leader who launched an intense propaganda for the militarization of the Hindus and for the industrialization of the country with pure patriotic and political objects during the Second World War. For Savarkar, the independence of India was 'the independence of our people, our race, and our nation'. Thus, Indian Swarajya, as far as the Hindu nation is concerned, involves the political independence of Hindu nation.

3.6 Savarkar's view on Hindutva:

During his imprisonment, Savarkar extensively dedicated his intellectual exploration towards the Hindu cultural and political nationalism, and the remained dedicated to this cause. Savarkar in his treatise "Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?" presented a farsighted new vision of Hindu social and political consciousness. Savarkar began describing a Hindu as a patriotic inhabitant of Bharatvarsha, venturing beyond a religious identity. He proclaimed that a

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Hindu could be any one who considered this land of Bharatvarsha, from Indus to the Seas, as his fatherland, and holy land that would be the cradle land of his religion. Further he envisaged three fundamental bonds that would conjoin the Hindus as a common entity, namely, rashtra (territory), jati (race) and samskriti (culture). According to him, the territorial bond or rastra is a primary requirement. A Hindu is one who feels attachment to the geographical region extending from the Sindhu River to the Brahmaputra and from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin. Secondly, he talked about the racial or blood bond or the Jati. A Hindu is one who inherits the blood of the race “whose first and discernible source could be traced to the Himalayan altitudes of the Vedic Saptasindhu. In his Hindutva Savarkar writes:

“No people in the world can more justly claim to get recognized as a racial unit than the Hindus and perhaps the Jews. A Hindu marrying a Moslem may lose his caste but not his Hindutva. A Hindu believing in any theoretical or philosophical or social system, orthodox or heterodox, provided it is unquestionably indigenous and founded by a Hindu, may lose his sect but not his Hindutva- his Hinduness- because the most important essential which determines it is the inheritance of the Hindu blood. Therefore, all those who love the land that stretches from Sindhu to Sindhu, from Indus to Seas, as their fatherland and consequently claim to inherit the blood of the race that has evolved, by incorporation and adaptation, from the ancient Saptasindhu, can be said to possess two of the most essential requisites of Hindutva”.

Thirdly, savarkar talked about Samskriti as criterion of being a Hindu. A Hindu is one who feels pride in the Hindu culture and civilization. The Hindu culture and civilization is represented in common historical memories of achievement and failure, in common artistic, literary and juristic creations and in common rituals or festivals or other media of collective expression. Thus, Muslims and Christians who have been converts from Hinduism cannot claim to be Hindus because they do not subscribe to Hindu culture.

He also emphasised the need for patriotic and social unity of all Hindu communities and considered Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism and Buddhism as one and the same. Savarkar favoured intermarriages between all sections of Hindus. He outlined his vision of a Hindu Rashtra as “Akhand Bharat” (United India), supposedly stretching across the entire Indian subcontinent. According to Savarkar the concept of ‘Hindutva’ is much broader and more comprehensive than ‘Hinduism’. Hinduism has a theological connotation but Hindutva goes beyond religious connotation and rituals of Hindus. Hindutva covers social, moral, political and economic aspects as well. Hindutva connotes an organic socio- political body bind together by three

bonds of Rastra, Jati and Samskriti with the essential elements of Nationalism. Savarkar accepted the cultural and organic solidarity of the Hindu nation and believed in the cultural superiority of Hinduism. He said:

“Let Hinduism concern itself with the salvation of life after death, the concept of God, and the universe....But so far as the materialistic secular aspect is concerned, the Hindus are a nation bound by a common culture, a common history, a common language, a common country and a common religion.”

Savarkar emphasised on about Hindu Rashtra. To Savarkar, the cultural, racial and religious unity of the people is the fundamental criteria for formation of a Hindu Rashtra. As the Hindus consisted of all these characteristics, they undoubtedly constituted a nation in the nature of a Hindu Rashtra. According to Savarkar in such a Hindu Rashtra the minorities will be given some degree of freedom and right to participation in the affairs of the state provided they accept a position of non- aggression to the interests and rights of Hindus. As he stated:

“...we shall ever guarantee protection to the religion, culture and language of the minorities for themselves, but we shall no longer tolerate any aggression on their part on the equal liberty of the Hindus to guard their religion, culture and language as well. If non- Hindu minorities are to be protected, they surely the Hindu majority also must be protected against any aggressive minority in India.”

