# UNDERSTANDING NATION: A PHILOSOPHICAL EXPLORATION
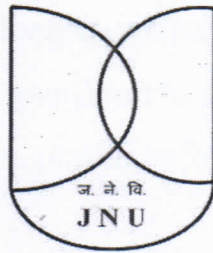
*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of*

## MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

## ALOK KUMAR



ज. ने. वि.
JNU

**CENTRE FOR PHILOSOPHY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI – 110067
2017**

जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय **JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**

सामाजिक विज्ञानं संस्थान **SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

दर्शनशास्त्र केंद्र **CENTRE FOR PHILOSOPHY**

नई दिल्ली-67 **NEW DELHI-67**

**DATE – 25<sup>TH</sup> JULY, 2017**

## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled *Understanding Nation: A Philosophical Exploration* submitted by **Mr. Alok Kumar**, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi is his original work. It is further certified that the dissertation has not been submitted in part or in full to any other university or elsewhere to obtain any other degree.

The dissertation may be placed before the Examiners for evaluation.

Supervisor

Chairperson

**Prof. Bindu Puri)**

SUPERVISOR
Centre for Philosophy
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

**(Prof. Bindu Puri)**

Chairperson
Centre for Philosophy
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067, INDIA

# DECLARATION

I, **Alok Kumar,** do hereby declare that the dissertation entitled *Understanding Nation: A Philosophical Exploration* in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my original research work. The dissertation has not been submitted in part or in full to any other university or elsewhere to obtain any other degree.

Date: 25/7/2017

Place: New Delhi

Alok Kumar

**Alok Kumar**

Centre for Philosophy

School of Social Sciences

Jawaharlal Nehru University

New Delhi-110067

Dedicated to Dr. Pran Veer Singh, Arif Ali Khan and Masoom Anis

# Acknowledgement

This work could be incomplete without mentioning, my father, my mother, my sister Ragini and my brother Nitish for their monetary and generous support.

# Content

# Introduction

The objective of the present study is to critically engage with the concept and origin of the nation. In the first two chapters, I will deal with two accounts of nation. In the third chapter, I will deal with Gandhi who suggests what ought to be a nation. In addition, I will also deal with Tagore's critique of the 'nation'. For examining the concept and origin of a nation, I will deal with the perennialist account of Anthony D Smith and the modernist account of Benedict Anderson.

The present study deals with the two sets of philosophers in the context of nation and nationalism: western philosophers and Indian philosophers. The study proposes to philosophically explore Indian approaches to the concept of the nation that can be presented as an alternative to the predominant western conceptions. This will involve an explanation of two important approaches to the concept of the nation in contemporary western political thought. Such a study would be aided by a comparative account that would involve predominant Indian interpretations of the idea of 'nation'. This will lead to a philosophical re-interpretation of 'nation' incorporating Non- western perspectives.

The perennialist account of Anthony D Smith argues that the nation has ethnic origin. Contrary to this position, Benedict Anderson asserts that 'nation' comes after the arrival of modernity. On the other hand, Gandhi and Tagore did not go into the investigation of the concept and origin of the nation. They tried to include everybody in the process of making the nation.

Smith defines 'nation' in terms of continuity of *ethinie*. The French word *ethinie* signified as 'sameness'. Further, he defends the notion of nation in terms of collective communities, which have the same culture, language, memory, and are historically connected by the myths, symbols, and values. So, the first objective of this present study is to examine the concept of the nation in the continuity of '*ethinie*' in a pluralist world. Can we sustain the idea of nations in terms of the continuity of '*ethinies'* in the modern contemporary world?

Smith argues for ethno- symbolism that refers to symbols, myths, and values, which are essential features of a nation. He further defends that the cultural (symbols, myths, and values) are a part of social reality and individuals are deeply connected with these cultural concepts and practices.

That is why nation's existence cannot be imagined without these features. He points out that cultural elements of symbol, myth, memory, value, ritual, and tradition are crucial for an analysis of ethnicity, nations and nationalism. He provides a number of reasons for the justification of his argument. Firstly, these cultural elements play a coercive role in, the social and political structure. They also become 'defining and legitimating relations of different sectors, groups, institutions within a community' (Smith 2009, p.63). In other words, these elements are the guiding force to shape a 'common consciousness'. Smith argues that these elements do not just shape the common consciousness, but it establishes the common consciousness. Even in the period of crisis, this common consciousness is quite visible in the society, and it cannot be taken out from the society. Secondly, these cultural elements have a great impact on the religion, custom, tradition, language, and social institutions. On the basis of these (language, culture, tradition and other social institutions), members and outsiders of a community are able to differentiate themselves from other communities. This differentiation creates and sharpens the social boundaries and their oppositions, and the creation of these social boundaries makes clear distinctions between 'us' and the 'other'. Finally, shared values, rituals and traditions are able to generate a continuity between past, present and future generations of the community- that acceptance of memories, traditions and value(s)- enhanced- symbol of nationality like flag, national anthem, public holidays. Their meaning might be changed but their form is fixed. This public participation creates a sense of national identity among the members of political societies. In this sense, Smith claimed that the nation has a perennial root.

Benedict Anderson defines nation in terms of an '*imagined community'*. That term *imagined community* does not mean that the concept of nation is false or unreal. It means that the *imagined community* is a social and political community, which is constructed through print-capitalism. Through these popular means the members of societies *imagine* a common nationality. Anderson asserts 'It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion (Anderson, 1991: 6). Benedict Anderson argues that the nation as a social and political structure came into the existence of 18th century in order to replace the monarchical state. He points out that the nation is a new process to conceptualize state sovereignty: It is

imagined as *sovereign*.....it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much as to kill, as be willing to die for such limited imaginings (Anderson, 1991: 7). Partha Chaterjee raises some pertinent questions against Anderson's thesis of an imagined community. Chatterjee analyses the social and political structure of Asian and African countries. On the basis of the social and political structure of Asian and African countries, he comes to the conclusion that these countries are still colonized in their thinking and behaviour. He emphasizes 'Even our imaginations must remain forever colonized' (Chatterjee, 1993: 5). The *second* central objective of this present study is to examine Anderson's idea of a '*imagined community*' in the context of the following points: (a) what sort of acts of imagination are involved in imagining the nation (b) Is there a single act or can there be alternative ways of imagining the nation in a pluralist world where there are rival and incommensurable models of political frameworks competing for allegiance?

One of the basic differences between perennialists and modernists accounts of nation is to argue for different time periods for the existence of the notion of nation. Perennialist accounts argue that the nation pre-existed from early time. However, according to modernists, the 'nation' is a product of modernity. There are some issues here, i.e. the question of time. Can it be said that nations are indeed products of modernity? The second relates to the issue of community. Are nations formed out of homogenous communities? These issues lead to the following questions:-

(a) Can members of any communities who do not share a common language, culture and tradition not be qualified as 'nation'?

 In modern pluralist world, two different ethnic groups intermingled with each other to form a 'nation'. These different groups often do not share common memory, tradition, culture or tradition. Should we treat them as different nations?

(b) If certain groups share the same language, same tradition, same memory but are not part of the same country can we consider them as people of the same nation?

According to modernists like, Anderson the concept of the nation is a modern phenomena. So, it is also necessary to raise the question- Why does this phenomenon arise, in the period of modernity? He gives a detailed response to this question. Anderson argued that the print media had a significant role to play in the rise of the feeling of 'nation' and 'nationalism'. He gave historical facts to support his claim. He argued that after the rise of print- capitalism, the notion of nation and nationalism arose among the members of a particular community.

Furthermore, in this thesis I will look at Gandhi's understanding of 'nation' in terms of *praja*. Throughout his lifetime, Gandhi advocates the practices of non-violence. Simultaneously he tried to inspire the *praja* to follow the non-violent method. Gandhi argues that there should be two features of nation (a) self- rule and (b) rule of self- over self. For Gandhi, the latter is more important. The basic purpose of his emphasis on the latter is that, if we do not change our attitude and behavior towards the people who belong to minority class, women, the practice of untouchability, and other social evils, nothing is going to be changed. In short, Gandhi tried to illustrate that if we are able to replace English rule, and our attitude does not change, the conditions of the nation would be the same. That is why Gandhi focused on self-rule, which is based on self-development. He further argued that self- development must be based on non-violence and if any disagreement occurs, then it must be solved through persuasion. In this present study, I will try to illustrate Gandhi's notion of non-violent nationalism and how much this non- violent nationalism will help in rethinking the concept of nation. In addition, I will argue that Gandhi's notion of non-violent nationalism is the most inclusive notion of nation. I also try to investigate the validity of some criticism of Gandhi, such as that proposed by Ambedkar and the other thinkers. Thinkers like Gandhi were concerned about 'what ought to be a nation', rather than what was understood by nation or nationalism in western civilization.

In this present study, I will deal with Gandhi's idea of nation with special reference to *Hind Swaraj*. In the context of India '*Hind Swaraj'* is one of the most influential works in the context to determine the meaning of the nation. The book is written in the form of a dialogue between a newspaper Editor and a Reader where Gandhi's views are represented by the Editor. The reader represents the typical Indian modernist who strongly favours the extremist solution for ousting the British from India. The book refers to the essence of Gandhian thought and his idea of India which signifies the suggestion for the future of the country. Gandhi's idea of India is seen as an

idea that can liberate the emerging nation and liberate the new nation from social evils. The book originally was written in Guajarati language and translated by Gandhi himself into English, so that it could reach a much wider audience, both Western and Indian. The whole book was written in ten days on the ship Kildonan Castle during Gandhi's return from England to South Africa. '*Hind Swaraj*' is also the first attempt made by any Indian writer to conceptualize the notion of nation. In this book, Gandhi insists that politics, economics, ethics, aesthetics and spirituality are not mutually exclusive and should be seen in the same nation-building paradigm. Gandhi's idea of nation is divided in his four primary themes- *Nationalism*, *civilization*, *satyagraha*, and *Swaraj*. So, I will be discussing these themes in detail.

Gandhi raises a fundamentally important question 'what kind of an India do Indians want?' How can such a multi- cultural, multi- racial, multi- religious, multi- lingual society exist as a unified cohesive nation? He points out that the solution lies in establishing a civic state lay down on the foundations of inclusive secularism. Such a civic transformation can only occur if there is religious consciousness. This requires a change from the closed concept of religion to a pluralistic concept which would be based on the basic premise that- 'there is a religion that underlies all religions'. In the second section, I will deal with Tagore's idea of nation and nationalism, as mentioned in his essays, where he rejected "Western nationalism". Tagore argues that the western idea of the nation is based on the denial of the individual self. In *The Home and the World*, Tagore further rejected the present idea of nation and the ideology, which was inculcated in the freedom movement. Tagore criticised the western concept of nationalism on the following points:

(1) According to Tagore, the concept of 'nation' is alien to India. To him "India has never had a real sense of nationalism" (Tagore 1918, p. 36). He adds that a nation or state is basically a political and economic organization of a people that originated in the western world. He differentiated the concept of nation from the notion of a country.

(2) The nation distorts the true nature of a man. Tagore argues that "it is the aspect of a whole people as an organised power" (Tagore 1918, p. 37)

(3) He emphasized that the nation curtails freedom of the individual self because of its political and economic chains of organization.

(4) In this political and economic set up, the love for the country is magnified into "patriotism…. the magnification of the self, a stupendous scale- magnifying our vulgarity, cruelty, greed; dethroning God, to put up this bloated self in, its place". (Tagore 2012f, p. 287).

Moving further, Tagore criticizes the idea of the 'nation' in itself. Based on his criticism of 'nation', Martha Nussbaum considers Tagore as a cosmopolitan. On the other hand, Amartya Sen argues against Martha Nussbaum and mentions that Tagore was "not excluding anyone from ethical concern" (Sen 2002, p.115) and this does not mean that he was a cosmopolitan. Tagore convincingly rejected the idea of cosmopolitism: "neither the colourless vagueness of cosmopolitanism, not the fierce self- idolatry of nation- worship of nation, is the goal of human history" (Tagore 2012e, p. 32).

This present study aims at understanding the concept of the nation through the lens of two sets of theories – the perennialist and the modernist. To understand these theories and put the ideas clearly, I will be reviewing the two positions in separate chapters. With this, I have tentatively divided my thesis into following chapters-

In the first chapter, I will provide a critical assessment of the perennialist account of Anthony D Smith. Here I will deal with Smith's definition of nation and the latest definitions of nation. In doing so, I will show that the fallacies in Smith's earlier definition of nation and the latest modification in his definition. In the second chapter, I will critically examine the modernist account of Benedict Anderson. I will look into his assertion that the nation is created, and if the nation is created, how long can it survive. If the nation is created then what about pre modern societies, which were deeply connected on the basis of common myths, symbols, and other cultural tenets, Can these communities not be considered as nations? In third chapter, I will critically engage with Gandhi's idea of 'nation'. Gandhi's argues that to be qualified as a 'nation', it is necessary to have *swaraj* and *swaraj* has two features: self rule or self-development and home- rule. He gives emphasis on the self- development. He argued that without self- development, there is no meaning of home- rule. For self-rule, he argues that in any case of conflict or contradiction, it must be resolved through persuasion. In addition, I will also look into RabindraNath Tagore's critique of a 'nation'. According to him, the 'nation' can be easily turned as an imperialist state, whether it is ruled by native people or a colonial master. I

will also deal with his position on women as an essential component of the nation. The third chapter shall also examine Martha Nussbaum's assertion that Tagore is a cosmopolitan.

# CHAPTER-1: Review of the Perennialist Account of Anthony D Smith in the Context of 'Nation'

The purpose of this present chapter is not to define 'what is a nation'? or 'when is a nation? And, also the purpose of this present chapter is not to examine this question 'whether nation is perennial and modern'? Beside this, the aim of this present chapter is to raise pertinent questions against Anthony D Smith's concept of 'nation' and his argument for the features of 'nation'. In addition, the aim of this present chapter is to highlight the insightful inputs, which are forwarded by Anthony D Smith in his claim(s) and its drawbacks(s). In doing so, the chapter will emphasize the argument(s) and also other perennialist accounts, which have influence on Smith's arguments with regard to 'nation'. In addition, the chapter will also try to highlight the concept of 'national identity', nationalism and nation-state (according to Anthony D Smith).

The present chapter also provides comparative critical assessment of the perennialist account of nation and modernists' account in the context of nation. In the process of critical assessment of the perennialists' account, I will special emphasis on Anthony D Smith's account in the context of nation. In the light of discussion, I will highlight the positive aspect of his perennialist account and on the other hand, I will highlight the error and limitation of his theory. In doing so, I will provide a brief introduction to ethno- symbolism and its importance in the formulation of his theory of nation.

