Conclusion :-

To summarize, one can observe that the majority of nationalist writers, poets or practitioners of nationalist politics and ideologues perceived the nation as bequeathed and somewhat perennial. For them function of nationalism is to awaken the nations from their deep dark slumbers. The chief traits of nationalism as we have seen; whether it is human ‘Will’ and ‘intrusiveness’ as Earnest Renan opined, ‘ideology’ of Gellner or exclusive aspect of a ‘culture’ as Stalin observed. The definition of the nation took a century to reach at the surface. While looking towards the history of nation and state one comes to know that ninety-nine percent of human civilization could sustain without the state in its nascent stage. The ultimate necessity of nation was felt during the period of industrialization. The chief elements of industrial world challenged the constancy and continuity of the pre-modern world. The necessities of education to maneuver different machinery lead the spread of literacy to various sections of the society. One of the intention behind introducing education in India (Macaulay’s Minute) has been such only. Gradually as one can see various fragments of nation were synergized under the auspices of such illumination only. In case of all the freedom fighters such as Sri Aurobindo, Mohandas Gandhi, Subhas Chandra Bose or Babasaheb Ambedkar who laid the stronger foundations of nation building, were well educated and most of the time communicated though the language of the ‘Empire’ only. In a sense education lead to the unification of various parts of the nation and ultimately removed the ‘high culture’.

Along with that one question may arise in the mind of any global thinker that if the education has been disseminated throughout the world without any barriers than why there is no single nation as such. The answer to such question may be that as there was no simultaneous industrialization, there was no simultaneous spread of education. The different timings of rain and sowing lead to the different varieties of harvest. In case of India the intension behind introducing the ‘Minute on Education’ has been re-evaluated within Postcolonial studies. There are still some elements of ‘hybridity’ as Bhabha mentions amalgamated with these changes as the epistolary conversations of freedom fighters reveal.
For the basic concept of nationalism and perception about it one finds the ‘ambivalence’ for matter of two major routes from where the nationalism emerged such as market and protest. For that matter it emerged from both the routes. For example the *Swadeshi* movement emphasised on Khadi along with the concept of *Gram Swaraj* one finds the ‘intermingling’ of routes of market and protest for nationalism. At the same time the evaluation of route to nation states such as gradualist (Canada and Australia), nationalist again divided in ethnic, territorial Secessionist renewed, break away, diasporic mingling along with the nationalism in South Asia are helpful in understanding the Indian nationalism.

At the same time various analyses of different approaches such as perennial, Modern, social communication, economic or ideological lead one to the fundamental aspect that played their significant role behind rise and growth of nationalism in India. Similarly to understand anti-colonial approach in India and reason behind its ‘hybridity’ it is useful to examine different approaches to nationalism. There are four major approaches other than anti-colonial approaches such as liberal humanitarian approach preached by Herder, Rousseau, expansionist approach discussed by Ludwig Gump, J. R. Sheelay, J. A. Cramb and Burgers, Marxist approach considered by Karl Marx and Smith and Fascist approach meditated by Maurice Barres, Charles Maura’s, Arthur de Gonineau and H.S. Chamberlain. The objective examinations of these approaches help one in understanding the fundamental reason behind ‘hybridity’ of Indian nationalism.

At the same time the concern of Benedict Anderson introduced one more element to nationalism. According to him the convergence of capitalism and print technology created possibility for ‘imagined community’. Similarly one finds the transformation of colonial state to nation state as one of the four prominent prototypes of his comparative studies of nationalism. It introduced one more significant element behind ‘ambivalence’ of Indian nationalism. On the first type he mentions about the much earlier concept of nationalism by Creole communities of Latin America. At the second place European nationalism, on the third the official nationalism of Russia, England and Japan and at the fourth he talks about the transformation of the colonial state to the national state. Indian nationalism belongs to this fourth category.
Along with Said and Spivak, Bhabha counteracts the cultural and material prevalence of imperialism. Due to migration the language becomes a metaphor and there arises the need of a tribe of interpreters. According to him people are neither beginning nor end of the national narrative. To strengthen his narrative about the ‘nation’ he brings in the discussion Raymond Williams’ distinction between residual and emergent practice in oppositional cultures, Levi Strauss’ ethnographic description of the narrative splitting, Foucault’s marginal integration of individual, Renan’s opinion about the existence of a nation as a daily plebiscites, Marx’s reserve army of laborers and difficulties of cultural and other matters as a Turkish worker faces in Germany as mentioned by John Berger. The ultimate objective to discuss opinion of Bhabha is that he himself is an example of Indian ‘national’.

