

*Foundations for Freedom*

**INTERNATIONAL  
COURSE**

*for people aged  
between 18 and 30*

**Tirley Garth, Cheshire, UK  
September 1 - 20, 1994**

Initiated by Moral Re-Armament



*Foundations for Freedom: International Course*  
Sept 1-20 1994

List of participants

- |                                    |   |             |
|------------------------------------|---|-------------|
| ✓ Karina Agabekova                 | Russia, student, Nizhni Novgorod University                             |             |
| ✓ Peter Belkovski                  | Russia, student, St Petersburg  |             |
| ✓ Anna Christine Christensen       | Denmark, student, Sheffield University (UK)                             |             |
| ✓ Gabriela Drgová                  | Czech Republic, student, Prague University                              | (arr. 6th)  |
| ✓ <sup>Emirce</sup> Mircea Eladi   | Moldavia, student, Manchester University (UK)                           |             |
| ✓ Erika Ellamaa                    | Estonia, student, Tartu   |             |
| ✓ Nahlel Fico                      | Albania, student, Tirana  |             |
| ✓ Jarosław Golacik                 | Poland, student, Warsaw School of Economics                             |             |
| ✓ <del>Denitza Hadjinikolova</del> | Bulgaria, student, Germany  | (dep. 11th) |
| ✓ Michelle Hemenway                | United States, graduate, Wisconsin                                      | (arr. 2nd)  |
| ✓ Yuriy Holyanych                  | Ukraine, student, University of Kiev-Mohyla Academy                     |             |
| ✓ Igor Hula                        | Ukraine, medical doctor, Lviv   | (arr. 4th)  |
| ✓ Magdalena Kaplanová              | Czech Republic, midwife, Prague   |             |
| ✓ Oksana Kitaeva                   | Russia, student, Nizhni Novgorod University                             |             |
| ✓ Kaja Kivi                        | Estonia, Secretary in the Methodist Church, Tallinn                     |             |
| ✓ Tomislav Majerić                 | Croatia, student, Zagreb University                                     |             |
| ✓ Irina Oleinik                    | Ukraine, student, University of Kiev-Mohyla Academy                     |             |
| ✓ Wiktor Oleksiejczuk              | Poland, student, Warsaw University                                      |             |
| ✓ Milan Parivodić                  | Serbia/Yugoslavia, lecturer in law, University of Belgrade              |             |
| ✓ Kumar Rawal                      | United Kingdom, student, Sheffield University                           |             |
| ✓ Oleg Savtchine                   | Ukraine, student, University of Kiev-Mohyla Academy                     |             |
| ✓ Margit Sarv                      | Estonia, student, Tartu   |             |
| ✓ <del>Sergey Sokolov</del>        | <del>Russia, student, Moscow Institute of International Relations</del> |             |
| ✓ Jelena Vranješević               | Serbia/Yugoslavia, post-graduate student, Belgrade                      |             |
| ✓ Jarmila Vrbenská                 | Czech Republic, student, Prague University                              |             |

Chris B. S.

Andrew S.



**List of faculty, Tirley Garth 'family' and backup personnel**

Course coordinators

- ✗ Edward Peters                      coordinator of the *FFF* programme, Oxford
- ✗ Ann Rignall                            teacher and writer, Merseyside

