Theories and Practices of Nationalism

Overview

- Early conceptions of nationalism.
- Many came from marxist concepts
- lots from 1960s

- 3 imp theoreticians for this course
  - Benedict Anderson ———————— Imagined Communities (Book)
  - Ernest Gellner ———————— Nationalism and Modernisation
  - Eric Hosbawm ———————— Nation as "invented Tradition"

- Nationalism in India
  - —
  - —
  - Javeed Alam

- Nationalists and their views
  - how various people in India during the colonial period perceived nationalism.

- Zionism

- Globalisation and Nationalism
  Contradictions, etc.

Logistics

- Term paper: need to put in effort
- small quizzes
- About 1 week / assignment

Why Study Nationalism

- most pervasive ideology in modern world.

kind of paradoxical {
- All other ideologies, there is splintering, and variation all over.
  eg: • Differing shades of capitalism, liberalism, vegetarians, etc. } BUT There are commonalities
      • Differing ideologies.

- An Indian nationalist will not have commonalities with any other
}

- Everything is impacted by nationalism } figure out how
- Be aware of positive, negative aspects
- Understand how it affects personal, public, professional lives.

Assessment

- **6 short class test** (30%)
  - Random days, topics
  - Short answers. Based on that class / classes given before.

- **4 assignments** (40%)
  - max: 1500 words
  - show: listened to lectures, read readings

- **Term Paper** (30%)
  - 3 months to do
  - show different lectures
  - 2500+

Plagiarism

- > 15%: grade drop
- > 25%: F
- 2 instances: F

Next Class:

Nation, Nation State, National, Nationalism

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Nation and its synonyms

Common synonyms: Country,
                   Kingdom,
                   State,   – State also includes apparatus. Is not necessary.
                   Land,   – again, unclear. Can exceed a nation, or
                                  include multiple
                   Region,   – Similiar ^
                   Polity,   –
diff: – not unified   People,   – Closest. But not necessary.
      + self refer.   Community, – self referential.

Definition of Nation?

Saajas suggests: a mixture of the above

- Root: Latin   nationem   "birth"

- Historian: the word only starts getting used in the 18th century. And still, rarely so.
  Common use: 19th century.

- Giving 3 definitions:

- a race of people, an aggregation of persons of the same ethnic family and speaking the same language

  } Does not necessarily work. eg: India

- a political society composed of subjects or citizens → members of a republic (indiv. sovereignty)

  ↓ note the distinction ← members of a kingdom

  with
  - common territory
  - history
  - laws
  - culture

  not necessary: ↙
  - Britain
  - France
  - etc.

  → can be contentious

  ↳ can change by definition.

  → abandons the "political society" sgn.

- A nation is a community of people, whose members are bound together by a sense of
  - solidarity
  - a common culture
  - a national consciousness → kind of a cop-out.

- **Features of a Nation:**

  - **Common** → all heavily contested
    - — Ethnicity, Language, Territory, History, Laws, Culture.
    - — Sense of Solidarity.
    - — National Consciousness (is that "ism"?)

  - Multiple fights over nations despite
    - — similar languages (Punjab, Bengali, English)
    - — similar religion (Pakistan and Bangladesh)
    - — similar territories

    ┌─────────────────────────────────────
    | Consider :
    | • Korea: ??????? 1 nation, 2 territories, maybe 2 cultures, histories?
    |
    | • Pakistan: formed on the basis of religion
    | Bangladesh: formed on the basis of language
    |
    | • Great Britain: Eng, wales, scotland all consider themselves separate nations.
    └─────────────────────────────────────

- **Questions**

  - Is membership of a Nation voluntary or involuntary?
  - Who decides membership to a nation?
  - States can grow, weaken, die, etc. Can nations? has a nation ever died.

  - Do people of a Nation have common economic interests?

- **Sovereignty**

  - — are all nations equal members?
    - IR says yes, but does it work that way?
    - Are there laws transcending national boundaries?