## 1.1 The basic difference between the perennialist account and the modernist account

The concept of 'nation' and origin of 'nation' are one of the most controversial and debated issue in the field of political philosophy, sociology and cultural studies. That's why: Charles Tilly believes that the concept of 'nation' is one of the most confusing concepts within political philosophy[1]. The complexity of the nation (in order to define) inspires many philosophers, historians, sociologists, and political scientists to deal with the concept of 'nation', in order to produce more clear-cut picture of the concept of 'nation'. Scholars (who deal with the concept)

---

[1]http://www.Exploringgpolitics.org/pblication_efferink_van_leonhardt_nation_nationalism_state_modernism_ettho
_symbolism_primordialism_perennialism_identity_ethnies_vernacular_language_industrialization/

in contemporary times are divided in two parts, many of them argue that 'nation' is a completely modern phenomena (they argue that the concept of 'nation' created in the late eighteen century) and many of them argue that the 'nation' has perennial roots (that means the nation is not created). The irony is that human societies and its natures are so vast and complex that the both seem correct in many cases and their arguments seem justifiable and in many cases their claims seems inappropriate and incoherent. Perennialists argue that that concept of 'nation' is not modern phenomena[2] (Anthony D Smith argued that the nation has ethnic origin). After the reading both the account (perennialist and modernist), it seems to me that the basic difference between both the accounts is that while modernists claim that the 'nation' is a false invention or creation, on the other hand, perennialist claim that the 'nation' is not a creation, it is a natural entity. Ozkirimli (2000) defines the difference between perennialist and modernist account as:

> "The common denominator of the modernist is their conviction in the modernity of nations and nationalism; that of the ethno-symbolists is stress they lay in their explanations on ethnic pasts and culture; finally that of the primordialists in their belief in the antiquity and naturalness of nations."[3]

The perennialist ignore that the role of state and the capitalism in the formation of 'nation', on the other hand Modernists give full credit to state and capitalism in the formation of 'nation'. The perennialist brings the cultural approach in their study in the context of 'nation' and modernist brings political aspect in their study in the context of 'nation'. In this chapter, my objective is not to undermine the cultural approach of perennialist account in the context of 'nation'. Beside this, I try to pinpoint the fallacies of Anthony D Smith's theorization.

## 1.2 Liberalist account in the context of the 'nation'

Many scholars assert that liberalism and the idea of 'nation' is closely associated with each other. Due to liberalism, individual 'freedom', 'free-will', and notion of 'justice' became a nucleus of human society. The notion of 'freedom', 'free-will' and 'justice' leads toward 'self-determinism'. This is a reason that the idea of 'nation' was inculcated in the masses. So, the

---

[2] Anthony D Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural approach*, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York, 2009, p-3.

[3] Ozkirimili, Umut, *Theories of Nationalism: A critical Introduction*, Basinstoke: Palgrave, 2000, p- 64.

concept of 'nation' is a modern phenomenon, which is deeply connected to liberalism. John Stuart Mill claims that cultural tenets might be a minor reason behind nationalism but this is not a sufficient reason for the formation of the idea of the 'nation'. As, John Stuart Mill asserts:

> "A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality if they are united among themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between them any others------ which make them cooperate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same government by themselves or portion of themselves exclusively. This feeling of nationality may have been generated by various causes. Sometimes it is the effect of identity of race and descent. Community of language, and community of religion, greatly contributes to it. Geographical limits are one of its causes. But the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents; the possession of national history, consequent community of recollection; collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past. None of these circumstances, however, are either indispensible or necessarily sufficient by themselves." [4]

In my view, by saying the idea of 'nation' is a liberal concept and denying the perennialist account is not completely correct. The demand of separate 'nation' is quite evident in pre-modern time, there in voices against the monarchy, which is based on common nationalities. Moreover, I do agree that the demand of self-determinism spreads all around the globe after the period of 'liberalism'.

Mazzini, one of the leading philosophers (in the context of liberal nationalists), asserts that individual freedom and nationalism is more or less associated with each other. Mazzini moves further and adds the demand of a 'new nation' is a fight against oppressions, prejudices and dominations. And in the way the demand of self-determination is one of the instruments in the period of liberalism, which became a pillar for the 'nation' and its sovereignty. On the basis of these demand of self-determinism, he assumes that the concept of 'nation' is a modern phenomena. Alter (1989) summarizes, Mazzini's claim as, 'the right of every nation, and with it

---

[4] Jhon Stuart Mill (1861), 'Nationality' in Woolf, S. (ed), *Nationalism in Europe, 1815 to Present*, Routledge, London and New York, 1996, pp- 40-41.

right of each and every member of a nation, to autonomous development, for in their minds, individuals freedom and national independence (were) closely connected'[5].

These assumptions encourage liberal philosophers to see nationalism as a positive phenomenon. The liberals claim that democracy has encouraged the above-mentioned ideas. As liberals claim these ideas are the main reasons of the self-determinism of 'nation'. John Stuart Mill, in his work 'Consideration on Representative Government' supported this view by saying this:

> "Where the sentiment of nationality exists in any forces, there is a prima facie case for uniting all the members of the same nationality under the same government and a government, and a government to themselves apart………. This is merely saying that the question of government ought to be decided by the governed."[6]

John Stuart Mill moves further and claims that 'free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities'[7] and that's why the demand for the free nation is justified.

Kant, was one of the main advocates of autonomy and free will. His argument leads social and moral philosophy towards nationalism as a central theme and this idea became one of the major concerns of liberalism, which guided by autonomy and free will that suggests nations must have right of self-determination. The idea of free will that Kant's thesis proposed that one cannot be human without free to determine one's own goal and future. Kant inspires many philosophers to think 'nation' in similar fashion. Though one cannot say that all are liberals are promoting these ideas. But many of them promoted these ideas and Kant's disciple took these ideas as an instrumental and foundational feature for the creation of the idea of 'nation'. On the basis of such claims the modernist asserts that 'nation' is a completely modern phenomenon. Moreover, many modernists pursue that claims, assert that "nations too had wills, had to become self-conscious and aware of their potential and pursue the project of self-realization"[8]. Fichte also supported

---

[5] David Mller, *On Nationality*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, p- 98.
[6] Jhon Stuart Mill (1861), 'Nationality' in Woolf, S. (ed), *Nationalism in Europe, 1815 to Present*, Routledge, London and New York, 1996, pp- 40-41.

[7] ibid
[8] Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman, *Nationalism: A critical Introduction*, London and New Delhi, SAGE, 2002, P-6.

these claim and put forward, 'nations are individualities with particular talents and possibilities of exploiting those talents'[9].

## 1.3 Anthony D Smith's idea of 'nationalism' and Modernist account with reference to the idea of 'nationalism'

Modernists do not bother to search for the root of 'nation' and 'nationalism' in ancient period or even in the medieval period. Moreover, modernists are inspired with the Marxist approach in their formulation of 'nation'. In their theoretical formulation, they are mostly guided by Weber and Durkheim, and ignore that the fact in pre-modern era there is also 'nationalism' and concept of 'nation' deeply rooted in the human community. Moving further, I want put further I want to Gellner's thesis on nation and highlight his theory and its flaw.

## 1.3.1 Modernist account of Ernest Gellner: Nationalism and its role in the formation of 'nation'

Ernest Gellner, one of the most celebrated thinkers in the field of 'nation' and 'nationalism' inspires many political thinkers to investigate the concept of 'nation'. His work *Nation and Nationalism* a product of three decades of his rigorous thinking, in his work he ruthlessly criticizes that the nation is a natural entity; it is falsely implicated in the consciousness of the masses, and also assert that 'nation' is a byproduct of 'nationalism'. Gellner analyses the development of 'nationalism' deeply rooted through industrial process. Eric Hobsbawm also asserts in similar fashion that nation is not natural entity:

> "Nations as a natural, God- given way of classifying men, as an inherent......political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, often obliterates pre-existing cultures; that is reality."[10]

---

[9] C. Calhoun, *Nations Matter: Culture, History, and the Cosmopolitan Dream,* London*:* Routledge, 2007, P- 88.

[10] Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, p-10.

According to Gellner, in the agrarian societies the concept of 'nationalism' is completely unimaginable, the requirement of 'nation' is completely unnecessary, that's why it is completely impossible that the idea of 'nationalism' existed in an agrarian society. According to him, nationalism creates the idea of 'nation'. Weber, Durkheim and Gellner after the study of contrast between pre- modern and modern societies and put forward a functionalist approach in their explanation and asserted that it is social and economic changes in the modern period, that encourages the need for cultural unity and cultural homogeneity that leads towards 'nationalism' (Gellner's thesis). This cultural homogeneity, which Gellner called as 'high culture', that 'high culture' is only possible in an industrial society. Different forms of division of labor in industrial society created a requirement of common and shared unity (nation) in an industrial societies, although, there are different reasons behind this shared and cultural unity in agrarian societies. Gellner also puts forward the requirement of communication in the complex social and economic scenario in the industrial society and argues that division of labour creates a situation for social and geographical mobility among the masses. 'Its economy depends on mobility and communication between individuals, at a level which can only be achieved if those individuals have been socialized into a high culture...... It can only be achieved by a fairly monolithic education system'[11].

I would argue that Anthony D Smith does not ignore the fact that the social and geographical mobility is one of the essential and instrumental phenomena among members of a 'nation'. It is quite evident the requirement of social geographical mobility increases in industrial period. And the requirement of communication increases during the period of industrialization. But it is not the necessary that the requirement of communication is not required in an agrarian society.

Following Weber and Durkheim's part, Gellner asserts that due to the transition of modernity, the above- mentioned construction in itself, in some sense essential and necessary is an industrial society. He explains that the emergence of this capitalist need like communication and state driven education is a structural and essential change required to become agro-literate in an advanced industrial society. Culture (more emphatically, this culture he terms as 'high' culture) comes to play a central role in providing the skills and identity of member of such a society. Before, Gellner, Bauer analyses these phenomena in similar fashion, but Gellner asserts this

---

[11] Ibid, p-134.

culture (or in Gellner's term high culture) is necessarily national in nature, and moves further and asserts that it is 'high culture' required and guided by the state-influenced education system, result to make a 'nation'. 'A high culture pervades the whole society, defines it needs to be sustained by that polity'[12].

Gellner in the later edition of his work added and analyzed different zones in which nationalism developed and became deeply rooted in the society. Simultaneously, he distinguished between different time periods where the idea of nationalism, and different time periods in which nationalist ideas arose and spread all around the globe. In the process of historically analyzing the arrival of idea of 'nationalism', he divided in two parts. In first part he analyzes the situation of the west. For example, in the west, central and unified nature of nation- states seems unproblematic in nature, in order to study the idea of nationalism. In second part, he deals with the situation in the East, where the idea of 'nationalism' seem problematic, because in the east nation-states are de-centralized in nature and different cultures are closely interlinked with each other.

Nationalism had evolved through different time periods. According to Gellner different time periods do not mean that nationalism evolved in pre-modern period (here different periods means that nationalism means that different period of modernity). He moved forward and showed the harsh reality of 'nationalism'. He explained that how the idea of 'nationalism' reached from French revolution (where 'nationalism' pronounces the idea of 'equality', 'liberty', 'fraternity' and 'justice') to the mass butchering of ethnic community in the postwar period. The idea of 'nationalism' reaches to hyper nationalism. In the same way, he also showed the positive impact of 'nationalism' the Eastern countries aspired to catch up with the development process of the western world and also many Eastern countries indulged in the process of de-colonization. The demand of de-colonization in these eastern countries transformed them 'nations' which is why Gellner claims that it is 'nationalism' that creates 'nation'.

However through Gellner transformation of 'nationalism' is appreciated by many thinkers, simultaneously many thinkers criticized his argument for his argument for over-emphasis on functionalism. He seems to ignore the teleological interpretation of the 'nation', in the process of

---

[12] Ibid, p-18,

giving a functional analysis of 'nationalism' in his theory. It seems the aspiration of nationalism has largely positive impact in the process of modernization. Here positive impact means the large section of society are united for the process of national building through the process of modernization. He assumes that his hypothesis of 'nationalism' with the reference to the idea of modernity and modernization is uncritical in nature. Although, he realizes the change of production mode in agrarian in society, on the basis of these production modes, he categorizes agrarian society in two parts. His argument in the context of 'nation' and the basis of his claim depend on social changes and uses neo-Weberian categories to the origination of nationalism. On the contrary to Gellner thesis (Gellner pointed out, industrialization is responsible for modern economical change and these changes are the guiding force for the idea of 'nationalism'), Mann and Breuilly put forward the opposite position to Gellner. They argued that industrialization came late, even in the most part of Europe, so industrialization cannot be considered the only reason or the first reason for nationalism. Both these thinkers assert that the nationalist ideas where established in early period, although they spread fast in the period of industrialization.

## 1.4(a) Nation, National identity, Nation- State, and Nationalism as per Anthony D Smith:

According to Anthony D Smith, in the modern era, the world could not imagine without *nation*, so, as per Anthony D Smith observation, we can assert that the world is a collection of nation. The nation has own individual identity, culture, myth, forms, history and simultaneously own destiny. The members of nations are so deeply associated with the nation, that association can easily overpower all other identities, whether it will be race, gender or any other allegiances. In the name of nation, for the any reasons, masses of nation can easily mobilize on the name of same identities, values. So, in order to maintain world peace, nation must be free.

In the continuity of the above- mentioned lines, Anthony D Smith defines nations in the relation of 'national identity':

1) National identity is closely connected with homeland, which has historic territory. They are emotionally connected with their historic territory. The history territory defined

through symbols, myths, and forms. The communities of nations are connected with each other through the help of cultural homogeneity, generation to generation[13].

2) National identity has 'a common myth' through which they are able to differentiate between 'us' and 'them' and they have common 'historical memories'. These historical memories are based on 'historicity' of their own explanation. These historical memories are authentic or not, it does not matter[14].

3) National identity has "a common, mass public culture"[15]

4) National identities has "a common legal right"[16] and "duties for all members"[17]

5) National identities has "a common economy with territorial mobility for members"[18]

On the basis of the formulation of national identity, Anthony D Smith defines *nation*: "A named human population sharing an historic territory, common myth and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and a common legal rights and duties"[19]. Here modernists do not seem to agree with Smith's definition. As he mentioned that a named human occupying a homeland, but we see in the case of Srilanka, Tamils are demanding for a separate and sovereign nation and historically they do not belong to that nation. So, argument in the regard of homeland is vague in nature. How should we define this homeland? In the case of Srilanka, the Tamils migrated from India and within two hundred years this land became their homeland. So, what set of time framework would be regard to make a land a community's homeland?