Savarkar, thus, opposed the demand of Muslims for the grant of separate electorate in India. He did not believe in the policy of appeasement. He had full confidence that Swaraj could be achieved without the cooperation of the Muslims.

Check Your Progress:

- 1 Discuss the main features of Hindu nationalism of V.D. Savarkar.
- 2 Analyse Savarkar’s interpretation of History.
- 3 Analyse Savarkar’s view on Cultural nationalism.
- 4 Elucidate Savarkar’s view on Hindutva.

SAQ:

What was the concept of independence of India for Savarkar? Elucidate the role of Savarkar in the freedom struggle of India. (20+80 words)

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3.7 Summing Up:

After reading this unit you have learnt that Savarkar was a staunch Hindu solidarist who interpreted a broader idea of Hinduism in the form of Hindutva or Hindu solidarity. He had an open and rebellious mind who believed that Hindutva is far more than organic socio-political unity. According to him, It is a programme of action. The distinction made by Savarkar between Hinduism and Hindutva had brought a new perception in Indian political thought. Savarkar comprehended the essential elements of political, social, educational, economic and cultural connotation with the idea of Hindutva while Hinduism is by and large a theological idea. However the life of Savarkar had been controversial one and has drawn criticism from different circles. His approach to politics- protection of Hindu interest has been criticised as one dimensional. He has been alleged of providing the intellectual input for the present day right wing extremism in the country. Despite of the criticisms levelled against him the fact cannot be denied that his intellectual explorations provided a new impetus to the political thought in India. His interpretation of the revolt of 1857 as India's first war of independence shows the depth of his vision and intellectual capability. Savarkar was a great rationalist who inspite of being staunch Hindu nationalist has the guts to openly confront the illogical and irrational practices and customs within Hinduism. Savarkar found the cast system as oppressive and inhuman and supported intermarriages between all sections of Hindus and this is a clear example of his bold move against the irrational practices and customs within Hinduism. To conclude, Savarkar's proficiency as an erudite theorist could be found from the distinction made by him between Hinduism and Hindutva which has remained a hallmark of Indian civilization.

3.8 References and Suggested Readings:

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UNIT 4

M. A. Jinnah : Two Nation Theory

Unit Structure :

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Objectives
- 4.3 Early Political Career of Jinnah
- 4.4 Jinnah's Fourteen Points
- 4.5 Two Nation Theory
- 4.6 Summing up
- 4.7 References and Suggested Readings

4.1 Introduction:

Mohammad Ali Jinnah once said “I am a nationalist first, a nationalist second, a nationalist last”. As a Governor General of Pakistan Jinnah said “I still consider myself to be an Indian”. From being an Indian nationalist to the architect of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah is one of the most controversial figures in modern Indian history. During initial part of his life Jinnah was a staunch secularist, advocating Hindu- Muslim unity and vehemently opposed the oppressive and divisive policies of the British Government. But it was also Jinnah who after 1937 propounded the Two Nation Theory that held that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations and they cannot live together and eventually leading to the formation of Pakistan. Jinnah's journey from a messiah of a Hindu- Muslim unity to the architect of a separate nation based on religion calls for analyses of his political ideas and his place in Indian history.

Jinnah, the architect of the state of Pakistan was born in Karachi on 25 December 1876 to Mithibai and Jinnabhai Poonja. He was an erudite lawyer and acquired the fame as a great statesman. Jinnah was one of the many luminaries of Indian Freedom Struggle who was critical of Gandhi's leadership in the national freedom movement. His ideologies had an overwhelming influence on some section of his respective communities which later played a vital role in formation of the state of Pakistan. Jinnah served as the leader of the All India Muslim League from 1913 until the inception of Pakistan on 14 August 1947, and then

as the first Governor General of the Dominion of Pakistan. He is known in Pakistan as ‘Quaid-i-Azam’ (Great Leader) and ‘Baba-i-Qaum’ (Father of the Nation). This unit attempts to make the learner understand the political ideologies of Jinnah with special emphasis on his ‘Two Nation Theory’.