  - — can a nation survive without political autonomy?
    - eg: Scots
    - eg: Catalonia?

- Is every nation sovereign?
- What happens to a nation which does not have political independence?

- **Going back to the "Scientific Definition"**
  - All scholar's agree: there is no "scientific definition"
  - nation exists if a significant no. of people consider such.
  - there is no set number
  - they possess "national consciousness"

an "ism" is an ideology.

- **What is an Ideology**
  - System - justifying worldview.

  - eg.
    - Capital ism : everything should be controlled by the free market.
    - National ism :

?? : — - prepackeged units of interpretation
  - spread because of:
    - human motives to understand the world
    - avoid existential threat
    - maintain valued interpersonal relationships

SOCIOLOGY: — - cultural beliefs that justify particular social arrangements

Basically: — A political belief system.

- **National - Ism**

  - As an Ideology

focus on this >>> - As a practice

18.8-2x

What is an Ideology

- A system-justifying world view. | Often in real life, we don't only follow one ideology |

eg: Our interpretation of an action: "A mother slapping her child"

can be looked at a either — mother's love
                                            — abuse

- These are cultural beliefs that justify particular social arrangements.
  - passed on by social institutions: media, education, religion, friends, etc.
  → hence, it is a **political belief system**

Nationalism as an Ideology

IN IDEOLOGY

- primacy has to be given to the nation.

IN PRACTICE

- national community first.
- constant work: ID the strengths, weaknesses, keep working on them keep building.

> A state can have multiple competing ideology:
> - eg: America: - WASP
>   - Civic

> Aside: Government employees need not be nationalist)

Other
Global Ideologies Liberalism and Socialism ≈ Marxism Ideologies that claim to surpass National Boundaries.

- Incredibly pervasive, you don't need to be Marxist/Nationalist/Liberal to believe in core principles of the same.   } All prominent from 19th Century.

- foundation: humans are all equal.
- claim universal applicability
  → Comes from the idea: all humans have universal attributes.
    - FREE
    - EQUALITY
    + BROTHERHOOD   (French)

  → this implies: all authority is open to critique.
  → brings about the idea of Universal History (all humans on the same plane)

Universal Humans

- ideas not limited to territorial limit
- aggressively universal.
  — Napoleon, Tipu Sultan

Liberal Limits

- Early ones were kinda hypocritical. (colonial empires, etc)

- These states had growing nationalism
  - Liberalism confined within the nation.

- ## the Classic Marxist Position.

  - on the basis of liberalism but faster.

Starting line is the same.   Need to see outcomes are important, conditions should be shaped so.

— "Marxism carries the true universal values that liberalism lost"
and
Liberalism ⟶ Nationalism, is a false ideology that posits an artificial
solidarity between the classes, and allows for more exploitation.

— The interests of the nation are false, of the workers is truth.

- **Cracks in the Position**

    – no explanation for the "oppressed nationalities" (Irish, Poles, Indians)

- **Lenin**

    +Stalin, puts together an idea of
    nationalism that is now hugely influential

    – starts with classic position

    – Despite opposition to nationalism, as nations are a reality: equality of nations,
    hence removing proletariat divides.

    — Still does not consider oppressed nations

    — the Right to Secede.

        - by persecuting the others, nationalists are upholding priviledge of the
          Russian Landlords, and the communist party is opposed to all priviledges,
          so they uphold the right to nations to self-determination

        - They do not advocate secession, but countries have the right to do so

        - After the revolution, groups were given the option to secede. The party
          would campaign against them, but they were allowed to.

    — Significant impact in Asia

        (slides)

        — The Leninist Line

        _____

                                                                21.8.20

— Rosa Luxemburg

    • "the call for national independence has no progressive value"
        – socialism would require nations, as equality
        – nations are reactionary.

— Stalin
        — common: language
                    territory
                    economic life
                    psychological make-up

— 20th Century Comm. Practice

- Nation + ism   part of world.
  ...slides.

