CHAPTER-I
CHAPTER-I

NATIONALISM AND 
ITS DEFINITION
CHAPTER-I
NATIONALISM AND ITS DEFINITION

1.1 WHAT IS NATIONALISM?

"Nationalism is usually defined as a sentiment of a nation but in reality, it is more than a mere sentiment. Originating in the gregarious instinct of man and nourished by the rational desire for self government, nationalism has come to be an active force in practical politics. It promotes the feeling that every man owes his first and last duty to the nation and that the nation-state is the ultimate unit of human organization."¹ "Nationalism is the one of the burning problems of our modern age and in fact nations have been faced with this problem for the last few centuries. The whole universe is divided on the issue and political thinkers and philosophers of East and West have so far not been in a position to evolve any satisfactory solution to this vexed problem. Those who stand for nationalism argue that it promotes love for nation, spirit of self-sufficiency and helps in the promotion of nation's culture and civilization."² In international society, nationalism is by far the

¹ Chakrabarti, Anup. An Introduction to Politics. P-106
² Mukhi, H.R. Modern Indian Political thought, P- 82-83
greatest dynamic force. Nationalism constitutes both the foundation of a sovereign state system and a powerful determinant factor of super national movement. "It is at time used to describe an exaggerated sentiment of nationality bordering on aggressiveness. This perverted sentiment which sees nothing but good in one's own nation and its deeds is not true nationalism. Rightly understood, nationalism stands for the historical process by which nationalities are transformed into political unites and for the legitimate right of a people who form a distinct and vigorous nation or nationality to a place in the sun. There is single and universal definition of nationalism," (Friedmann). It is difficult to define nationalism satisfactorily. The word nation is derived from the Latin word "natio" meaning birth. According to Schleicher, "A nation is a group of people with a feeling of solidarity among themselves and a sense of distinctness from others. Nationalism is a feeling of a group of people to live together and to make the most of the joint inheritance. This feeling is certainly conducive to identify the fortune of the individual with that of a nation-state." This definition of nationalism means separation from other peoples who are regarded as foreigners. In

3. Roy, A.C. International Relations Since 1919, P-141
4. Misra, K.K. Political theory. P-540
the words of Jawaharlal Nehru, "Nationalism is essentially an anti-feeling." As an ideology, Nationalism is much older than the national state. In Western Europe, nationalism took its origin in the 17th century and it became a general European movement later nationalism then spread to America and Asia and after the Second World War to the continent of Africa. "In the words of Barbara Ward, "Nationalism is still the strongest, most persuasive force of our day. Thus nationalism is a great liberalizing force which unifies and elevates and seeks to preserve and promote all that is best in a nation. It beads self-confidence in the foundation of constructive activity." Nationalism not only marked a break with the feudal past and also represented not a particular class and its interests but the entire people residing under a political unity established with their support and goodwill, and not imposed from above by an absolute monarchy or dictatorship. Hans Kohn pointed out, "Nationalism is inconceivable without the ideals of popular sovereignty preceding - without a complete revision of ruler and ruled of classes and castes. The aspect of the universe had to be secularized with the help of a new natural science and of natural law. The traditionalism of

5. Roy, A.C. International Relations Since 1919. p. 141-142
6. Chakrabarti, Anup. An Introduction to Politics. P-106
economic life had to be broken by the rise of the third estate, which was to turn the attention away from the royal courts and their civilization to the life, language and arts of the people. The growth of nationalism is the process of integration of the masses of the people into a common political form. Nationalism therefore presupposes the existence, in fact or as an ideal, of a centralized form of government over a large and distinct territory.... Nationalism is not a natural phenomenon, not a product of 'eternal' or 'natural' laws; it is a product of the growth of social and intellectual factors at a certain stage of history ... Nationalism's first and foremost a state of mind, at of consciousness.

Hans Kohn writes, “Nationalism is a state of mind, permeating the large majority of people and claiming to permeate all its members. It recognizes the nation state as the ideal form of political organization and the nationality as the source of all creative energy and of economic well-being. The supreme loyalty is therefore due to his nationality, as his own life is supposedly rooted in and made possible by its welfare.” Again, “Nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness.” In the words of Louis L.

Snyder, "Nationalism as a product of political, economic, social and intellectual factors at a certain stage in history, is a condition of mind, feeling or sentiment of a group of people living in a well-defined geographical area, speaking a common language, possessing a literature in which the aspirations of the nation have been expressed, attached to common traditions and common customs, venerating its own heroes and in some case, having a common religion." Hertz defines nationalism as a "common formed by the will to be a nation." In the view of K. Roberts, "Nationalism is an ideology based on the premise that it should be organized on the basis of nationality." C.D. Burns observes, "It is a sentimental political concept directly related to the struggle for power which respects the individuality of state, recognizes the variations in law and government and separates from group on the basis of ideals and beliefs." According to Dr. Garner, "It is one of the characteristic features of modern nationalism that most people who constitute a nationality aspire either to be independent and to be under a state organization of their own choice and creation or at least to be accorded a large political autonomy where they are united with another nationality or nationalities in the same state."

8. Mahajan V.D., Political theory. P-844
The rise of nationalism everywhere thus implied an civilization of the people and the demand for a new ordering of society. In course of time it became the determining political and cultural forces among all the races in the world. It continued to commanded respectability so long as it did not embark on the phase of aggression, particularly territorial aggression, when it assumed an imperialist or fascist character.

Rightly understood, says Asirvatham, “nationalism stands for the historical process by which nationalities are transferred into political units and and for the legitimate right of a people who form a distinct and vigorous nation or nationality to a place in the sun.”