Course faculty

- ✗ Erik Andren                            coordinator of the *FFF* Visiting Courses, Staines    7-9
- ✗ Philip Boobbyer                      lecturer in Politics, London School of Economics    2-5, 16-20
- ✗ John Carlisle                           industrial consultant, Sheffield                            8 only
- ✗ Rex Dilly                                Moral Re-Armament, Edinburgh, Scotland
- ✗ Chris Evans                             *Industrial Forums*, Worcester
- ✗ Lawrence Pearson                    community worker, London                                16-18
- ✗ Nicholas Frayling                    Canon of Liverpool Cathedral                              7 only
- Dorothy Gavin                        city councillor, former Lord Mayor, Liverpool        6 only
- ✓ Peter Hannon                           Moral Re-Armament, Northern Ireland                    13-16
- ✗ Joan Holland                           retired headmistress, New Zealand
- James Hore-Rüthven                Moral Re-Armament, London                                5-6
- ✗ Jean Johnson                           former headmistress, Birmingham                        1-2
- ✗ Heinz & Gisela Krieg                retired teachers, Berlin, Germany                        1-11
- Geoffrey Lean                         environmental journalist, London                         5-6
- Jim Lester                               Conservative MP, Broxtowe, Nottingham                5-6
- John Lester                              medical practitioner, London                                3-4
- Archie & Ruth Mackenzie        retired ambassador, Scotland                              3-6
- ✗ Leslie Marsh                            Methodist minister, Stoke on Trent                        16 only
- Omnia Marzouk                        paediatrician, Liverpool & Egypt                         5 only
- Mary Midgley                         philosopher, Newcastle                                      3-4
- ✗ Roy Paige                                retired accountant, Kent
- ✗ Vijaylakshmi Subrahmanyam      Moral Re-Armament, India
- ✗ Joy Weeks                                teacher and writer    13-17
- ✗ Paul Williams                         Moral Re-Armament, North Wales                         7 only

Tirley Garth 'family'

- ✗ Fred Buttorf                            electronics engineer
- ✗ Dick & Margaret Cosens            *Industrial Pioneer*
- ✗ Blair and Sarah Cummock        Trust secretary (Blair), kitchen manager (Sarah)
- ✗ Richard and Marlys Pearce        hosts of the main house
- ✗ Peter Saunders                        retired lighting consultant
- ✗ Jim and Ginny Wigan                personnel manager (Jim), conference secretary (Ginny)

Backup support

- ✗ John & Diana Bennett              retired engineer, Birmingham                              5-6
- ✗ Bill & Phyl Cameron-Johnson      designer (Bill), writer and teacher (Phyl), London    14-20
- ✗ Mrs Eladi                                Moldavia, wife of Mircea (participant)
- ✗ Andrew & Hazel Hastings        Moral Re-Armament, Edinburgh, Scotland
- ✗ Miles & Janet Paine                Moral Re-Armament, Manchester
- ✗ Elisabeth Peters                     Moral Re-Armament, Oxford                                14-18
- ✗ Alec & Alison Porter                Moral Re-Armament, Glasgow, Scotland                4-9

Bruce

*Dates of stay at Tirley Garth given if less than for the whole course*



*Foundations for Freedom: International Course*  
Sept 1-20 1994

**PROGRAMME**

**Normal daily timetable**

08.00	Time of reflection
08.30	Breakfast, followed by practical work/preparation
10.00	First morning session
11.15	Coffee break
11.30	Second morning session
13.00	Lunch followed by sports, recreation, etc
16.00	Tea
16.45	Afternoon session
18.30	Supper
20.15	Evening programme

*(The programme is subject to changes)*

× **Thurs 1st**

**Arrival and introduction**

20.15	Welcome; introduction of participants and faculty; practical orientation.
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× **Friday 2nd**

**Theme: Introducing ourselves**

10.00	<b>Welcome to Britain</b> - talk on the British political scene illustrating the kind of democracy we have here, its origins, good points and limitations. <i>Chris Evans, coordinator of Industrial Forums.</i>
11.30	<b>Questionnaire and discussion:</b> expectations from the course. What would you like to be remembered for? What worries you? What excites you? <i>Jean Johnson, retired headmistress, Birmingham, and Ann Rignall, teacher and author.</i>
16.45	<b>Introduction to Moral Re-Armament</b> - historical and ideological context, and distinctive elements. <i>Edward Peters, commissioning editor, 'For A Change' magazine.</i>
20.15	Documentary film: <i>Crossroad</i> (background to Moral Re-Armament)



X Saturday 3rd

Theme: Freedom

- 08.00 **Silence** - exploring the importance of silence in our lives.  
*John Lester, medical doctor.*
- 10.00 & 11.30 Seminar & discussion on **freedom**, starting from pre-read notes with questions. *Philip Boobbyer, lecturer, London School of Economics.*
- 16.45 Talk on the **moral and spiritual aspects of freedom**: what makes us free inside? what ensnares us? *John Lester.*
- 20.15 Games evening.

