



Global Ideologies of Liberalism and Marxism, and Nationalism

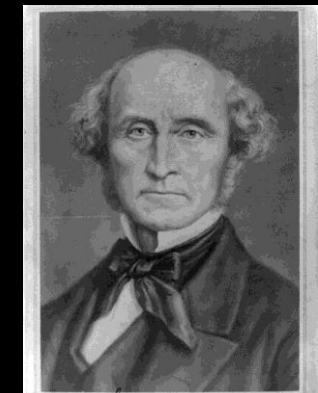
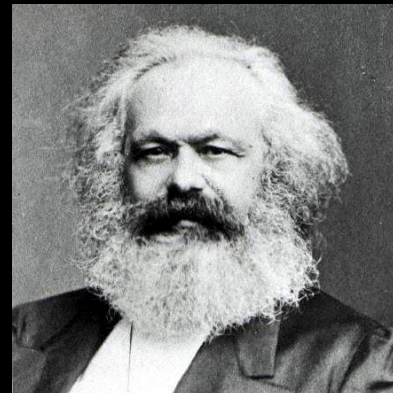
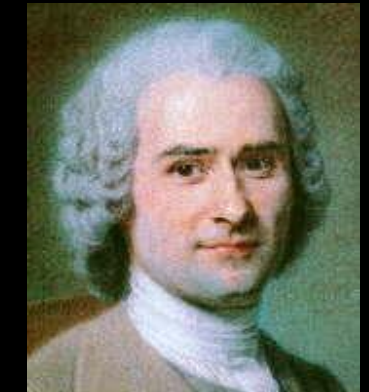
Theories and Practices of Nationalism

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Global Ideologies

- Three big ideologies emerged in the 19th century
- Liberalism : Socialism : Nationalism
- Both based on an intellectual tradition which comprised Reformation and Renaissance, Enlightenment Rationality; Scientific Revolution; Geographical expansion of Europe (colonialism)
- Both drew on legacy of the English, American, French Revolutions...
- Both Liberalism and Socialism claimed **universal applicability** of their ideas and practices



Universal Values

- Modern Idea that **Humans have universal attributes**
- All humans are FREE
- All humans are EQUAL
- American Revolution: No Taxation Without Representation
- French Revolution: *liberté, égalité, FRATERNITÉ*
- Enlightenment Rationality: All human authority is open to critique
 - Free, Equal Humans come together to form polity: Fraternity
 - Telos of freedom / equality: eventually all humans will become so!
- Universal History: We move in the same time together!

Universal Humans

- The American and French revolutions did not consider their ideas confined to their territory
- They were **aggressively universal**
- United States Bill of Rights
 - Guaranteed personal freedoms, limits to state power
 - Abraham Lincoln, "Americans have a duty to ensure that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth"
- French Republic was seen as a threat by European monarchies
- French armies fought monarchies to **establish republics**
 - Napoleon coming to India when he was defeated by Nelson at the Nile
 - Haiti adopted the ideals of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity
 - Raja Ram Mohan Roy celebrated Bastille Day in Calcutta
 - English Liberals reformed Indian society, education, and laws

Liberal Limits

- While the American and French republicans advocated universal ideals...
- ...they were busy building American and French **colonial empires**
- English liberals were using these ideals to entrench colonial rule
- Nationalism was growing in these very countries
 - American Exceptionalism
 - French nationalism: *La Marseillaise* speaks about the fatherland
 - Great Britain, English rule the world
- Liberalism became an ideology of **establishing these values within each nation**