 While defining the 'nation' Anthony D Smith gave special emphasis on language, religion and custom. He believed that that there are the objective and necessary conditions to define 'nation'. On the other hand, Anthony D Smith also did not ignore the subjective factor (attitudes, perceptions and sentiments), in the process of making the 'nation'. On this level modernists also seems to agree with Smith. They believe that language, religion, custom, perception and sentiments are one of the features of the 'nation'. As Smith explains:

---

[13] Anthony D Smith, *National Identity*, Penguin Books, London, 1991, p- 74.
[14] Ibid, p- 14,
[15] ibid
[16] ibid
[17] ibid
[18] ibid
[19] Ibid,

"Definition of the 'nation' range from those that stress 'objective' factors, such as language, religion, custom, territory and institutions, to those that emphasis purely 'subjective factors, such as attitudes, perceptions, and sentiments"[20]

According to Anthony D Smith, *ethnie*[21] has six main attributes of ethnic communities: "1) A collective proper name,  2) A myth of common ancestry, 3) A shared historical memories, 4) One or more differentiating elements of common culture, 5) An association with the a specific 'home land', 6) A sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population"[22]. He suggested that the difference between *ethnie* and *nation* is that nation has two more components, "a common economy" and "a common legal right", these features of the nation, he erased in his later modification of the features of the nation (which I will discuss in later section). Moreover, Anthony D Smith proposes presumptuous account in the context of nation, *ethinie*, nationalism, and so-on. He proposes that nation in modern time is a temporal sequence of *ethinie* and ethno-nationalism corresponds to nationalism.

Anthony D Smith defines nationalism in term of *ideology*:

1) "The whole process of forming and maintaining nations, or nation- state
2) A consciousness of belonging to the nation, together with sentiments and aspirations for its  security and prosperity
3) A language and symbolism of the 'nation' and its role
4) An ideology, including a cultural doctrine of nations and the national will and prescriptions for the realization of national aspirations and the national will

---

[20] Anthony D Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* Cambridge: polity, 2001, p-6.
[21] Anthony D Smith defines *ethnie* "as combination of Ethnic communities, or what the French term ethnies, represents a yet more complex and unifying form of ethnicity. In such cases, we are speaking of a community whose upper strata, at least, posses a sense of common origins and relatedness, in addition to cultural markers and shared memories. This allows us to define an ethnie as 'a named and self- defined human community whose members posses a myth of common ancestry, shared memories, one or more element of common culture, including a link with a territory, and a measure of solidarity, at least among the upper strata'". See Anthony D Smith, *Ethno- Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach,* London and New York, 2009, p-27.
[22] Ibid, p-21,

5) A social and political movement to achieve the goals of the nation and realize its national will."[23]

Definition of nation-state as a political unit and it has following features:

1) Territorial control: The nation- state is a political unit, which has the duty to protect the territorial boundaries, through different mechanism, such as military. Diplomacy. The nation- state directly involved in the process of the making rules, in order to protect territorial control.

2) Inter-state warfare: In the case of inter- state warfare, the nation- state, through military participate. It may be or may not be, other members of nation- state participate in the inter-state warfare. It is decided by nation-state, as per the demand of the situation.

3) Centralized economy: The nation- state has all the control over economic institutions; they supervise these institutions through directly or through the representative.

4) Control political legal system: nation-state makes rule and regulation, in order to run the nation-state.

5) Inter- state treaty: All the member of a nation could not be participate in the inter-state treaty, so, on the behalf of the members of state, the nation- state participate in inter-state treaty.

Anthony D Smith defines *nationalism*: "an ideological movement for attaining and maintain autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nations"[24].Smith put special emphasis on 'nationalism' in the growth of nation. He claimed that there are 'five doctrine' of nationalism in the growth of 'nationalism' and these are modern phenomena:

1. "A process of formation, or growth, of nations;
2. A sentiment of consciousness of belonging of the nation;
3. A language and symbolism of the nation;
4. A social and political movement on the behalf of the nation;

---

[23] Ibid, p-72,
[24] Ibid, p-73,

5. Ideology of the nation, both general and particular;"[25]

The basic difference between the account of modernists and Smith's account is that modernist asserts that nations come and the idea of nationalism gradually developed in modern period. On the same time modernists seem to agree on the doctrines of nationalism, which are proposed by Smith.

On the basis of Smith's view on nationalism Hearn (2006) modifies Smith's position and defines nationalism arguing that it can have five tenets: "feeling", "identity", "ideology", "social movement" and "historical process"[26]. He believes that nationalism can have all these forms simultaneously, but he focuses on identity and ideology. These are the main feature of nationalism.

## 1.4 (b) Anthony D Smith's views on *nationalism*:

Anthony D Smith supports the idea of nationalism as a late 18$^{th}$ century creation. He asserts that in late 18$^{th}$ century in many places the sentiments of nationalism became phenomena in many territories. The basic reason behind this was the failure of government policies to satisfy the demand of underprivileged sections. But, on the other hand, Anthony D Smith is aware that in many parts of the world, a large section of society raised their voices against the government but still there was no demand of separate 'nation' and they do not mobilized masses on the basis of separate nationalism.

As Anthony D Smith asserts:

> "The present unity among the Black population in the united states is based, not upon language or even religion, but upon pigmentation and the suffering and prejudices which it has come to express and symbolize. In the case 'passing' become difficult and even though the Blacks lost much of their African ethnic heritage and have become culturally almost Americanized, yet a yearning for a Black American culture all their own, apart from the white ethnic culture around them, persisted and latterly flourished to produce a

---

[25]  Anthony D Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* Cambridge: polity, 2001, p-5-6.
[26] Jonathan Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism: A critical Introduction*, Basingstroke: Palgrave, 2000, p-6.

counter-culture with own special flavor and traits, such as Jazz, Black studies and the cult of Black physical beauty."[27]

The basic problem of perennialist theory is that at what extent, can we consider them as nation or at what extent we not consider them as 'nation'. And what territory can be considered as 'nation', because, territory can reduce or be fabricated from time to time. Even, Benzamin Akin analysis 'similarity-dissimilarity'[28] pattern misleading to some extent. There is lots of 'similarity-dissimilarity' among masses. At what extent can 'similarity-dissimilarity' serve in order to understand 'nation'.

> "Yet even this competition had integrative functions. For the effect of rivalry in a given population, and even a higher level of integration through-out conflicts among competing pressure groups and classes of the same community, by suggesting common destinies forwarded upon shared past. In the short term, rival 'histories' may divide the community or sharpen existing class conflicts; but over long term, effect of their propagation and inclusion is to deepen the sense of shared identity and detesting in as a particular community"[29]

## 1.4(c) Ethno-Symbolism and the critic of modernist argumentation in the context of the origin of 'nation'

The ethno-symbolist theory proposed by Smith has strengthened the pre-modern conception of nation. As, we were aware perennialist believe that 'nation' is a cultural and sociological entity. However, he puts illuminating inputs to strengthen the pre-modern conception, which claims that 'nation' is a unified cultural community, which has common myths, symbols, cultures, customs and rites. Here Anthony D Smith makes an error in his theory in that he is unable to make a distinction between 'ethnicity' and 'nation'.

In my view, Smith misses the necessary of the geographical factor in the formation of 'nation'. As we see that certain groups or especially in the context of religious groups their customs,

---

[27] Ibid, p-26,
[28] Benjamin Akin, *State and Nation*, London: Hutchinson, p-23.
[29] Anthony D Smith, *Ethnic Origin of Nations*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1986, p-33.

traditions, myths, symbols, rites are common them but we cannot consider them as 'nation'. For example one may note that Muslims of South Africa and Muslims of India do not have the same national identities. But they have same myths, customs and beliefs. On the other hand, Peirrre van den Berghe tries to answer the above-mentioned problem of Anthony D Smith's arguments in the context of 'nation'. In order to define the 'nation', he argues that the 'nation' can be treated as an extension of ethnic community and the idea of kinship, however cannot treat ethnic community and kinship as 'nation'. This is on account of the fact might have some myth and symbols but they change time to time or this myths and symbols are created. On the other hand the other hand the myths, symbols, customs and rites are not created in the context of nation they are inherent or natural. The population might follow some myths and symbols which are given by their ethnic ancestors, but not all the symbols and myths are borrowed from their ethnic ancestors, they are created by many institutions.

Some thinkers like Tom Nairn, Gellner, Deutch and others do not endorse myth-symbol complex of ethno-symbolism, they argue that the 'nation' is composed of discrete populations, a given territory, a distinct set of institutions and roles, and parallel, but unique, cultures. In the sense, the nation was a special kind of socio-biological community, one on whose behalf leaders could mobilize its population to make sacrifices, including the ultimate sacrifices.[30] As Ernest Gellner emphasizes, the concept of 'nation' is a modern phenomenon, it comes around nineteenth century. He remarked apropos of this initiative in the context of the origin of 'nation':

> "…….and where modernists like myself believe that the world was created round about the end of the eighteen century, and nothing before makes the slightest difference to the issues we face."[31]

Anthony D Smith's theory puts stark contradiction between perennialist account of 'nation' and 'modernist' account of 'nation'. Modernists theories tries to put forward the origin of 'nation' as a modern, recent and state propaganda to divert masses from their failure, that's why they believe the nature of nationalism is constructed (Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Anthony D Smith himself analyzes the modernist account as follows:

---

[30] See, Pierre Van Den Berghe, 'Race and ethnicity: a socio-biological perspective', Ethnic and Racial Studies, 1978, 1, 4, 401-11 and see also 'Does race matter', *Nation and Nationalism*, 1995, 1, 3, 357- 68.
[31] E. Gellner, 'Do nations have navels', *Nations and Nationalism*, 1996, p-366.

1. Nationalism, the ideology and movement is both recent and novel
2. Nations, too are recent and novel
3. Both are the products of 'modernization', the global movement of societies to the state of modernity[32]

Max Weber defines state as "that agency within society that possesses the monopoly of legitimate violence."[33] Gellner cited this definition to another level and argues that the state legitimizes violence in the name of 'nation'. So that he claims that the concept of 'nation' is invented by the state order to justify violence[34]. This is one of the reasons that many modernist thinkers believe that the concept of 'nation' is not natural or inherent. It is a creation of the state.

Some thinkers put capitalism angle in the context of invention of 'nation'. Thinkers like John Breuilly argue that the 'nation' is not just invented by state. It is also a creation of capitalism. He explains that the main purpose of nationalism is to mobilize, sympathize, encourage and also legitimize the interest of bourgeoisie class through liberal framework like, creation of new classes within working classes and disorganize the movements of working class against state. In the name of development of the nation, capitalism captures the natural resources of the masses[35]. As a result of these developmental phenomena, subjectivity of human suppressed, if not completely erased. This analysis of capitalism in the context of 'nation', that does not mean that modernists denied the social and psychological element such as 'consciousness' and 'independent agency' of human being. But they explain that the social and the psychological elements of human are manipulated in the capitalist society.

In the context of modernist conception of the above the above-mentioned approach, Anderson puts forward a beautiful analysis of 'nation'. He refers to print-capitalism as a modern phenomenon, which encapsulates the notion of the 'nation' in masses. If we see both the

---

[32] Anthony D Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach*, Routlrdge Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York, 2009, p-6.

[33] http://www.exploringgeopolitics.org/publication_effernik_van_leonhardt_nations_nationalism_states_modernism_ethno_symbolism_primordialism_perennialism_identity_ethnies_vernacular_languages_industrialisation/

[34] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006, p-7.

[35] See, Jhon Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 2nd edition, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993 (1982) and also 'Approaches to Nationalism' in Gopal Balakrishnan, *Mapping the Nation*, Verso, London and New York, 1996, pp- 144-74.

accounts the nation is in the division of 'self' (which is part of particular nation) or 'us' and 'them'. Even the quality of 'imagination' which marks out Anderson's unique departure, is dependent on a host of prior material and institutional factors which lay the basis for what can be successfully imagined in the modern epochs[36].

The new terminology coined by Anthony D Smith is *ethnie*. He defines *ethnie* as 'named human' populations with the shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with an association with an association with a specific territory, and a sense of solidarity'[37]. This is path-breaking in the sense that to formulate and support the ethno-symbolism. The feature of ethnie is equivalent is equivalent to 'nation'. On that basis Smith argues that the 'nation' is a pre-modern collective social and cultural identity. According to Smith,

> "Collective cultural identity refers not to a uniformity of elements over generations but to a sense of continuity on the part of successive generations of a given cultural unit of population, to shared memories of earlier events and periods in the history of that unit and to nations entertained by each generation about the collective destiny of that unit and its culture."[38]

Smith moves further and argues:

> "There is a felt filiation, as well as a cultural affinity, with a remote past in which a community was formed, a community that despite all changes it has undergone, is still in some sense recognized as the "same" community."[39]

John Hutchinson puts forward a contrary position in the context of ethno-symbolism. He claimed:

---

[36] See, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edn, Verso, London and New York, 1991 (1983)

[37] Anthony D Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism*: A Cultural approach, Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York, 2009, p-25.

[38] Anthony D Smith, *National Identity*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991, p-25.

[39] Ibid, p-33

"……that nationalists are typically outsiders, who sometimes work against ethnic traditions, that their movements are often weak and divided, that they typically achieve power only by default because of a collapse of the state in war, and that the most secure means of nation-formation is a state of your own."[40]

Although John Hutchinson also accepts that the cultural accepts of ethno-symbolism is also necessary in the formation of a nation. In his book *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism* (1987), he puts forward the example of the Irish movement. He divided the Irish movement in two aspects. First, the political aspect, where is the demand of Irish movement of a separate and sovereign state. Irish claims that they are culturally based because they believe that they are historically not part of Great Britain and Great Britain is not able to serve the aspiration of Irish communities. And, Second aspect is cultural, where the demand of separate and sovereign state is based upon a separate upon a separate morality, separate value from Great Britain. And political classes rediscover myths, old customs, and old traditions to encourage national movements. However such cultural nationalism leads to political activities, but the demand of separate and sovereign state is totally based on cultural aspects.

In Smith's work, we do not find relevance of political aspects in the creation of nation, his full emphasis is on the cultural aspects of nations. Here a significant question arises that is it possible to ignore to political aspect in the modern world in the formation of new nation? We found that the perennialist account little space for political space in the formation or demand of a new nation and simultaneously in the analysis of the origin of 'nation'. On the other hand in the modernist account we found there is little space for the cultural aspect in the formation or demand of new state. I will deal with the modernist account in the next chapter, here my focus is on the perennialist account. So, I will try to analyze their misleading in the context of the origin of the nation. Second pertinent question which is arises here is that Can we says that culture and politics is separate in the context of defining the nation and national identity? Or is it be possible to imagine that there is no role of politics involved in the formation or construction of nation or national identity? Or can it be said that the idea of national identity is an inherent quality or natural quality which developed through time bound process. The above-mentioned questions are the basis of modernists' account of 'nation'.