  Communist party   _in_ ⟹ _of_   nation

— Nationalism, while without theorists, is more pervasive than Marxism/Socialism.

Early Academic Theories of Nationalism.

- Weber

  - based on "sentiments of _prestige_"

    imp. aspects of class.

    Weber: UC, LC,
          Middle: → big stable class

    Marx: UC, LC, +
    middle class: petite bourgeois
    (unstable)

    to understand society, need
    to understand social classes.

  What is

  - No economic origin for nationalism, but there are material interest pushing it.

  - Partly values too.

  = idea of the state as
    — an imperialist power structure
    — demanding unqualified devotion.

  what is not

  - None of these necessary:
    — language
    — Religious creed ——→ ind. sects, churches, etz.
    — Social and ethnic structures
    — Descent.

  = Nationalism is a middle class ideology.

- E.H Carr

  Rise of Nationalism in 20th Century catastrophic

  (slides)

-

- **Hans Kohn**

  - <u>Context</u> : Jewish . fought for Austrio-Hungarian, PoW Russia, Zionist in Palestine→US

  > Nationalism is modern ⇒ expression of nations as organised states.
  (old)

  " masses are no longer in the nation but of the nation"
  nation == peop

  > Distinction between Civic (Western) and Ethnic (Eastern) Nationalism

  Western :

  - the state precedes nationality. | Comes after
    ⇒ hence! nationalism is not dependent | Individual rights
      on culture or language
  - religion here is a private affair

  = Based on
    - Individual rights
    - Constitutional rights

  Eastern:
  - emerge as protests against existing social structure.

  - No social base :
      Expansion by propaganda and education.
  - Emerge in context of "Western" as alien.
      - emphasis on the past.
  - Not about "citizens" but the "folk", defined in culture.
  - Creation of an "ideal future" with the "myths of the past"

Nation as an Imagined Community BENEDICT ANDERSON

0 Starting Point :

  - both liberalism and marxism failed to understand/define nation and nationalism ⎫ A global revulsion
  - nationalism seen as lowly   ⎬ against nationalism
  - eg: WWs as bad example.   ⎭ till 1945

                                    YET

      1980s: Nationalism Universal. (Marxist + Liberal) tamed.

  - comes from a <u>Historical - Anthropological Understanding</u>
      - Started off Marxist
      - He was seeing nationalism growing as an anthropologist in SE Asia

- Introduces 3 Paradoxes:

  1. Nations are objectively modern [VS] Nationalists claimed their nation was ancient (subjective)

  2. It is universal as socio-cultural concept [VS] In manifestations, very particular
     — like gender, race, religion

     Indian ID ≠ any other
     • claims
     • lived out

  3. Most powerful political power [VS] Ideology that is philosophically very poor

  "It is more a cultural artefact (kinship, religion) than something new like liberalism"

- Definition
  — imagined
  — political
  — community
  imagined as inherently
  — limited, and
  — sovereign

- Why Imagined
  — the members of even the smallest nation will never meet their others, yet there is an image of communion

  — a lot is invested into making this imagination real.

- Why Limited?
  — even the largest nation has an "other" beyond boundaries

  — no nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind.

  — contrast with religion, marxism, vegetarianism, desire that all play cricket, etc.

- Why Sovereign?
  — nation as sovereign, not king or divine

- How Community?
  — Regardless of inequality, imagination of horizontal comradeship
  — fraternity allows people to die for the nation

What is Community?

- Community ≠ Society

Gemeinschaft identity given	identity created and earned Gesselschaft
Anthropology	Sociology
• — social order based on personal ties, 1000s at most	• social relations: contract, mutual consent.
— custom and tradition as moral code	• reason
— Family guiding force for social stat, economic roles, relations.	• Individual as the centre.
• fulfilment but no individual movement	• Anonymity, alienation: but social mobility.