To put it straight, when a national group either aspires to became self governing or when having achieved self government, this fact becomes part of the complex of national sentiment.

Nationalism is almost one idea for which masses of men live and die. It combines love of country and suspiciousness of foreigners. Love of country comes from shared values, and suspiciousness of foreigners comes from the belief that foreigners do not share such values in the same strength. 

value is the love of familiar places—the neighbourhood and the land, the homes, the valleys, and the mountains, all of the surroundings that one loves because they have been a part of oneself from infancy.¹⁰

This is the logical corollary of the eternal truth of man’s nature that he is a social animal and his instinct of living together and cooperating with others among whom he lives creates perpetual bonds of affinity and good will and a love for the land—home country—which provides them with the wherewith all of life. But nationalism, as it emerged with the nation state, assumed the form of ancient group principle pride in one’s group and resentment of injury to a member of one’s group usually led to an imaginative abasement of all others. “Pain economy.” says Beni Prasad “set a high value on group solidarity and encouraged an exclusiveness which inspite of some contrary influences of a political and ethical character, santified group prejudices.”¹¹

Nationalism is an ideology which holds that the nation, ethnicity or national identity is a fundamental unit of human social life, and

¹⁰ Alfred De-Grazia, The Elements of Political Science, Political Behaviour, p-290
¹¹ Beni Prasad, A Democratic Process, p-132
makes certain political claims based on that belief, above all the claim that the nation is the only legitimate basis for the state, and that each nation is entitled to its own state. In this form nationalism is a universal ideology, but the term also refers to the specific ideology of nationalist movements, which make political claims on behalf of a specific nation. Nationalist strive to create or sustain a nation based on various notions of political legitimacy. These notions of political legitimacy can derive from the romantic theory of "cultural identity", the Liberalist argument that political legitimacy is derived from the consent of a region’s population; or combinations of the two. Nationalism defines individual nations on the basis of certain criteria, which distinguish one nation from another, and also determine who is a member of each nation. These might include a share language, shared culture, and shared values, but the most important is probably now ethnicity, the membership of an ethnic group.

National identity refers both to these defining criteria and to the sense of belonging to that group. Nationalist see membership of nation as exclusive and involuntary, meaning that you can not simply join it like an association.

Nationalism sees most human activity as national in character.
Nations have national symbols, a national character, a national culture, national music and national literature, national folklore and national mythology. Individuals share national values and a national identity, admire the national hero, eat the national dish and play the national sport. Nationalism has had an enormous influence on world history and geopolitics, since the nation state has become the dominant form of state. Most of the world's population now lives in states which are, at least nominally, nation states. The word 'nation' is often inaccurately used as a synonym for these states. The nation state is intended to guarantee the existence of a nation, to preserve its distinct identity, and to provide a territory where the national culture and ethos are dominant. Most nation-states appeal to a cultural and historical mythos to justify their extended and legitimacy.

Nationalists recognize that 'non-national' states exist; indeed, the struggles of early nationalist movements were often directed against empires, such as Austria-Hungary. The Vatican City exists to provide a sovereign state for the leadership of the Catholic Church; not for a nation. The global Caliphate sought by some Islamists is another example of a non-national state.

We can distinguish between a 'national movement' aiming at
the creation of a nation state and 'nationalism', the more radical
doctrine that gives the concerns of the nation priority over all other
values. Nationalist action may include separatism, irredentism,
militarism and in extreme cases “ethnic cleansing”. Political Scientist
(and the media) usually tends to focus on these more extreme forms
of nationalism.

"Nationalism has shown the vital quality of elasticity and stood
for some regions the attainment of political unification, elsewhere
for winning independence from alien rulers, with some states for
the cultural assimilation of dissident groups, and with others for
economic aggrandisement. In the last two cases it develops into
cultural or economic imperialism."12

Nationalism is a controversial term, as its most general
definition is broad and has been controversial throughout history,
and specific example of nationalism are extremely diverse. Extreme
emotions are aroused, and that makes it difficult to describe and
define nationalism on the basis of their local experience. To a Breton
nationalist, nationalism, elsewhere that distinction may be irrelevant.

Often supporters of nationalism fear that the negative

consequences of conflicting nationalisms, ethnic tension, war and political conflicts within states, are taken for nationalism itself, leading some to view the general concept of nationalism negatively. They argue that viewing nationalism through its most negative consequences specific conflicts has certainly diverted attention from general issues, for instance the characteristics of nation-states.

Nationalist movement many or may not claim that their nation is better than others. They may simply claim that a given nation is better off when it is permitted to govern themselves, the principle of self determination. However, conflicts often result in ideological attacks on the identity and legitimacy of the enemy. In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, both sides claim that the other is not a real nation, and therefore has no right to a state. Jingoism and chauvinism make exaggerated claims about the superiority of one nation over another. National stereo types are also common and usually insulting. These are nationalist phenomena, and worthy of attention, but they are not a sufficient basis for a general theory of nationalism.

The first studies of nationalism were generally historical accounts of nationalist movements. At the end of the 19th century, Marxists and socialists produced political analyses of the nationalist
movements, then active in central and Eastern Europe. Most sociological theories of nationalism date from after the Second World War.

Some nationalism theory is about issues which concern nationalists themselves, such as who belongs to the national who does not, and what belonging to a nation means. Recent general theory has looked at underlying issues, and above all with the question of which came first, nation or nationalism. Nationalist activists see themselves as representing a pre-existing nation and the primordial theory of nationalism agrees. It sees nations, or at least ethnic groups, as a social really dating back thousands of years. The modernist theories imply that until around 1800, no one had more that local loyalty.