Stop To Consider:

Life Sketch of Mohammad Ali Jinnah

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born at Wazir Mansion near Karachi to Jinnabhai Poonja and Mithibai, a wealthy merchant family. Jinnah’s family was from Gujarati Khoja Shi’a Muslim background, though Jinnah later followed the Twelver Shia’s teachings. Jinnah’s parents were native Gujarati speakers. But interestingly Jinnah was more fluent in English rather than in Gujarati and Urdu. In Karachi, Jinnah attended the Christian Missionary Society High School and the Sindh-Madrassa- Tul- Islam. He was matriculated from Bombay University. From his childhood, Jinnah was a person of etiquette and mannerism. After his higher education in England, Jinnah joined the Honourable Society of Lincoln’s Inn as an aspiring barrister. During his stay in England Jinnah was influenced by 19th Century liberal political thinkers like Bentham, Mill, Spencer and Comte. Jinnah was a proficient lawyer. He gained fame for handling the 1908 “Caucus Case” at the behest of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. Jinnah was a member in the moderate group in the Congress advocating Hindu- Muslim unity. He was inspired by the leaders like Dadabhai Naorij and Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

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4.2 Objectives:

This unit is an attempt to study the political ideas of Mohammad Ali Jinnah with special reference to the ‘Two-Nation Theory’. After reading this unit you will be able to

- Explain his views on nationalism and religion
- Analyse Jinnah’s transformation from a secular nationalist to architect of Pakistan
- Understand Jinnah’s 14 points
- Explain Jinnah’s ‘Two- Nation Theory’

4.3 Early Political Career of Jinnah :

Jinnah was a nationalist in the early days. Jinnah's nationalism and secularism was influenced by the liberal and secular ideas of John Morley. John Stuart Mill's greatest disciple, John Morley remained Jinnah's idol. Jinnah was also influenced by western liberal thinkers like Burke and Mill. Moreover, Jinnah's early thoughts were greatly inspired by personalities like Dadabhai Naoriji, Pherozeshah Mehta and Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

In 1906, he worked as private secretary to Dadabhai Naoriji presiding over Congress session. He helped draft the presidential address that talked of 'Swaraj' for the first time. As a liberal nationalist Jinnah was a fierce critic of the British rule in India. He strongly defended individual rights and liberties. He advocated nation's right to self determination. Commenting on discriminatory and racist attitude of the British, Jinnah told his sister: "If Dadabhai (Dadabhai Naoroji) was black, I was darker, and if this was the mentality of British politicians, then we would never get a fair deal from them. From that day I have been an uncompromising enemy of all forms of colour bar and racial prejudice".

In 1904, Jinnah attended the Congress session in Bombay, where he met Gopal Krishna Gokhale for the first time. Jinnah considered Gokhale as his mentor and had the greatest respect and admiration for Gokhale. Gokhale had high hopes from Jinnah as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. He had won great applause when he defended and saved Lokamanya Tilak in the second sedition case of 1916. He also defended Tilak in the early stage of the sedition case of 1908. Jinnah argued that it was not sedition for an Indian to demand freedom and self-government in his own country. In April, 1912, Jinnah supported the Elementary Education Bill initiated by Gokhale.

The Indian Council Act 1909 or Morley- Minto Reforms created a separate electorate for Muslims and under a system of weightage, enabled the Muslims to obtain more seats in the various councils than their population in the country. First Jinnah had been opposed to communal electorates and at the 1910 Allahabad Congress, he condemned its extension to the local bodies. But in 1917 he declared that separate electorate was a matter of interest to the Muslims who by this method alone could be roused from their mental lethargy.

In 1906, the All India Muslim League started and its first session met at

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Dacca in December 1906 under the presidency of Aga Khan. On March 22, 1913, at Lucknow session the All India Muslim League adopted a new constitution and invited Jinnah to join the league. In 1913, Jinnah joined the Muslim League while continuing to be in the Congress. He however made it clear that his loyalty to Muslim cause would in no way be an obstacle to the interest of the nation. Jinnah was such a figure of Hindu-Muslim unity that Sarojini Naidu wrote her book on Jinnah, 'Mohammad Ali Jinnah: An Ambassador of Unity' where she emphasised that Jinnah's ambition was to follow in the footsteps of Gokhale.