---

[40] Quoted in Anthony D Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism: A cultural Approch*, London: Routledge, p-112.

## 1.5 The failure of Smith's accounts in order to define the 'nation':

In this section, I will deal with the flaw in Smith's definition of nation and also discuss his earlier definition of nation and later changes. In his work *National identity* (1991), Smith puts forward his fundamental definition of the nation:

> "A named human population sharing an historic territory, common myth and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal lights and duties for all members."[41]

In 'When is a Nation' (2002), Smith puts forward and modifies the earlier position in the context of the 'nation'. In the later version he illustrates the 'ideal-type' of definition in the context of 'nation. He introduces very insightful and fresh modifications in the process to define the nature of the 'definition'. He emphasizes that the 'nation' as "a named community possessing an historic territory, shared myths and memories, a common culture and common laws and customs"[42]

On the basis of the comparison between two positions, I want to emphasize three main modifications as follows:

a)  The 'mass' phenomena of public culture have been removed
b)  A 'common economy' also eliminated and
c)  'common legal rights and duties for all members' eliminated and 'common laws and customs' introduced.

Now, I want to discuss the reason behind these changes. According to Smith, what is the problem in his earlier positions?

1)  In my view the removal of the reference to the 'mass' character of public culture in later version of Smith's definition of the 'nation' may be connected with his heated argument with Walker Connor. Anthony D Smith in his path-breaking work 'When is a nation?'. He emphasized that nationalism is a mass phenomenon- not an elite- phenomenon (in the

---

[41] Anthony D Smith, *National Identity*, Harmondworth: Penguin, 1991, p-14.
[42] Anthony D Smith, 'when is a nation', Geopolitics, 2002, 7(2), 5-32.

sense that any section could be influence masses to raise their voice for the nation), this argument raises more basic question in the context of the nation. And Smith continued to argue that for the existence of nation 'mass' public culture was required. He argued that "it was possible to find example of social-formations in pre-modern periods, even in the antiquity that for the some decades or even centuries approximated to an inclusive definition of the concept of the 'nation'?"[43] This statement is problematic in nature of 'nation' because Smith is not only emphasizing that there is an ethnic origin of nations, which is found in ancient times, on the hand he also agrees with Connor that prior to modern period, some nations did exist. Connor argues that, how should 'mass' be defined? That includes the whole of population or majority of population and then what type of 'majority' does it includes. A large section of the population or over fifty percent of the population? Smith realizes the soundness of Connor's argument since 'pre-nation' never enjoyed a mass public culture.

Connor asserts : "A key faced by scholars when dating the emergence of nations is that national consciousness is a mass, not an elite phenomenon, and the masses, until quite recently isolated in rural pockets and being semi or totally illiterate, were quite mute with regard to their sense of group identy (ies)and very often the elites conception of the nation did not even extend to the masses"[44] Ernest Gellner also asserts similar argument and he illustrates that there is always two type of culture of elites and the culture of the masses:

"In the characteristic agro-literate polity, the ruling class forms a small minority of the population, rigidly separate from the great majority of direct agricultural producers, or peasantry. Below the horizontally stratified minority at the top, there is another world, that of the laterally separated petty communities of the lay members of the society. Even if the population of a given area starts from the same linguistic base line-which very often in not the case- a kind of cultural drift soon engenders dialectical and other differences."[45]

[43] Anthony D Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, p- 190.

[44] Walker Connor, *Ethno-Nationalism: The Quest for Understanding*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994a, p-159

[45] Ernest Gellner, *Nation and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1983, p-9.

The removal of mass character of public culture allows Smith to assert that a nation exists even 'if its particular culture is not shared by the mass of the population'. A 'public culture' is totally different from a 'mass culture'.

2) He also removed a 'common economy' in the later version of his theory in the context of the nature of 'nation'. There are many problems in order to define 'a common economy' that cannot be ignored. Problem like, does he refers a common economy for all the nations? Here we can say that in the context of nation, a nation does not have control over the economy. Only state has control over economy. Or does he refer to a single type of production in the context of the economy? As Smith asserts, if the nation is a kind(s) of collective cultural identity' (Smith 2002: 15), through 'a common economic activities', nation cannot be defined.

In order to define the nature of nation in his earlier work he introduces 'common legal right and duties for all members' that cannot be treated as an essential feature of nation. In my view, it is a characteristic of a nation-state. Or we can say that to regulate these common legal right and duties of members, state is requires. In any circumstances, not every members of the 'nation' performs the same duties. In the modern world, lot of legal rights comes from other states and other institutions. In his later work he introduces 'common law and custom'. The common laws are introduced by modern political institutions. It is not part of any cultural institutions.

Smith fails to articulate the difference between 'nation' and 'nation-state'. In modern era, the state regulates the right and lives of the people within its territory boundary. In pre-modern societies, the communities do not have 'common legal system and right' According to Anthony D Smith\, the unity (which is considered as national unity) is based upon value, myth, belief and other cultural entities. My basic disagreement with Anthony D Smith is that the main reason of this unity (I do not consider this as national unity) is based upon activities such as gathering of food, to protect their dignity of children and women from foreign invaders. The myths, values, beliefs, and other cultural entities are erased, suppressed and created from time to time, so they cannot be considered as an instrumental reason behind the formation of 'nation'. Even in family there are lot of myths, values, beliefs, law and custom

and so-on practiced through generation to generation, so we can not considered the family as 'nation'.

After the enlightenment period, lot of custom, traditions, and values are challenged by the harbingers of enlightenment philosophers. After that period, the functions of state became more essential in the case to regulate the norms and legal rights of citizenship. Every individual have equal rights. If the state is unable to provide equal status to their citizens, then the common sentiments are hurt by common feeling, on the basis of prejudices many citizens demand a new nation-state.

Even the concept of 'citizenship' was different at that time. As in Judean Commonwealth', where only adult males are considered as citizen, women and children are not considered as citizen. So, if we consider his conception of 'nation' as it is then more than half of the population are nation-less. So, the question which is arises here that if the population of adult male are citizens, then what happens to the women and children. Are they part of nation- state?

Anthony D Smith modified his earlier position and removed 'common legal rights and duties and added common law and custom', without giving any clear-cut reason behind his latest addition 'custom and law'. But, in view, there is still the problem in the addition of 'common law and custom'. As, I mentioned earlier, many ethnic communities do not consider women and children as citizens to be included in the nation-state. So, we see that Anthony D Smith's latest addition of 'common law and custom' is vague in nature, and also his inclusion of common law and custom are sufficient to define 'nation'. Common law and custom is horizontal in nature, not linear in the nature. So, 'common law and custom' are misleading in order to define the common feature of 'nation'.

As, I mentioned earlier, even in the family there are myths, symbols, values, beliefs and so-on that have been practiced through generation to generation. As Fedrik Bath, the Norwegian anthropologist analyzes the 'border guard' and 'boundary mechanism' that separate and differentiate social groups in their attitude and perception.[46] In the same way the family works, and they have 'border guards' and 'boundary mechanism' not that larger extent, so can we consider family as 'sub-nation', if not 'nation'.

---

[46] F. Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Boston: Little, Brown and Co., p-7.

In my view, if we take Anthony D Smith's path-breaking definition of the 'nation' as it is, then there are many cases when his definition of nation becoming misleading in order to understand the notion of 'nation'. For example, in the case of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the German Federal Republic (GFR), both the countries (after 1945) do not uphold the 'common legal right and duties' for the citizens of these countries and both these do not uphold 'a common economy'. So, If we consider both the countries as a single nation then other problem arises that they do not have common legal rights and duties and also that they are lacking in the sense of 'a common economy'. If we accept that myths, cultures, beliefs, traditions, values, and so-on are the reason behind the formation of 'nation', the problem which arises that after how many years, do the members, holding common after myth, culture, belief, tradition, value, tradition become a nation?

Now I want to put forward another example of Northern Cyprus (although this country is only recognized by Turkey). This case is similar to the case of German Democratic Republic (GDR) and German Federal Republic. Due to Turkish attack on Cyprus, the country divided into two parts one is Southern Cyprus and another is Northern Cyprus. Due to this invasion, new regime has been introduced and simultaneously new legal right and duties introduced, but at the same time the mass is still inclined towards Greek. So can we consider them two separate nations, or are they a single nation?

Smith mentioned, in his work *The Ethnic Origin of Nation* and showed another case of Catalans:

> "The Catalans are undoubtedly a nation today, just as they were an *ethnie* in the pre-mentioned. Not only do they inhabit their historic territory (more or less), they are now able to teach in their own language and fund a mass, public, standardized education system in Catalans and in Catalonia."[47]

He goes further and argues that Catalonia must be considered as a nation, although members of Catalonia have Spanish citizenship. If we go into the further investigation about Catalonia, Smith rightly pointed it out that Catalonia is 'closely linked to the wider Spanish economy'[48]. In that case Catalonia has quasi-common economy. Still economy is fully controlled by the Spanish

---

[47] Anthony D Smith, *Ethnic Origin of Nations*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1986, p-166.
[48] Ibid,

authority. That being the case Smith's assertion that a common economy is required in order to be considered as a 'nation' fails to justify because 'a common economy' is being controlled by another authority. In the case of other Catalonians, which are French citizens, have to follow different economic structure and law. Then other question arises here that are they part of one Catalonian nation (French and Spanish Catalonians)?

Even during the dictatorship period of Franco, Catalans forcefully shared the common legal rights and duties. So, why did Smith consider Catalans as a 'nation' today? In my view, a common economy, common legal rights and duties, mass public cultures are not necessary and sufficient conditions to be considered as 'nation'. However, it is not necessary that to be considered as a 'nation' these doctrines are required. It is not necessary that 'nation' is autonomous or not autonomous, independent or not independent. In my view, Catalonia is a 'nation', even during the period of Franco dictatorship. The condition of common legal rights and duties and 'a common economy' is not required for a 'nation', these things are feature of 'state', rather than 'nation'.

The Spanish constitution has made modification in 1978 and gives special emphasis on Catalans. In the process of modifications of Spanish Constitution, the law makers do not recognize Catalans as members of a sovereign state. They are still a part of the Spanish democracy. They gave autonomous status to Catalans. This modification still recognizes Catalans as a sub- group. So, how can they be considered as a 'nation' today as per Smith's assumption in the context of 'nation'? Anthony D Smith vaguely remarks that to consider a group as a 'nation', then a group must has common legal right and economy. He did not bother to mention that the group is consensually accepted these criteria or not.

In his latest definition, Smith replaced 'common legal rights and duties' by 'common laws and customs', in a much more vague term. In modern societies, only the state has the capacity to make constitutions and implement laws and on the basis of constitution and laws then state the rights and duties of citizens within its territorial boundary. So, by saying that the individuals in the nation are bound to follow 'common law', Smith was basically pronouncing the feature of state, instead of 'nation'. Even, custom could not be followed by masses in a single direction.

# Chapter 2- Review of the Modernist Account of Benedict Anderson in the Context of 'Nation'

In the previous chapter, I dealt with Anthony D Smith's perennialist account in the context of the concept and origin of *nation*. In this chapter, I will deal with the modernist account of Benedict Anderson. The modernists (hereby modernists, I only refer to the discussion on the origin of *nation*) argue that the *nation* is a modern phenomena and more specifically, it is a European phenomena. Through, Europe this phenomena spread all over the globe. As against this argument perennialists argue that the concept of *nation* is not a modern phenomena, 'at the very beginning' of human society such phenomena exist everywhere, whether it is Europe, Latin America, Asia, Africa or any other continent. The main reason behind this disagreement is that perennialists puts forward the cultural aspect in their analysis of *nation* in first place; on the other hand, modernist put forward the capitalism and political aspect in their approach in order to understand the concept of *nation*[49].

The present chapter is an attempt to offer a critical assessment of Benedict Anderson's modernist account. In doing so, I will focus on Benedict Anderson's eponymous work *Imagined communities: Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983, revised edition, 1991) and other works of Benedict Anderson. Although he has not changed his original position that nation is an *imagined communities*, in his other works Benedict Anderson uses many terminologies to support his original position. In the process of a critical assessment of Benedict Anderson's work, I divide this chapter in two parts. In the first part, I try to analyze his account and the basis of his formulation of the concept of *nation*. I will also highlight some other work, which has impact on Benedict Anderson thesis of *nation*. In the second part of this chapter, I try to engage with Partha Chatterjee's critique of Benedict Anderson's account of *imagined community*.

---

[49] Although, modernists are not completely deny the cultural root in the creation of *nation*, but the difference between modernist account and perennialst account is that perennialists argue that culture is inevitable or natural in the *nation*. On the other hand, modernists argue that the cultural tenets are created or circulated by capitalism. It cannot be possible in the pre- modern societies, because in pre- modern societies, there are not strong source for the circulation of information. It can be only possible in the modern societies, because in modern time the technology is so advanced, so that it is easy to circulate information and mobilize mass on the basis of this information.

## 2.1.1- Benedict Anderson's conceptualization of 'Print Capitalism' and its role in the formation of a 'nation' (Imagined Communities):

Benedict Anderson, one of the most influential thinkers in the context of the *nation*, puts forward the origin and concept of the *nation*, which is contrary to the perennialist account of Anthony D Smith (Anthony D Smith asserts that the *nation* has ethnic origin). Benedict Anderson realized that exact definition cannot possible but, he asserts that "nation, nationality, nationalism- all have proved notoriously difficult to define"[50], in the same way Seton- Watson asserts that "no scientific definition of the Nation can be devised: yet the phenomena existed and exist."[51]

Nevertheless Benedict Anderson provides the definition of *nation* in term of *imagined community*. According to Benedict Anderson, the concept of *nation* is predominantly *modern*. And, Benedict Anderson asserts that the concept of nation is *Universal*, because like gender or other identities, everybody has nationalities. Benedict Anderson defined *nation* in terms of *nation-ness* or *nationalism*, and proposes anthropological (anthropological because on the basis of the study of human being) definition: "it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."[52]

Benedict Anderson coined a new term in his beautiful analysis of *nation*, he defines *nation* as an 'imagined community'[53]. Benedict Anderson argues that the mass of any country did not know

---

[50] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: Reflection of the origins and spread of Nationalism*, Verso: London and New York, 1983 (1991, revised edition), p- 3.

[51] Seton- Watson, Hugh, *Nations and States*: *An Enquiry into the Origin of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism,* Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1977, p-5.

[52] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso: London and New York, 1983 (1991, revised edition), p- 6.