National identity and unity were imposed from above, by European states, because they were necessary to modernize economy and society. In this theory, nationalist conflicts are an unintended side-effect. The more recent theorists of nationalism are influenced by postmodernism and emphasize that nations are a socially constructed phenomenon. Benedict Anderson, for example, described nations as “imagined communities.”

Ernest Gellner comments: “Nationalism is not the awakening
of nations to self-consciousness; it invents nations whether they do
not exist." Anderson and Gellner deploy terms such as ‘imagined’
and ‘invent’ in a neutral, descriptive manner. The use of these terms
in this context is not intended to imply that nations are fictional or
fantastic. Modernization theorists see such things as the printing
press and capitalism as necessary conditions for nationalism.

Anthony Smith proposes a synthesis of ‘post-modernist’ and
traditional views. According to Smith, the preconditions for the
formation of a nation are a fixed homeland (current or historical),
high autonomy, hostile surroundings, memories of battles, sacred
centers, languages and scripts, special customs, historical records
and thinking. Smith considers that nations are formed through the
inclusion of the whole populace institutions nationalist ideology,
international recognition and drawing up of borders.

1.2 : DIFFERENT TYPES OF NATIONALISM:

Nationalism may manifest itself as part of official state ideology
or as a popular (non-state) movement and may be expressed along
civic, ethnic, cultural, religious or ideological lines. These self-
definitions of the nation are used to classify types of nationalism.
However such categories are not mutually exclusive and many
nationalist movements combine some or all of these elements to
varying degrees. Nationalist movements can also be classified by other criteria, such as scale and location.

Some political theorists make the case that any distinction between forms of nationalism is false. In all forms of nationalism, the populations believe that they share some kind of common culture, and culture can never be wholly separated from ethnicity. The United States, for example, has “God” on its coinage and in its Pledge of Allegiance, and designates official holidays which are seen by some to promote cultural biases. The United States has an ethnic theory of being American (nativism), and had a committee to investigate Un-American Activities. Civic nationalism (also civil nationalism) is the form of nationalism in which the state derives political legitimacy from the active participation of its citizenry, from the degree to which it represents the “will of the people”. It is often seen as originating with Jean-Jacques Rousseau and especially the social contract theories which take their name from the book, “The Social Contract.” Civic nationalism lies within the traditions of rationalism and liberalism, but as a form of nationalism it is contrasted with ethnic nationalism. Membership of the civic nation is considered voluntary. Civic-national ideals influenced the development of representative democracy in countries such as the United States and France.
Ethnic nationalism defines the nation in terms of ethnicity, which always includes some element of descent from previous generations. It also includes ideas of a culture shared between members of the group and with their ancestors, and usually a shared language. Membership in the nation is hereditary. The state derives political legitimacy from its status as homeland of the ethnic group, and from its function to protect the national group and facilitate its cultural and social life, as a group. Ideas of ethnicity are very old, but modern ethnic nationalism was heavily influenced by Johann Gottfried von Herder, who promoted the concept of the Volk, and Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Ethnic nationalism is now the dominant form, and is often simply referred to as “nationalism”. Note that the theorist Anthony Smith uses the term ‘ethnic nationalism’ for non-Western concepts of nationalism, as opposed to Western views of a nation defined by its geographical territory.

Romantic nationalism (also organic nationalism, identity nationalism) is the form of ethnic nationalism in which the state derives political legitimacy as a natural (“organic”) consequence and expression of the nation, or race. It reflected the ideals of Romanticism and was opposed to Enlightenment rationalism. Romantic nationalism emphasized a historical ethnic culture which
meets the Romantic Ideal; folklore developed as a Romantic nationalist concept. The Brothers Grimm were inspired by Herder's writings to create an idealized collection of tales which they labeled as ethnically German. Historian Jules Michelet exemplifies French romantic-nationalist history.

Cultural nationalism defines the nation by shared culture. Membership in the nation is neither entirely voluntary (you cannot instantly acquire a culture), nor hereditary (children of members may be considered foreigners if they grew up in another culture). Chinese nationalism is one example of cultural nationalism, partly because of the many national minorities in China. (The 'Chinese nationalists' include those on Taiwan who reject the mainland Chinese government but claim the mainland Chinese state). Liberal nationalism is a kind of nationalism defended recently by political philosophers who believe that there can be a non-xenophobic form of nationalism compatible with liberal values of freedom, tolerance, equality, and individual rights. Ernest Renan (1882) and John Stuart Mill (1861) are often thought to be early liberal nationalists. Liberal nationalists often defend the value of national identity by saying that individuals need a national identity in order to lead meaningful, autonomous lives.

State nationalism is a variant on civic nationalism, very often
combined with ethnic nationalism. It implies that the nation is a community of those who contribute to the maintenance and strength of the state, and that the individual exists to contribute to this goal. Italian fascism is the best example epitomized in this slogan of Mussolini: "Tutto nello Stato, niente al di fuori dello Stato, nulla contro lo Stato." ("Everything in the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State"). It is no surprise that this conflicts with liberal ideals of individual liberty, and with liberal-democratic principles. The Jacobin creation of a unitary and centralist French state is often seen as the original version of state nationalism. Franquist Spain, and contemporary Turkish nationalism are later examples of state nationalism.

However, the term "state nationalism" is often used in conflicts between nationalisms, and especially where a secessionist movement confronts an established nation state. The secessionists speak of state nationalism to discredit the legitimacy of the larger state, since state nationalism is perceived as less authentic and less democratic. Flemish separatists speak of Belgian nationalism as a state nationalism. Basque separatists (ETA) and Corsican separatists refer to Spain and France, respectively, in this way. In return, the larger state can call them terrorists. There are no
undisputed external criteria to assess which side is right, and the result is usually that the population is divided by conflicting appeals to its loyalty and patriotism.