X Sunday 4th

Theme: Understanding the present

- 08.00 **You are loved and chosen by God** - meditation from Henri Nouwen's *Life of the Beloved*, asserting the uniqueness of each individual's place in God's heart of love. *Edward Peters.*
- 10.00 **Families and freedom**: the impact of philosophy on our culture.  
*Mary Midgley, philosopher and author.*
- 11.30 **The political and social agenda of the 90s**, in the light of the growing interdependence of nations. *Archie Mackenzie, former British ambassador.*
- 16.45 **Discussion groups** on the morning themes.
- 18.30 Catholic and Protestant church services for those who wish.  
(Unfortunately there are no Orthodox or Greek Catholic churches near Tirley Garth.)
- Free evening.

X Monday 5th

Theme: the role of the individual

- 08.00 **'Quiet times'** - some practical advice on how to use times of silence.  
*Ruth Mackenzie, Scotland.*
- 10.00 & 11.30 **Can the individual make a difference** or is everything determined by social forces? Does God have a specific calling for our lives? *Omnia Marzouk, paediatrician; Archie Mackenzie; Philip Boobbyer.*
- 16.45 **Country presentations (1)**: First session of participants' presentation of their countries. Albania and Bulgaria.
- 20.15 An informal evening <sup>Croatia & Serbia</sup> with **Geoffrey Lean**, leading writer on environmental issues.

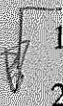


X Tuesday 6th

Theme: the British experience of political democracy

- 08.00 Honesty - facing the truth about oneself, the liberation that truth brings. *Janet Paine, Manchester.*
- 10.00 The culture of democracy: a national perspective. *Jim Lester, Conservative Member of Parliament for Broxtowe, Nottingham.*
- 11.30 Local government. *Councillor Dorothy Gavin, former Lord Mayor, Liverpool.*
- 16.45 Country presentations (2). *Albania & Bulgaria*  
*Croatia and the Czech Republic.*
- 20.15 Documentary film: '*For the Love of Tomorrow*'. French Socialist Irène Laure's experience of forgiveness and her role in the post World War II reconciliation of France and Germany.

my arrival



X Wednesday 7th

Theme: Nation and identity

- 08.00 Forgiveness. *Joan Holland, retired headmistress, New Zealand.*
- 10.00 & 11.30 Nationalism: Discussion of the meaning of nationalism and its implications for pluralistic societies. Case studies from Wales and Germany. *Paul Williams, North Wales; Heinz & Gisela Krieg, Berlin.*
- 16.45 Country presentations (3). *Denmark and Estonia.*
- 20.15 Ireland: the impact of English and Irish nationalism - understanding the situation *Canon Nicholas Frayling, Liverpool Cathedral; and Alec Porter, Glasgow, (living in Ireland)*

X Thursday 8th

Theme: Morality and the market economy

- 08.00 Having a vision - the importance of having a vision of how things are meant to be; perspective which gives courage. *Joan Holland.*
- 10.00, 11.30 & <sup>14.30</sup> 16.45 taken by *John Carlisle*, industrial consultant, Sheffield.
- 20.15 Board games and cards, *Britain (Kumar), Erik Andren (Visiting Course), Puppets*

free afternoon

X Friday 9th

Theme: Making personal relationships satisfying and sustaining

- 08.00 Inner purity - the freedom of wanting nothing from others. *Edward Peters.*
- 10.00 & 11.30 Seminar and discussion on the day's theme, led by *Ann Rignall; Heinz & Gisela Krieg; and Dick and Margaret Cosens, 'Industrial Pioneer'.*
- 15<sup>00</sup> Afternoon Departure to stay with families for the weekend.

