THE CONCEPTS OF THE NATION AND NATIONALISM.

Almost all the citizens of the world bear the identity of their nationality. The world has not become a one nation and still we live in the world which is at the height of nationalism. At the same time we find political power of nationalism co-exists with its philosophical poverty. The political science of nationalism did not received scholarly interest that it deserved until the 1960s. Till today we do not have final definition or consensus about it. For such inclusiveness Benedict Anderson observes,

All these uncertainties mean that any anthology mapping the terrain of nationalism finds the authors more often with their backs to one another, staring out at different, obscure horizons, than engaged in orderly hand-to-hand combat.26

The word nation has its etymological roots in French word nación, Latin nation-em that mean breed, stock or race. Similarly in Spanish one finds words like nación and in Italian nazione. According to The Oxford English Dictionary it means “An extensive aggregate of persons, so closely associated with each other by common descent race or people, usually organized as a separate political state and occupying a definite territory.”27 At the same time, amongst the first known usages of the word in English we find the father of English Geoffrey Chaucer using it in Man of Law’s Tale by asserting,

Allas! Un-to the Barbre nacioun I moste anon.

(Chaucer:183)28

At the same time in the Western tradition in the ancient Rome particularly the Latin word natio mean ‘a group of outsiders’ in actual sense referred to the ‘communities of outsiders’ who lived in Rome as aliens and were not given the privilege of Roman citizenship. More than that, the term nation had a derogatory

28 Ibid.
connotation. The term nation understood as ‘a community of foreigners’\textsuperscript{29}, which was applied to communities of students in medieval universities. These students rarely belonged to the place where the university was situated. This led to a modified understanding of ‘nation’ as a ‘community of foreigners’ to the ‘community of opinion’. In the 16\textsuperscript{th} century people of England understood it as a synonym of the ‘people’ and acquired its modern political meaning as a ‘sovereign people’\textsuperscript{30}. Today it refers exactly opposite to what Roman people termed it in the beginning. According to Random House Dictionary the word Nation stands for ‘a body of people, associated with a particular territory, that is sufficiently conscious of its unity to seek or to possess a government particularly its own.’\textsuperscript{31}

Thinkers from the world over have opined differently about the nation. Raymond Williams in his one of the most discussed novel \textit{Second Generation (1964)}, talks about the term in Post-Colonial way as,

\begin{quote}
Nationalism is in this sense like class. To have it, and to feel it, is the only way to end it. If you fail to claim it, or give it up too soon. You will merely be cheated by other classes and other nations.\textsuperscript{32}
\end{quote}

In the last two hundred years nationalism has amalgamated itself with various ideologies such as liberalism, socialism and communalism and every time emerged with its victorious varieties. There are instances like fruitful battles of anti-colonial movements and disintegration of Soviet Union which proves the superiority of nationalism in comparison of any other contemporary ideology, there is a constant threat of being wiped out for nations in the peaceful multicultural heterogeneous world. At the same time nationalism provides protection to preserve the ethnic cultures and their values. Here nationalism becomes more important when under the garb of globalization there are constant and multidimensional attempts to homogenization of heterogeneous cultures. For such threat President of United States

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{31} Random House Webster Unabridged Dictionary, “Random House. Inc.\ Random House Webster’s Unabridged Dictionary\RHUD30.EXE”
Thomas Jefferson in his inaugural address on 4th March 1801 reveals his trepidations as,

Peace, Commerce, and honest friendship with all nations-entangling alliances with none.\textsuperscript{33}

\textbf{The Characteristic of Nationalism.}

Any common citizen of contemporary world may strive to know whether the nations are constructed or humanity is inherently bestowed with nations. The majority of nationalist writers, poets or practitioners of nationalist politics and ideologues think of nation as bequeathed and somewhat abiding. For them the task of nationalism is to arouse the nations from their deep slumbers.

Stephen Krasner in his seminal treatise \textit{Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy} discusses about four meanings of sovereignty such as Domestic sovereignty, Interdependent sovereignty, legal sovereignty and Westphalian sovereignty. In actual sense the concept of sovereignty of state germinated from the last meaning. At the end of the Thirty Year’s War, the major European Continental States, the Holy Roman Empire, Spain, France, Sweden and the Dutch Republic signed a treaty name the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. The treaty introduced the principle of international law according to which each nation state has sovereignty over its territory and domestic affairs to the exclusion of all external powers. Following that treaty each state was considered equal according to international law. Later on the principle spread across the globe along with the European influence named as Westphalian Sovereignty. Rulers themselves violated them according to their visions and reasons. The injustices during the colonial invasions compel one to scrutinize not only Westphalian treaty but also what British Prime Minister Tony Blair called the age of Globalization as the Post-Westphalian Era. Terming it as the agency of hypocrisy Stephen Krasner rightly observes that, ‘International legal sovereignty and Westphalian sovereignty involve issue of authority and legitimacy, but not control. The rule for Westphalian

Sovereignty is the exclusion of external actors, whether de facto or de jure, from the territory of a state.\textsuperscript{34}

On the other hand evaluating the impact of the Peace of Westphalia as the dawn of new age Dr. David Onnekink observes that,

A new age dawned, characterized by a secularism that was to emerge full blown in the Enlightenment of eighteenth century. In this new age, political and economic interests prevailed over religious beliefs. Rational calculations \textit{raison d'état} and mercantilism – motivated the foreign policies and wars conducted by Europe’s powers.\textsuperscript{35}

Probably the first attempt to define an entity of nation was made by Ernest Renan in 1882. He refused the view about the nation which says that nations were created by natural boundaries like mountains, rivers and oceans. For him nation is an ultimate outcome of human will and memory. He defined nation as a human collectively brought together by will, consciousness and collective memory (or collective amnesia).

Yet Renan’s view about the nations was trial blazing it could be critique due to three reasons. such as,

1) It paid no attention to the specificity of nations as a unique form of human grouping.

2) The emphasis upon the role of consciousness in the making of nation is complicated and confusing.

3) As a native of France [where society was culturally and fairly homogenous] Renan might have inherited the adjective factors such as language and territory which played its major role in making of a nation for granted.

His definition of nation itself betrays his circumscribed vision as,


\textsuperscript{35} Onnekink, Dr. David, \textit{War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648-1713}.(Farnham Surrey; Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), P. 251.
Nations... are something fairly new in history. Antiquity was unfamiliar with them; Egypt, China and ancient Chaldea were in no way nations. They were Flocks led by a son of the sun or by son of heaven. Neither in Egypt nor in China were there citizens as such. Classical antiquity had republics and empires, yet it can hardly be said to have had nations in our understanding of the term.\textsuperscript{36}

An important antidotal to Renan’s theory was provided by Joseph Stalin in 1912. Stalin described more accurate and thorough understanding about nation. For him nation was human collectivity sharing a common territory, language, economic issues and psychological make-up. He defines that,

As nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological makeup manifested in a common culture.\textsuperscript{37}

Stalin’s definition provides a kind of objective yard stick in comparison of subjective factors discussed by Renan. His definition is also not without any drawbacks. He might have over stressed the role of factors like language and territory. In metaphorical sense if Renan’s definition/cooking pan was too broad to cook the delicious dish of nation, Stalin’s pan was bit narrow to leave out significant ingredients (of nation). Than the obvious question comes to our mind is that if Renan and Stalin were put together can they cover the entire spectrum of nation? Can aggregation of above mentioned two definitions adequately identify actual and potential nation? The answer would not be fruitful.

The complication with both definitions is that they are engrossed with Western European experiences only; due to which they couldn’t represent the issues of significant number of nation formations where the matter of sharing a common territory or even language played less important role. Similarly, the formation of Israel by Jews and the vision of Pakistan by Indian Muslim League in 1940s provide


examples for it. Therefore there is no reason to privilege one variety of nations over the other. Stalin and Renan clearly stand for two different extremes of definitions for the nation. The one upholds the “Will” where the later put up with the “Culture” as constituent elements for definition of nation. The former is too inclusive where the latter is too exclusive. Even when both are put together cannot adapt all the nations. Then which important aspect is missing? Perhaps for it we have to approach Ernest Gellner, Who provides the appropriate answer. In the absolute analysis nations are best conceived in the spirit of nationalism. Just opposite to the assumption which believes that nations lead to nationalism. Here nationalism conceptualizes the nation in alliance with certain other factors. It becomes obvious to opine that nations are not the legacy of some antiquity or working of some distant historical forces but they are creations of nationalisms. Therefore one can say that nations are created by the objective naturalist factors such as common language, territory, historic and economic life with gratuitous factors like will, consciousness, memory and most importantly by nationalism. Nation and nationalism are related to each other like a proverbial egg and chicken.

In short, the complete definition of nation took over a century to emerge. As enumerated earlier three eminent aspects of nation are:

A. **Will**: Conceptualized by Ernest Renan in France in 1882.

B. **Culture**: Ratiocinated by Joseph Stalin in 1912.

C. **Ideology**: Intellectualized by Ernest Gellner in 1983.

Many intellectuals from the world over contributed their views to make us reach to the ultimate definition of nation. (The definition which is applicable and acceptable to each and every ‘nation’ of the world.) Lord Acton rightly opines as, “most attractive at the present time and the richest in promise of future power.”38 It has been proved true in every sense by the political upheavals that took place in later half of 20th century world politics.

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There were two major approaches to nationalism by the mid-1960s. In the first, nationalism was an aspect of national history, a sentiment associated with the nation. The sentiment could take good or bad forms. The best way to understand nationalism was through broad narrative histories of individual nations, perhaps linked to a typology such as that between Western and Eastern nationalism. In the second approach, nationalism was a modern, irrational doctrine which could acquire sufficient power so as actually to generate nationalist sentiments and even nation-states.39

It becomes clear that nationalism is crucial factor behind the foundation of each and every nation in the world. Therefore it becomes necessary to define what nationalism is. Following that there would be an analysis about the emergence of state and nation as statutory aspects in understanding the nationalism and nation state.