[53] The idea behind using the term 'Imagined Communities', which coined by Benedict Anderson comes from work of Seton- Watson, Hugh. '*Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origin of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism*, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977, p- 5: 'All that I can find to say is that a nation exist when a significant numbers of people in a community consider themselves to form a *nation*, or behave as if they form one.' Here, Benedict Anderson translates 'consider themselves' as 'imagine themselves'. See, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso: London and New York, 1983 (1991, revised edition), p- 6.

or meet each other. It is completely impossible for any member to know or meet *each* and *every* member of society, however due to communication provided through 'print capitalism' member develop emotional and sympathy for *each* and *every* member of society. That's why Benedict Anderson considers *nation* as *imagined community*. This *imagined community* is created through the use of 'print- capitalism'.

According to Benedict Anderson, the *imagined community* is *sovereign*[54] (the basis of the unification of these *imagined community* is that they believe that the members collectively govern by *itself*). As Benedict Anderson mentions:

> "It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely- ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm."[55]

Benedict Anderson adds one more term in his conceptualization of *imagined community* that it is *limited*. The inclusion of this new term puts forward a new dimension in his observation with regard to 'print capitalism'. The question arises here, why does he add the term *limited*? According to Benedict Anderson, *limited*

> "even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind."[56]

The above- mentioned quotation signify that through the information provided by print-capitalism, member of imagined communities able to differentiate between 'self' or collective

---

[54] The term 'sovereignty' came from Latin word 'superanus', which signify that 'supreme'. The political scientist defined concept of 'sovereignty' in many ways, but well accepted definition produced by Aristotle, he defines sovereignty as: 'supreme power of state' and Hugo Grotius, one of the most famous medieval time Dutch Jurist defines 'sovereignty' as: "Sovereignty is the sovereign political power vested in him whose acts are not subject to any other and whose will cannot be over-ridden",   see, http://www.politicalsciencenotes.com/essay/sovereignty-meaning-and-characteristics-of-sovereignty/254

[55] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection of the Origins and spread of Nationalism*, Verso: London and New York, 1983 (revised edition, 1991), p- 7.

[56] Ibid, p- 7

self[57] and 'other' or 'outsider', here 'other' or 'outsider' refers the member of other *nation* or which cannot be considered as part of that particular *nation* or *imagined community.*

Benedict Anderson concludes:

> "Finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willing to die for such limited imaging."[58]

On the basis of characteristics proposed by *nationalism*, Benedict Anderson does not consider that the concept of *nationalism* is an *ideology* or a singular *ideology* (because, it is not possible to provide a universally accepted definition of *nation*), like liberalism, Marxism or any other *ism*. Benedict Anderson argues that *nationalism* cannot be considered as an ideology, because it is not genuine (means created through 'print capitalism') in nature like other ideologies like Marxism, Liberalism or any sort of ideologies, because these ideologies are not created which means that they genuinely inspire human *agency* to associate with the ideologies, without any propaganda.

If we look more closely in the account of Benedict Anderson, then, we can say that the upsurge of *nationalism* or *nation- ness* is based on the following medium, which is not visible or possible in the pre- modern societies. On the basis of Benedict Anderson's arguments, these following reasons are the necessary condition for the emergence of *nationalism* in modern societies.

(a) 'Print- Capitalism':

Through 'print- Capitalism' a large number of publications of new or old texts and also, mass number of publications in vernacular languages, capture the consciousnesses of the members of society to think in the same way. Due to this print- capitalism, the individuals of imagined communities, despite large numbers speak in a fixed language which is circulated by 'print-capitalism'.

---

[57] Here, 'collective self' signifies that many individuals of particular imagined community consider themselves as part of one-ness, that means they similar feeling, emotional in the context of nation or betterment of nation. And, the interest of nation comes first.

[58] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection of the Origins and spread of Nationalism*, Verso: London and New York, 1983 (revised edition, 1991), p- 7.

(b) Role of technology in the formation of 'nation':

After arrival of modernity the need of technology became necessary. But, this necessity of technology does not just serve the purpose of industrialization. It also serves the purpose for creation of a nation. Technology became a tool for information, like radio mass media. As Benedict Anderson has pointed out, especially for radio, the role of radio is a one major instrument for circulation, which circulates national value, which it incorporates in the masses[59]. The pertinent question that arises here is that, why does Benedict Anderson focus especially on radio as playing a major role in the incorporation of national value? In my view, when Benedict Anderson was in the process of writing his thesis, other mediums had still not become mass phenomena for the circulation of information. Especially, in the third world countries, radio is the only or main instrument for the circulation of information.

(c) The role of language in the formation of nationalism:

The Language became one of the essential phenomena in the late 18th century, in order to differentiate between *self* and *other* or *outsider*. Due to emergence of publication in vernacular languages the sub-nationalism emerges within the boundary of *nation*. This became a phenomenon in the early 19th century.

"The underlying belief was that each true nation was marked off by its own peculiar language and literary culture, which together expressed that people's historical genius[60]".

## 2.1.2: *Nationalism* is the greatest failure of Marxism:

According to Tom Nairn, the author of one of the path breaking works *The Break- up of Britain* asserts, 'the theory of nationalism represents Marxism's great historical failure'.[61] Through asserting these lines, Tom Nairn, Marxist thinker showed displeasure and argue that the Marxist

---

[59] Ibid, p- 45,

[60] Ibid, p- 40

[61] Tom Nairn, 'The Modern Janus', *New Left Review,* 94, November-December, 1975, p. 3. This article as it is published in Tom Nairn other work, *The Break-up of Britain* as chapter 9, London: New Left Books, 1977, pp. 329-63.

regimes in promises, upholder of Marxist ideology, which represent the anti-imperialism, but, in practice they became upholder of imperialism. Due to displeasure of the attitude of Marxist regimes, the working classes have seen their interest in nationalist movement. Similarly, Eric Hobsbawm also puts forward same reservation that 'Marxist movements and states have tended to become national not only in form but in substance, i.e., nationalist. There is nothing to suggest that this trend will not continue.'[62] It seems that Benedict Anderson also agreed to some extent convinced Tom Nairn and Eric Hobsbawm's assertion. Benedict Anderson begins his eponymous work, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism;* with the analysis of certain historical events that occured in the communist and socialist countries. Benedict Anderson asserts that after World War II, Marxist became torch-bearer of successful revolution. The principle of this Marxism has been shattered, after some time of the establishment of this Marxist regime. They behave like imperialist, and moreover, indulge in the war of supremacy, instead of providing political security to less powerful countries. He mentioned:

> "Its most visible signs are the recent wars between Vietnam, Cambodia and China. These wars are of world-historical importance because they are the first to occur between regimes whose independence and revolutionary credentials are undeniable, and because none of the belligerents has made more than the most perfunctory attempts to justify the bloodshed in terms of a recognizable *Marxist* theoretical perspective."[63]

Benedict Anderson demonstrated another reason behind the failure of communist regime and forwarded the example of 'cenotaph and Unknown Soldier'[64]. In the case of universal soldier or cenotaph (in Greek tradition, for the some specific person, whose dead body is not go for burial, and people respected these empty burial, and believe true representative of national sentiment), these are the symbol of national glory and heroism. In the case of Marxist or Liberals, can this national heroism possible? This question put up by Benedict Anderson; he asserts that it cannot be possible, because Marxists does not believe in the death or immortality. In the rubric of

[62] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Some Reflections on "The Break-up of Britain"' *New Left Review,* 105, September-October 1977, p. 13.

[63] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and spread of Nationalism*, Verso: London and New York, 1983 (revised edition 1991), p- 1.

[64] Ibid, p-9,

nationalism, these types of symbol and myth are instrument and essential, to closely intact with nations. It could be one of the reasons behind the failure of Marxist or socialist regime.

## 2.1.3: Some pertinent questions against Benedict Anderson's modernist account in the context of 'nation':

In this section, I want to put forward some questions, in order to highlight the limitation and positive aspects of Benedict Anderson's account:

If 'nation' is created, how long this nation can be survived?

Benedict Anderson argues that nation is created, if we take this correct, then the question arises that how long can this nation survive? This question can be addressed in two ways. At first Benedict Anderson was also aware about this question. The way *nation* is created, in the same way the sub- nation is also created. One can argue that Benedict Anderson did not respond this question. He argues that *nation* is created, then after some time the existence of sub- nation is also created, and this series goes on further and further. After sometime we can say that the concept of 'nation' is imaginary. If series of sub- nation go further and further, then what is the difference between ethnicity, racism and sub- nationalism. Another problem of Benedict Anderson assertion is that if 'nation' is created through the use 'print capitalism', then it could be possible that the 'print-capitalism' could be easily break the nation or create another nation. And second question arises here that, what will be the basis of the creation of a nation? The basis of the creation of a nation is a sentiment, which is based on myth, symbol, culture, association of historical homeland. So, as per my view that Benedict Anderson ignored the fact, there could be ethnic origin in the formation of a nation.

## 2.1.4 (a)- *Nation* beyond boundaries or within the boundary:

Moving further, I want to put forward the example of Gulf countries. In order to fight against the colonialism, Gulf Countries are created, but, after the independence of these countries a new problem arises that how long these countries can be united, because the purpose of unifications of these countries is fulfilled. There are many multi- nationalities that live together in these

countries. The reasons of these different nationalities are based upon different cultural units. May be that unity is based upon religion, race or ethnic groups. If these *nations* are created then, it that is also possible that they cannot be sustained for many years. My point is that these nationalities are not pre- modern. Even these nationalities are not *national* these nationalities are united just for the fight against colonizer.

As I mentioned in the previous paragraph, the necessity of the demand to unite against the colonial masters in these countries lead them to react such situations. There are other reasons for the unification of smaller unit in to the larger unit, which can be considered as *nation*. Their unification or solidification is also due to the threat from neighboring countries. They are united because of their security concerns or other state benefits. But still the question arises many nations exist within the boundaries of one state and also one single nation may present between two states. If one national identity are living in the two different state, can we considered as one *nation* or two nations? For example, Catalonians, some members of Catalonians communities are settled in France, and some members of Catalonian communities are settled in Spain. So as per Benedict Anderson, an imagined community is a sovereign, Catolonia is not a nation. So, what is difference between nation and state?

## 2.1.4 (b) role of ruling class in a *nation*:

Benedict Anderson has quite clearly mentioned that nationalism only serves the purpose of ruling class. Due to continuous ignorance of the other communities, the multi- nations or sub-nations exist within the *nation*. He moves further and pointed to a second reason to support the earlier argumentation:

> "……….the colonial empire, with its rapidly expanding bureaucratic apparatus and its 'Russifying' policies, permitted sizeable numbers of bourgeois and petty bourgeois to play aristocrat off centre court: i.e. anywhere in the empire except at home."[65]

Even in the second line of the power structure, there are no spaces for downtrodden members of the societies, that's why the feeling for ethnic communities strengthen. Benedict Anderson moves further, and mentioned that due to emergence of ethnic identities, these communities

---

[65] Ibid.

created the threat to the boundary of the state. Tom Nairn puts same approach in his analysis, which supports Benedict Anderson's position:

> "The arrival of nationalism in a distinctively modern sense was tied to the political baptism of the lower classes . . . Although sometimes hostile to democracy, nationalist movements have been invariably populist in outlook and sought to induct lower classes into political life. In its most typical version, this assumed the shape of a restless middle-class and intellectual leadership trying to sit up and channel popular class energies into support for the new states."[66]

Tom Nairn pointed out that the political classes, through populist measures mobilize the lower class, which is nationalist in nature. On the other hand they continuously ignore the demand and inspiration of lower class. These lower classes united, and they are try to create new state, in order to suppress these demand the ruling class create the concept of 'nation'.

## 2.1.3 (c) Role of religion in the formation of 'nation'

After the emergence of nationalism in West Europe, Benedict Anderson asserted: "the eighteen century marks not only the dawn of the age of nationalism, but the dusk of religious thought."[67] The pertinent question arises here that, is it true in each and every case? This question needs further investigation, Loius Snyder, asserted the role of religion in the formation of nationalism, especially in the case of Middle East[68]. Loius Snyder asserted that the core of the Middle East nation is religion, and the religion shaped in there politics.

---

[66] Tom Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain: crisis and neonationalism*, Verso; London and New York, 1981 (2nd edition) and Common Ground Publication, 2003 (3rd edition), p- 41.

[67] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and spread of Nationalism*, Verso: London and New York, 1983 (1991, revised edition), p- 11.

[68] Louis Snyder analysis of nationalism based on the upraise of nationalism in different geographical location. He categorizes nationalism in European nationalism as 'fissiparous', racial nationalism in Africa, Anti-colonial nationalism in Asia, Populist nationalism in Latin America, Messianic nationalism in Russia, melting-pot nationalism in America. On the basis of time, Louis Snyder categorizes 4 types of nationalism, a) 1815- 71- 'integrative nationalism'- which can be located between 1815 to 1871, b) 'disruptive nationalism'- which can be located between 1871- 1900, c) 'aggressive nationalism'- which can be located between 1900- 1945, d)

Hence, religion has a significant role in the formation of 'nation'; On the basis of religion it is easy for the state to unite masses. And the constitution and the formation of the state are based upon religious sanctity (not in every case, but in many cases the formation of nation is based upon religion). The reflection of their religious beliefs in the state machinery give legitimacy of their belief that inspire to mass give respect and legitimacy to the state. If the religion of the state and the religion of masses are interconnected with each other, they have a common feeling and their loyalty is always towards the state or nation. The one-ness and this feeling are never challenged by the members of that particular state or nation. That is one of the reasons behind the formation or creation of nation. When the religion of the state and the members of this state are same, the task of uniting the people and to gain loyalty of masses can easily achieved. The need of the loyalty and allegiance of the masses is not just beneficiary for the state; it is also important for sacred religion. If the masses accept without questioning the sanctity of religion and it is protected by the state then it is helpful for the creation of 'nation'.

Benedict Anderson asserts that the nation (especially in the case of West Europe) came into the picture, due to the downfall of religion, due to modern and liberal entities, freedom, good will and justice people are less inclined towards the religion. In the case of Middle East, as per Synder analysis basis of imagined community is religion[69].

I want to put forward another dimension of religious communities. The religion practiced by Chinese Muslim and other part of world, can be treated as imagined communities? As per, Benedict Anderson thesis theses religious communities cannot be treated as imagined communities, because of the fact that apart from the religious symbols, like pray, or performing religious practices, they are not sentimentally associated with the other member of the religious communities. This case is also applicable in the case of Buddhist of Japan and Sri Lanka or any other religion. So, in the case of Middle East, the religion is the base of *imagined community*, on the other hand, the religious communities of Chinese Muslim and other part of Muslim, or Buddhist of Korea, Japan or any other countries cannot be treated as *imagined community*. This case is also applicable to other religious communities.