Political legitimacy from adherence to religious doctrines, then it is may be more of a Religious nationalism defines the nation in terms of shared religion. If the state derives theocracy than a nation-state. In practice, many ethnic and cultural nationalisms are in some ways religious in character. The religion is a marker of group identity, rather than the motivation for nationalist claims. Irish nationalism is associated with Catholicism, and most Irish nationalist leaders of the last 100 years were Catholic, but many of the early (18th century) nationalists were Protestant. Irish nationalism never cantered on theological distinctions like transubstantiation, the status of the Virgin Mary, or the primacy of the Pope, but for some Protestants in Northern Ireland, these pre-Reformation doctrines are indeed part of Irish culture. Similarly, although Religious Zionism exists, the mainstream of Zionism is more secular in nature, and based on culture and ethnicity. Since the partition of British India, Indian nationalism is associated with Hinduism. In modern India, a contemporary form of Hindu nationalism or Hindutva has been prominent among many followers of the Bharatiya Janata Party and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.
Diaspora nationalism (or, as Benedict Anderson terms it, "long-distance nationalism") generally refers to nationalist feeling among a diasporas such as the Irish in the United States, or the Lebanese in the Americas and Africa [1]. Anderson states that this sort of nationalism acts as "phantom bedrock" for people who want to experience a national connection, but who do not actually want to leave their Diaspora community.

1.3: The factors contribute to the growth of Nationalism:

There are many factors which constitutes a group of people into a nation. But geography, race, religion, language are regarded as the main factors in order to conducive to the origin, growth and development of nationalism.

(a) Geographical Unity:

Geographical Unity is one of the major factors in order to conducive to the growth and development of nationalism in the heart of people. "It is also can be mentioned that a naturally defined territory or geographical unity, often described by the name 'home land', is a powerful tie in the formation and continuance of nationality." 13 The people who reside on a fixed territory naturally

13. Misra, K.K. Political theory. P-541
“it produces a community of interest’s and feelings of co-operation and sympathy,"¹⁴ love and protection. People living in contiguous areas forms their own distinct habits, customs, traditions, culture, common, experiences and interests that distinguish them from others, which help them in promoting nationalism. “A common land creates a clear imagine in the minds of the people and strong feeling of attachment in created.” In the words of Ramsay Muir, “Undoubtedly, the most clearly marked nations have enjoyed a geographical unity and have owned their nationhood in part to this fact.” Natural boundaries play a very important role in the defense of state. Ruthnaswamy writes, “Political divides us, religion divides us, culture divides us. But the land and the love of the land may unite us. Geographical homogeneity is conducive to the promotion of similarity of interests and outlook among the people who live with a particular geographical boundary.

“Where there is no national home or no hope of securing one, it is difficult to acquire or develop the spirit of nationality. The gypsies have never had a settled abode accustomed as they are to wandering from place to place. The roman of old, in exchanging their homeland

¹⁴. Kapur, A.C. Principles of Political Science. p-162
for a world empire lost their nationality. There are two other reasons for stressing a naturally defined territory as an important factor of nationality. Firstly, human sympathies are limited, and at the present stage of man's development a national home seems to be most suitable geographical unit for the drawing out of the altruistic feelings and emotions of man.

There is an instinctive attachment on the part of every human being to the land of his birth. The love of one's country is intensification during exile. "Natural boundaries play a very important role in the defense of state. Geographical homogeneity is conducive to the promotion of similarity of interests and outlook among the people who live within a particular geographical boundary." Thus we can say 'country' is the most suitable geographical unit for the calling out of the highest patriotic feelings.

According to some thinkers, modern inventions like the radio, television, aeroplane etc. have minimized the importance of physical barriers and these will at some time help to unite the world. But truly speaking, nationalism grew up long before these modern inventions have strengthened nationalism more than developing an international society. Sometimes, groups of people living in different states develop the spirit of oneness and common
consciousness, but they remain nationality only and do not become a nation till they acquire a common land of their own. Before the World War I, the Poles and Yugoslavs were nationalities and not nations. The Jews could not claim full nationhood till the creation of the independent state of Israel in 1948.

In case the people live in parts that are far away from each, it would obstruct the process of national integration. "One of the reasons of the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971 may be traced here. Her two wings remained apart and so in the wake of Bangladesh."\(^15\) But some are of the opinion that "geographic unity is not an indispensable factor. Examples of nationalities spread over different lands are many, Jews being the most notable. They were scattered the entire world over before the creation of their national home in Palestine and yet they constituted a nationality."\(^16\)

**(b) Common Race or kinship:**

A group of people living within a particular physical boundary develops certain racial characteristics which differentiate it from other group of people and this factor trends to promote nationalism.

Generally the people belonging to the same race have the same

culture, language, religion, history, customs, traditions, problems etc. and these factors help the formation of national feelings among them. The coloured people of America and Africa offer best examples in this regard. Some writers consider racial unity as a vital factor helping in the formation and strengthening the idea of nationality.

But according to many writers racial unity is not a necessary element of nationality, for no race can claim its purity. Anthropology and History have also shown that there is no pure race anywhere on earth. The weight of academic opinion thus seems to be on the side of those who give a relatively low place of race. Mazzini on the other hand holds that race is not essential to nationality. Renan is of opinion that 'race is something which makes and unmakes itself and has no application to politics.' J.H. Rose claims that only in a very crude form doe’s nationality depend on race.