As being a unanimously accepted definition of nationalism, it is worthwhile to begin with Gellner’s definition.

Nationalism is political principle that holds that national and political units should be congruent.40

The uniqueness of Gellner’s definition is that he is probably the first thinker to define nationalism and then have switched to discuss about nation. His definition of nationalism encloses, at one stroke, national sentiment, thinking, consciousness, ideology and movement. The definition is both clear and complex. The concepts of ‘national and political units’ in simplest means stand for state and nation respectively. In present society both state and nation have been misused and when used as the same thing one has to distinguish them from each other. According to Gellner to bring state and nation together there are three conditions to be given proper attention, such as (A) There should be a state, (B) There Should be a nation, (C) There should be

40 Ibid.
nationalism. Similarly, the emergence of nation-state is a byproduct of above mentioned three factors in development of mankind. Therefore the matter of nation-state congruence becomes necessary to know that why did nationalism not emerge during agrarian period? What has been crucial issue that instigated the nationalism?

**THE EMANATION OF NATION AND STATE**

The importance of state as the centralized power practicing institute was not recognized for several periods of human history; very few people can imagine that ninety-nine percent of human civilization could sustain themselves happily without such centralized organization. Human civilization in its pre-agrarian stage was a kind of state-less society. The pockets of society were small; forms of organization were simple, the division of labor was in its primitive stage, the process of exchange was humble that people could manage on their own without any control authority as there was no need, there was no state. The requirement for emergence of the state was not felt.

It was with first agrarian revolution mankind experienced the major transformation for the first time ever. It liberated the people who were in real need to procure food for them. The division of labor comes into existence. As the time passed these divisions become more and more complicated. The surfeit of necessary aspects distanced people from each other hordes of people were set as under and various layers came into existence. Consequently the state come into being to maintain law and order, collect surplus, resolve disputes and to regulate the mechanism of exchange. On the other hand a hypothetical anti-state-citizen of the medieval world could still aspire for under the condition of stable division of labor that state might be dispensed with. As an anti-state protagonist Gonzalo in *The Tempest*, the final play of William Shakespeare imagines his Common Wealth as,

**Gonzalo:-**

Had I plantation of this isle, my lord....
And were the king on’t;
What would I do?
I’ the common wealth I would by contraries
Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
Would I admit; no name of magistrate;  
Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,  
And use of service, none; contract, succession,  
Bourn, bound of land tilh vine yard, none;  
No use of metal corn, or wine or oil;  
No occupation, all men idle, all;  
And women too, but innocent and pure;  
No sovereignty-

**Sebastian:** - Yet he would be king on’t.

**Antonio:** - The latter end of his commonwealth-  
Forgets the beginning.

**Gonzalo:**- All things in common nature should produce  
Without sweat or endeavor. Treason, felony  
Sward, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,  
Would I not have; but nature should bring forth,  
Of its own kind all foison, all abundance,  
To fee my innocent people.

[The Tempest, Act 2, Scene 1, 144-164]41

Gonzalo would have been disappointed, if he had lived long enough, till the arrival of the industrial era which increased the division of industrial labor in manifold thereby ensuring a long life for the state. State under the industrial influences was no longer on option; it became an undeniable necessity.

Today the state has become one of the most essential, provisions for our life. At the same time we have to understand the nation which can be recognized as the second precondition for nationalism. There was no trace of nation in the medieval times. The cultural units of the medieval world were either very small or very large. Similar to cultural unit the political units were also of uneven kind. Accordingly neither the political nor the cultural unit was attracted towards one-culture-one-polity theorem. Then the obvious question arises in our mind that why the passion for

nationalism was so characteristic of our times and why it was missing from the head and heart of agrarian human being to answer such important questions? There are certain features of agrarian society to be concentrated upon.

**THE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY**

It is easy to observe that some preconditions such as emergence of state, presence of distinct cultural communities for the development of nation states had actualized in the agrarian period. At the same time certain other factors such as transformation of cultural communities into rational communities, the emergence of the ideology of nationalism had not been materialized. The curiosity of the keen observer leads to inquire that why the emergence of state as representative of cultural communities during the agrarian period was not possible? At the same time another query also comes to the mind that why the ideology of nationalism was absent from the earth during the same period? To respond such questions a map drawn by Ernest Gellner can be helpful to us:

![Figure 1. A General Pattern of the Agrarian Societies.](image)

The map reveals various divisions of the society. There are three major boundaries that divide the map into three major divisions. The line-1 of the map reveals the greatest social divide ever known to humanity, has the horizontally

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stratified groups of political military and religious elite at the top of the social structures as the dominating components. Similarly line(s)-2 divide the three upper crust of society namely who belong to political, military, religious and those who possessed knowledge through a mastery over written word. The line is one of the most difficult things to be crossed by a simple peasant. He would require at least one of the attributes such as special pedigree, chosen heredity, privileged status, divine sanction and access to literacy and written word to be part of elevated exclusive culture. Unfortunately, none of it was available to common citizen.

The third dividing line(s) depicts the vertical separation of common man’s communities. They paid their rulers whatever asked by them. They could evolve their own ways of communication due to lack of education. This way of communication would be exclusively known to them. People from outside their communities cannot decode such communication. On the other hand the literacy of higher subjects was exclusive for the learners of the apex. Consequently, the citizens of common strata remained aloof from the academic environment. For them horizontal movement was not possible at the same time the vertical evolution was out of question. As a result dominating and dominated classes did not feel to know about each other. The loyalty of man would be towards his village, kinship, caste, religious or any other form of ethnic bondages. In the West no cultural bondage existed between ruler and the ruled. The ruler was neither chosen nor elected by the people nor was the representative of the *hoi polloi*. The case of India was different from such traditions in more than one way. The voluntary submissions of the States by the rulers after Indian independence reveal the unique system of power in India.

**INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY**

Constancy and continuity of certain aspects of pre-modern world (as mentioned above) were challenged by the arrival of the industrial economy and society. The transaction between agrarian to industrial society facilitates the environment for the rise of nations and nationalism. There are five crucial aspects that separate industrial society form the agrarian world.
First of all it was a society grounded on constant progress both economic and
cognitive and both are associative with each other. There were changes in the agrarian
world but that was not the rule. On the other hand continuous change was the
synonym of the Industrial society. Second it was an educated society. Education in the
agrarian society was the exclusive privilege of high culture. Whereas the compulsion
for universal education demanded by the very existence of industrialization. It
actualized the spread of literacy for everyone. Majority of industrial participants were
drawn from different section of the society further all these participants must be able
to harmonize with each other to run the economy and the system. For it the traditional
institutions of education could not fulfill the demand of context-free education. In
metaphorical sense the human raw material turned out as neat and uniform human
product. Consequently people had means to come near to each other. The significant
role of language chained multiple layers of society in one unit. The cultivation of such
seamless, united and internally standardized society fulfilled the precondition for
nationalism.

The third aspect of Industrial society is that the work here is no more manual
but it is semantic. The laborious hard works of agriculture such as plowing, reaping,
threshing, have been replaced by pushing buttons and controlling the machines. In
brief workers have to have dexterity to manipulate meanings and messages of system
rather than dealing with the things manually. Therefore education or literacy becomes
not only important but essential for survival. Such message can be provided through
national education system. Gellner rightly says that,

A pyramid at whose base are primary schools, staffed by teachers
trained at secondary schools, staffed by University trained teachers, led
by the products of advanced graduate schools.43

The ramifications of such educated society are many. The emergence of
nationalism is just one of them. It cultivates internally standardized and homogeneous
cultural community; which is the most requisite element of nationalism. (In case of
India it had been provided by British education system.)

The third, fourth and fifth aspects of the industrial society are mere extensions of first and second aspects. The aspects such as it is mobile society, believing that all people are equal and deserve equal rights and opportunity, and a society with a shared high culture and not restrictive like agrarian society. The agricultural world was of constant order. On the contrary the industrial society is always already under the process of changing. The standardized medium of education expands area and scope of an individual’s employability. Therefore we find aspects of systematic randomness in which man cannot take his position for granted. One needs to be always ready for movement from one place to another. All four aspects, as mentioned before, put together introduces the fifth one as well. In agricultural world there had been deep-rooted barrier both vertical and horizontal. The biggest barrier was of status and high culture. Education and privileged status were the key factors to sustain the high culture of kings, priest and the scholars. In industrial society both of them disappears, for which Gellner describes that,

Men can tolerate terrible inequalities, if they are stable and hallowed by custom. But in a heretically mobile society, custom has no time to hallow anything. A rolling stone gathers no aura, and a mobile population does not allow any aura to attach to its stratification.44

Consequently the high culture dissolves amongst common citizens and that consequently leads to the nationalism. The human tendency to be loyal towards its rulers was shaken and it resulted in the formation of different kind of patriotism. The loyalty of an individual has been transmitted by the modern education system. His national identity becomes more and more important to him and at the same time he requires to contribute to his national prosperity. For which he need to be committed and loyal to his nation.

Following all such aspects of nationalism one simple question comes to our mind that why do we have so many nationalism instead of one world nationalism or internationalism. The answer contains two major elements such as,

44 Ibid P. 25.
1. The hurricane of industrialization did not hit the whole world at the same time in the same manner.

2. The modern economy and system of administration did not expect to literate citizens in one particular language. As an obvious result the modern man just not simply thinks but he thinks in English, Hindi or in Mandarin. And therefore he does not simply exist but he exists as an English, Hindu or Chinese.

Literacy in India influenced the nationalism in India in peculiar pattern. The pattern was that the education in India was not imported to cultivate the uniform nationality but for the uniform condition of economic exploitation by the alien state. As Macaulay stated in his most notorious minutes in 1835 as,

Indians in blood and color but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect…

Thus, it is really challenging task that around two hundred nations on the globe at present trying to cope up or control various separatist nationalism in their best possible ways.