Gokhale's demise in early 1915 followed by that of Pherozeshah Mehta left Jinnah as the Spokesman for moderate camp. When the Home Rule League of Tilak and Besant was founded in April and September 1916, Jinnah did not join them. But after internment of Besant, Jinnah joined the Bombay Home Rule League. A Congress liberal, Mazhar-ul-Haq, was presiding over the Muslim League. Jinnah took the responsibility of getting all these groups together to obtain consensus on the agreements that he had drawn. The object was "national unity which has brought Hindus and Muslims together, involving brotherly service for the common course". The Muslim League and the All India Congress Committee resolved to make a joint demand for Representative Government in India. In October 1916, Jinnah presided over the sixteenth Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmedabad where he pleaded for firm unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. He also presided at the Lucknow session of the All India Muslim League in December 1916, and pleaded for Hindu Muslim unity. Jinnah had been the signatory to the memorandum of the nineteen and at Lucknow he supported the Congress-League scheme. Jinnah supported the necessity of communal electorates for raising the consciousness of the Muslims. In the session of the League and the Congress the Lucknow pact was agreed upon whereby separate electorates were recognised, and in Muslim minority provinces, the Muslims were guaranteed a proportion of seats in the provincial legislative council larger than what their numbers entitled them to.

However, the beginning of Non-Cooperation movement made Jinnah felt that he did not belong to Congress. Gandhi after returning to India from South Africa had become a widely respected leader and influential personality in the Congress. Gandhi's 'Satyagraha' against British gained broad support from not only Hindu community but also attracted many muslims of the Khilafat faction. Jinnah criticised Gandhi's Khilafat advocacy, which he saw as an endorsement of religious zealotry. Jinnah

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could not accept Gandhi's new approach and opposed the main resolution on Non-Cooperation at the Nagpur Congress in 1920. Jinnah had been a believer in constitutional methods of action and hence he could not support the radical policy of Congress which took to non-violent direct action under Gandhi's leadership. In 1920, at the special Calcutta session and then at Nagpur, Gandhi took control of the Congress Party and restructured it. Jinnah felt humiliated and left the Congress party. In a speech at Poona delivered on February 19, 1921, Jinnah said that in place of Gandhian programme of Non-Cooperation, Khadi etc., he wanted a 'political' programme.

Jinnah was opposed to the Nehru Report of 1928. In opposition to the Nehru Report, Jinnah put forward his 'Fourteen Points'. He was alarmed by the Congress policy of Muslim mass contact formulated after 1937 election. In 1939 he put forward the claim of Muslim league for fifty-fifty share of political power between 'Muslim India' and 'Non-Muslim' India. On 22 December 1939, the All India Muslim League led by Jinnah observed the 'Day of Deliverance' as a mark of relief that the Congress regime has at last ceased to function after the Congress ministries had resigned in seven provinces. Jinnah believed that democracy would mean Hindu Raj over unwilling Muslims, Untouchables, Jews, Parsees and Christians. Hence, Jinnah raised the slogan of 'Congress tyranny' and 'Hindu domination'. He claimed the All India Muslim League to be the sole representative of the Muslims of India. In the March 1940, at the Lahore session of the Muslim League, Jinnah formulated his doctrine of 'Two Nations'.

SAQ:

Elucidate Jinnah as Secular and Nationalist in the early phase of his life. Give reasons in support of your answer (20+60 words)

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4.4 Jinnah's Fourteen Points:

Mohammad Ali Jinnah submitted a proposition of 14 points as a constitutional reform plan to protect the political rights of Muslims in Independent India. Jinnah's 14 points covered the interest of the Muslims and it paved the way for Jinnah parting away from the Congress. After

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Jinnah's return from England in 1929, the Muslim League organized a session under his presidential leadership where he addressed 14 points as a constitutional reform plan of Muslims. These points came to be known as Jinnah's 14 points. These points are:

1. The form of the past constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.
2. All cabinets at central or local level should have at least 1/3 Muslim representation.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.
4. In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one third.
5. Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorate as at present, provided it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of a joint electorate.
6. Any territorial distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority.
7. Full religious freedom, i.e., freedom of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association, and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No bill or resolution or any part, thereof, shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three fourths of the members of any community or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.
9. Sindh should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.
10. Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province and Balochistan on equal footing as in the other provinces.
11. Provisions should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with the other Indians in all the services of the state and in local self governing bodies, having due regard to the requirement of efficiency.
12. The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and

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promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institution and for their due share in the grants-in-aid, given by the state and by local self-governing bodies.

13. No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim ministers.
14. No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the state's contribution of the Indian Federation.

Jinnah's fourteen points faced fierce condemnation from the Congress. Hindus unanimously disregarded Jinnah's suggestion while the Congress party straight away rejected the demands made in it. Jawaharlal Nehru referred Jinnah's points as 'Jinnah's ridiculous 14 points'. However, Jinnah's 14 points played a major role in the emergence of Pakistan.