The weight of academic opinion thus seems to be on the side of those who give a relatively low place to race. Garner says, "If the races are fairly well merged and there is free intercourse between them the differences of origin are not very important. If, however, one of the races claims superiority, intellectually culturally, over the others, the development of a sentiment of nationality among
them will be difficult. It was this feeling of superiority and the spirit of domination which prevented the development of the sense of nationality on the part of the Magyars, among the various races of Hungary; and the rigid caste system of India has had somewhat the same result in that country.

Modern Switzerland and Canada are frequently quoted as example of people of different racial origins living together and forming a strong nationality. For several generations the United States has been the melting pot of nations. For ourselves, we believe that racial unity is a power tie of nationality, but it is not indispensable to it. It is a more important in the earlier stages of nationality than in the later. In the United States there is a great diversity of racial stock, but at the same time there is a dominant racial group, descended from the 'Old Immigrants', which is able to give a tone to the national life of the country.

When we are dealing with unity of race as a factor aiding nationality, it is well to remember that racism in the modern world is an enemy of mankind. Apropos of this, E.M. Burns writes, "From the ancient Hebrews to the descendants of the Boers in south Africa exponents of the doctrine of master race have sought to bolster their rights to conquer and rule by claiming for themselves inherent
superiority over their victims”. H.S. Chamberlain, an Englishman who lived in Germany, picked up the idea of race supremacy from Gobineau and applied it to the Teutons. He excluded the Persians and Indians from his purview of Aryans. It was his ideas that largely contributed to the growth of Nazi fascism.

(c) Common religion:-

Religion has played an important role in order to growth and development of nationalism. The history of nationalities shows clearly that religion played an important part in the early stages. “If religion and kinship welded the ancients, it is a potential joining and separating force even today. There were several reasons for Belgium to break away in 1830 from the imposed union with Holland, but not the least was the diversity of religion. The partition of India in 1947, and Pakistan, was essentially the result of Mohammad Ali Jinnah’s two nation theory based upon religious differences between the Hindus and the Muslims. But common religion did not deter the Bengali Muslims to secede from Pakistan and form a state of their own.”

“On the other hand the Jews are tied to each other by the force of their religion. But at present the factor of religion has lost its

17. Dr. Garner, Political Science and Government. 1951. p-111
significance in the building of a nationality. The growth of toleration and the freedom of belief have diminished the importance of religion in the formation of a nationality. We may also gather many instances to show that the factor of religion has played a negative and destructive part in the building of a healthy nation. The feud between the two sects of Roman Catholics and Protestant Christians played a part in separating the Irish people from the English and thereby leading to the emergence of the Irish Free Republic in 1922.

Modern nation have a mixture from the religious and sectarian points of view. Thus, Britain has never known religious unity since the Reformation. Germany and Switzerland are partly Roman Catholic and partly Protestant. In this way India is the best example of a nation of many religions and numerous castes and creeds. It may be concluded, therefore, that while community of religion has in some cases been a powerful factor in the development of nationality and in the strengthening of the bonds of national unity, and while in other cases the absence of it has contributed to the disruption of states, it is no longer thanks to the modern spirit of religious toleration, an essential or important element of determining nationality.
(d) Common Language:

Language is also considered to be one of the important factors conducive of nationalism. The reason is that a common language serves as an important unifying forces in a nation as it is the medium through which people express themselves, maintain mutual intercourse, share common thoughts and participate in their weal and woe in the same idioms and helps to promote a national literature, customs and traditions. "There is nothing," says Ramsay Muir, "that will give unity to divergent races as the use of a common tongue, and in very many cases unity of language and community ideas which it brings, have proved the main binding force in a nation, "Bohen explains that the concept of a mother tongue has made language the source from which springs all intellectual and spiritual existence. Earnest Barker finds the closest affinities between nationality and language. Rose considers common language to be the most powerful political influence. Joseph holds that a common language enable people to express the same ideas and same sentiments, creates common standards as regards morals, manner and justice preserves common historical traditions and creates a common national psychology. "Languages is the best index of an individuals cultural environment and most of the nations of the
earth are nations not because they are politically independent and socially unified, but because their people use a common speech which differs from that of other nations. It is rightly said that the diversity of language separates people, prevents them from knowing or understanding one another and renders difficult the growth of national consciousness.

The best example is the revolt of Bengalis in the east. While eastern wing of Pakistan and their secession from its western wing to form the sovereign state of Bangladesh. But it diversity of language weakens the national spirit; linguistic unity does not always bring national unity. It has not united the Irish with the British or the Australians with the Germans. Hence it may be said that "of all the factors that contribute to nationality, community of language is usually the one of which people are most conscious, and for which they will struggle most bitterly against suppression."

(e) Common Political Aspirations:-

Common political aspirations are regarded these days more important than most other essential factors that promote the feelings

18. F.L. Schuman: International Politics, Ed.IV, PP. 439-40
20. Ibid.P.615
of nationality. According to Durheim, “A nationality is a group of the
group members.... who wish to live under the same laws and from a
state.” It helps more than any factor in promoting the feelings of
nationality. These days a nationality goes on developing in spite of
the differences of language, caste, creed and culture. These
differences are found among the people who share the common
political laws and aspirations. People living under the foreign yoke,
develop a sentiment of nationality. They do aso for securing their
freedom and organizing their own independent state. A nationality
always remains the same if it enjoys the status of a nation or it aims
at organising a separate independent state. It was this factor that
promoted the feelings of nationality in the slave races of India,
Europe and Africa because these slave races aimed at bring about
the end of foreign empire and organising their separate sovereign
state. For example, in India, people belonging to different races,
and professing different faiths united themselves to rise against the
English. It was this factor that promoted the feeling of nationality in
India in 1857 and afterwards. Common political aspirations are
visible in all the national movements. India could see this political
unity only because of foreign yoke. After independence the feelings
of nationality started losing forces as the public attention began to
be directed to the demands of provinces on linguistic basis. Regionalism also raised its head. But on October 20, 1962, when China committed an aggression on India, the national feelings gathered force again and people showed a very rare type of political unity. Similar unity was seen at the time of war with Pakistan in 1965 and 1971. After the aggression committed on Germany by Napoleon, the national feelings were promoted in Germany, Austria, Hungary and Italy. The whole of Italy became united and unitedly rose in revolt against the Austrian Empire. The national sentiment gathered force in Greece and Bulgaria when people demanded freedom from the Turkish Yoke. Dr. Garner has very rightly observed, "Independent political union is the natural fruit of nationality where the population is sufficiently numerous and capable of maintaining a separate state existence and conversely political union has sometimes been the means of creating a genuine nationality out of heterogenous race elements as for example Switzerland."