**KINDS OF NATIONALISM**

For the emergence of nationalism one has to keep two factors in mind.

A. Nationalism did not emerge all of a sudden.

B. Nationalism is never same in its form and shape.

It took several undertakings of industrial society to give birth to the phenomenon called nationalism. There can be difference in timing, pace and trajectory of nationalism due to its gradual progress. There can be a comparison

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between nationalism, capitalism and colonialism as all three emerged on the surface of earth in the gradual manner.

The structure of nationalism changes essentially from one place to another. It never repeats itself in shape and form. No two nationalisms can be found similar to each other but there are certain aspects which makes them similar to each other. There is a popular understanding that the nationalism emerged from only two routes namely the market and protest. Two of the leading thinkers Ernest Gellner and Anthony Smith have created their own typologies of nationalism.

A. Gellner’s Typology: -

![Europe 1914: On the Eve of First World War](image)

*Figure 2 Europe On The Eve of First World War.*

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Gellner formulated four different types of nationalism in Europe. Moving from the East to West he has separated the aspect of nationalism of Europe in four different zones. According to him nationalism is the result of a marriage between the states and a permeating high-culture.

**Zone -1** consists of countries form the Western Europe such as, England, France, Portugal and Spain. These countries had a harmonious marriage between state and high-culture because both the elements already existed at the time of the arrival of nationalism.

**Zone-2** Contains the countries of erstwhile Holy Raman Empire such as Italy and Germany. This zone differs from the zone-1. The revolutionary zeal of Renaissance and influence of Martin Luther simulated high-culture in this zone. But there was no state available for emergence of nationalism. No conflict took place there at the time of confluence between state and high-culture.

**Zone-3** It includes regions of East Germany and West of Russia [areas in particular such as Poland, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Greece, Albania, Balkans etc.] here nationalism no longer remains peaceful and harmonious instead it becomes violent and brutal neither state nor high-culture existed here. They had to be carved out. To chiseled out brutal earth-shifting and violent ethnic clearing. For which Gellner opines that,

In such areas, either people must be persuaded to forego the implementation of the nationalist ideal, or ethnic clearing must take place. There is no third way.47

**Zone-4** This zone encompasses farthest East of Europe, the areas of Russian Empire. There are certain specific aspects related to this zone. After World War-I majority of Empires were relegated to the leftovers of the world. The Russian Empire sustained itself under the mercy of socialist ideology. We don’t find harmony in the case of state and culture. Tsarist Empire ruthlessly kept the nationalist imperative under the check. It was creatively contained by supra nationalist ideology of socialism,

similarly, high-culture was upheld by Soviet empire. There is no evidence that proves that the fall of the USSR took place because of nationalism but certainly nationalism got benefit by the dissolving of the empire. At the same time the high culture was preserved by socialist state.

B. Anthony Smith’s Typology:

We could observe the specific typology for Europe. The consequent question may arise in one’s mind that can there be a similar typology for the entire world? To satisfy such queries Anthony smith has tried to map the world with reference to the nation creation.

*Route to Nation State*

First Anthony smith with his simplistic pattern divides the creation of nation-state into two routes gradua list and nationalist. The gradua list route is known for its peaceful and conflict Free State creation and spread of nationalism. Therefore nation-state were constructed either by direct state sponsored patriotism (As we could see in the form of Gellner’s zone-1) or were the result of colonization (like the countries which got independence without any conflicts such as Australia and Canada) or provincialism where culture state ceded from imperial power. Here we don’t find any conflict for contesting claims over nationhood or nationalist movement.

The second nationalist route identified by conflict, calamities and violence. Such a rupture ridden route of nationalism can be divided in to two sub-routes namely Ethnic nationalism and Territorial nationalism. The Ethnic nationalism as well as Territorial nationalism is quite self-evidential. The names itself reflect the ingredients of these nationalism. Further we find two more sub division for ethnic nationalism namely in the form of Secessionist and Renewal nationalism. Renewal nationalism stands for rejuvenation of dwindling or declining ethnic identities. The Renewal of Persia in the 1890’s stands for revival of nationalism. On the other hand Secessionist nationalism is divided into further three divisions such as breakaway group seeks to sever a bond from empires or multi-national states through cessation. For example,
the breakaway of various countries such as Italians and Czechs from the Hapsburg Empire; Poles and Ukranians from the Tsarist Russian empire; and Arabs, Armenians and Serbs from the Ottoman Empire provides examples for such type. The incident of our neighboring country Bangladesh, which broke away from Pakistan in 1971, is also one such example. The category of the Diaspora nationalism is best represented by Jews of Israel. Till the mid 19th century they were totally devoid of a state territory or high culture of their own. For two centuries as minorities they lived on other people’s lands. Through struggle and diplomacy of other powers they could constitute their nation-state. If the Second World War would have gone on other way in 1950s Israel would not have been formed into nation state. The Irredentist nationalism generally follows a fruitful national movement. If the new nation-state violates the nationalist principle by not including all the members of the ethnic groups, who lived nearby under a different polity, they would have to redeem themselves along with the land on which they lived and annexed.

On the other hand territorial nationalism takes place when a heterogeneous population was coercively united by colonial domination. The territorial and administrative structures of colonial power encouraged the zeal for nationalistic thinkers. Such as countries like Burma, Indonesia, Malaysia, Kenya and Nigeria after taking over the power through nationalistic movement they try to unify the culturally diversified populations.

Nationalism in South Asia

The nationalist experience has a vast range of variety. At the same time there are certain areas which are left behind without any categorization. In case of India the nation has experienced four kinds of nationalism. The major Indian nationalism was territorial, anti-colonial and led to the creation of a nation-state through the national movement. The varieties of dynasties that ruled India such as Maurya, Gupta, and Mughal empires cause to define the territorial boundaries of India. Similarly, because of that India is unique country in the world by having three types of high-culture that developed in presidencies and provinces of the Raj. The unique quality of Indian independent movement was that throughout its active period it remained linguistically
and culturally plural. ‘Unity in diversity’ becomes greatest strength of Indian national freedom movement.

The Pakistani nationalism may be considered as the rival nationalism to the Indian. It was based on two nation theory. Mohammad Ali Jinnah the leader of Pakistani Nationalism declared that Indian Muslims always existed as a nation, but they could not realize it till the early 20th century. The advantages that this nationalism enjoyed were.

1. It was based on religious identity.
2. It did not have to fight the state.

Consequently, religious unity proved easier to achieve the nation in sort duration of time. In reality it took only seven years (1940 to 1947) between demand and creation of nation called Pakistan. Similarly, the creation of Bangladesh as yet another nation took less time. The new state of Bangladesh fulfilled the nationalist principle but remained vulnerable to irredentist possibilities. Though irredentism has not occurred as yet, there has been a transfer of population from Bangladesh to India at an alarmingly high rate.

The fourth category of nationalism is that of aspirant nationalism. It includes forces for Khalistan in Punjab, Azad Kashmir in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and demand of Tamil separate state in Sri Lanka.

Thus, one can observe that there is a constant considerable confusion over different stages and types of nationalism. Because of which the dominant models of European nationalism have faced the challenges from the colonial nationalism especially in case of India.

**Forms of Nationalism.**

Nationalism is a kind of amalgamation of several elements, some of which have their roots in human nature where as many of which have a long history. Even
though it has been recognized as a modern phenomenon it has relation with ancient times. Whether it is primitive fear of ‘strangers’ or a love for familiar land or people it is commonly used,

To denote a condition of mind among members of a nationality, perhaps already possessed of a nation state, a condition in which loyalty to the ideal or to the fact of a national state is superior to all other loyalties, and of which pride is one nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and its ‘mission’ are integral parts.\textsuperscript{48}

Likewise Hans Kohn defines nationalism as “state of mind…..striving to correspond to a political fact.”\textsuperscript{49} Whereas for Gellner,

Nationalism is primarily a political principle which holds that the political unit and the national unit should be congruent…… nationalist sentiment is a feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feel of satisfaction aroused by its fulfillment.\textsuperscript{50}

Similarly, Gidden indicates the psychological character of nationalism as, “Cultural sensibility of sovereignty” (note the fusion of culture and politics) that unleashes administrative power within a clearly demarcated territory, “the bounded nation-state”\textsuperscript{51} as,

The affiliation of the individual to a set of symbols and beliefs, emphasizing commonality among the members of a particular community.\textsuperscript{52}

In brief one can say that nationalism has two prominent aspects such as,

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.
The political character of nationalism as an ideology protecting the nation; that the state and the nation should be concordant to each other.

It should be in position to provide the identity for individual conscious of constructing a group based upon sharing common past, culture and attachment of belonging to a particular territory.

In short to understand the concept of nationalism one has to keep certain aspects in mind such as,

A. It is a kind of sentiment which has deep rooted attachment with a common homeland, a common language, ideals, values and traditions. Moreover identify the particular group with symbols such as a flag, national anthem, songs and the motto.

B. The affectionate bondage with the homeland and a common culture and be transformed in to political demand for the creation of state. To make it possible a theory of nationalism has to deal with question like,

B.1 How does nationalism employ and legalize the use of violence in its crave for Creation of a state.

B.2 The function of national ideology.

B.3 The role of national leaders and how far they could propagate the symbols and Ideals of the nation.

C. The most preeminent element of nationalism is its capacity to successfully bring people from various dimensions under one roof of so called nation.

**National Identity**

As a part of general psychological tendency a simple question arises in a common man’s minds that how an individual attaches himself with a particular group
or community and finds him different from others. According to Hayes there are seven factors which lead to the rise of national consciousness and identity such,

1. Linguistic and literacy.
2. Political.
3. Commercial.
4. Economic.
5. Ecclesiastical.
7. Cultural.⁵³

Historically speaking the kinship represented the first sign of identification and loyalty. With the first transformation of human life in the form of agrarian transformation certain sections of the society were freed from the need to procure food for them and were obliged to do other things. A division of labor came into being. The division becomes more severe with the passage of time the availability of large surplus, set apart people from each other. Group of people were divided and stratified. A state emerges on the stage to maintain law and order, collect surplus, resolve dispute when the need arise, and more importantly to regulate the exchange mechanism. Gradually there arises the community consciousness of itself as different from others. It is here only; one can find the emergence of nations and different national identities. For Gilbermau there are three major factors that helped in creation of national consciousness.