- When Weber et al were writing, they spoke of sociology as the shift. } Shift
- they also acknowledged each as ideal models, with interbleed

Yet, search for community in society

28.8.20

o Cultural Roots of Nationalism

  — unlike self-held political ideologies (marxism, etc)
    it is more like
      • Religious community } But also opposed, in
      • Dynastic Realm   a way.

o Religious Community
  — self-conceived as cosmically central

  — the religious (sacred language) ⟶ • has a script, unlike the rest (oral languages)
    • not territorially limited
    • In theory, the deader the language the more "everyone has access".

— Structure

- **Centripetal:** territorially (pilgrimage spots)
  socially

                                             | **Notions are:** — boundary oriented
                                                           — horizontal

- **Hierarchical:** (living closer to Tirupati for eg.)

- **Incoming Decline:**
  - geographical expansion and intermingling of culture   } even religion gets
  - Demolition of "sacred languages" vs vernaculars   } territorialised

O Dynastic Realm:

- again, central ← centered around the king (only sovereign)
- porous borders
  - states expand, contract
  - control overlapped.

- Legitimacy started waning   } shift.
  L⁰ kings latched on to nationalistic ideas

o On Time :

- pre-modern: messianic time   } omnitemporal
  (History Lecture).
  ↳ with all the paintings

- now: time flows
  realism in space ⇒ not social position

- o <u>the importance of mean-while</u>
  - Events embedded in society

  - Clocked calendrical time.   } Mental architecture allowing thought of nationalism.
  - ironic intimacy

essential
foundation
for nation.

↓
<u>Succession of Plurals</u>

<u>print capitalism</u>

       idea of copyright   } **Rise of the Vernacular**
                                      language of admin == lang. of people.

dissemination through the market.

Evolution of Nations and Nationalism

o **Three Phases**

- **Creole Pioneers** → In the Americas, 18-19th century, definingly primarily Republican

- **Language Nations** → In old Europe. Mass Politics

- **Official Nationalism** →

overlap.
- Modular form of national whatever

o **Creole Pioneers**

((slides))
- Portuguese : Brazil
- Spanish : Central, Western America   } these fights seen as
- English vs French.   Protestant vs Catholics

- Around 5% of original population survived
- So, majority of the population: Euro colonizers.
  But, those born in the colonies: Creole.

o **Riddle of American Nationalism**

- why creoles first to dev concepts
  of nation-ness, before most of Europe?

- why European settlers defined non-
  in the same breath?

Due to how Spanish Americas were Admired.
> each province was **self-contained**
> **creole operated** only **within boundaries**
  of the province

- creole from Argentina limited
- Spanish can move around

Brazil was not such.

Due to fear
of power creep
in Latin America

o **Journey as Meaning**

- on their own, market zones do not create attachments,
- but consider the model of religious pilgrimage.
(slides))

o **Modern State Journeys**   o **Common Circuits**

((slides))   - bounded by boundaries of administrative region
                                       - Shared fatality of American Birth
                                       emotional connect within value laden geography.

o **Imagining the Common Journey**

((slides))
- feeling that = "as creoles, we are being sidelined? by Spain/Portugal/English"
  ↓
  this confinedness imagined as a nation with print capitalism

- this is not a mass-based nationalism. The administrative setup makes territorial bounds. So Spanish no longer == Mexico.
  - they make sacrifices (not the wealthy)

o <mark>The great liberator</mark>
   countries not united, but separate.

o <mark>Phase one</mark>
   ((slides))

_____

o **Phase 2 In Europe**

— <mark>Benedict Anderson's contribution:</mark> recognising the creation of the idea of nationalism not created in Europe, but in the colonies
(the ones with european majority)

— <mark>Mid-19th century</mark> Europe starts getting into it

   - due to spread of <mark>vernacular.</mark>
   - aided heavily by comparative linguistics ⎫
   - no sacred language → all on an even footing ⎬ Languages get rules
   - <mark>vernacular gets a script</mark> ⎭

   — Modern languages emerge after a grammar is formalized. → with dictionaries, grammars, rules, scripts, etc.