(f) Common History:--

Common history is one of the major factors promoting the sentiments of nationality. Muir regards a common historical factors as "the one indispensable factors" in promoting the feelings of nationality. "A common historical tradition", points out Muir,
embraces a memory of suffering endured and victories won in common, expressed in song and legend, in the dear names of personalities that seem to embody in themselves the character and ideals of the nation, in the names also of sacred places wherein the national memory is enthroned... Here is the source of that paradox of nationality, that it is only intensified by sufferings, like the giant Antaeus in the Greek fable, rises with redoubled strength every time it is beaten down into the bosom of its mother earth. Heroic achievements, agonies heroically endured these are the sumblime food by which the spirit of nationhood is nourished, from these are born the sacred and imperishable traditions that make the soul of nations." A historical background serves a good factor that helps a lot in the promotion of natural feelings. It is this historical background that presents the record of triumph and achievements, common joy and sorrows, common sufferings and common political bondage, which promotes the sentiment of nationality and brings about a national awakening in the people.

(g) Common Interest:----

Common interest prove very conducive to the development of nationality. They form one of the basis of nationality. "Common interest," says Professor R.N.Gilchrist, "are rather aids towards
strengthening union than fundamental against of union. They have
had their importance in conjunction with other elements more than
by themselves. They have played their part in nationalities such as
the Dutch and Belgian, but, were they sole determinants, Holland
and Belgium would probably not exist at all. They were obvious
considerations in the Anglo-Scottish union in 1707, but they are
quite discounted in Northern America where the material interests
of the United States and Canada are very much the same. With the
co-operation of other agents, we see it working in the British
Dominions where distinct colonial nationalities in the Australians,
South Africans etc., are visible developing." Common interest like
economic, social and political, act as a fillip in strengthening the
ties of unity.

1.4: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALISM:

In ancient and medieval times, human loyalties did not go
beyond the frontiers of locality or village or city state or feudal manor.
The Jews and the Greeks were fully conscious of their separate
nationality, but their concept of nationalism was narrow. In the
medieval period, the Holy Roman Empire acted as the stumbling
block to the rise of the nation state. Feudalism and other factors
also were detrimental to the growth of nationalism. England and
France evolved national feelings during the Hundred Years War. The Renaissance and the Reformation made the English conscious that they were a distinct national unity. In France, the French Revolution played an important part in building up national sentiment. The Napoleonic Wars aroused the minds of the people whose national aspirations were unjustly suppressed. Cohesion in the society was sought on the basis of kinship and sentiment of oneness aided by the natural boundaries that helped the formation and strengthening of such feelings. Since the cardinal principles of the rights of man were equality, and popular sovereignty joining them with nationality, loyalty and allegiance of the people were to rest with the nation alone and for that matter with the state integrity of which they were committed to preserve. This is the second stage in the development of the nation-State. Hans Kohn, accordingly, maintained that the French Revolution inherited and continued the centralising tendencies of the kings, but at the same time it filled the central organisation with a new spirit and gave it a power of cohesion unknown before. Nationalism was unthinkable before the emergence of the modern State in the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. "Nationalism accepted the form, but changed it animating it with a new feeling of life and with a new religious
Kings gave way to the people and their aspirations. The nationalities ignored and wronged by the Congress of Vienna (1815) rebelled against the unjust decisions which wanted to seal their fate. Germany and Italy were kept divided and nationalism was suppressed. The Belgians under Holland and the Greeks under Turkey fought to assert their national rights. Several social philosophers like J.S. Mill in the nineteenth century believed that free institutions and nationalism should go hand in hand. Fiche spoke very highly of devotion to the nation state. Mazzini wrote with mystical fervor. He defined a nation in these words, “By nation we understand the totality of Italians bound together by a common past and governed by the same laws.” His view was that every nation has a mystic soul which is specially created by God. The nation is to be worshipped and served as an emanation of the deity. God had set geographical boundaries to separate nations. Upto about 1880, nationalism was closely identified with the crusade for tree and democratic government. Both nationalism and liberalism marched shoulder to shoulder. The leaders of nationalism were also the leader of democracy and liberalism.

The nationalism of that period produced an epidemic of bloody

wars whose object was political consolidation, self-determination and liberalization and not economic aggrandizement and expansion. However, after 1880, the motivation and the philosophy of nationalism underwent a great change. After the establishment of independent and liberal governments, the national aspirations began to centre round economic considerations.