---

'contemporary worldwide' nationalism which can be located between 1945- to present era. See, Louis Snyder, *The Meaning of Nationalism,* New Brunswick 1954; *The New Nationalism,* Ithaca 1968, pp. 64—7.
[69] Ibid,

## 2.1.3 (d) Other imagining communities beyond the dynasty or religion:

After the decaying of the Ottoman Empire and the Caliph in middle-east, the British Colonialism became so powerful and fulfilled the gap generated due to decline of these empires. During the period of rule of British Colonialism, it was easy and necessary to unite tribal elites. This unity of tribal elites is *national* in nature. Here, I am saying that it is *national* in nature that means that they unite because the ruler is an outsider and the country must be ruled by natives. When people are differentiating between *insider* and *outsider* or between *us* and *them*, then this demand can be considered as a national sentiment. I am not saying that it is only visible in the Arab Gulf countries. I am just putting forward just one example of Arab Gulf countries. The religion that incorporated in the society is tough to remove in the society, however Benedict Anderson argues that after the enlightenment period, the idea incorporated by the enlightenment that spread across the globe, was that the role of religion (in the process of mobilization of masses) has been shrunken. As Benedict Anderson mentioned:

> "….. the concept that was born in an age in which enlightenment and revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely- ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. Coming to the maturity at a stage of human history were inescapably confronted with the living *pluralism* of such religions, and the allomorphism between each faith's ontological claims and territorial stretch, nations dream of being free, and, if under god, directly so. The gage and emblem of this freedom is a sovereign state."[70]

Benedict Anderson moved further, and mentioned:

> "The century of the enlightenment, of rationalist secularism, brought with it its own modern darkness. With the ebbing of religious belief, the suffering which belief in part composed did not disappear. Disintegration of paradise: nothing makes fatality more arbitrary. Absurdity of salvation: nothing makes another sort of continuity more necessary. What then was required was a secular transformation of fatality into

---

[70] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso: London and New York, 1983 (revised edition, 1991), p- 7.

continuity, contingency into meaning. As we shall see, few things were (are) better suited to this end than an idea of a nation."[71]

## 2.1.4 a case study, in order to analyze Benedict Anderson concept of *Imagined Communities*:

In the case of German nations (West Germany and East Germany), how do we relate to Benedict Anderson's *imagined communities* thesis? Are they *imagined communities* even in the period of separation or do they became *imagined communities* after their unification? In the case of Germany, people are separated because they feel that some part of Germany is like us, or they feel that the some part of Germany is not like us, the otherness inculcated in the masses. After some times this feeling is decimated, that's why the nation united. So, if we interpret Benedict Anderson theory and apply it to incorporate in the case of Germany, then we can say that when West Germany and East Germany are separated, then we can say that they are two separate *imagined communities*. When they are united then it can be considered a case of an *imagined community*. Only problem with this theory, even in the case of Germany to that a it is quite visible that during the transition period when the members start thinking about one- ness (masses of West Germany started to think that masses of East Germany are part of the same nation, and vice- versa), in that case certainly not everybody start thinking that we are part of same nation. So, question arises that the *imagined community* can be sustained 80% of masses or 20% of masses.

The one-ness of German territory is not just modern concern. Even in pre- modern time the masses of German speaking countries believed that they are part of one nation. Even, many times ruling masters tried for unification. However, due to political heterogeneity, they were never united. In the time of the fall of the Roman Empire, the ruling class as made the first attempt for the unification, at that time including part of Austria and the union of thirty nine German states tried to unified themselves, but due to political heterogeneity and dispute, this attempt was not sustain for a long time. So, political heterogeneity and many internal disputes may be reason

---

[71] Ibid, p- 11,

behind creation of many *imagined communities*, even when people have similar faiths, languages and cultures.

## 2.1.5 Long-distance nationalism

Benedict Anderson pointed out, about the necessity of *Long- distance nationalism* by mixing the point raised by Lord Acton and the great 17th century clerical orator Bousset. Lord Acton mentioned that 'exile is the nursery of nationality'[72], on the other hand, Bousset puts forward a completely different point in order to demonstrate the position of those persons who left their homeland and settled down in another country and argued that now *exiled* persons are or have to be deeply associated with present countries, it does not matter which countries they *belong* to. Bousset pointed out that the social and emotional connection in which members of particular communities are connected with other members of the present societies, even though they have different origin[73]. After analyzing both the thinkers Benedict Anderson pointed out that the after arrival of 'print- capitalism' their nationalism is questioned in two ways. In the first place their nationalism is checked by those countries where they are settled and in second place, their nationalism is checked by those countries from where, they are migrated, because of advancement of technology they are also deeply connected with their *homeland* (for later condition, Benedict Anderson used the term *long- distance nationalism*) and due to this phenomena *exiled* persons have to face dual national identity.

"Long-distance nationalism", is one of the key concepts introduced by Benedict Anderson in his work, *The Spectre of Comparison: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World*. Benedict Anderson argued that due to the expansion of capitalism throughout the globe, the restless mobility of population is increased and became a common phenomenon. Population is displaced for the purpose of study and job. This leads to an increase in immigration problem. Benedict Anderson critically analyzes these situations. After a critically assessment of these common

---

[72] Here exile does not just refer that person who forcefully thrown out from his own homeland, it also refers that person, who are willfully leave their country for better opportunity. See, Lord Acton, *Essays in the Liberal Interpretation of History*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 1967, pp- 146- 154.

[73] Cf. Benedict Anderson, *Long- Distance Nationalism: World Capitalism and Rise of Identity politics,* Centre of Asian Studies, Amsterdam, 1992, p- 5.

phenomena, he argues, that even this mobility and settled down in other countries, that does not change the scenario of nationalism. This lead to Anderson to conceptualize the term long-distance nationalism. He moved further and argued that when a foreign citizen settled down in other countries, he/she was not easily associated with these countries. Nationality still defined by the native countries. The sense of *exile* associated citizen towards own native countries, and became even greater than when they were settled in their countries. Their association towards homeland, was also supported by the advancement of mass- media and technology. They could easily get the information of the current affairs of their homeland. Benedict Anderson concludes that in the present time nationalism is not confined to nation- state boundaries.

In the case Malaysia, as Benedict Anderson has pointed out multi- religious, multi-cultural, and multi- linguistic communities existed in Malaysia and these communities have a close association with other countries as well, due historical and cultural lineage. This is especially true for the Chinese and Malay communities. Even, when these communities are incorporated into their Malaysian identities, on the same length and breadth they are embracing and have deep attachment towards middle- east and China, Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan or other countries. In that case one can argue that this attachment is not nationalist in nature. The former attachment is based upon religious sentiment and later based upon cultural identity.

These two ethnic- communities have different approaches in connection with worldly affair. In the case of Malays they are united against Israel attack on Palestine. On the other hand, Chinese communities have greater sympathy for protest in China or Greater china. Even these protests are not produced a unity among the Chinese community. Majority of younger generation of Chinese community are deeply associated with pro- democracy protest of Hong Kong, on the other hand older generation of these Chinese communities sympathizes with Greater china. So, we see that there are differences within their communities on the basis of ages. The problem put down by the sympathies of these two different generations is not easy to respond to in the context of nation or Imagined Communities. If we take this question to another level, when younger generation became older and coming new generation also supports the pro- democracy demand in Hong Kong, then we consider them as imagined community or a nation. So, another pertinent question arises here that

*(1)We see in the case of Malaysian ethnic communities and the dual identity practiced by this community. On the basis of dual identity practiced by these communities, Can this be considered as a different or another kind of nationalism?*

Instead of showing genuine human right concern, one community remains isolated from protest and the other community is deeply involved in this protest. In the case of Chinese they hardly associated with the protest against Israel's attack on Palestine. On the contrary, Malay community hardly associated with Hong Kong protest. After analyzing both the events, we can say that the participation in these protests is deeply based upon religion, culture and national sentiment (national means that in the case of Israel's attack on Palestine, Malay communities believed this attack on Palestine in another country was an attack on their country). On the basis of analysis of this situation we can formulate this question:

*(2) The above-mentioned situation illustrates the tension between concern over the other nation and national identity in the sense that their loyalty to their own nation would be questioned if they did not try to dilute their excessive concern over another country*

In the analysis of Long- distance Nationalism, Benedict Anderson puts forward the role of advance capitalism to maintain the Long- distance nationalism. On basis of Benedict Anderson's analysis,

*(3) To hold Long- distance nationalism not just technological advancement is required, also cultural and religious factor are required to continue to associate with homeland. Therefore it can be said that Benedict Anderson completely neglects the association of cultural and religious linkage of human being in the context of Long- distance Nationalism*

Another pertinent question arises here:

*(4) To maintain long-distance nationalism technological advancement plays an important role and simultaneously the association of human beings to their religion and culture plays a role. If so, how will the long- distance nationalism survive in this world? Given that in the present era the concept of "nation-state" is predominant, so it is very difficult to co-exist.*

After analyzing different aspect and challenges of nationalism, Benedict Anderson's description of the necessity of the arrival of nationalism is closely connected with the many topics like language, capitalism and print- capitalism. Through these descriptions, Benedict Anderson argues that *nation* or *nationalism* is not *natural* or *inherent*, rather it is created through many channels.

Benedict Anderson like other modernist thinkers, missed the point that in the case of pre- modern societies, where members of countries were able to distinguish between *themselves* and the *other* or the *outsider*. In that case could we consider those countries as 'nations'? If we do not consider them as *nations* then 'what is new terminology can be used for these countries'. My point of departure from Benedict Anderson is that, we can say that in the many cases we found that creation of 'nation' or considered as a 'nation' is a modern phenomena. However, on the other hand, we cannot say that in *each* and *every* case 'nation' is a modern phenomenon. That is one of the reasons we find disagreement between the perennialist account and the modernist account

## 2.1.6- The validity of Benedict Anderson's *imagined community* in the context of a *global community*:

Benedict Anderson's study in the context of *imagined communities* or *nation* is in danger in the present digital age, because the acceptance of different cultures, different religions, and different practices has been growing day by day, especially in the case of the western world. In Will Khymlicka's term weak sense of multi-culturalism[74], it cannot be possible to sustain the long-distance nationalism. Or, Long- distance nationalism can survive only just for one or two generations.

---

[74] In the process of the study of multi- culturalism, Will Kymlicka suggested two types of multi- culturalism: a) strong sense of multi- culturalism, b) weak sense of multi- culturalism. In strong sense of multi- culturalism, the foreigners do not have same right like native citizens. For Ex- Asian countries, Latin American countries and other third world countries, in these countries migrated person are not associated with these countries, because law of these countries does not consider them as insider. On the contrary, he puts forward the weak sense of multi-culturalism, especially in the case of Canada and many other countries where migrated persons have same rights and privileges like native citizens. See, Will Kymlicka, *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, Citizenship,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001.

Anderson's idea of imagined communities/nations is questioned by Ulrich Beck, a leading German philosopher in the context of nation and citizenship. He has questioned that is it possible that the imagined communities can exist beyond the boundaries of nations and nation- states in a digital age. This question has been raised by Ulrich Beck (2011) in his article "Cosmopolitanism as Imagined Communities of Global Risk." As, Ulrich Beck's title of his article suggests that Anderson's theory of *Imagined Communities* to a global level cannot be sustained at a global level. In short, Ulrich Beck has argued that due to global economic risks, the global community arises. Therefore, Ulrich Beck argues that it is necessity to redefine 'us' and the 'other' in the present context.

In the light of discussion of a Global community, I want to put forward the example of information sharing through internet and many sources of social media. Through this, people are connected with other parts of the world sharing information. They get associated and sympathize with other life world experiences. The boundaries of imagined communities have shrunken. The same advanced technology, which creates the imagined communities, now also plays the role to demolish the concept of imagined communities. One more thing, I want to add here is that if this Global community considered as an imagined community, even then they do not have common agreement on each and every affair. On the other hand they are closely associated with each other, which is quite different from the concept of imagined communities. On some issues they have common agreement on others disagreement. But, these Global communities imagine themselves as associated themselves beyond the realm of national identity.

On the basis of Ulrich Beck's point, another pertinent question can be raised here:

(1)In the present time, due to emergence of social media can the imagined community in the framework of nation, be diluted by an imagined community in the framework of Global community or cosmopolitanism?

## 2.1.8- Modernist accounts in the context of nation, in order to establish that the concept of nation as a modern phenomenon:

Benedict Anderson like many other modernist approach driven philosophers illustrated that the nation is not a pre- determined sociological condition of human existence like, language, race

or religion[75]. In the continuity with this argument, Benedict Anderson argued that the concept of nation is not necessary condition of human existence. It cannot be natural in the first place and it has grown due to some reason for mass amalgamation, like foreign attack or any other reason. Benedict Anderson puts forward a very original and fresh approach in his argumentation. He puts forward, 'print capitalism' in his approach. He emphasized that due to print capitalism the nature of mass amalgamation emerged in first place. This thing started to happen in the eighteen century[76]. It has great and undeniable impact on mass phenomena and that create sentiments in masses for national feeling.

Benedict Anderson also argues that nationalism is a cultural phenomenon, and the meaning of nationalism has changed through time. Benedict Anderson's point of departure from the perennialist account of nationality is that the national is a cultural phenomenon, which is incorporated in 'mass-consciousnesses' through the 'print capitalism'. In term of Benedict Anderson study of nation- ness or nationalism in modern world out- fit have multiple significations, as Benedict Anderson argues that nation- ness or nationalism is a different kind of cultural artefact and this cultural artefact is deeply rooted with human consciousness, that it cannot be removed from human agency. In order to understand this in a better way, it is important to analyze the certain historical origin of nation and try to trace why it came in the life of human beings and capture the consciousness, for the reason why human beings human being are deeply connected or they tilt towards national consciousness. Benedict Anderson tries to analyze why the meaning of the nation changed during different periods of time, and tries to analyze why this cultural artefact has gained its legitimacy in the present world. After the analysis of historical facts, Benedict Anderson came to the conclusion that the creation of nation, nation-ness or nationalism is not pre- modern, he concludes that after the end of the 18th century the national- consciousness captures the mind of human beings. Benedict Anderson mentioned:

> "the end of the eighteenth century was the spontaneous distillation of a complex 'crossing' of discrete historical forces; but that, once created, they became 'modular,' capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a great variety of social

---

[75] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso: London and New York, 2006, p- 1.

[76] Benedict Anderson like many other philosophers and thinkers also asserted that the emergence of nationalism is a late eighteen century phenomenon.

terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations."[77]

Benedict Anderson like other nationalist theoreticians makes mistake and is unable to differentiate why upsurges of the masses in ancient and medieval period against foreign invaders cannot be considered as national in character. And what is difference between those upsurges of masses and uprising of masses in the modern times in defence against imperialist countries.