4.5 'Two Nation Theory':

Jinnah started off as a staunch secularist advocating Hindu-Muslim unity, however towards later part Jinnah turned into foe of Hindu social system and the Congress. He propounded the two-nation theory, which held that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations who could not live together. His journey from the messenger of Hindu-Muslim unity to the propounder of two-nation theory made him one of the most controversial figures in modern Indian history. However the germination of Two Nation Theory could be found much before Jinnah. The late 19th century witnessed the evolution of this theory. Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, a Muslim modernist and reformer started the movement of self-awakening and identity of the Muslims. He established the Aligarh Muslim University and the university was one of the centres where the idea of Pakistan evolved. Moreover, the poet and philosopher Muhammad Iqbal's presidential address to Muslim League on December 29, 1930 at Allahabad is considered as the first articulation of Two Nation Theory. In a vague manner Muhammad Iqbal stated:

"I would like to see the Punjab, The North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state, self government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-Western Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny, at least of North-West India".

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A clear shape to an idea of Pakistan was given by Rahmat Ali, who coined the word Pakistan. Jinnah translated the two-nation theory into political reality of a nation state. Jinnah believed that Muslims of the subcontinent were separate and distinct nations from Hindus and wanted a constitutional arrangement based on equal share of power between the Congress and the Muslim League, while Congress, representing the Hindus and the Muslim League representing the Muslims. The Congress insisted on the unity of the nation and refuses to share power at British India's unitary centre. Jinnah opposed the Congress stand and paved the way for two nation theory and subsequently partition of India. At annual session of the League at Patna, Jinnah opposed the Congress intransigencies and considered it, 'a misfortune of our country, indeed it is a tragedy, that the High Command of the Congress is determined, absolutely determined, to crush all other communities and culture in this country, and to establish Hindu Raj'. He further stated, 'I say that Muslims and the Muslim League have only one ally, and that ally is the Muslim nation'.

Jinnah believed that the democratic system based on the concept of a homogenous nation such as England is definitely not applicable to heterogeneous countries such as India. In 1944, in course of Gandhi-Jinnah talks, Jinnah vigorously stuck to the view that Muslims are a nation. Jinnah argued that the Muslims of the subcontinent were separate and a distinct nation from the Hindus. He wanted a constitutional arrangement based on equitable sharing of power between the Congress and the Muslim League, representing Hindus and Muslim respectively. The Congress insisted on the unity of the nation and refused to share power at British India's unitary centre. It paved the way for articulation of two-nation theory by Jinnah. In his article in Time and Tide in January 1940, Jinnah argued that the Muslim League was opposed to the domination of Hindu Majority over Muslim and other minorities. He opposed any federal arrangement which may result in domination of the majority community over the minority community under the disguise of parliamentary democracy. He showed an uncompromising stand and insisted that partition was the only practical solution to the Hindu-Muslim difference.

In 1940 Jinnah presided over the second session of the Lahore Muslim League and was instrumental in passing the famous resolution which called for a separate Muslim homeland. In his address Jinnah showed disagreement with Gandhi on the question of the possibility for securing

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the rights of minorities in Independent India. According to Jinnah the Congress was dominated by the Hindus and was incapable of responding to Muslim concerns. Hence, the Muslim League is the sole organization to look after the Muslims in colonial India. Jinnah feared that the Constituent Assembly would be dominated by Hindus and there would be no space for Muslims to express their social, political, economic issues and grievances. Besides, Muslims would constitute a minority in India and this would lead to a situation where they will not get equal voice and their rights would be restrained. Jinnah stated that Hindus and Muslims belonged to two different religious philosophies, different customs and traditions and no inter-marriage. Hence, he considered religion as the basis of nation and he envisaged Pakistan as a secular sovereign state where all religion would be treated equally. Jinnah also believed that there are familiar principles between Islam and democracy. He argued that democracy is in consonance with Islamic principles. Although he did not advocate an orthodox Islamic state but he believed that Islam would provide an ethical value to the modern democratic structure of the state.

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- Check Your Progress:**
1. Comment on Jinnah’s 14 Points as constitutional reform plan of the Muslims.
 2. Why Jinnah is considered as architect of Pakistan?
 3. Explain Jinnah’s view on Muslim as a Nation.
 4. Critically analyse Jinnah’s Two- Nation Theory.