Thence forward nationalism became a dogma and dominated the human mind over a large part of the globe. Enthused with this new spirit and attitude of mind and a pattern of attention and desires, poets, historians, journalists and politicians roused the sentiments of nationalism in Central Europe and in the Balkans. Elsewhere in the Near East far away in India, China and Japan "it began to cast a spell by promising relief from actual or threatened domination." Meanwhile, the industrial Revolution was made a means to promote national purposes and interests rather than to gain benefits for all communities and States. The Revolution had a national content and national purposes as its home was a national State and it spread chiefly to national States imbued with the traditions of mercantilism. "Even the enormous transit of ideas and news" Hayes says, "which the Industrial Revolution made possible assumed for linguistic

reasons, a complexion predominantly national." The free trade movement was restricted to a few regions and derived its forces mere chiefly from its temporary coincidence with national interests.

Nationalism came into its own in the early nineteenth century. Since then it has gradually spread throughout the world. Within the last six decades it flared up to new heights of militancy in Nazi Germany. It transformed an international movement in Soviet Russia into a strongly nationalistic movement. It even changed the complexion of the movement in China. It stirred passions to fever pitch in the Middle East, leading nations to take actions contrary to their economic interests, as in the case of Iran and probably Egypt, and it sparked powerful desire for self government in majority of the colonial areas of the world. Once these colonies attained independence, it was attuned to the extreme type of nationalism in order to retain their newly won independence, placed as they were in the midst of power-hungry nations, and, at the same time to accelerate the pace of economic growth to usher an era of just and happy life for the people hitherto trodden under the heels of the alien rulers.

1.5: Features of Nationalism:

There are certain features of nationalism. It puts emphasis on the fact that a nation demands the right to govern itself according to its own lights. If a nation is under foreign rule, it demands liberation and also prepares to make artifices to achieve the goal. National independence is considered to be the birthright of every nation and every opposition is resented and resisted. Indian nationalism took the form of a government whose main object was to drive out the Englishman from India. Chinese nationalism demanded that all foreigners must leave China. The same can be said about Egyptian nationalism. Jewish nationalism aimed at the establishment of a Jewish state. Arab nationalism brings all the Arabs together for unified action. Once a national state has been established, it strives for greatness and glory. That is possible only if a policy of expansion is followed. That involves a struggle for markets. A national group is prepared to go to the extent of war to realize its objective. War is justified on the ground that it is a biological phenomenon and nations which do not grow begin to degenerate in long run.

Nationalism has become a religious faith; people love and worship their nations in the same way as they do in the religious field. The state is referred to as the Motherland or the Fatherland. It
is described as the march of god on earth. A true nationalist loves his own country and he is also prepared to hate all those who are the enemies of his country or stand in the way of her progress.

1.6 : Merits of Nationalism:

Although there are many demerits of nationalism, but it has so many merits, these are as follows:-

(1) A great merit of nationalism is that it creates love for the country. When people begin to love their country, the latter can expect to make progress in every direction. No sacrifice is considered to be too high if national interests demand. Nationalism has inspired deeds of heroism and sacrifices among the people. Nationalism creates a spirit of fellow-feeling and a determination to improve the lot of all those who live in the same country and are not otherwise happily placed in society.

(2) Nationalism preserves national culture. Every national group has a culture of its own and the feeling of nationalism creates a feeling of pride among those people.

(3) Nationalism creates a healthy spirit of national rivalry. Every nation tries to go ahead of others and humanity as a whole gains on account of healthy competition.
(4) Many poets, orator and painters have been inspired by the spirit of nationalism and they have given to the world their immortal works. The result is that art and culture have gained a lot from nationalism.

(5) Nationalism demands the liberation of every country and when that is done, there is bound to be less tension, struggle and bitterness in the world. When every state becomes independent and begins to grow in its own way, there are lesser chances of war and greater chances of world peace.

(6) The tide of imperialism can be checked by the forces of nationalism. The people are prepared to make any sacrifices to maintain their independence. It is the growth of nationalism in Asia which demands the ending of imperialism on the continent.

(7) Nationalism offers dynamic forces for cultural and economic creativity. It has proved useful in giving birth to democratic ideas. It increases the loyalty of the people towards their government. It provides stability to the state.

8) Nationalism infuses the spirit of patriotism in the minds of the people and helps them to become independent. Through nationalism, feeling of high and low and caste are banished from
the minds of the people and social unity is achieved. It creates the spirit of heroism and self-sacrifice. It leads to economic prosperity. Nationalism enables the country to face the economic and political unity and stability. It helps in curbing mutual conflict and quarrels and the attention of the people is drawn towards big problems. Man gives up his selfish interest and works for national interest.

(9) Nationalism dreads legitimate pride and self respect in a country. It creates a healthy spirit of competition among the nations of the world. The feeling of nationalism unites the people and they work hard for the economic prosperity of their country. They bear the burden of extra taxes for national interest. The history of freedom movement in every country is full of examples of man and woman who sacrificed their lives at the alter of the motherland.

(10) Nationalism offers dynamic forces for cultural and economic creativity. The nationalists find nationality as the source of all creative energy and economic well being. The opinion of Ramsay Muir is that Nationalism promotes civilization and culture. It has proved useful for the birth of democratic idea. It represents ideals like freedom, equality and paternity. It promotes mutual cooperation, sympathy and goodwill among the people of a country. It inspires them to work for the progress of their country. It increases stability
to the state. It promotes internationalism. Only nationalism can lead to internationalism.

(11) Nationalism can mobilize and unite people as nothing else can. It is one of the most important forces working for unity. It breeds legitimate pride and self respect in a country. It makes no compromise with slavery and foreign domination. It has an ennobling effect on human mind. It is based on the ideas of liberation and humanism. The history of freedom movement in every country is full of instances of men and women who sacrificed their lives for the sake of their country.

(12) Nationalism helps in promoting internationalism. The view of Gandhi is that only nationalism can lead to internationalism. It is the first step towards internationalism.