15<sup>00</sup>



X Sunday 11th evening Some may re-convene at Tirley Garth for the night.

X Monday 12th - Wednesday 14th Program in Birmingham

An insight into different aspects of a city, meeting representatives of industry, education, police, voluntary organisations and religious groups. (Detailed programme to be announced.)

Wednesday, 18.30 Return to Tirley Garth in time for supper.

20.15 Country presentations (4). Moldavia and Poland.

X Thursday 15th Theme: Resolving conflict

08.00 Dealing with difficult people: what do you do when you have to work with people you cannot get on with? *Joy Weeks, teacher and writer.*

10.00 & 11.30 Case studies in conflict resolution from South Africa and Ireland. *Peter Hannon, Northern Ireland.*

16.45 Country presentations (5). Russia and Serbia/Yugoslavia. *Czech Republic*

20.15 Programme to be announced. - Moldavia & Poland

X Friday 16th Theme: How to pass on values so that they become normative for a society

08.00 Friendship. *Elisabeth Peters, Oxford.*

10.00 & 11.30 The role of education. *Joy Weeks and Ann Rignall.*

16.45 The role of the Church: A presentation of the Church's own vision of its role followed by discussion. *Rev Leslie Marsh, Methodist minister, Stoke-on-Trent.*

20.15 Documentary film: 'One Word of Truth': based on Aleksander Sozhenitsyn's Nobel Prize for Literature speech.

X Saturday 17th Theme: Building community

08.00 Making space for one another. *Edward Peters.*

10.00 Case studies in community building from London. *Lawrence Fearon, community worker.*

11.30 Audio-visual presentation on Brazilian favellas.

16.45 An African perspective: discussion with five young men from Kenya, who sing as the musical group 'Five Alive'.

19.45  
~~20.15~~

Five Alive: concert.

Sunday  
14.30



X Sunday 18th Theme: The Life of belief

08.00 **Fear and courage** - overcoming fears, stepping out into the unknown. *Vijaylakshmi Subrahmanyam, India.*

10.00 & 11.30 **How to sustain the vision and the life**, the spiritual resources that keep us going when life gets tough. *Philip Boobbyer*

Saturday 14.30  
16.45  
18.30  
19.45  
20.15  
21.15

Country presentations (6). Ukraine and the United States.

Church services for those who wish.

Documentary film: *'Encounters with Truth'*, about the work in India of Mahatma Gandhi's grandson, Rajmohan Gandhi.

Monday 19th Theme: Where do we go from here?

9.15

10.00 & 11.30 **Round-up discussion** including resolutions, ideas for action and evaluation of the course.

15. Peter Saunders  
Lodge

afternoon Packing for departure and preparations for evening.

18.00 **Final banquet/cabaret** with farewell speeches, music and cultural items. *[to be submitted]*

Tuesday 20th **Departures** after breakfast.



# An introduction to Moral Re-Armament

*Synopsis of talk by E Peters*

## **INTRODUCTION**

This course is not about Moral Re-Armament as such, but as the course's approach, and the perspective of many of the speakers, derives from the perspective and experience of MRA, it is important for your sake that you understand as much as you can about Moral Re-Armament.

### **1. WHAT MRA IS AND IS NOT**

MRA is not a religion or a sect, nor a theology nor an idea. It is an informal, inclusive network of people who share a commitment to applying the experience of personal inner transformation to the needs of wider society. MRA has no formal membership. Its organisational structure is kept to a minimum. Its finances come mainly through the sacrificial giving of individuals.

### **2. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

MRA began in 1938, at a time when world war was imminent. Military rearmament was the order of the day. Frank Buchman, MRA's founder, picked up the thought of a Swedish writer, 'We must rearm morally.' 'Moral and spiritual rearmament' was what was needed, Buchman declared.