## 2.1.8: Challenges of *nation*:

Franz Fanon, one of leading philosopher of mid 20th century, puts forward a beautiful analysis in the context of 'colonialism and nationalism', and the problem of African nation. He mentioned that initially anti- colonial struggle is not nationalist in nature, because the ethnic communities of Africa united to fight against the colonizers torture, not for the homeland. After that they united in the name of nation, which took a shape for universal liberal content, like justice, freedom and self- rule. After the colonial regime, national ruling class came into power and the nation remains underdeveloped because of undiversified circulation of capital, the colonial regime has also looted both materialist and geographically resources saturated in to some places.

Franz Fanon moved further and mentioned:

> "In its willful narcissism, the national bourgeoisie has lulled itself into thinking that it can supplant the metropolitan bourgeoisie to its own advantage. But independence, which literally forces it back against the wall, triggers catastrophic reactions and obliges it to send out distress signals in the direction of the former metropolis." [78]

Franz Fanon argued that the authentic middle class betrayed the purpose of nationalist movement and work in a capitalism framework, instead of their promise to place itself in the service of their people: "In an underdeveloped country, the imperative duty of an authentic national bourgeoisie is to betray the vocation to which it is destined, to learn from the people, and make available to

---

[77] Benedict Anderson, Imagined Community: Reflection in the Origin and spread of Nationalism, Verso: London and New York, 1983 (revised edition, 1991), p- 4.
[78] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, translated by Richard Philcox, Grove Press, New York, 2004, p- 98.

them the intellectual and technical capital it culled from its time in colonial universities "[79] And after sometime does not follow his the just path of freedom movement[80], instead of that, they serve their bourgeoisie purpose.

Economy of the *nation* is mostly outside the framework of the nationalist parties, but through the valorization of local and other military requirements they try to settle the abstract relation to actual material resources and possibilities. This leads to economic stagnation. Even Local ruling classes, who take the power from colonial masters, also serve as intermediaries for foreign capitalist concerns: neo- colonialism. Due to the lack of the dynamic, transformative character of rise of national ruling classes leads nation into the Dark Age.

The political classes, enjoying the power, and completely cut- off from the masses or nation and also they are naturally isolated from masses or nation. They do not bother to think or "incapacity to think in terms of all the problems of the nations as seen from the point of view of the whole of the nation, the national middle class will have nothing to better to do than to take on the role of manager for western enterprise, and it will in practice set up its country as brothel of Europe."[81] Freedom or independence by nature leads to nationalization of all the resources, although the demand of nationalization has no revolutionary tenets. However, on the other hand, nationalization is a demand to consolidate the property in the hand of the native: "But they do not try to introduce new agricultural methods, not to farm more intensively, not to integrate their farming systems into a genuinely national economy."[82]

The purpose of nationalization has been shattered, because of the native ruling class. They gain privileges even bigger than privileges attained by the previous colonial master. Due to Fear of taking risk, the new ruling classes are more focused on their personal benefits. At the same way they do not try to focus on the transformation of production. They incur expenditure on display and markers of wealth. The ideals of nationalization are used to secure their power: "The fact is that such action will become more and more tinged by racism, until the bourgeoisie bluntly puts

---

[79] Ibid, p-99
[80] Ibid
[81] Ibid,
[82] Ibid,

the problem to the government by saying 'we must have these posts'. To secure their position, the new ruling classes push masses towards racism:

> "From nationalism we have passed to ultra- nationalism, to chauvinism, any finally to racism. These foreigners are called on to leave; their shops are burned, their street stall is wrecked, and in fact the government of Ivory Coast commands them to go, thus giving their national satisfaction."[83]

Through the above- mentioned lines, Franz Fanon illustrated the situation of the African nation. For the government of Ivory Coast, the citizens of other African nations are foreigners, but they provide the platform to run their business. These European countries exploit their resources and hampered the job opportunities of African students. Franz Fanon mentioned that African nations are still in the hand of European colonizers, and colonized nations block their resources and intentionally the talent of the youth, and Africans do not have right to get the jobs, which they deserve on the basis of their talent. As, Franz Fanon mentioned that, even after independence the situation does not change. The new nationalist ruling class does not try to tackle the genuine issue, instead of that they try to mobilize the masses or nation against other African countries.

Modern colonial thinkers, philosophers and political scientists are aware of the fact that the racism created by colonizers and after colonizers, are tools used by the new national ruling classes. If we translate the work of Benedict Anderson, we can say that it is "created", and if we translate the work of Ernest Gellner, it can be translated as "falsely implicated", and finally we translate the work of Franz Fanon's work, them it can be translated as "Black skin and white masks", although, Franz Fanon used Black skin in the terms African citizen, but it could be replaced by any third world countries, whether their skin color is black or any other color.

Colonial theorists like Partha Chatterjee analyze the phenomena of nationalism (after freedom struggle) in Africa and Asia. Partha Chatterjee mentioned that the resurgence of nationalism is one of the biggest threats of world peace. The problem of nationalism is that the leaders who

---

[83] Ibid, p- 125

mobilize in the name of nation do not bother to identify the main problem of masses[84]. The leaders continuously ignore the area specific problem of nation, the ignorance of area- specific problem leads toward the arrival of sub- nationalism.

In the mid 20th century, especially in Africa and Asia the idea of nationalism is counted as victorious phenomena. But simultaneously, the new nations (in the context of institutions of economy and polity) are guided by development and modernization, which has been the core principle of the colonial master. This practice is also guided by the interest of some private principle. So, we can say that the purpose of freedom from colonial master has been shattered. So many colonial and post- colonialist theorists are of the opinion that the basically the third world countries are not independent in principle. On the contrary, they are still in the hands of colonial masters, although not through the direct rule of colonial master, but indirectly they are still in the hands of colonial masters.

In the late 20th century, nationalism became a subject matter of ethnic politics, especially in Africa, in the form of civil war. In this civil war the members of these ethnic communities use sophisticated technologies and war items, which have been purchased from the colonial countries. In this way, these civil wars basically help the war economy of colonial countries. And second problem of these countries, which is identified by Partha Chatterjee's that they become the head of corrupt practices, and often brutal, that does not serve the purpose of independence movement of these third world countries. These third world countries sometimes practice unity as in the case of Vietnam, under the leadership of Ho- Chi- Minh, Vietnamese united against American Imperialism. However, this time of glory is a rare incident in the third world countries. After this rare moment of glory, there is no evidence of legacy of independence carried forwarded by these countries.

The legacy of nationalism is diverted by these countries. That is one of the reasons that the idea of nationalism in modern era is considered as dark, created chaos in civilized society. That darkness, chaos in civilized society leads to illegal migration and drug peddlers. And many theoreticians, who deal with the concept of nation, argue that can we cannot consider these

---

[84] Partha Chatterjee, "Whose Imagined Community" in Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.), *Mapping the Nation*, New Left Review, Verso: London and New York, 1999, p- 214.

countries as nations. Partha Chatterjee argues, that more recently, the phenomena nationalism is one the more beautiful European gifts to the third world countries.

## 2.2. Partha Chatterjee's critique of Benedict Anderson's *imagined community*:

After the studying and analyzing the pattern of the behavior of the Asian and African countries, Partha Chatterjee, in his influential post- colonial work, *Whose Imagined Community?*, raises some interesting and important questions against Benedict Anderson's thesis in the context of *imagined community*. According to Partha Chatterjee, the principle of nationalism in fifth and sixth decade had been shattered, the nationalism in these colonial countries come into existence as a victorious event in the Asian and African countries against colonizer. After the independence, the process of modernization took place in these colonial countries. Simultaneously, these countries in the umbrella of *modernization,* the practice of the political and economic institutions came in the rubric of colonial countries. The African and Asian countries continuously ignore the guiding and emancipatory principles of nationalism, which is revealed by secret pact with private actors. The African leaders, who are frontrunner against colonialism, ravaged their record and after colonial master left, they became corrupt, blood thirsty. Due to their malicious, cruel behavior, the present genealogical study of nationalism suggest that nationalism in present era as a dark and cruel, so, it can be considered as 'primordial nature threatening the orderly calm of civilized life'[85]. He rightly pointed out that the concept of *imagined community* does not exist in the third world countries. Like many other post- colonial theorists, Partha Chatterjee argued the concept of *nationalism*, comes from Europe, but the third world countries nationalism is hollow, fake in the nature. Even, after the independence, we are still not *imaging*.

In the post colonial world the *members* of these third world countries are still consumer of capitalism, rather than producers. Through *invisible* hand of capitalism, they are actually puppets of Western Countries. Even modern political institutions like UNO, World Bank are for the namesake. They are created to help down- trodden and underprivileged countries, just in sake of

---

[85] Partha Chatterjee, 'Whose Imagined Community?', in Gopal Balakrishnan, *Mapping the Nation,* Verso: London and New York, 1996, p- 215.

principle. But, in the reality, they have exploited these countries through imposition of certain terms and conditions. They indirectly interfere, in the affair of the third world countries. The liberal terms like *independence* and *sovereignty* is a mere word for these third world countries.

For the western countries, it is convenient to rule indirectly, rather than to ruling directly. In the process to ruling directly, they have to set up military, they have to send their officers and also set up railways and other means of transportation. In this process, they have to invest lot of money; and simultaneously, they have to face certain security problems for their officers in the time of uprising. In the process of indirect rule (in post-colonial period), they do not have to invest or a minimal sense of investment is required in this process.

Furthermore, Partha Chatterjee asserts that even our imagination is colonized and with conviction, Partha Chatterjee asserts that we are forever colonized. He mentions:

> "I have one central objection to Anderson's argument. If nationalisms in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined community from certain 'modular' forms already made available to them by Europe and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine? History, it would seem, has decreed that we in the postcolonial world shall only be perpetual consumers of modernity. Europe and the Americas, the only true subjects of history, have thought out on our behalf not only the script of colonial enlightenment and exploitation, but also that of our anti-colonial resistance and postcolonial misery. Even our imaginations must remain forever colonized."[86]

Partha Chatterjee moves further and asserts:
> "I object to this argument not for any sentimental reason. I object because I cannot reconcile it with the evidence on anti-colonial nationalism. The most powerful as well as the most creative results of the nationalist imagination in Asia and Africa are posited not on an identity but rather on a *difference* with the 'modular' forms of the national society propagated by the modern West. How can we ignore this without reducing the experience of anti-colonial nationalism to a caricature of itself?"[87]

---

[86] Ibid, p- 216,
[87] Ibid.

Partha Chatterjee claims that the so called freedom struggles in the third world countries are not anti- colonial, or, even not *national* in principle. These freedom struggles are basically between national bourgeoisie and colonizer. Although, some glory came in these third world (in the case of Vietnam War against America), but these events of glory is very miniscule or in a very small segment. So, it cannot have great impact on world history. Partha Chatterjee moved further and analyzes that colonial language, even in the present times they have impact in the elite class. Partha Chatterjee puts forward the example of the text used in Bengali drama. The elite Bengalese class prefers to watch two types of text in the drama. In the first place, they like European classical texts of Shakespeare and Moliere, and at second place, elite Bengali used to watch old classical Sanskrit plays, which were recognized by Orientalist scholars. Through, these examples, Partha Chatterjee showed how our masses are colonized. Even their consciousness captured, so that they are not thinking *independently*.

# Chapter 3: Gandhi and Tagore on Nation

The objective of this chapter is to establish that due to arrival of Gandhi in the freedom movement, the freedom movement became national freedom movement and the rise of the Nation (Indian nation) took place because of Gandhi, who became torch- bearer of this nationalist freedom movement. In addition, I will also investigate the validity of Dr. Ambedkar's criticism of Gandhi. In the second section, I will deal with Rabindra Nath Tagore's idea on nation, and nationalism which is based on his two works, *The Home and the World*, and *Nationalism*.

## 3.1: Why Gandhi[88]?

In the period of colonization "the overall impact of colonial rule on the hierarchical society had to bring together similarly positioned castes and communities in the social structure and to widen the already existing cleavage between the higher and lower class"[89] . Moreover and after the arrival of Gandhi, the freedom movement reached 'multi- classes', 'multi-religion'. The acceptance of Gandhi took the national movement to another level.  The rise of nation became possible because of Gandhi's approach. In his approach, Gandhi included everybody in the freedom movement. Otherwise, it could have remained a struggle between bourgeoisie and colonizer. The thought, principle and philosophy of Gandhi were linked with the masses.

Gandhi's becoming a mass leader can be traced to three reasons. First, the congress, as an organization was completely aware about the fact that his successful protest in South Africa, was based on his core philosophy, *satyagraha* and *ahimsa*, these principles were practiced by Gandhi throughout his life; Secondly, the colonial master, magnified the image of Gandhi[90], because it was easy to deal with Gandhi, as he was an advocate of *ahimsa*, rather than a violent mode of protest; thirdly, the business community of Gujarat, supported Gandhi (due to his origin and community, because Gandhi by birth himself belong to that community) in his political act,

---

[88] This title is inspired from Ramchandra Guha's article, 'Why Tagore?'

[89] G. Aloysius, '*Nationalism without a nation in India*', Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1997 (2012, 14th edition, p- 185.

[90] Cf, Suniti Kumar Ghosh, 'Indian Bourgeoisie and Imperialism', EPW, vol. XXIII, no. 45-47, 1988, pp- 2445- 58.

nobody from the leadership of freedom movement had the privilege of that kind of support[91]. These could be the reason behind the mass acceptance of Gandhi. Moreover, simultaneously, it cannot be denied that the charisma and the principles practiced by Gandhi had a great impact on the masses. Above all these facts, the questions raised by Gandhi and the solution suggested by Gandhi made him superior to the entire contemporary nationalist leadership, especially his concern for minorities.[92]

## 3.1.1: Gandhi's view on the nation and his understanding of *Swaraj*:

*Hind Swaraj* was written by Gandhi, in the form of a dialogue between the Editor and Reader, and the editor's view represents the Gandhi's view. The book was based on four themes- *nationalism*, *civilization*, *satyagraha*, and *swaraj* (the themes of 'machinery' or technology and education were subsumed under civilization)[93].

### a) A nation:

According to Gandhi, the concept of a nation is where every person respects each other and people settle their differences through dialogue. According to Gandhi, basic unit of a nation is *praja*, which comprises a collection of different caste, creed, gender, and religion. According to him, *praja* is a political unit, which is a bearer of fundamental right, the subject, is capable of *swaraj*- here swaraj has two characteristics:

1) self- determination,
2) self- development

---

[91] C. Markovits, *Indian Business and Nationalist Politics 1931-39*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, p-. 189. Claude Markovits mentions: "The Link between Gandhi and a large section of the business Community was a link between Hindu banias with a Hindu political leader rather than a link between an emergent capitalist class and a national leader", p- 189. Edger Snow asserted that 'the dual role of Saint for masses and champion of big business which was the secret of Gandhi's power.' Quoted in, S. K. Ghosh, *India and the Raj 1919- 1947*, Prachi Publication, Calcutta, 1989, p- 93. But, on the contrary, Gandhi asserts 'there are people who may be call me visionary but I tell you I am real bania and business is to obtain Swaraj', quoted in Judith Brown, 'The Mahatma in Old Age: Gandhi's role in Indian Political Life 1935- 1942, in R, Sisson and Wolpert (eds.), *Congress and Indian Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, 1988, p- 271.