1. Development of printing and creating of vernacular language.
2. Relationship among nation and culture.
3. Common symbols rituals and celebration.

1. In the case of Europe it was development of vernacular languages through printing press which promote the sense of belonging to a particular community. One can say that the vernacular is not quintessential element of

⁵³ Hayes, Carlton J. H., The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, (New York: Passim, 1931.)
nationalism, but at the same time it does endorse the creation of the nation. Every successful state would strive to strengthen, apart from the political, an amalgamation of several relationships such as economic, territorial, religious, linguistic and cultural. Ultimately it is this kind of state which creates a strong nation.

2. With regards to the national identity the second most important question is about one’s own identity. It is a manifestation of the self that establishes what and where a person is, both psychologically and socially. The national identity helps in three ways.

A. It helps to fulfill wishes such as right to materialize the common political identity.

B. Possibility to have relationship with others as living in common culture and working together.

C. It provides vigor and zeal to individuals to identify with an entity which transcends them.

3. At third number, symbols and rituals play their potential role in the creation of national identity. Symbol such as national flag is dear to the soldier more than their lives. And at the same time it has a power to evoke specific sentiment and memory. In case of India, the tricolor signifies for several elements of the nation. Similarly people who feel themselves detached from one another in thousands of miles finds cultural bondage by celebration of common festivals.\(^54\)

In short, nationalism is not an outcome of rational ideology only but at the same time it equally celebrates irrationality that stems from the feeling of belonging as well.

\(^54\) Gibernau, M. and J. Rex (eds), The Ethnicity: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.)
Theories of nationalism

The most contentious issue about nationalism is when and how did nation appear on the surface. From the other angle it is evolutionary historical continuum of an outcome of modernist after effects such as commercialization, industrialization, urbanization, mass participation in political culture etc. There is no final answer available though there have been several theories upon nationalism. To understand them easily these theories can be divided in two major categories.

1. Perennialism.

1. The Perennialism focuses upon the history of nations which are described as ancient and immemorial. They evaluate the nation as a cultural community, immemorial, rooted, and organic as it is naturally based on languages, and limited in the form of whole society.

2. From the modernist point of view the nation is a political community. Here the nation has been seen as a creation of the elite to dominate and influence the thought and action of the masses. It is modern social construct and social creative design for an age of revolution and mass mobilization.

To understand these theories in detail we need have a chart of theories of nationalism as.
Perennial Theories.

Among several perennial theories one can have deliberation upon the primordial or socio-biological perspectives. From the primordial point of view the group identity is given, there always exist in all societies kind of primogeniture/aboriginal, irrational bondages based on blood, race, language, region and religion etc. According to Clifford Geertz they are, “…ineffable and yet coercive ties, which are the result of a long process of crystallization.”55 Modern state in The Third World, particularly but not exclusively, are super imposed on the primal realities which are the ethnic groups or communities, from the primordial’s point of view the ethnic identity is deeply rooted in the historical experience of individuals. At the same time they strongly believe that ethnic bonds are natural concretized by the basic experiences that a person undergoes within their family ties.

Modern Theories.

Modern theories of nationalism firmly uphold that nationalism is a modern entity and is the outcome of the process transition from traditional to modern society. In brief the change in social phenomenon gave birth to nationalism. This way modernization is the root cause behind the nationalism. And modernization itself finds its roots in renaissance, scientific revolution and the enlightenment. In the field of economy modernization was introduced by the development of commerce and proliferation of industrialization from the political point of view. The appearance of the modern nation-state implied a centralized, bureaucratic, territorial sovereign polity. At the same time in case of non-western societies, especially in India, the features of modernity such as commercialization, bureaucratization, secularization, urbanization, mass communication and literacy may be present in the absence of industrialization.

A. Social Communication Theory

Karl Deutsch’s Nationalism and Social Communication can be considered as the path finding study on the effect of modernization on nationalism. Here he deals with the development of nations and nationalism in relation of transition from

traditional to modern societies. He explains nation as a “group of people who communicate more effectively and intensely with one another than people outside the group” 56. He explains that there is importance of social communication in strengthening of the spirit of nation. With the help of variety of data from economics, history and demography, he points out that massive social mobilization that went along with the process of commercialization, industrialization and urbanization as well as with the development of general literacy and mass communication are responsible for the growth and strengthening of nation. American political scientist Dankwart Rustow is another political thinker who has established a connecting link between modernization and nationalism. In his book *A World of Nations* he explains that, “the essential link between modernization and nationalism consists of course in the need of an intensive division of labour” 57. He tries to explain that the key features such as equality and loyalty have also been essential to the nation- that emerged from the modernization process.

Similarly Stein Rokkan has proposed some important variables in the manual of early modern periods. In the modern circumstances he accounts for the accelerated nation building in the 19th and 20th century with reference to the six prominent factors.

1. Combination of rural and urban resources.
2. Spread and localization of industrialization.
3. Pressure towards centralization and unification of the state.
4. Pull of imperialist behavior.
5. Tension between center and periphery during the course of ethnic/linguistic mobilization.
6. The conflict between the state and the church. 58

Benedict Anderson in his *Imagined Communities* emphasizes upon the emergence of national consciousness on the basis of breakdown of three prominent characteristics of pre-modern period such as,

1. Sacred scripts.
2. Divine kingship.
3. Conflation of history with cosmology.

He considers the print capitalism as the main reason behind unification of the language which allowed a sizeable part of population to read the same text and identified with each other. The success of Indian independent movement may be looked as one of the best example for it.59

**B. Economic Theories**

Economic is an extremely popular form of explanation and such is favored by both Marxists and Non-Marxists equally. For Karl Marx nationalism was an expression of bourgeois interests and on the other hand in his very famous sentence, “the proletariats have no fatherland” 60. Karl Marx did not present the theory of nationalism for three major reasons.

1. The prevailing ideas of any society in any epoch are the ideas of the ruling class.
2. History as a history of class struggle implied that proletarian revolution should followed a bourgeois interest.
3. He did not give attention to it because he felt that neither capitalist relation of production, nor nationality, religion etc. should obstruct the liberation of people as human being.

Joseph Stalin, in his *Marxism and National and Colonial Questions* emphasizes upon the simultaneous coalescence of four elements.

1. Language,
2. Territory,

3. Economic,
4. Psychic Formation in a historically constituted community of culture.\textsuperscript{61}

Michel Hechter in his book \textit{Internal Colonialism} suggests that the colonialism is based on the idea of the modern states exhibiting strong internal inequalities based on ethnic lines. He clarifies that instead of national culture, what we have is that core culture which dominates over others by establishing ethnic boundaries.\textsuperscript{62}

Tom Nairn refers to nationalism as an effect of the expansion of capitalism reveals that capitalism has unified mankind but at a price of great disequilibrium as an effect of the expansion of capitalism. For him nationalism was socio-historical cost of the accelerated implantation of capitalism at the world level.\textsuperscript{63}

Emmanuel Wallerstein suggests that, ‘the politic super structures of this historical system, the sovereign states form and derive from inter language system’\textsuperscript{64}. In other words statehood preceded by nationhood.

Miroslav Hroch in his book \textit{Social Pre-Condition of National Revival of Europe} exemplifies the three major states in the development of modern society.

1. An early period in which the transition from feudalism and capitalism took place.
2. The victory and consolidation of capitalism.
3. The processes of worldwide integration, development and mass communication.

\textbf{C. Gellner's Theory of Nationalism}

For Gellner nationalism can be understood in the context of the impact of industrialization. He leads us to know that the specific roots of nationalism are found

\textsuperscript{61} Stalin, Joseph, \textit{Marxism and The National and Colonial Question : A Collection of Articles and Speeches}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed.,(London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1947.)
\textsuperscript{63} Nairn, Tom, \textit{Face of Nationalism: Janus Revisited}, (London: Verso, 1997.)
\textsuperscript{64} Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice, Etienne Balibar, \textit{Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities}, (New York: Verso, 1991.)
in the distinctive structure requirements of industrial society. His model of nationalist
development strongly emphasized that nationalism has its roots in the new industrial
order and that nothing before this period. He also admits that the Protestant
Reformation must have had an impact on nationalism as did colonialism and
imperialism.65

Political – Ideological Theories

Apart from the economic theories, there are number of other political -
oideological theories of nationalism. John Breuilly in his book *Nationalism and States*
accepts the existence of modern nationalism and opines that its history has been
shaped by nationalistic politics. For Giddens the modern phenomenon stems from the
after math of French revolution. He also argues that nationalism is concerned and is
connected with class domination and the uneven development of capitalism strongly
influenced the origin of oppositional nationalism. Paul Brass examines that the
ethnicity and nationalism are the product of modernity. For him cultures are
fabricated by elite groups who used raw materials from different groups to create
ethnics and nations.66

Michael Mann, as a modernist himself accepts the existence of conscious
ethnicity and proto-nations before modern times. For him, to account for development
of nationalism it becomes necessary to refer to all the four pillars of social powers.

1. Economic – during which the 16th century, ideological power dominated.
2. Political – it commenced in 17th hundred and it can be defined as, ‘commercial
statist’.
3. Ideological – in this phase military power dominated and propelled
nationhood.
4. Military – the industrialist phase of the nation encourage three other types of
nations.
   4.1. State reinforcing.
   4.2. State creating.
   4.3. State subverting.

66 Breuilly, John, *Nationalism and The State*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.)
In short, nationalism is a modern phenomenon though its rise has been widen with complexity of factors.  