SAQ:
 Why Jinnah left Congress? Elucidate role of Jinnah in partition of India. Give reasons in support of your answer. (20+80 words)

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4.6 Summing up:

Jinnah’s journey and transformation from “the best ambassador of Hindu-

Muslim unity” to that of an advocate for separate homeland for Muslims is the result of the contradictions and perplexity of Indian nationalism. Jinnah grew suspicious of the Hindu social system and the Congress that the majority Hindus would subdue the religious minority Muslims. Jinnah represented the aspirations and interest of the Muslim elites. His main concern was to protect the interests of the upper middle classes and capitalist classes of Muslim community. Jinnah’s conceptualization of nationalism and democracy was based on the ideology of the bourgeoisie. Moreover Jinnah’s two- nation theory also suffers from theoretical fallacy. After partition the country was torn apart triggering riots, mass casualties and displacement in the name of religion. While majority of Muslims decided to stay with India, the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971 further falsified the two- nation theory.

4.7 References and Suggested Readings:

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UNIT 5

RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM

Unit Structure :

- 5.1. Introduction
- 5.2. Objectives
- 5.3. Religious Nationalism
 - 5.3.1 Buddhist Nationalism
 - 5.3.2 Christian Nationalism
 - 5.3.3 Hindu Nationalism
 - 5.3.4 Islamic Nationalism
 - 5.3.5 Jewish Nationalism
 - 5.3.6 Shinto
 - 5.3.7 Sikh
- 5.4 Other Religious Movements and Nationalism
- 5.5. Summing Up
- 5.6. References and Suggested Readings

5.1 Introduction

When nationalism is related to a particular religious belief, dogma or affiliation, it is called religious nationalism. There are two aspects of this relationship. One is politicization of religion and the other is influence of religion on politics. The first aspect implies a shared religion contributing towards the sense of national unity creating a common bond among the citizens of the nation. Again, another aspect is support of a national identity similar to shared ethnicity, language or culture. There is an ideological influence of religion on politics. The political activisms and actions are influenced by current interpretation of religious ideas. Religious nationalism may be articulated as binary of secular nationalism. The newly independent nations are more prone to religious nationalism and they interpret religious nationalism in terms of identity. When a state derives political legitimacy from religious doctrines, it becomes dangerous. It may lead to domination of religious elements, institutions and leaders in the state.

5.2 Objectives

Religious nationalism can be understood as a relationship of nationalism

to a particular religious belief, dogma, ideology or affiliation. After reading this unit you will be able to

- Understand the concept of religious nationalism
- Analyse the various instances of religious nationalism

5.3 Religious Nationalism

In modern times religion is nationalised. Religion is a part of national identity. The histories of religious conflict are tailored to fit the national unity. Modern period witnesses nationalised religion, secular nationalism as well as explicitly religious nationalism. In modern times there are differences between states in terms of their relative secularity in fields of law and governance. Likewise there are also differences between societies in terms of their relative secularity in fields of religious organization and religious practices. Moreover the process of globalisation is intimately connected with nationalism and religion. In the second half of the 19th century, the modern forms of Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, and Taoism and their relations with national identity are all produced.

One of the salient aspect of nationalism is religious nationalism. Religious nationalism implies the fusion of religious and national identities and goals. Religious and national identities coexist and reinforce each other. Religious nationalism reinforces popular religiosity and attitudes. It also empowers religious organisations in influencing policy across a wide range of domains. In modern times, religious nationalism also shapes the patterns of inter state and intra state violence.

Religious nationalism is both neglected and powerful. The literature on nationalism neglects it by dismissing it as an exception. Despite this, religious nationalism is very powerful. It has shaped the very definition of legitimate citizenship, delineating the nation and privileging some political actors and visions in making public policy, obtaining electoral support, and building states. This analysis is mostly based on Christian nationalism.

Religious nationalism is defined as “fusion of nationalism and religion such that they are inseparable” (Rieffer, 2003, p. 225). Religious nationalism depends on religious identities and myths to define the nation and its goals. According to Ernest Gellner, nationalism is the “principle

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that holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent” (Gellner, 1983, p. 1).

Let us first discuss the role played by religion in the origin of nationalism. It has been said that the development of nationalism is the outcome of territorialisation and pluralisation of religion following the reformation. And the essence of modern national state i.e. the attribute of sovereignty has been transferred from the god to the absolute monarch. The French revolution which resulted in emergence of nationalism has transferred this attribute of sovereignty from absolute monarch to the people.