### **3. BUCHMAN'S MESSAGE AND EXPERIENCE**

Buchman's message was fundamentally a very personal one. He saw society as made up of millions of individual people, and the character of society derived in large part from the choices and behaviour of those individuals. The place to begin to create an unselfish society was with the individuals which made it up. This belief had grown out of his Christian faith and his own personal experience. At a decisive moment his own life had been deeply changed. As a result of this experience he had come to believe that a change of motivation and direction was possible for anyone, and that in multiplying this change lay the possibility for a better society. The simple idea was: change must start with me, not the other person.

At the heart of Buchman's life, and of Moral Re-Armament, was and is a Christian experience. But MRA is for everyone, not just Christians.

### **4. THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXT**

Buchman's thinking — Moral Re-Armament, as it became — challenges the secular materialism of our modern world. It is built on an older Judaeo-Christian world view which includes the following five assertions:

1. In place of the idea that history is an inevitable process, and man can only participate in that process, this view says that individual choices do affect history.
2. In place of the idea that man is purely a material being, it puts forward the view that we are both body and soul.
3. In place of the idea that man made God, this view believes that God made man.
4. In place of the idea that all values and moral standards are relative, this view proposes unchanging and absolute moral standards.
5. In place of the idea that the dividing line between good and evil lies between different classes, or races, or nations, this view believes this line runs through every human heart.

## **5. DISTINCTIVE ELEMENTS OF MRA'S APPROACH**

There are three distinctive elements to MRA's approach, which derive from three propositions:

1. Proposition (a): God, who made us and loves us, has a purpose for each of our lives. We can discover that purpose if we truly ask Him. God also has a plan for wider society, and we can each have a part in that wider plan.  
Practical idea: the 'quiet time' helps us to find God's will.
2. Proposition (b): there are certain values by which we should guide our lives.  
Practical idea: the 'four moral standards' - honesty, purity, unselfishness and love - are useful tools for dealing with the wrong in our lives.
3. Proposition (c): there is a definite link between the individual and society, between the way we live our personal lives and the direction our societies take.  
Practical idea: each of us can have a part in changing the world, in making the world new.

## **6. THE ACTIVITY OF MRA**

Examples include reconciliation between France and Germany, in Zimbabwe, and many other countries; new attitudes in both labour and management which have had a large impact on the efficiency of major industries in many countries; etc. But the success of MRA is not the point. MRA is a catalyst.



## Notes on Freedom

to be read before seminar/discussion on Sept 3

Freedom is a big subject and we will be exploring different aspects of it during the next days together. These notes therefore serve as an introduction to the course, and particularly to the sessions on Saturday, September 3rd.

Before you begin reading this, please take some time to write down what freedom means to you. Then ask yourself whether you think other people on the course might define freedom in the same way. Does freedom mean different things to different people at different times?

These notes trace the journey from the Middle Ages, when outer freedom was less but people were more secure, to the present day when many people are outwardly free but inwardly insecure and unfree.

**Freedom in the Middle Ages** By our modern standards of freedom, there was none. Everybody was chained to his role in the social order. People did not think of themselves as individuals, as we do now, but as members of a particular social group. You were born a peasant, a knight or an artisan rather than choosing to be one. Each class had rules and obligations which determined their actions. There was no room for private initiative.

**Freedom and the economy** Despite the exploitation and injustice that existed in the Middle Ages, freedom did not become important until a new class of merchants and entrepreneurs emerged. They were the first to try to break the constrictions of class and locality. The development of capitalism meant that money, not birth, became most important. But this change brought a lot of insecurity and further exploitation.

**Freedom and Religion** At about the same time there was a change in religious thought. The old idea that a whole society, bound together by rules and obligations, would be saved from sin through the Church collapsed when the obligations that tied people together were cut. In the face of a terrible doubt about his salvation, the individual tried to convince himself that his good works were a sign that he was saved. This was the source of the Protestant work ethic.