RISE AND GROWTH OF NATIONALISM

Nation State in Europe

Democracy in European society resolves the struggle between the kings and the capitalist class. In the second half of the 18th century the French revolution was a turning point for the rise and growth of the nation state. The stage was shifted to central Europe due to certain reasons and had nationalism at its pinnacle.

1. The declaration of national assembly, rights of man
2. Location of Sovereignty in the nation.
3. Abolition of feudal legacies.
4. Confiscation of Church property to meet the national debt.
5. Formation of national education policy.
6. The National Flag.
7. The National Anthem.
8. The war-fought for the glory of the nation.

Although it is too late but the recent Arab Spring or ‘media revolution’ (Wikileaks) has played same such role by empowering the common citizens and by “blowing the whistle of change” in the contemporary political world of Middle East. The French occupation of Germany in 1806 made Fichte and Hegel staunch enemies of France and strong supporters to German nationalism. Now Germany wanted to stand at par with French and English states. In Germany, the nation-state did not remain limited to political theory but came out as a philosophy of life.

In Eastern Europe the consciousness about nation-state made various segment of population feel that they were not only different from the king, but that the oppressive nature of their rule was also not tolerable. With the end of the Austro-

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Hungarian and the Ottoman empires five new states came into existence, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Estonia and Finland. At the same time six new states extend their boundaries, Yugoslavia, Romania, Greece, Italy, Denmark and France. The treaty of Paris accepted the principle of nationalities as a part of universal law in Europe.

*Nation State in America*

Nation State in Europe stood for a unified state on the basis of mutual freedom and its defense but it meant something else in America. The access to economic exploitation of American colonies made them realize that all their efforts and conquests enriches ‘the home’ countries only. They felt that they weren’t toiling for themselves, but for the good of those who had never ‘left their homes’. This understanding about exploitation results in revolt. Beginning from the Boston their slogan was “no taxation without representation.” Consequently, it results in the war of independence. It ends the colonial rule and offers independence to many nation states of the American Continent.

*Nation State in India*

Two important landmarks between World War-I and World War-II provided the needed wind for the upsurge of nationalism in India. They were the Russian Revolution and the rise of Fascism. They played prominent role in the spread of nationalist ideas from Europe to the non-European nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They provided a spark for the process of national liberation movements in Asia and Africa. Due to which country like India got independence from the imperialist power of England. It played crucial role in cultivating a new concept of nationalism. Along with India nations like China, Pakistan, Egypt and Vietnam created their marks upon the map of the world as independent countries. These were the countries which suffered economic exploitations and endured the subjugation of imperialist countries like England, France, Spain, Holland etc.

The new concept of nationalism which became the basis of the new states gathered much of its ideology, political theory and medium of expressions from the Europe. At the same time it adopted the theory of its own historical inheritances, its
particular circumstances and to its own revolt against imperialism. Particularly India had a rich store house of nationalist ideology which has been modified with the experiences of different historical events. Thinker like Homi Bhabha specifically categorizes it as “hybridity”. The concept of “hybridity” ultimately militates against “restrictive notions of cultural identity.”

Before that one can see that the sages, priests and all the important thinkers of India contributed to the concept of nation and its functions. One can find it in Vedas (In the form of Rashtra Shukta), Puranas, in Epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata along with the book for various practices such as Manusmruti and Arthasastra.

Kautilya, in his treatise Arthasastra, written around 2000 years ago provides a glimpse of remarkably precise methodology. In the very beginning of Book 15 of Arthasastra, he mentions that,

“The source of the livelihood of men is artha (wealth), that is to say, the territory (and the inhabitants following various professions) is the wealth (of a nation). The Science by which territory is acquired and maintained is Arthasastra – The Science of Wealth and Welfare.”

{15. 1.1, 2}

This ‘territory’ is destined to face various exploitations and ultimately gets ‘hybridized’ and stand for the ‘Wealth of a Nation’ in the minds of Indian freedom fighters. Mr. M.K. Gandhi himself cherished the concept of Ramrajya for independent India. Today we find several modifications in the concept given by Mr. Gandhi. With the use of latest Information Communication and Technology the ‘Wealth of Nation’ has become more mobile than ever in the history of India as a nation. Today well educated citizens of India without crossing their boundaries serve the MNCs of Europe, America and Middle East. The demand of such man-power forces the present American President to change their ‘national’ foreign policies.

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The Changing Paradigms of Nation in the Contemporary World.

The complicated and strong operation of a nation can be found in the greatest phenomenon of the twentieth-century called ‘Global Capitalism’. There the ‘free market’ between nations, conflated in the rise of multinational companies, maintains a complex, difficult relationship with the concept of nations as natural and unchangeable formations based on shared values. Modern nations, such as India, with their multi-ethnic composition require the acceptance of In Pluribus Unum (an overarching national ideology). At the same time global capitalism also demands for the individual to be free to act in an economic realm that transcends and nullifies these limits, boundaries and identities. The dissention between these two impulses is amongst the most prominent and as yet unsolved factor in the modern world. Theorist like Bhabha observes that,

Despite the claims to a spurious rhetoric of ‘internationalism’ on the part of the established multinationals and the networks of the new communications technology industries, such circulations of signs and commodities as there are, are caught in the vicious circuits of surplus value that link First World capital to Third World labor markets through the chains of the international division of labor, and national comprador classes.\(^70\)

This ‘surplus value’ also influences the political interferences by the First world in the Third world politics. The recent examples of search for Weapons of Mass Destruction in Iraq and the assassination of Gen. Quadaffi are examples for such ‘vicious circuits.’

Different Approaches to Nationalism.

Since last three hundred years nationalism has gone through diverse experiences. Ascending as a cultural and humanitarian concept, it has been used and misused by different philosophies such as Fascism, Liberalism, Imperialism and Marxism. It was extremely helpful to the countries that had been under the colonial rule to achieve their independence under the guidelines of these theories. In the same

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way nationalism has been employed from various angles of thinking. The major approaches may be counted as,

Liberal approaches to Nationalism.

a. Humanitarian

b. Expansionist

2. Marxist approaches to Nationalism

3. Integral-Fascist approaches to Nationalism

4. Anti-imperialist approaches to Nationalism

One can evaluate all these approaches to Nationalism with proper understanding as,

_Liberal Humanitarian approaches to Nationalism._

Through the medium of writing Bolinbrooke, Rousseau, Herder, Fichte, and Mazzini introduced the primal kind of formal nationalism. From the point of view of Herder humanity is separated by reason and nature into different nationality. To demarcate one nationality from the other, one has to consider several factors such as historical tradition, possession of the particular language, literature, system of education, way of living and in advanced countries by the vibrant ‘national soul’. For Herder it is cultural part that plays a vital role in discriminating one nationality from the other. Likewise, for Rousseau it is uniqueness of historical tradition and common language which inspires the fervent love for one’s nation- that is based upon the glorious past and similar resources.

Here, the significant point is that this kind of nationalism did not teach the superiority of one nation over the other nation. Such kind of nationalism can be called apolitical nationalism. For Herder, ‘The human race is one whole, we work and
suffer, sow and harvest each for all." The prime guiding source stands upon all types of nationalities. Therefore, Herder hailed the French Revolution and saw in it the fruition of enlightenment.

Likewise, for Fichte, the individual best serves humanity by service to the nation and promoting the peculiar genius of the nation. In Herder’s words wherever there is a separate language there is a separate nation, as “The first, original and truly natural boundaries of states are beyond doubt their internal boundaries. Those who speak the same language are joined to each other by a multitude of invisible bounds by nature itself, long before any human art begins; they understand each other and have the power to continue to make them understood more and more clearly." The major reason behind the emergence of German national state was such appeal to unity only. In case of independent India, one of the biggest questions raised about the national integrity was raised on the issue of uniformity of national language. For Fichte the cultural nationalism became politically conscious and active. In his book *The Closed Commercial State* he discusses that the political entity of the nation can survive only on the basis of its economic self-sufficiency. According to him the International free trade has been one of the major reasons behind imperialism and war.

As an Italian nationalist Giuseppe Mazzini not only stirred the nationalistic fervor amongst the Italian independent movement but also stimulated the same such zeal into the hearts of freedom fighters from all over the Europe. Similar to Fichte and Herder, Mazzini declared that “every people have its special mission and that mission constitutes its nationality.” This special mission for him is a part of the principle mission of humanity. According to him, “Humanity is association of nationalities, the alliances of people in order to work out their missions in peace and love; the organization of free and equal people that shall advance without hindrance and impediment…towards the progressive development of one line of thought of God, the one line inscribed by him upon the cradle, the past life, the national idiom, one physiognomy each. The Pact of Humanity cannot be signed by individuals, but only

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72 Ibid.
by free and equal people, possessing a name, a banner and the consciousness of a distinct individual existence.”

For Mazzini the nation state was medium and agency through which history explains itself in its progressive development towards greater human freedom. He profoundly emphasizes upon the duty instead of rights. He opines that the highest obligation of a man has to serve Humanity for only by truly serving humanity can he truly serve himself and his country. After the restoration of the map of the Europe to its ‘natural’ and national boundaries he looked forward to a world dedicated to universal and perpetual peace and unity.

This approach to nationalism emphasizes upon the humanitarian and cultural aspects, the natural right of a man to belong to a particular nationality and thoroughly rejected the idea of domination of one nation over another. At the heart of Indian independent movement it was only the message of *sarvajana sukhay, sarvajana hitay* (The ultimate good and prosperity for everyone) that led the country to remove the shackles of world’s most powerful empire by keeping every sections of the society along.