— <mark>Literature Consuming Publics</mark>

   — enables writing docum history of a Nation
   — written work is done in the vernacular
   — the <mark>language of use defined boundaries of the nation</mark>

<mark>Language Politics</mark> ⎰ — BUT, they didn't map to existing national boundaries
        ⎱   ⇓
          Austro-Hungarian empire eg: German, but multiple language.
              ⇒ hurts those that don't know it.

          req. for language ⎰ — leaders
              ⇓   ⎱ — propaganda ⟵——— in these nations, linguistic nations emerged as an idea from a new social class.
          req. for nation ⎱ — money   "lesser gentries"

              they are also closer to the masses

— <mark>Imagining Community in the Vernacular</mark>

   lesser gentries had to invite the masses into a history of shared community, and the invitation had to be in a language they understood.

- **Accumulating Memory of Print** as a model
  - Vernacular in script allows for the creation of nation-wide imagination of a movement.
  - print allows for models of nation that are modular and accessible.

  - Creation of an immutable "thing" than can be accessed.
  - Concept becomes "it"

- **Pirate Nations**
  - there are always minorities. } How you deal with them?
    (none in Japan) }
  - "All <Nationals>" → dissolution of heirarchies.

o **Phase 3: Official Nationalism**

  - States define themselves in national terms.

  - **National Emperor**
    - Monarchs recognised their national identity
    - king due to divinity ⟶ king of the nation
    - idea of the king betraying the nation was unthinkable in 1900.

  - **Official Nationalism** deliberate merger of national idea with dynastic empire.

  - **Russification** ((slides))
    - Addition of "Nationalism" on top of Autocracy, orthodoxy
    - Russian used to be language of peasants. French was upper nobility, German was mid-level.
      ⇊
      Russian made State Language.

  - **Queen of Britain, Empress of India** ((slides))

  - **Pal's Pathos**
    - Indian born can go up the ladder, but can only operate for other Indians.
    - but they are also estranged from parent society.

  - **Official Nationalism becomes a Global Model**

- Phase 1, 2 were insurgent nationalisms. rebellion against system.
- Phase 3: attempt to give new legitimacy to old dynasties.

— **The Last Wave**

- **Post - Colonial, Asia and Africa**
  Borrowed 3 things
    - European Language of State
    - Populism of linguistic nationalism
    - Russifying policy orientation.

- **Common Feat. of these nations.**
    - bilingual intel, monoglot pop.
    - existing bureaucratic structures expanded (education, govt, etc)
    - arbitrary frontiers
    - explosion of mobility.

Young Nations:

- **bilingualism**
  Western languages giving access to the modern worlds

- Schools very important > "the colonial journey"
self - replicating	Euro Language village — school
	needed to progress village — matric
	town — +2
	city — college

  brings together print capitalism, shared journeys, common learning.

○ New Technologies of State : (instruments of Power)
  - Census
  - Maps
  - Museums

○ Census

- Pre-colonial: estimations driven by pragmatic needs
- Census was new and unique :— counting **everyone** → creaks conditions that allow imagining horiz, bonded community
- Classification needed to make sense of this
  but there is always └→ an **Other** } Which shows:
                              new identities always emerge

  Also, categories become more and more closely defined and solidified
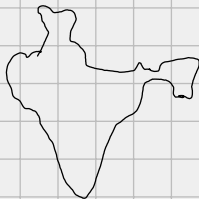
- **Quantification of Identity**
  "30 crore shall rise" ((Slides))
  "sapt. coti kanth . ˙˙"

((Slides))

○ Map
((slides))

> Warp and Weft
  (• totalising) classification applied with endless flexibility bonded, determinate.
  serialisation: replicable plurals.

> Nationalism as a Reawakening
  "you have forgotten" but have you