**Freedom from nature** Mediaeval man saw himself as part of nature. This feeling of oneness expressed itself, as in many cultures today, in a rich mythology. His world was one filled with spirits, wood-nymphs, trolls, goblins and fairies, witches and wizards, and he trembled to upset them for fear of unleashing the terrible forces of nature in punishment. What changed this belief was the rise of science. Francis Bacon declared that the earth and all that lies on it is just "stuff" for Man to manipulate without fear. When he cuts down a tree, he does not need to worry about the wood-spirit, he is simply taking some formless matter on which he can impose his own creative will. Descartes, a mathematician, said that only by exposing knowledge to the acid of systematic doubt could we be sure of anything. Man cut the bonds that tied him to nature and became free to exploit nature. But at the same time, Man began to see himself as isolated from the world, from matter and from his fellow humans.

**Freedom and isolation** This tendency towards isolation is the negative side to the concept of freedom dominant in the West. Capitalism sees the individual's freedom as the freedom to choose between different products and different jobs. The co-operation involved is a fundamentally different sort of co-operation to the mediaeval economy. There is no obligation. Each individual co-operates for his own advantage. If circumstances change then partners become competitors. As a result, "the self-confidence, the 'feeling of self', is merely an indication of what others think of the person."<sup>1</sup>

**Freedom from morality** Centuries of religious wars ended in an uneasy truce where, today, people of many different beliefs and moral codes live alongside each other. Many see religion and scientific truth as belonging to opposing camps. In the field of values everything is a matter of individual preference.

**The will to power** The basis of Western democracy is a belief that humans are basically motivated by a desire for power, and that the aim of politics is to secure the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people. The checks and balances of a parliamentary democracy aim to prevent any individual or group of individuals from obtaining too much power. Society is made up of individuals who, motivated solely by self-interest, contract to work together for their common good.

**The fear of freedom** Erich Fromm suggests<sup>2</sup> that there is another, vital, strand of human motivation which has often been ignored: the fear of being alone. To overcome this feeling, people sometimes try to submerge themselves in complete submission to another person, or by dominance over others - as happened in Nazi Germany. These traits are dangerous for democracy.

**Positive and negative freedom** So far we have been looking at freedom in terms of freedom from something instead of freedom to something. Fromm calls this second kind positive freedom. He believed that Man is a deeply social animal, and that the need to love and be loved is as important for us as the desire for personal advantage. He contrasts love with the submission/domination relationship. In a loving relationship the nature of the other is respected and encouraged. The desire is for the other to grow in independence and strength. No demands are made and nothing is taken except that which is freely given.

**God, whose service is perfect freedom** *Foundations for Freedom* believes that our deepest and truest nature is found in a loving relationship to God. Only in God are we able to find our true selves and thus are "*free to be me*". This concept is one found in the mystical traditions of all religions and contrasts with the structured, rule-bound forms of belief.

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<sup>1</sup> Erich Fromm: *The Fear of Freedom*

<sup>2</sup> *The Fear of Freedom*



**Morality for freedom** Some people think that morality is the enemy of freedom because it tells us what to do. But any kind of positive freedom needs us to submit ourselves to discipline. If I choose to be a ballet dancer or a musician, then from an early age I must submit myself to the discipline of following exercises and taking direction from a teacher. If I rebel against that discipline then I lose my freedom to follow the profession I have chosen. The same applies if I simply want to become a mature, responsible, loving person. It needs discipline, obedience to a good authority, even self-denial. If I refuse to accept that structure for my life and instead choose to follow what I want at any given moment, then I lose the chance to become my true self and remain at best a child, at worst a distorted creature.

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### **Further reading**

Much of this discussion of Freedom draws on Erich Fromm's *The Fear of Freedom*, first published in 1942. Fromm, a psychologist, was trying to understand the phenomenon of Fascism from a combined psychological and economic perspective. More on the philosophy of freedom can be found in Isaiah Berlin's *Four Essays on Freedom*.

On individualism and the alternatives to it, Martin Buber's *Ich und Du* (English translation, *I and Thou*) is superb. Sheldon Kopp's book, *If You Meet the Buddha on the Road, Kill Him*, and M. Scott Peck's *The Road Less Travelled*, both deal with personal growth from a psychological and spiritual perspective.