*Expansionist Approached to Nationalism:*

The victories of liberals cemented the very foundations of the evils that they would have destroyed. Democracy and national integration augmented international antagonism and raise a huge mass of people to stand for such animosity. The spread of industrial revolution in post 1850s resulted in the spread of covetous greed of certain nation to gain more and more profit from the weaker nations. The victory of nationalism and democracy fortified the sovereignty of the state and provided a spring board for national expansion beyond its borders. It gave a kind of license to exploit the feeble nations in the hands of European and American nations. Similarly, imperialism could be considered as wholly consistent with the theory of subjugation and annexation of weaker nationality and this imperialist-expansionist approach to nationalism found its expression in the writings of Ludwig Gumplowicz, J.R. Sheelay, J.A. Cramb, J. W. Burgess, and in writings of Treitschke.

As per the view of Gumplowicz national expansion is an assertion of the very existence of a state, it is unavoidable tendency that the people in power or dominated

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75 Ibid.
class can resist. He consider it as, ‘most natural tendency of state is incessant increase of power and territory.’

Likewise, J.R. Sheelay as the firm defender of British Imperialism, urged his fellow compatriots to be aware of their destiny to take up their responsibilities with proper deliberation. J.A. Cramb as a fellow countryman to Sheelay, revealed an ultimate form of British Imperialism by having an affirm opinion that the British were a race endowed with the unique gift for empire and such clan is forced to dare, to tolerate all, to sacrifice all, to meet the assigned task to it. At the same time J.W. Burgess of United States discusses about the ‘mission of the Teutonic nations of conducting the political civilization of the world.’

With all such opinions one thing becomes clear that the fake agenda behind the combination of small states into bigger political aggregates should continue until the whole of semi-civilized barbarian and savage communities of the world are brought under the umbrella of the bigger civilized nation.

The writings of Treitschke reveal the vigorous expression of imperialism and war as an essential element of nationalism. For him the state must seek its goal within itself and each and every citizen of the nation should be ready to devote one’s self to the nation unconditionally. He regarded war as ‘the form of litigation by which states must make their claims valid.’ He advocated Germany if it wanted to achieve the first rate power among nations, it has to embark upon the Imperialist adventures overseas which had made England superpower.

In this way the idea of nationalism which was formerly justified as the mean to realize the peace and harmony in the world became a potent instrument in the hands of industrialized countries of Europe and America to dominate the weaker nations of Asia, Africa and South America.

Marxist Approach to Nationalism.

The concept of nation-state and nationalism find different signification in Marxist theory. Karl Marx explained that the societies were divided on the basis of class instead of nationalities. He clarifies that the state does not represent the

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76 Gumplowicz, Ludwig, Rechtstaat und Socialismus, (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1881.)
77 Burgess, J. W., Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law, (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1890.)
nationality but the interest of the class. The idea of nation is almost dead in the industrialized countries. Therefore the working class should not have the affection for the nation but need to have the interest of the universal class only. More specifically for him the nationalism is an expression of middle class ideology or bourgeois interest. In his *German Ideology*\(^\text{79}\) he denounced the modern capitalist society and opined that the proletariat from the world over should be able to unite and fight for their fundamental rights. In his *The Communist Manifesto*, he opines that ‘the working men have no country…national differences and antagonism between the people are daily more and more vanishing…The nationality of the worker is neither French, English nor German, it is labor, free slavery. His government is neither French, English nor German, It is factory air, the land belongs to him is neither German, English nor French but lies a few feet below the ground.’\(^80\) For him the national liberation movement would also help in deterioration of the political, economic, military and ideological power of the ruling class and would promote a revolutionary ideology in the working class of subjugated nation. In the same pattern Engels introduced the concept of ‘non-historic nations’ and endorsed with Marx the view of proletarian internationalism. At the time when Germany attacked France in 1890s Marx appealed to the working class not to support Bismarck, such appeal was repeated in the First and Second World Wars but of no use the wars been fought on the shoulders of proletariats and resulted in the most devastating blood sheds of mankind ever.

During the Russian revolution questions of nations and nationalities came on the surface because there were several nationalities within Russia itself. In the opinion of Lenin the right to secede only can make it possible the voluntary union and cooperation and even the long term ties between the nations. On the other hand keeping himself away from the Marxist tradition Stalin gave autonomy to different nationalities. Each nationality would be able to set up a state legislature and develop its language and culture. The national sentiment was given a freehand at the time of Second World War. The heroes of Czarist Russia became the heroes of the communist movement of the others in the national interest. The awakened communist party of a


nation had to dissent from the communist party of the other nation in the other national interest in that context the international proletarian revolution became dead.

In the opinion of Smith both nationalism and Marxism are ‘salvation movements.’ Both of them are not happy with the present situation and want to change it. The nationalism wants to restore the dignity and honor of the individual while Marxism wants a change through revolution. Both of them rely on the mass movement to achieve their goals. The bourgeoisie class stands for the enemy of the Marxism whereas an alien tyrant or colonial rule stands for the enemy of the nationalism. The nationalism seeks inspiration from the past in order to restore the original features of the national character. On the other hand, Marx accepts the past in order to transcend it.

_Fascist Approach._

The democratic and universalistic values of nineteenth century liberal nationalism were replaced by the integral nationalism of twentieth century. The writings of Maurice Barres, Charles Maurras, Arthur de Gonineau, H. S. Chamberlain reflected such nationalism in their writings. Integral nationalism for the first time found its manifestation in the version of Mussolini which was later on imitated and followed in a brutal style by Hitler and German Nazis. One of the first definitions of integral nationalism comes from Charles Maurras. According to him it is ‘the exclusive pursuit of national policies, the absolute maintenance of national integrity and the steady increase in national power.’ According to the definition of such nationalism it emphasizes that the individual lives for the state, serves the state and glorifies the state. It asked for absolute loyalty towards the nation and exalted national interest above those of individual and even humanity.

At the same time Maurice Barres promotes integral nationalism with the opinion that French nationalism could be promoted by instigating regionalism, purifying the French language by removing the foreign words and by motivating the hero worship of French national heroes such as Napoleon. Similarly, Maurras also

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argues that the worship of the dead as ‘the most active of the living’ and emphasized that it is from the dead that the livings derive the initiative. He cultivated the cult of ‘blood’ as well as encouraged the ‘the cult of the sacred soil.’ He promotes a cent percent French nationalism which is at the time suspicious and forceful. He ceaselessly advocates the antagonism against ‘alien’ influence in France such as Jewish, Protestant, Liberal, and Communist; and directs harsh criticism against these foreigners.

The split up of integral nationalism from liberal nationalism and gradual transformation into the cult of ‘Sacred Egoism’ can be traced in the writings of Benedetto Croche, Giovanni Gentile, and of Vincenzo Globerti. In this pattern Fascism can be called the anti-movement; anti-capitalist, anti-bourgeois, and anti-clericalism etc. In the words of Mussolini the foundation of Fascism was the conception of state, its character, its duty and its aims. The state leads men from primitive tribal life to that prime most expression of human power that is empire. In this way under the influence of the Fascism, nationalism deteriorates itself and becomes anarchist.

On the other hand, Gonineau divides mankind into three principal races- White, yellow and black. In his view the white or the Aryan race is by nature has been ‘a race of rulers’. It may be true that Liberal nationalism drew a distinction between ‘us’ and ‘they’ but with Fascist nationalism it drew the distinction of the ‘other’ and perceived it as someone inferior along with being potential enemy for the future.

In this way both Fascism and Nazism used nationalism as a myth. The significant aspect here is not whether the idea is true or not but whether it can be made to appear true to the mass of the people or not. In short it was a nationalism that theoretically could tolerate no nationalism but that of one’s own.

Anti Colonial Approach to Nationalism.

The two major incidents of twentieth century, the Russian revolution and the rise of Fascism that occurred between the two World Wars have been instrumental for the spread of nationalist ideas from Europe to the non-European countries. They set in

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83 Ibid.
the motion the process of national liberation movements and consequently many
countries could make themselves free from the strong hold of European empires. New
countries like India, China, Pakistan, Egypt and Vietnam emerged on the map of the
world. This process gave entirely new meaning to the nationalism. These countries
were subjugated by the imperialist nations such as England, France, Spain, and
Holland. The imperialist nations exploited their economies and destroyed their
independence.

A new form of nationalism got shaped under the influence of Western political
theories along with their peculiar histories and experiences. Such form can be seen
especially in India, China and Arab lands. This new Nationalism germinated from
instinctive and xenophobic hatred for imperialism. It was a natural repulsion against
those who had occupied their lands by force, exploited their riches, crushed their
governments, enslaved their people and who did not hesitate to destroy, plunder and
steal. The incidents such as ruthless killings of Jalianwala Baugh and Boxer Rebellion
provide examples for this.

Such kind of nationalism aimed at building a nation based upon the principles of
liberty, fraternity, equality, independence and economic justice. It perceived the
national unity as a creative force that could stimulate people to contribute their share
in the national reconstruction. Such unity stands for two things,

1. Unity of Geographical parts.

2. Unity in the diversity of religion, class, caste and communal elements.

All these states pledged to work for the welfare of all classes, castes and groups
because all of them contributed and actively participated in the struggle of
independence. Our research will focus upon the independent movement and the
process of nation building of the unique nation called India. The close readings of the
letters written by the leaders of Indian independence movement will provide essential
and first hand understanding of various unexplored aspects related to the nation
building of India.
Concerns About The Nation by Benedict Anderson.

As one of the most influential political thinkers of the 20th century, Benedict Anderson in his master work *Imagined Communities* has unveiled certain most pertaining issues about the nation and its constructs in the contemporary world. Here Anderson tries to resolve Marxism’s hypothetical theoretical incapacity to deal with nationalism. It seems as if there is no answer with Marxism about the question why ostensibly classless revolutionary regimes fight each other (the fight amongst Vietnam and China), or the reason behind the peaceful settlements between bourgeoisie and proletariat at national levels.

Anderson tries to explain the nation and nationalism as cultural artifact of a particular modernity, in the same vein as kingship or religion. At the same time the nations are the imagined political communities. He explains that,

> In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.\(^{84}\)

He clarifies that it is ‘imagined’ because the members of even the smallest nation would never know most of their fellow-members, yet in the minds of each lives ‘the image’ of their communication. Therefore the question of nationalism becomes the question of consciousness. This very act of imagination has to be analyzed.