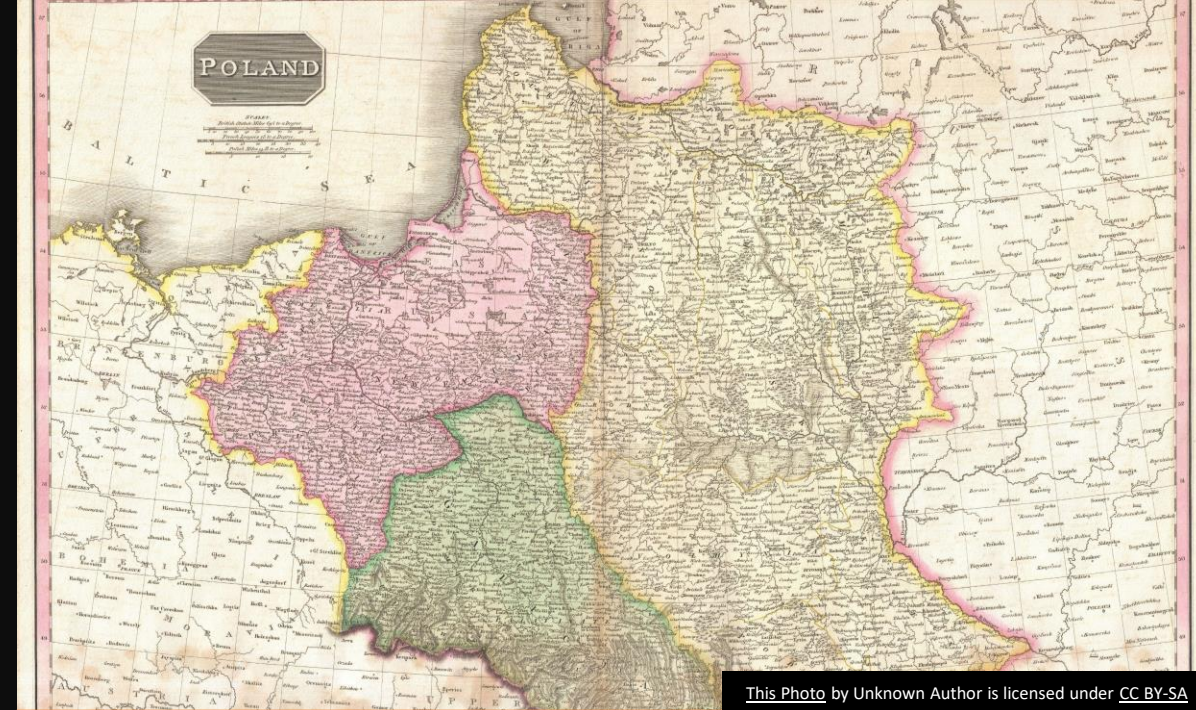
Classic Marxist Position

NATIONALISM IS

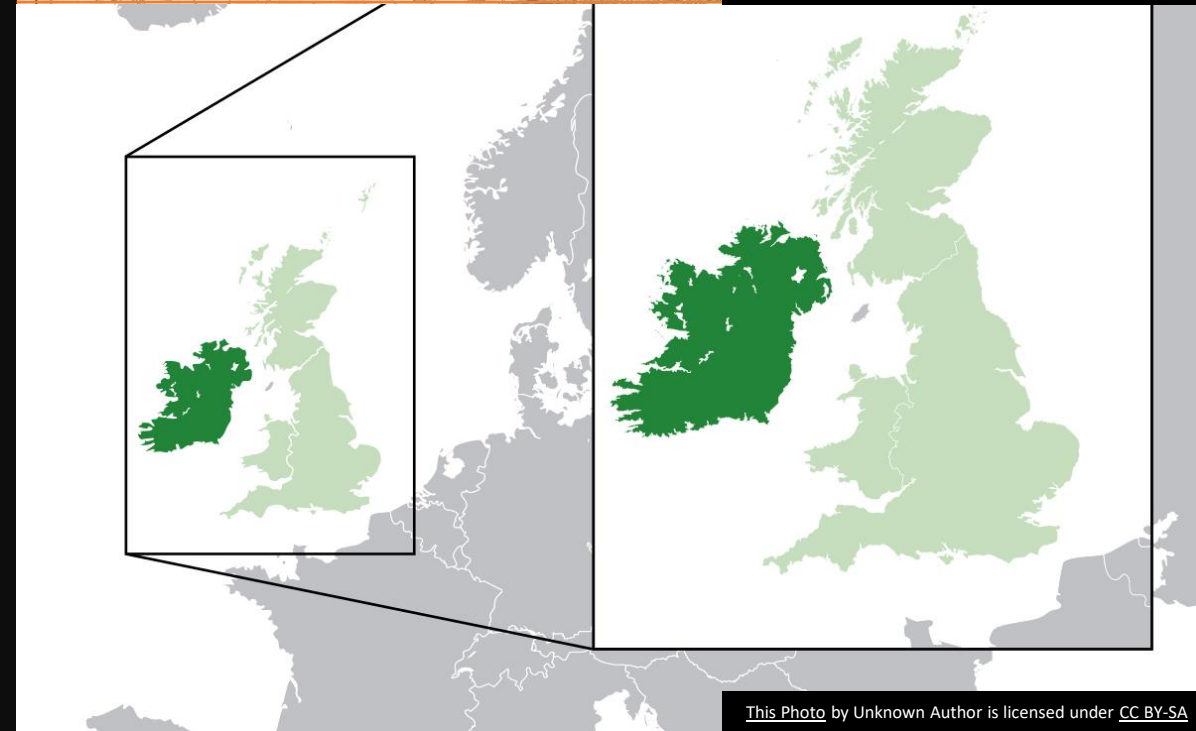
- A **ploy** of the ruling classes to divide workers
- A **false consciousness** which
 - Posits an artificial solidarity between exploited and exploiters
 - Artificial enmity between working class of two nations
- Leads inevitably to right-wing politics; to **chauvinism** and **war**

Cracks in the Position

- Marx had to explain the rise of “oppressed nationalities”, particularly Ireland, Poland
 - Ireland: English colony
 - Poland: divided between Prussia & Russia
 - Popular liberation movements against oppressive rule
 - Working class movements were nationalist in Ireland and Poland
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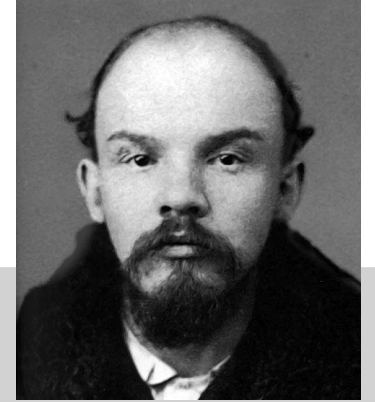


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Lenin



- Started with the classic position

“...when the more intelligent members of the bourgeoisie realised that brute force alone was ineffective, all sorts of “progressive” bourgeois parties and groups have been more and more often resorting to the method of *dividing* the workers by advocating different bourgeois ideas and doctrines designed to weaken the struggle of the working class.

One such idea is refined nationalism, which advocates the division and splitting up of the proletariat on the most plausible and specious pretexts, as for example, that of protecting the interests of “national culture”, “national autonomy, or independence”, and so on, and so forth.”

Lenin

- "For the complete victory of commodity production the bourgeoisie must capture the home market, and there must be politically united territories whose population speak a single language... Therein is the economic foundation of national movements..."
- "The tendency of every national movement is towards the formation of national states, under which these requirements of modern capitalism are best satisfied."

Lenin

“The class-conscious **workers fight hard against every kind of nationalism**, both the crude, violent, Black-Hundred nationalism, and that most refined nationalism which preaches the equality of nations *together* with ... the ***splitting up*** of the workers’ cause, the workers’ organisations and the working-class movement *according to* nationality.

Unlike all the varieties of the nationalist bourgeoisie, the class conscious workers...stand, not only for the most complete, consistent and fully applied ***equality of nations and languages***, but also for the *amalgamation* of the workers of the different nationalities in *united* proletarian organisations of every kind.”