"This process of differentiation – and in particular the emergence of understandings of economy, society and polity as autonomous realms – was arguably a precondition for the emergence and widespread naturalisation of the social ontology, social imaginary and ascending understanding of political legitimacy that are characteristic of modern nationalism.

Roger Friedland, opines that all religious movements active in the public sphere, such as Evangelical Christianity or political Islam, constitute forms of religious nationalism. Brubaker on the other hand stated that religious nationalism requires a demonstration that there is a distinctively religious type of nationalist programme.

The various religious nationalism program like Hindu nationalism in India, religious Zionism in Israel, Christian nationalism in US etc. show more inclination towards military rather than secular nationalism.

The religious nationalist find secular state artificial. The important question is finding the potentiality of religious nationalism in developed countries. In the medieval period, the churches worked like religious clubs. It worked as the voluntary associations for the spiritual edification of individuals in their leisure time, rarely cognisant of the social and political world around them. The American Revolution is also religious in nature. The advocates of this revolution, were mostly influenced by eighteenth-century deism, a religion of science and natural law that was ‘devoted to exposing [Church] religion to the light of knowledge. As in France, American nationalism developed its own religious characteristics, blending the ideals of secular nationalism and the symbols of Christianity into what has been called ‘civil religion’.

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Religion like a glue holds together broad communities. The members share same interests. Islam, Judaism, and Christianity have provided religious alternatives to secular ideology as the basis of nationalism. So also has Hinduism, Sikhism, and, perhaps most surprisingly, Buddhism. In Thailand, for example, the king must be a monk before assuming political power.

In Burma as well which was renamed as Myanmar, many of the demonstrations were led by Buddhist monks. If we take example of India, India is a secular nation and after independence there generations of prime ministers tried to maintain religious neutrality in India. Still they were bound to announce priviledges on the basis of religion.

Most people believe that secular is modern and religious is pre modern concept. It is also believed that religion is associated with private sphere and they should be separated from public sphere of state and government. The issue is that religion is viewed as something negative in character and hence the positive contribution religion can make to politics have been overlooked.

One clear example of religious nationalism can be cited as Islamic militant group Hamas's aim to establish an Islamist Palestinian nation state. This group aimed at Islamasitation of Palestine state. Liberation of Palestine has been taken as a religious duty by the Hamas.

In the 2018 Costa Rican presidential run off election, voters for evangelical populist candidate Fabricio Alvarado reportedly rallied behind the mantra that "if a man of God can't govern us, then nobody can."

Religious nationalism differs from nation to nation. Yet they share some common attributes. These are as follows: First, most religious nationalist parties possess a puritanical line that colors their electoral platforms—and subsequent methods of governance—with a moral cadence. Secondly, in many countries, religious nationalists use moral appeals and rhetoric to support anticorruption measures. Thirdly, religious nationalism does not accept majoritarian nationalism.

If we can Indian case, the kings ran the country but they mostly relied on the Brahmins. When India got independence, the new constitution maintained a distance between state and religion though it was not as strict as state church separation in the west.

Stop to Consider

SECULAR NATIONALISM

Secular nationalism is a feeling of nationalism which surpasses religious borders. In the western model, secular nationalism implies non interference by the state. In India, secular nationalism gives equal respect to all religions. In a state following secular nationalism, nationalism is promoted without interfering with religion or invoking religion. In a state adopting the ideology of secular nationalism, nation transcends parochial considerations of religion, language subculture etc. and provides space for all kinds of diversity. For example, India as a nation post its independence was largely glued by common values enshrined in its constitution based on India's struggle for independence. But in the global scenario, there have been various threats to secular nationalism. These can be listed as follows :

- a. Various NGO s promoting well being of special class
- b. There are various organisations which are depicting history in a distorted manner to promote the interest of particular religious group
- c. Extremism which has led to mutual untrust among various religious and ethnic groups.
- d. Desperation to establish the past glory has also threatened the notion of secular nationalism.

There are various different religious nationalism in the world. These are

5.3.1 Buddhist Nationalism

Buddhist nationalism can be found in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Cambodia and Thailand. In Sri Lanka, the political ideology is a intermixing of Sinhalese culture and ethnicity and Theravada Buddhism. In Myanmar also, the patriotic association of Myanmar, organised and protected Burman people and their Buddhist religion.