Newspapers and novels facilitated the imagination of people in distant places however inhabiting the same, discretely measured time (uniform empty time). In case of Indian independent struggle we can find the sharing of such ‘homogeneous time’ shared by the newspapers like *Keshari, Bandemataram, Young India* and by novels like Bankimchandra’s *Anand Math* (a *Vande Mataram* song from the novel has been considered as the national song of India). For this convergence Anderson opines that,

> ...The convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form

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of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for modern nation.  

From practical point of view, newspapers and novels came from print capitalism, that is, the combination of the printing press with capitalism’s insatiable desire to maximize its profit. For newspapers, Anderson rightly opines that,

...the newspaper is merely and ‘extreme form’ of the book, a book sold on a colossal scale, but of ephemeral popularity. Might we say: One-day best-seller?  

Disparate events of desperate fighters are however presented as happening simultaneously in time, and therefore homogeneous empty time is what allows for the imagination of community. The role of print media during Gandhian movements as well as more recently during the Arab Spring provides the best examples for it.

Following the establishment of the origins of national consciousness, Anderson reveals how the print capitalism is used to establish consciousnesses. For our research we can observe that majority of Indian Mass Movements got impetus from media coverage. The letters written by freedom fighters to the newspaper editors become more crucial here for meticulous study of the movements. At the same time it ultimately creates an ‘ambivalent’ situation to decide whether print capitalism took hold of nationalist sentiment or nationalist sentiment took hold of print capitalism.

When we think of nationalism, we think of the languages for molder of the elites to ordinary people to demand borders to reflect their nationality. To generate a kind of sense amongst people that they are part of the particular community one can observe noteworthy publications related to languages such as, first Ukrainian grammar book was published in 1890, first German dictionary came out in 1939, first Norwegian grammar book to create separate identity from Swedish and Danish identities came out in 1848, and the dictionary in 1850. The particular message they convey is probably that – if you have the national identity you need grammar book as well as the dictionary so you can exchange your ideas to the world outside your

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86 Ibid-P.35.
boundaries and equally the news of the world in the vernacular language for the common citizens of the state effectively. It is a kind of underground movement to create the nation aware about its status quo in comparison of the world around it.

For comparative studies of nationalism of various regions Anderson reveals four prominent prototypes of nationalism as,

1. The remarkable anomaly of the Latin American countries about the matter that their nation-ness was established much before those in Europe. Anderson is anxious to determine why it was Creole communities that developed early conceptions of their nation-ness well prior to most of Europe. He enumerates six issues that contributes to this as,
   1. The tightening of Madrid’s control on these provinces.
   2. The wide spread of the liberalizing ideas of the Enlightenment.
   3. The upgrading of the trans - Atlantic communication.
   4. The enthusiasm of the “comfortable classes” to make sacrifices in the name of liberty.
   5. The knack of the administrative units to create meaning through the religious pilgrimage and the internal interchangeability of mean and documents which helped in shaping a unified device of power.
   6. The ascend of the newspaper which implies the refraction of events, even world events into specific ‘imagined’ world of vernacular readers.

Talking about the failure of the Spanish-American experience to generate a permanent Spanish-American-wide nationalism Anderson opines that,

The failure of the Spanish-American experience to generate a permanent Spanish-America-wide nationalism reflects both the general level development of capitalism and technology in the late eighteenth century and the ‘local’ backwardness of Spanish capitalism and technology in relation to the administrative stretch of the empire. (The World-historical era in which every
nationalism is born probably has a significant impact on its scope. Is Indian nationalism not inseparable from colonial administrative market unification, after the Mutiny? By the most formidable and advanced of the imperial powers?  

The Gandhian movement of *Swadeshi* had the only target to be achieved –to send back the products of ‘colonial administrative market unification.’ The followers by doing that strengthened the local market and the local revenue generation. That ultimately led to strengthening of nationalist enthusiasm.

2. The second model of nationalism was then available for Europeans to pirates-“nation-states, republican institutions...popular sovereignty” etc. These European populist nationalisms were based on unique languages.

3. The third type is of ‘Official Nationalism”, or nationalism from the top, which was prevalent in empires. From about the middle of the nineteenth century there developed “Official Nationalism” in Europe. In actual sense they were responses by power groups threatened with exclusion from popular imagined communities such as of Russia, England and Japan. The Russian empire, for instance, sought to Russify the empire to establish a sense of the Russian nation among its various nationalities or vernacular groups which were not Russian. Anderson even points out how the British Empire sought to anglicize its colonies, chiefly India, to produce brown men with white mind. The notorious ‘Minutes’ of Macaulay provides an evidence for such nationalism.

4. The last wave of nationalism according to Anderson was the transformation of the colonial-state to the national state. This form of nationalism was facilitate by three factors:

   1. The rise in physical mobility.
   2. The escalating bureaucratization.

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88 Ibid. P. 81.
3. The spread of modern style education.

The paradox of official nationalism was that it brought the idea of “national histories” into the consciousness of the colonized. The intellectuals of such countries underwent some of this and some of that. Basically they had all three models to repeat, and consciously apply. Additionally Anderson notes that the colonial state also had a role in solidifying national consciousness.

In brief, Anderson sets up the emergence of capitalism, and print capitalism in particular. Then after he takes it further, even beyond Lukacs, may be in Adorno’s territory where the cultural logic is semi-autonomous from the material base. The story of nationalism, propounded by Anderson seems to construct one of an idea that floats in ether, waiting to be grasped by middle-class educated natives, trying on its cultural aspects. (The Anna Movement in India goes somewhat in that direction but got stranded in the middle of the path.)

**Bhabha’s Concerns About The Nation And Narration.**

As a theorist Homi K. Bhabha could successfully imbue the discussions about nationality, politics, and ethnicity with poststructuralist theories of identity and indeterminacy. Along with Edward Said and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Bhabha tries to counteract the cultural as well as material domination of imperialism. They focus upon the analyses of ideological bases of colonial dominion. In the very beginning of his discussion Bhabha compares nations with narratives that lose their origins ‘in the myth of time’ and only fully realized their horizons in the mind’s eyes. Talking about his project of *Nation and Narration* he terms it as,

…to explore the Janus-faced ambivalence of language itself in the construction of the Janus-faced discourse of the nation. This turns the familiar two-faced god into a figure of prodigious doubling that investigates the nation-space in the process of articulation of elements: where meanings may be partial because they are in medias res; and history may be half-made because it is in the process of the being made; and the image of cultural authority
may be ambivalent because it is caught, uncertainly, in the act of ‘composing’ its powerful image.\(^{89}\)

In his essay *DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation* Bhabha tries to formulate the complex strategies of cultural identification and discursive address that function in the name of ‘the people’ or ‘the nation’ and make them the immanent subjects and objects of a range of social and literary narratives.

Bhabha tries to share the experience of migration. He gathers various aspects, such as the past in a ritual revival, the present, the people in the Diaspora, indentured, migrants’ interned – legal statute etc. Bhabha tries to explain that all these lonely gatherings of scattered people, their peculiar myths, fantasies and unique experiences emanate ‘historical fact of singular importance.’

Focusing upon the phase of the mid-nineteenth century when the West experienced the mass migration and the East experienced the colonial expansion, Bhabha opines that the nation fills the void left by the uprooting of communities. Ultimately it turns that loss into the language of metaphor. Here one can take the example of various communities that were accommodated in India after partition.

Further Bhabha observes that there must be ‘a tribe of interpreters of such metaphors’ the translators who would disseminate the texts and discourses across cultures.

The metaphoric movement of the people of imagined communities requires a kind of ‘doubleness’ in writing; a temporality of representation that moves between cultural formulations and social process without a centered causal logic. Same can be observed in case of Indian Independent movement and in the letters by national leaders whom we would evaluate in later chapters. Bhabha notices that these cultural movements disperse the homogeneous, visual time of the horizontal society because, according to Derrida,

The present is no longer a mother-form [read mother tongue or mother-land] around which are gathered and differentiated the future (present) and the past (present). [as] a present of which the past and future would be but modifications.  

To script the nation’s modernity the language of national affinity comes laden with atavistic apogues, which has led Benedict Anderson to inquire:

But why do nations celebrates their hoariness, not their astonishing youth?

Following that we have the observation of Partha Chatterjee about the nation’s claim to modernity from the post-colonial perspective. He examines nation as an autonomous of sovereign form of political rationality as,

Nationalism…seeks to represents itself in the image of the Enlightenment and fails to do so. For, Enlightenment itself, to assert its sovereignty as the universal ideal, needs its Other; if it could ever actualize itself in the real world as the truly universal, it would infect destroy itself.

Further Bhabha remembers Bhaktin’s wonderful description of a national vision of emergence in Goethe’s Italian Journey along with Gellner’s paradoxical point. For Gellner, the “Nationalism is not what it seems to itself.” To support his suggestions Bhabha introduces two brilliant accounts of the emergence of national narratives.

1. John Barrell’s brilliant analysis of the rhetorical and perspective status of the ‘English gentleman’ within the social diversity of the eighteenth century novel.

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2. Huston Baker’s innovative reading of the new national modes of sounding, interpreting and speaking the Negro in the Harlem Renaissance.

Barrell clarifies the concept of the ‘Common Language’ by suggesting that it should be ‘common to all by virtue of the fact that it manifested the particularities of none.’

Bhabha tries explain about the notion that in the making the ‘nation as narration’ there is rift between the continuist accumulative temporality of the pedagogical, and the repetitious recursive tactics of the performative.

In the following discussion upon the ‘The Space of the People’ Bhabha explains that the people are neither the beginning nor the end of the national narrative. Following the Claude Lefort’s argument about the ambivalent system that constitutes modern social authority where only authority of the master allows the contradictions to concealed, but he (the master) himself is still an object of representation. Bhabha quotes him as, ‘he (the master) allows the contradiction to appear through himself.’