Likewise one can observe two phases of colonization in case of India. The first phase focuses upon the officers like Warren Hasting of East India Company who knew less about India and sought to wield their administration. The second phase focuses upon period when British Empire ruled India under the leaderships of officers like Charles Grant and Lord Macaulay who’s Minutes on Education introduced Western education to country like India. With the help of such education systems there emerges a class of Indians who questioned the drain theory of the Raj. Consequently what one sees is an ‘ambivalent’ situation on the part of colonizers. At the same time such ‘ambivalence’ leads to ‘hybridity’ of colonized. Perhaps it may be one of the reasons why we have so many religious reforms in case of Indian society. At the same time, the political party which won the freedom of India was also instituted by Allan Octavian Hume. Similarly the majority of Indian freedom fighters obtained their higher education in Britain only.

Such ‘ambivalent’ situation could produce various versions of India in minds of all the freedom fighters whom we have discussed. In case of Babasaheb Ambedkar we find a kind of new voice on the stage of national politics. The voice represents, as Spivak has coined, the voice of the ‘subaltern’. The resonance of his voice can be found even in the speeches of Barak Obama as well. His vision to have a seamless society in the world instigated Mr. Gandhi to take a stand for the Harijans. The Gandhian activities and their results though the help of international media reached to America and compelled the leaders like Martin Luther King Jr. to raise their voice for
the civil rights. His *Bahiskrit Hitkarini Sabha* tried to give tongues to the ‘Subalterns’ in an enslaved India. He could challenge the age old discriminatory social structures of India with the help of ancient texts of Indian mythology. That ultimately led Congress Party in 1922 to form a sub-committee for empowerment of untouchables.

The holistic vision of India which should include the downtrodden classes laid the foundation for modern India. Consequently it becomes one of the ‘unavoidable changes’ for the entire world politics. His vision at the initial stage challenged the stand of popular leaders like Mohandas Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi went on the fast unto death against Dr. Ambedkar’s demand for special provisions for Dalit Voters. But ultimately Dr. Ambedkar’s leniency towards unity of Indian society successfully avoided one of the unwanted frictions of modern India. His position as a member of Governor General’s Executive Council during 1941 to 1946 provides a testimony of it. Similarly as a chairman of the Committee constituted to draft Indian constitution he gifted his mother land a kind of blueprint for its progressive future. His demand for Hindu Code Bill may be called first of constitutional efforts of its kind which demanded for the speech of the ‘subaltern’. At the same time his concern about Dalits in Pakistan elevates him from national to international level as leader of downtrodden.

In a sense the moment Dr. Ambedkar raises the demand for the reservation at the Poona pact he scatters the seeds for new political class. In the following elections it results in the form of a strong vote bank for the particular political party. Still today such parties are there in mainstream national politics of India which has their specific class of voter and specific functions as an administrator to serve them. The conversion of Dr. Ambedkar into Buddhism going against entire system reveals a kind of agony of dissatisfaction with so called ‘seamless’ society. Along with him large amount of his followers also changed their religion.

On the other hand, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi with his peculiar manners introduced various unexplored paths to the field of politics. His inheritance of moral and ethical lessons from Indian mythologies such as *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, and *Bhagawat Gita* made him firm believer in politics as the path of emancipation. Following the glorious trajectory of thoughts, prepared by illuminated minds like Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Leo Tolstoy, C.
Rajagopalachari, Rabindranath Tagore and Henry David Thoreau, he strongly emphasized for the first time that politics can also be the mean to serve humanity. Ultimately his strength of such elements led him to challenge the unjustified ways of British Empire. It is from there one can see the real foundational stones for independent India were laid. Whenever the Empire tried to gag the voice of India Mr. Gandhi always stood by the Press. At the same time he indicated that freedom of press stands as the supporting pillars of a healthy nation.

Along with that he also rejuvenated the age old tradition of India by introducing the qualities of truth and non-violence in real politics. He tried into the space which is ‘universalist’, a space which has an element of ‘archetype’ which would not be challenged by the colonial logic. Ultimately it creates the magic in the sight of British media and consequently made the issue of Indian independence one of the most debatable issues of the British Parliament.

Similarly Mr. Gandhi’s explicit use of epistolary conversation opened up a new chapter of Indian struggle of Independence by explaining how a person like him could explore the views from world over to prepare a map for construction of his mother nation. It is from his letters that one can realize that for him empowerment of women stood as mission of his life. He also believed that the inclusion of Daridranarayan in the main stream of the society can stood as the significant columns to construct a stable nation. At the same time for him education can be helpful in achieving the strong characters of the citizens, which would ultimately support the stronger nation.