Lenin

- But nationalism within the working class movement was not only about division between workers but between exploiters and exploited
“By persecuting “subject peoples”, the landlord and bourgeois nationalists try to split and corrupt the working class the better to be able to dope it. The class-conscious workers retaliate by demanding complete equality and *unity* for the workers of all nationalities *in practice*.”
- Political strategy to deal with “oppressed nations”.

Lenin: Right to Secede



- “By persecuting the Ukrainians and others for their “separatism”, for their secessionist strivings, the nationalists are upholding the *privilege* of the Great-Russian landlords and the Great-Russian bourgeoisie to have “their own” state. The working class is opposed to *all* privileges; that is why it upholds the *right of nations to self-determination*.”
- “The class-conscious workers *do not advocate secession*. They know the advantages of large states and the amalgamation of large masses of workers. But large states can be democratic only if there is complete equality among the nations; that equality implies the *right to secede*.”
- “The struggle against national oppression and national privileges is inseparably bound up with the defence of that right.”

Lenin: Emerging Nations in Asia

- Asia...consists either of colonies of the “Great Powers”, or of states that are extremely dependent and oppressed as nations.
- “in Asia itself the conditions for the most complete development of commodity production and the freest, widest and speediest growth of capitalism have been created only in **Japan, i. e., only in an independent national state**? The latter is a bourgeois state, and for that reason has itself begun to oppress other nations and to enslave colonies”.
- “We cannot say whether Asia will have had time to develop into a system of independent national states, like Europe, ...but ...**capitalism, having awakened Asia, has called forth national movements everywhere** in that continent, too; that the **tendency** of these movements is towards the creation of national states in Asia; that it is such states that ensure, the best conditions for the development of capitalism”.

The Leninist Line

- “the proletariat of Russia is faced with a twofold or, rather, a two-sided task: to combat nationalism of every kind, above all, Great-Russian nationalism; to recognise, not only fully equal rights, for all nations in general, but also equality of rights as regards polity, i.e., the right of nations to self-determination, to secession”.
- “and at the same time, it is their task, in the interests of a successful struggle against all and every kind, of nationalism among all nations, to preserve the unity of the proletarian struggle and the proletarian organisations, amalgamating these organisations into a close-knit international association, despite bourgeois strivings for national exclusiveness.”

“Complete equality of rights for all nations; the right of nations to self-determination; the unity of the workers of all nations—such is the national programme that Marxism, the experience of the whole world, and the experience of Russia, teach the workers”.



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Rosa Luxemburg

- Under capitalism slogan of national independence had **no progressive value**
- Under socialism there would be no need for the slogan of national independence, as national oppression would be replaced by international unity of all humans, irrespective of any division
- Demand for national self-determination is reactionary; will lead to break-up of socialism and rise of chauvinism among working class
- Nationalism of “oppressed nationalities” cannot be supported as this will lead to growth of chauvinism among them



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Stalin

- “A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.”
- “...a nation, like every historical phenomenon, is subject to the law of change, has its history, its beginning and end.”
- “It must be emphasised that none of the above characteristics taken separately is sufficient to define a nation. ...sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be lacking and the nation ceases to be a nation.”
- “It is only when all these characteristics are present together that we have a nation.”

20th Century Communist Practice



- Nation and its ism part of capitalist world; **cannot wish it away**
- Strive for equality of nations
- Defend “oppressed nationalities”
- Support “right of nations to secede” or “national self-determination”.
- Differentiate between progressive and reactionary nationalism
- Communist Party and Nation(alism)
 - Workers International
 - Communist Party *of* or *in*
- In power, Communist states have mostly been strongly nationalist
 - Poland, Baltic States, Tibet, Xinjiang, China-Vietnam war

Lasting Legacies

- Liberalism and Marxism both **domesticated** by Nationalism
- Both left their mark on Nationalist ideology
- Liberalism:
 - Sovereignty with the people
- Marxism:
 - Right of Self-Determination
 - Nation as a single market; unified economy
- Unlike Liberalism, Marxism which can boast of great philosophers and philosophies, Nationalism has **no great philosopher or philosophy**
- Simple Claim: **My Nation has primacy over everything else.**