On freedom from morality, Mary Midgley's short book, *Why Can't We Make Moral Judgements*, covers an enormous amount of ground in a short space. *Understanding the Present* by Brian Appleyard is also good on the background of the Enlightenment.

Besides Augustine's *Confessions*, many spiritual books deal with the theme of homecoming in relation to God. A good survey of the Christian mystical tradition can be found in Rowan Williams' *The Wound of Knowledge*, especially chapter 4, 'The clamour of the heart'.

*Mike Lowe, 30/8/94*

# NATION AND IDENTITY

Notes and questions for discussion on Wed 7 Sept

## The origins of nationalism

Although nationalism is generally regarded as a relatively modern phenomenon, the nation state has its roots back in the middle ages and even earlier. France and Britain, for example, and later Spain and the Netherlands, were all coherent nations long before nationalism, in its current ideological sense, became such a force in the nineteenth century.

## Defining nationalism

- ♦ 'Nationalism is fundamentally the expression of mass commitment above all other loyalties.' (Stephen Lee)
- ♦ 'Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent. Nationalism as a sentiment, or as a movement, can best be defined in terms of this principle. Nationalist *sentiment* is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of this principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfilment. A nationalist *movement* is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind.' (Ernest Gellner)

A nation can most easily be defined as a people who share a common language, culture and customs, who inhabit a fixed territory, and who recognise common interests. By that definition there is no perfect 'nation' on earth. Nationalists are those who believe a defined area of land belongs to a specific ethnic, cultural and linguistic group, who demand that the government of their 'state' should be in the hands of that group, and who, to varying degrees, consider minority groups to be of inferior status.

Michael Ignatieff has brought a helpful clarification to our understanding of nationalism. He distinguishes between *ethnic nationalism* and *civic nationalism*. The former, he writes, 'claims that an individual's deepest attachments are inherited, not chosen. It is the national community that defines the individual, not the individuals who define the national community.' Civic nationalism, on the other hand, 'maintains that the nation should be composed of all those who subscribe to the nation's political creed, regardless of race, colour, creed, gender, language or ethnicity. It envisages the nation as a community of equal citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values.'

## What does a nation need to be a nation state?

A history? A common language? Natural boundaries? A common cultural tradition?  
Common religion?

It could be said that there is nothing natural about any nation state. They are all artificial creations.



### **Factors that may contribute to the emergence of nation states:**

The demise of feudalism, and the demand for autonomy.

The process of industrialisation, and the rise of capitalism.

Military and technological progress. The growth of bureaucracy and better communications.

Secularisation: the erosion of traditional religions and cultural beliefs.

Geographical factors.

Reaction to foreign rule or a threat from a foreign power.

The ambition of one powerful dynasty to enlarge its area of hegemony.

The vision and ambition of a powerful individual leader.

Class interests (the Marxist interpretation).

### **Some questions for reflection:**

1. When did you first realise that you belong not only to a family but also to a nation?
2. Did you hear other groups, minorities, neighbours, being mentioned as different, difficult, less honest, clean and trustworthy than your group?
3. Were there people who it was taken for granted one would not speak with? How did you as a child react? Did you try to find out about these people, or did you believe what you were told about them?
4. Were you taught about the things you should be proud of (e.g. personalities, history, culture) and about the wrongs that your group or nation had suffered from others? Was this the same as the official teaching in schools - or was it different?

### **What do you think about the following quotations?**

1. "One loves a land and a people because of their values."
2. "Historical memories easily turn into fanatical ideas. What masses of dangerous memories there are in every European state!" (Alfred Döblin, 1924)
3. "In some ways a nation has to find a basis, something that explains and carries her unity and distinctiveness." (V Krokow)
4. "Assertive ethnicity tends to swallow up individual identities; and in violent ethnicism whole tribes, races or nations can lose their identity in the louder identity of the gun or bomb. However, history offers no evidence that members of an ethnic group have natural feelings of love for one another. Even if feasible, creating ethnically homogeneous nations will not promote peace within or between such nations." (Rajmohan Gandhi)