1.7 : Iranian Nationalism :

It was only by the middle of 19th century when deep rooted Persian culture got diluted by so called protectors as to adopt a new colour and to co-ordinate with the new born nationalistic feeling.

The concept of 'Nation' from which the term Nationalism has been derived, appears for the first time during 14th – 15th centuries in Europe. During this time people belonging to the same language-
groups, living in the same territory and practicing almost the same types of traditions, began to think of themselves as one. This gave a great fillip to the monarchs, whose powers were curtailed to a large extent by the feudal lords. Consequent upon the emergence of this national identity, the people lent support to the monarchs who were able to establish nation-state in England, Spain, France, Prussia, Russia and other countries. Thus nationalism in its historical concept implies such a belief of oneness among the people on the basis of language, territory, customs, traditions and others such outward manifestations which can be easily discerned. In the post feudal age, the concept of nationalism has come to stay and in all the later political development, this concept has played a very important role.

In the Iranian context, the people of pre-constitutional movement (1905-6) have often been accused of not having this concept. True, this concept of nationalism was absent in the 18th or early 19th century Iranian psyche, but as the national movement started taking roots in the country, one finds a rapid development of this idea.

The economic expansion of Europe nations reached its climax during the nineteenth century, and it is from this date that the process of modernization in the Iranian society may be said to have
begun. Slowly and gradually Iran came under the influence of rival interests. As a result of these developments Iran was placed deep down to its misfortunes. J.B Fraser describes the tragic state of Persia in these words... “all others seem on the point of suspension, a disposition to anarchy obtains, which certainly would end in some revolution, were it not for some counterpoises connected with religion and peculiar political situation prevailing in the country, that tend to preserve things as they are, and to resist every cultural efforts at improvement. The insecurity on life, limb, or property even for the passing day, produces a corresponding mistrust among the individuals; the servant distrusts his master, the master his servant...
The worst is that there is no rational prospect of amelioration, no point from which to look forward to a happier state of society, for there is not hope of any change in the system of government.24

In the beginning of 20th century Iran was occupied by the Russians in the north and the British in the South. During this Period, Iran experienced intense foreign subversions whose manifestations were the domestic political turmoil and the disorders at that time. A number of eminent scholars of Iran have expressed their deep sorrows against such torturous development in Iran.

As in the case of the Ottoman Empire, the first sign of Iranian national though were closely linked to the Westernization and modernization of an empire and in its initial stages at least, were more constitutional than nationalist. Iranian nationalism was slower in taking root than its Arab and Turkish counterparts, and more beholden to the stage for its development than either.

The first attempts at modernization of the Persian Empire begun in the reign of Abbas Mirza with the dispatch of the first group of students to Europe in 1828. The appearance of the first Farsi newspaper in Iran in 1837 may also be regarded as a milestone. It was preceded by the appearance of a Farsi newspaper in India in 1822 and was succeeded by several newspapers, most of which, like the Hablul-Matin in India, Hikmat, Sorraya, and Parvarish in Egypt, Akhbar in Iatanbul, and Qanun in London, appeared abroad. The longest lasting to appear in Tehran Itself, La Patrie-Vatan, was, as the name suggests, a bilingual Franco- Farsi paper.

Mirza Malkam Khan, the editor of Qanun, the most important of those newspapers, wrote in the 1860s his Politikha- Yi Dowlati (International Politics) where he compares the Persian Empire to the Ottoman Empire and urges reform, but also for he first time
makes reference to the people of Iran and the soil of Iran (Khak-i-Iran). He was involved along with Fath-Ali Akundzadeh in reforming the Arabic alphabet in Farsi. Other thinkers and disciples of the Pan-Islamic reformer Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, such as Mirza Muhammad Husayn Naini, attempted to reconcile territorial nationalism with Shiite theology. The anticlerical anti Arab route was treated by the Qajar prince, Jalal al-Din Mirza (1832-1871) and by Jalal Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani, both of whom glorified Iran’s Pre Islamic, pre-Arab Persian history; expressed their hatred for things Arab; and, in their writings, tried to write in Farsi without recourse to Arabic words. The first national history of Iran and written by Nazimul-Islam Kirmani, Tarkh-i Bidari-i-Iranian (History of the Awakening of the Iranians), however, was more constitutional than nationalist. Even the journal Sur-i-Israfil (1907-1909), which appeared during the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-1911, waved between Islam, Iranian, and decentralized pluralism as the constituent basis of Persian’s political community. It was only in the 1930s and 1940s that a nationalist historiography, supported by the Shah emerged. Much of it was anticlerical, discovering the greatness of Iran in pre-Islamic history and its decline in its Islamic
past. Although not a trained historian, the most important man of letters at the time was Ahmed Kasravi. His works included the 1937 Tarkh-i-Hijdah sale Azarbaijan (History of Azarbaijan), where he tried proving that the Kurds were in fact of Iranian Aryan origin, and the 1940 Tarikh-i-Mashroteh i-i-Iran (History of Constitutionalism in Iran). Nationalist historical writing continued under Muhammad Reza. In 1956, Said Naves published his Social and Political History of Iran (Tarikh-i- Ijtemai waSiaysi-i-Iran) and one year later the politician Isa Sadid, who had written political and historical pieces since 1920, published his Tarikh-i-Farhang-i-Iran (History of Education of Iran). The latter was highly chauvinistic, stressing the greatness of national Iranian civilization and strongly disparaging the Arab culture which, in the nationalists' Perspective, so burdened Iranian language and culture. But these works paled in size compared to the monumental work of Iran Shahr, over 2000 pages long, completed in 1963. It was financed by UNESCO and was written by Western as well as Iranian scholars.