On the other hand, Subhas Chandra Bose’s vision for constructing the nation includes verities of aspects. It is the quality of such aspects only that led British Prime Minister Clement Atlee to believe in potential of Subhas Chandra’s dreams. His dreams included aspects such as all-round economic development of the nation, political standard for posterity, vision for defense mechanism, National Planning Commission to solve people’s problems at ground level of democracy and to run such democracy smoothly, a robust constitution and ultimately a system of education which would impart best of knowledge to the citizens of India.
At the same time he could envision the dream of international India. After evaluating the British Empire from all the possible dimensions he fore-told the role of India at the international stage. According to him India would play a significant role in political world in the days to come. At the same time some of his letters also represent that he was equally concerned about India’s overall impression in the world. He tried to improve it whenever he got the chance.

With the help of his epistolary writing one can learn about the significance of epistolary writing itself. Some of his letters from the prison authenticate that during the colonial period it was the only medium for such significant people to communicate with the people outside. At the same time letters provide the reasons why he resigned from ICS and from the prestigious post of Indian National Congress. It is through the mediums of letters only that he could authenticate his real friends as well as real foes. With the help of his letters one can find the factual detail that why his letters were delayed, why there were continuous discontinuity and why certain letters had been held up at certain point of time. In a sense, his letters reveal the picture of India vibrant with various colors of life which ultimately would contribute to the international community.

The experience of working with the Congress and an experience of holding the office of its president might have made him confirm that the independence of India is not possible until some other way has been applied. He took the arm as an option. As a man of international politics he was aware of British politics and its opposition by Germany and Japan. He took the help of these countries to make his dream come true that is to make India free from the strong hold of British Empire by any possible mean. The stand that he selected was strongly opposed by ‘Mahatma’ and other significant politicians of the time. He broke away from the *Ahimsa* of Gandhi and selected the path of armed rebellion against the British Empire.

On the other hand, Aurobindo Ghose gave altogether new dimension to the process of national awaking. As a unique leader of India he could produce a whole new combination of nationalism and spiritualism for the process of national awakening. His vision to construct the nation reverberate his desire to reconstitute cultural, social and economical glory of India in its actual grandeur. He reserved his
faith in India’s unique quality of divine man making process. He could analyze that for better future of India - media has to play a significant role. More importantly he denied constructing the nation until there is a proper foundation for it.

At the same time, as the initiator of various thought processes Aurobindo laid most craved after foundation of Indian freedom struggle. The ‘Swadeshi’ itself was introduced by him to the movement of India independence. Similarly, ‘Purna Swaraj’, ‘Passive Resistance’ and ‘New Political Programme’ are some of his legacies to Indian independence movement. It may be right to say that for the first time in the entire world he introduced the harmonious conjunction of nationalism with spiritualism. As a believer in the energy of ancient Indian tradition, Sri Aurobindo predicted the brighter future of India under the auspices of yogic tradition. In his some of the significant writing one finds a wakeup call for the dormant energies of Kshatriya whose history is glorious with the tradition of sacrifice and benevolence. One may observe that it has been the tradition of the British historiography which led to illuminate Indian intellectuals to realize the glory of its ancient tradition and culture. All such factors lead us to reinvestigate his vision about Nationalism and Renaissance in India. The influence of the Western education in this way has also blessed India by contributing to the ‘rebirth’ of ancient Indian psyche.

In short, it is an experience in itself to see the construction of nation through letters written by the most significant freedom fighters of the nation. Each of them had their own designs to construct. At the same time each of them visualized the supremacy of their mother nation from their particular ways. To bring their vision true they laid down the best of themselves in the feet of Mother India. One may find four different pictures of India while referring to their letters. Certain unpublished letters provides particles of the picture which completed the vision of nation building by these freedom fighters. At certain level of time one may consider their role characterized by ‘Sly civility’. But at the same time their ‘ambivalence’ as necessary element for the foundation of nationalism in India plays the significant role. Each of them had their particular gazes for the issues of the nation from the particular perspectives, circumstances and situations given to them. Similarly, it led to change their perception about various issues related to the nation. Ultimately it leads to have different vision of the nation from their perspectives. There may be some
complexities in their relationship with each other but ultimately all of their differences blessed the world’s largest democracy with the most valuable right ‘to be different’. At the same time one can say that their differences fill the lacunae which many of oldest democracies of the world are still striving to fill. But at the same time one can see that there are still some dreams of such visionaries which are yet to be fulfilled. To accomplish them properly along with the need of an hour present generation needs to work hard. Above all the nation should stand higher than all our other priorities.

The significance of their vision does not restrict to the independence of Indian only. The architectural plan for the nation which they had given has been followed by prominent politicians of India at every occasion whenever India found itself in a critical situation. Their visions get reflected in the speeches of the significant leader even today. It would not be an exaggeration to say that any person who wants to know the construction of this largest democracy of the world should have proper understanding and education from the writing of such leaders as their own text of religion.