About the disjunctive temporality of the nation Bhabha refers to Raymond Williams’ crucial distinction between residual and emergent practice in oppositional cultures. Williams locates in the margins of the contemporary experience of society. He discusses that how their designation depends upon a kind of social ellipsis; how their transformational power rely upon their being historically displaced.

But in certain areas, there will be in certain periods, practices and meanings which are not reached for. There will be areas of practice and meaning which, almost by definition from its own limited character, or in its profound deformation, the dominant culture is unable in any real terms to recognize.

In case of India the discourses of Adivasis and other tribal communities provide examples for the marginal communities without proper ‘recognition’ by the dominant culture. Verrier Elwin, Mahatma Gandhi as well as Babasaheb raised their voices for

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inclusion of such unrecognized section of the society. Even the contemporary governments are following the steps suggested by these makers of modern India.

The ethnographic description of Levi Strauss reveals the significance of the narrative splitting of the subject of identification. The ethnographic act demands that the observer himself is a part of the observation and following it the process demands that the subject has to split itself into object and subject in the procedure of identifying its matrix of knowledge.

In the process of making of the modern India one can find a constant concern for the inclusion of marginal people in the mainstream of India, be it the Gandhian war against untouchability or Babasaheb’s arguments for the equal rights of the down trodden.

The split of the subject provides both a theoretical position and a narrative authority for marginal voices or the discourse of minority. The unique gift of Foucault’s work is to suggest that people emerged in the modern state as a perpetual movement of ‘the marginal integration of individuals.’\(^96\) For him the nation cannot be conceived in a state of equilibrium between several elements synchronized, and sustained by a ‘good’ law. He says that,

> Each state is in permanent competition with other countries, other nations…so that each state has nothing before it other than an indefinite future of struggles. Politics has now to deal with an irreducible multiplicity of states struggling and competing in a limited history…the State is its own finality.\(^97\)

Further he provides a useful description of the rationality of the modern nation as,

> I think that the main characteristic of our political rationality is the fact that this integration of the individuals in a community or in a totality results from a constant correlation between an

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\(^97\) Ibid.
increasing individualization and the reinforcement of the totality.\textsuperscript{98}

In the \textit{Magnum Opus} of nationalism \textit{Imagined Communities}, Benedict Anderson has suggested that the narrative of the modern nation can only begin once the notion of the ‘arbitrariness of the sign’ fissures the sacral ontology of the medieval world and its overwhelming visual and oral apocryphal by ‘separating language from reality’\textsuperscript{99}. Further he historicizes the emergence of the arbitrary sign of language - here he emphasizes upon the significance rather than the progress of narrative which had to come before the narrative of the modern nation could have even begin. It enables Anderson to emphasize the imaginary or mythical nature of the society of the nation. He explains that it is from the place of the ‘meanwhile’, where cultural homogeneity and democratic anonymity make their demand on the national community, and there emerges a more immediate and subaltern voice of the people, a minority discourse that speaks betwixt and between times and places. For which Bhabha aptly opines that, ‘If it is the time of the people’s anonymity it is also the space of the nation’s anomie.’\textsuperscript{100}

Since Renan’s \textit{Qu’est ce qu’une nation?} - which has been the starting point for a number of the most influential statements of the modern emergence of the nation- such as by Kamenka, Gellner, Benedict Anderson and Tzvetan Todorov. Renan reasons that the artificial principle of the modern nation is represented in the will of nationhood – not in the identities of the race, language, or territory. He opines that,

\begin{quote}
A nation’s existence is, if you will pardon the metaphor, a daily plebiscite, just as an individual’s existence is a perpetual affirmation of life… The wish of nations, is all in all, the sole legitimate criteria, the one to which one must always return.\textsuperscript{101}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{98} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{99} Anderson, Benedict, \textit{Imagined Communities}, (Fairfield: Verso ,2006.)
\textsuperscript{100} Bhabha, H. \textit{Nation and Narration}, (London: Routledge, 2000.)
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid. P. 19-20.
The very existence of India as a nation is based upon such ‘wish’. Without such ‘will’ it is unimaginable to visualize the entity of the nation under the several threats such as exodus of immigrants, Naxalite – Extremist activities etc. Ultimately such anteriority of nation’s sign changes our understanding of the pastness of the past and the unified present of the will to nationhood.

In the construction of the national present – to be obligate to forget – is not the problem of historical memory; it is ‘the construction of a discourse on society that executes the problematic totalization of the national will. The uniqueness of India as a nation shines out when it absorbed even the foreign invaders as its citizen with this ‘will’. The best example can be seen in the Babasaheb’s sacrifice of the agenda of the division of the nation.

At the time of talking about the cultural difference Bhabha opines that his ‘interest lies only in that movement of meaning that occurs in the writing of cultures articulated in difference…’ Such cultural difference as a form of interference, participates in a supplementary logic of secondariness similar to the approaches of minority disquisition. The identity of cultural asymmetry is constituted through the locus of the Other that imply both that the object of identification is ambivalent and the medium of identification is never pristine or holistic but always constituted in a process of replacement. To reveal the structure of the cultural difference Bhabha takes refuge to Levi- Strauss’ understanding as,

The Unconscious as providing the common and specific character of social facts… not because it harbors our most secret selves but because… it enables us to coincide with forms of activities which are both at once ours and other.102

The world’s largest democracy, India is the unique gift of that ‘Unconsciousness’. It is this spirit to ‘coincide’ with activities from all the dimensions that has made this nation a unique place on the political map of the world.

The cultural difference emanates from the borderline moments of translation for which Walter Benjamin opines that, ‘the language of translation envelops its content like a royal robe with ample folds…[it] signifies a more exalted language than its own and thus remains unsuited to its content, overpowering and alien.’\textsuperscript{103} In the move of translation the ‘given’ content becomes alien and sundered.

Bhabha considers people from certain categories such as colonials, post-colonials, migrants, minorities as the wondering peoples who will not be contained within the Heim of the national culture. He suggests that they are the marks of a shifting circumference that alienates the frontiers of the modern nation. For Bhabha,

They are Marx’s reserve army of migrant labor who by speaking the foreignness of language split the patriotic voice of nuisance and become Nietzsche’s mobile army of metaphors, metonyms, and anthropomorphism. They articulate the death-in-life of the idea of the ‘imagined community’ of the nation.\textsuperscript{104}

Further Bhabha refers to John Berger for his opinion upon a Turkish worker in Germany and the linguistic difficulties he face as an foreigner as,

His migration is like an event in a dream dreamt by another. The migrant’s intentionality is permeated by historical necessities of which neither he nor anybody he meets is aware. That is why it is as if his life were dreamt by another… Abandon the metaphor…They watch the gestures made and learn to imitate them… the repetition by which gesture is laid upon gesture, precisely but inexorably, the pile of gestures being staked minute by minute, hour by hour is exhausting. The rate of work allows no time to prepare for the gesture. The body loses the mind in gesture. How opaque the disguise of words…He treated the sounds of the unknown language as if they were silence. To break

\textsuperscript{103} W. Benjamin, \textit{The Task of The Translator}, Illuminations (London: Cape, 1970). P. 75.

\textsuperscript{104} Bhabha, H. \textit{Nation and Narration}, (London ;Routledge. 2000), P. 315.
through his silence, he learnt twenty words of the new language. But to his amazement at first, their meaning changed as he spoke them. He asked for coffee. What the words signified to the barman was that he was asking for coffee in a bar where he should not be asking for coffee. He learnt girl. What the word meant when he used it, was that he was a randy dog. It is possible to see through the opaqueness of the word?105

In the contemporary world, especially in the rapidly growing economies migrants from the various countries are facing the same problem, be it the IT hub like Bangalore or the economic capital like Mumbai. The migrants are always treated similarly in all the metropolitans of the contemporary world. To elucidate the matter Bhabha also refers to the Salman Rushdie’s *The Satanic Verses*. For Rushdie the radical alterity of the national culture will create new forms of living and writing as,

> The trouble with the English is that their history happened overseas, so they don’t know what it means.106

The first introduction of English literature as the subject of education (on foreign land!) is a part of the entire gamut of knowledge that ‘happened overseas.’

To explain the splitting of time and narrative Bhabha refers to Frantz Fanon as the native is an oppressed person whose permanent dream is to become the prosecutor.

Bhabha specifies the English weather to expose the immanent signs of national difference. It revives memories of daemonic double: The heat and dust of India; the dark emptiness of Africa; such chaos demands for the civilizing mission of the Empire. Out of such experiences only country like India came into existence. More specifically the father of the nation himself was well versed with ‘heat and dust’, the English weather as well as with ‘darkness’. That ultimately leads India to become a

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unique nation in the present context. Moving a step further Bhabha specifies his vision to the contemporary urban life. He clarifies that,

> It is there (in the city) that, in our time, the perplexity of the living is most acutely experienced.\(^{107}\)

Bhabha, while walking on the path of his predecessors clarifies that, ‘I have attempted no general theory, only a certain productive tension of the perplexity of language in various locations of living.’ Through the sense of the city, from the periphery of the people, in culture’s transnational dissemination as,

> Fragments of a vessel in order to be articulated together must follow one another in the smallest details although they need not be like one another. In the same way a translation, instead of making itself similar to the meaning of the original; it must lovingly and in detail, from itself according to the manner of meaning of the original, to make them both recognizable as the broken fragments of the greater language, just as fragments are the broken parts of a vessel.\(^{108}\)

The ultimate intention behind this research is to ‘make’ the ‘fragments’ of nation building of India recognizable for the contemporary generation for better tomorrow. Various approaches and types of nationalism were applied at various stages of the Indian independent movement. Amongst them many of them failed where as few succeed in bearing the fruits. The first hand analyses of the letters written by Indian freedom fighters bring us closer to the roots of resistance and the growth of the idea called the ‘nation’.

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