5.3.2 Christian Nationalism

The Christian nationalist focuses mostly on internal politics. They pass laws that reflect their views of Christianity. Christian nationalism is conservative in united states. The Christian nationalists promote religious discourses various fields of social life, from politics and history, to culture and science; with respect to legislation. We can cite the example of

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Sunday blue laws. In the middle ages, the countries within christiendom were united to establish a pan Christian state. During this era, Christian nationalism played a strong role and wanted to recover the lands where Christianity flourished. Certain parts of North Africa, East Asia, Southern Europe, Central Asia and Middle East lost Christian control after the rise of Islam. In Poland, nationalism is often identical with loyalty to Roman Catholic Church. In Poland, groups like national revival of Poland use slogans like Wielka Polska Katolicka (Great Catholic Poland).

5.3.3 Hindu Nationalism

India is country with linguistic, religious and ethnic diversity. Indians identify themselves with civic, cultural or third world nationalism. In the modern period, the Bhartiya Janata Party and Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh are endorsing a contemporary form of hindu nationalism or Hindutva. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, a hindu nationalist popularised the term Hindutva in the year 1923. This term is championed by Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, Bharatiya Janta Party, Vishva Hindu Parishad etc. Hindu nationalism is based on native spiritual and cultural tradition of Indian subcontinent.

5.3.4 Islamic Nationalism

Being Islamic nationalism, Pakistani nationalism is religious in nature. Pakistani nationalist narrative is based on religion. The national consciousness is moulded by the religious and ethnic influences. Pakistan has been called a "global center for political Islam"

5.3.5 Jewish Nationalism

Zionism and orthodox judaism is together called religious Zionism. Initially they wanted to rebuild a Jewish state in the land of Israel. But the religious gionist movement integrated with Israeli nationalism and it got evolved into neo Zionism. The ideology of neo Zionism revolves around three pillars : Land of Israel, the People of Israel, and the Torah of Israel.

5.3.6 Shinto

The state Shinto was used to abolish imperial Japanese practices. This practice relied on Shinto to support nationalistic ideology. The post war constitution of Japan refused to ban Shinto. The constitution was able to preserve full freedom of religion.

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5.3.7 Sikh

The Sikh separatist movement which is also known as Khalistan movement wanted to create a homeland for Sikhs by establishing a sovereign state in Punjab. The state Khalistan would consist of lands from both parts of India and Pakistan.

5.4 Other Religious Movements and Nationalism

In the Korean peninsula the Donghak movement and its leader, Choe Je-u, were inspired by Korean Catholic missionaries. However, they condemned the 'Western learning' preached by missionaries and contrasted it with the indigenous 'Eastern learning'. They started a rebellion in 1894 in Jeolla province in southwestern Korea. The rebellion was eventually crushed by Chinese and Japanese troops, resulting in 300,000 fatalities. It is comparable to the millenarian Taiping revolution led by Hong Xiuquan, who was also inspired by Catholic missionaries. The Donghak movement served as a template for the later Daejonggyo and Jeungsan-gyo movements, as well as for other religious nationalist movements. The Buddhist-influenced Daejonggyo movement financed guerillas in Manchuria during Japanese colonial rule of both Korea and Manchuria. The North Korean state ideology, Juche, is sometimes classified as a religion in the United States Department of State's human rights reports.

SAQ

Explain secular nationalism in the context of Indian nation.

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Check Your Progress

1. “Nationalism is the principle that holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent.” who said this?
2. Discuss the role played by religion in the origin of nationalism.
3. Religious nationalism implies the fusion of religious and _____ identities and goals. (fill in the blank)
4. Roger Friedland opines that all religious movements active in the public sphere like Evangelical Christianity or Political Islam,

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constitute forms of religious nationalism.

5. What are the common attributes of religious nationalism?
6. Write a note on Christian nationalism.
7. Explain hindu nationalism.
8. What is Islamic nationalism?

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5.5 Summing Up

After reading this unit now you have understood the concept of religious nationalism. You have learnt that when a nationalism is related to a particular religious belief, dogma or affiliation, it is called religious nationalism. In the contemporary scenario, political actions are influenced by current interpretation of religious ideas. Again, you must remember here that newly independent nations are more prone to religious nationalism. You have also learnt about various religious nationalisms like hindu nationalism, islamic nationalism, Buddhist nationalism etc.

5.6 References and Suggested Readings:

1. Kinnvall, Carerina. *Glebalisation and Religious Nationalism in India : The search for Ontological Security*, Routledge, 2006
2. Veer, Peter Van Der, *Religious Nationalism : Hindu and Muslims in India*, University of California, 1994.

Links :

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