[92] My conclusion is based on the comparative analysis of Rabindranath Tagore's work's and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's work, because in the work's both these philosophers' work, there are hardly raised the question of minority. In Tagore's novel, there is any Muslim character.

[93] Anthony J. Parel (ed), *Hind Swaraj and Other Writing*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge,2009, p- xiv.

In India, there are many religious groups. In order to achieve true harmony among other members of society; Gandhi raised the old Indian philosophy of *sarva dharma sama bhav*. If we do not respect other religion, we cannot be considered as a nation. Gandhi (through editor) mentions: "…..there are as many religions as they are individuals, but those who are conscious of the spirit of nationality do not interfere with one another's religion. If they do, they are not fit to be considered a nation."[94]

There are other aspects of Gandhi's view about nation which, I will discuss in the later part of this section.

## b) Civilization:

Gandhi's concept of civilization is a mixture of modern civilization and old civilization. Gandhi gives an ethical interpretation of civilization. For him, true civilization represents: self- knowledge, duty (*faraj*), morality (*niti*), control over the body and mind (*indriya*). As, Gandhi defines civilization is a mode of life: "Civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions." [95] And, according to Gandhi, civilization also represents the 'object of life', which is equivalent to *purushartha*. In modern times, people are busy in the pursuit 'bodily affair' and neglect 'spiritual affair'.[96]

Gandhi was not critical of every aspect of modern civilization.  He also appreciated some aspect of modern civilization, which represented political and economic institutions and practices, right, liberty, gender equality, economic development, and the rule of law.

## c) Satyagraha:

---

[94] Ibid, p- 51.
[95] Ibid, p- 65.
[96] The term *purushartha* represents: *artha, kama, moksha*, and *dharma*. The bodily affair represents *artha* and *kama*, and spiritual affair represents *moksha* and *dharma*.

For Gandhi, satyagraha is a mixture of moral praxis and political praxis. At the level of morality, he introduced four features in the civil disobedience movement:

1) Truth: According to Gandhi, your demand must be based on truth, which is connected to outer world, and simultaneously you are truthful to yourself (inner- self)

2) Detachment of possessiveness- here Gandhi refers to collectivism, he did not want that individuals are more concerned about their property, and their rights. Gandhi argues that individuals should be more concern about the 'other'.

3) Celibacy: The Gandhian goal of life is to be simple, involved in the practice of spiritual affair (*moksha* and *dharma*), rather than bodily affair (*artha* and *kama*).

4) Courage: courage to annihilate any prejudice and discriminatory practices, especially in the case of women, untouchable and minority and courage to achieve their goal (without using violent and any other unfair means)

At the level of political praxis, his method was non- violence. He did not support any violent mode of protest, whether demand is genuine or not. For Gandhi, non-violence should be defined in term of soul- force (*atambal*), which controls *sharir-bal*. According to Gandhi, soul force has five qualities: a) love- force (*prembal*), b) truth- force (*satyabal*), c) compassion force (*dayabal*), d) suffering force (*tapbal*), and e) justice force (*nitibal*). [97]

## d) Swaraj

For Gandhi, swaraj has two meanings, self- government, and self rule. Self-government is less important than self- rule. For Gandhi, Swaraj take place only when we acquire, the self rule over self. Precisely, it can be said that self rule over mind, and our greed and violent attitudes. In short, self- rule or swaraj 'enables one to pursue *artha* and *kama* within the bounds of dharma'.

---

[97] Anthony J. Parel (ed), *Hind Swaraj and Other Writing*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009, p- lxix.

Gandhi gave less importance to self- government. Without self- rule only thing that could happen was Indian raj, beside this nothing would change. It could be said 'English rule without Englishmen. Speaking about Gandhian swaraj Anthony J. Parel says:

> "the reader in Hinda Swaraj mistakenly believes that the end of the Raj will automatically bring Swaraj. The editor replies that it is not the so: it may bring mere home rule (the rule of the modern coercive state) but not true home rule (the rule of the just, limited state) in any case it will not bring about self- rule. The dispute between the editor and the reader (and all future reader of Hind Swaraj) centres on the crucial question on whether there can be true home rule or self- government without self- rule."[98]

Moving further, in this section, I will also deal with the Gandhian approach in a different direction. In the process of investigating, I will analyze the approach of Gandhi in the context of untouchability, non- cooperation movement and minorities (especially Muslim).

## 3.1.1 (a) Gandhi on untouchability[99]:

Gandhi, through his works, touches almost every aspects of human life and responds to every evil, which India faced during his time. Although, Gandhi was widely appreciated and widely accepted, even then during his time Gandhi faced many challenges from other contemporaries for his approach to fight against imperialist forces. However, all these challenges were not able to stop him from carrying forward all his messages. As, G. Aloysius mentions: 'Gandhian actions in particular, always had this double reference- one vertical, relating to the rulers, and the other horizontal, relating to alternate national contestants.'[100] Through ethics, religion and politics, he tried to deal with the problem he faced during his life time. For Gandhi, politics is a means to achieve the goal; on the other hand ethics is the end. He wanted to uproot the colonial power through his political tools, in order to deal with social evils effectively; the concern with

---

[98] Ibid, p- lxvi.

[99] In this chapter, I intentionally use the term 'untouchable', rather than 'Dalit'. Because, the word 'Dalit' coined much later.

[100] G. Aloysius, Nationalism without a Nation in India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1997 (2012, 14th edition), p- 191.

social evils was based on his moral regeneration. That's why; we can say that Gandhi's identity is a mixture of a politician and a saint.

Gandhi was completely aware of the fact that in order to establish a *nation*, it is necessary and essential to emancipate the untouchable. The upliftments of untouchables are one of the major concerns of Gandhi. Gandhi mentions: 'as this time of the day it is necessary to dilate upon the necessity of the removal of this blot and curse upon Hinduism'[101]. To remove the blot upon Hinduism, he coined the term 'Harijan'. According to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the problem of untouchabality is political. In order to remove untouchability, there is a need to make a mechanism through political institutions. On the contrary, for Mahatma Gandhi, the problem of untouchability is social, that's why he thinks that in order to remove untouchability, it is necessary to deal with the problem socially.

Gandhi was completely aware about the fact that, in the orthodox Hindu social structure, other member of Hindus could not be easily accept the untouchable. So, he used the term *Harijan* for untouchable. For, the term Harijan, Gandhi gave a metaphysical meaning that 'son of God', *how could anyone disrespect the son of God*? He also emphasized the spiritual and religious aspect of *Harijan*. As, Gandhi asserts: 'All the religions of the world describe God pre-eminently the friend of the friendless, and help of the helpless, and the Protector of the weak. Who can be more friendless or helpless or weaker than the forty million or more Hindus of the India, classified as untouchables?'[102]

To uproot untouchability, Gandhi did not only emphasize the religious or spiritual aspect. He also got involved in the process of the emancipation of untouchables. Gandhi started the process of emancipation with great enthusiasm. He gave settlement to untouchable in the Ashram, at and emphasized equality[103]. In the question of dinning together the Gandhian approach was very problematic in nature and ambiguous in nature. On the one hand, he talked about emancipation of untouchable, on the hand, he called the process of dinning is 'promiscuous' in nature[104].

---

[101] M. K. Gandhi, *Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place*, in Anthony J. Parel, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009, p- 170.

[102] Quoted in, B. R. Nanda, *Mahatma Gandhi*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1981, p- 352.

[103] Dhananjay Keer, *Mahatma Gandhi*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1973, pp- 224ff

[104] M. K. Gandhi, *Young India* (1927- 28), S. Ganeshan, Madras, 1935, pp- 464-5.

Even, if we leave aside Gandhi's attitude in the context of inter-dinning, still there is limitation in the Gandhian approach. The upliftment or emancipation of Harijan is still in the hand of upper caste of the society, Harijans do not have any stake in different emancipatory programmes. Through all the efforts and appeal made by Gandhi, it is limited in the sense of removal of untouchablity, because the untouchable are merely considered as object, rather than as a subject. At the level of religion, consciousness is very problematic in nature. The suffering of 'untouchables' is explained in terms of sins of previous birth or *purvajana*, so that it hard to achieve the emancipation of untouchable. As per the society, they would suffer on the earth and attain salvation in heaven.[105] Gandhi's appeal was not even follow by his strong followers. 'It is worth noting that from this half-hearted manoeuvre sprang the painful process by which the depressed classes passed into a mood of distrust'[106].

The entry of untouchables in temples[107], schools was restricted, even in his strong-fold like, Bardoli.[108] Even, the intention of Gandhi was questioned by many scholars in the context of the upliftment  of Gandhi, as S. K. Ghosh pointed out that Gandhi was a hard- core practicizing Hindu[109] and all reason behind the suffering of untouchable is due to Hindu religion. In order to remove untouchability from the society, Gandhi did not use 'his high pressure technique to change the heart of his followers'[110]. G. Aloysius in the context of the emancipation of untouchable:

---

[105] Bhikhu Parekh, *Colonialism, Tradition and reform*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1989, p- 211.

[106] I don't agree with assumption of S. Natrajan as Ghandhi's approach is 'half- hearted', I considered it full hearted, although Gandhi's approach is not fully translated or followed by even his close followers. See, S. Natarajan, *A Century of Social Reform*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1959, p- 145.

[107] Initially Gandhi did not support untouchable entry in the temple. Dr. Ambedkar quoted Gandhi statement: 'How is it possible that the Antyajas should have the right to entre all the existing temples?', p- 107. After countinous resistance continuous resistance of untouchable Gandhi changed his resistance, As Dr. Ambedkar mentions: 'when the untouchables put forth a demand for political rights he changes his position and becomes a supporter of temple entry. When the Hindus threaten to defeat the Congress in the election, if the pursues the matter to a conclusion, Mr. Gandhi in order to preserve political power in the hand of Congress gives up to temple entry' p- 125.  See, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, *What Congress and Gandhi have done to Untouchable*, Thacker and Company, Bombay, 1945.

[108] As Swami Sharddanand mentions: "One of 'national' schools of Bardoli Taluka of Gandhi's period of Satyagraha was prepared to close down permanently by Gandhi's trusted lieutenants rather than allow an untouchable boy to sit in the class with others'. See, Swami Shraddanand, *Inside Congress*, Phoenix Publication, 1946, pp- 147- 8.

[109] Mahatma Gandhi asserts: 'I am a Hindu first and nationalist after…..so it could be with every religious minded minded man' quoted in Suniti Kumar Ghosh, *India and the Raj 1919- 47*, Prachi Publication, Calcutta, 1989, p- 248.

[110] S. Natarajan, *A Century of Social Reforms*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1959, p- 138.

"….the lower caster masses ……..were being sought for political expediency and nothing more and the nationalists sole purpose was to gain for themselves national legitimacy and to grab monopoly power…."[111]

However, Scholars like S. Sinha, S. K. Ghosh, and G. Aloysius miss the point that this approach was shown by congressmen not by Gandhi. They draw their analysis the basis of the congressman attitude towards the untouchability. As Gandhi mentions: 'many Congressmen may have looked upon this item (removal of untouchability) as a mere political necessity and not something indispensable……'[112]Gandhi was completely aware of the fact that the upliftment of untouchables and erasure of the caste system is tough task and it required a change of attitude in order to remove this social evil. In order to remove untouchability, he wants to make this purpose as 'common cause' rather than an 'individual cause'. Due to Gandhi's influence, the congress made a resolution in Nagpur:

"…….this congress urges upon all public bodies, whether affiliated to the Congress or otherwise, to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of non- violence and non- co- operation can only succeed by complete co-operation amongst the people themselves, this Congress calls upon public association to advance Hindu- Muslim unity and the Hindu delegates of this Congress call upon Hindus to settle all disputes between Brahmins and non- Brahmins, wherever they may 'be existing and to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability and respectfully urges the

---

[111] G. Aloysius, *Nationalism without nation in India*, Oxford University Publication, New Delhi, 1997 (2012, 14th edition), p- 207. One of the basis his conclusion, after the reading Swami Shardhanand's revealing fact: "The Secretaty of The Delhi Congress Committee called the Chowdharies of the Chamars and requested them to give to the Congrees as many four anna paying members as they could. The reply of the elders was that unless their grievance as regards the taking of water from the public well was removed, they could not induce their brethren to join the Congress. The Secretary was a choleric man a hasty temper and said they wanted Swaraj at once but the grievance of the Chamars could wait and would be removed by and by. One of the young men got up and said-'Our trouble from which we are suffering for centuries must wait solution but the "laddu" of Swaraj must go into your mouth at once. We shall see how you obtain Swaraj at once'". See, Swami Shraddanand, *Inside Congress*, Phoenix Publications, Bombay, 1946, pp- 133-4.
[112] M. K. Gandhi, *Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place*, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1941, p- 6.

religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed castes."[113]

Gandhi in *Nava- Jivan* (1921-22), Guajarati Journal, put forwarded his view on the inter-dinning and intermarriage. On the question of intermarriage or inter-dining, Gandhi argues that the inter-dining and intermarriage does not serve the purpose of national unity. It is argued that dining can be helpful for the friendship, if this case then there would be no wars in Europe. In case of intermarriage, 'children of brother do not intermarry'. In the case of inter-dining the Vaishnavite women do not dine with men or other member.

For Gandhi, caste system has another meaning, which is different from the present caste system. As Gandhi mentions:

> "I gave full support to caste because it stands for restraint. But at present caste does not mean restraint, it means limitation is like chain. It binds. There is nothing commendable in castes as they exist today. There are contrary to the tenets of the shastras. The number of castes is infinite and there is a bar against intermarriage. This is not condition of elevation. It is state of fall.[114]

Gandhi's staunch critic, Dr. Ambedkar wrote *Gandhism: The Doom of the Untouchables*, and tried to highlights the problem of Gandhi's understanding of caste. On the question of inter-dining and intermarriage, Dr. Ambedkar criticizes Gandhi. Dr. Ambedkar said:

> "It is quite true the family is an ideal unit in which every member is charged with love and affection for another member although there is no intermarriage among member of a family. It is not even conceded that in Vaishnava family members of the family do not interdine and they are full of love and affection for another member."[115]

In above mentioned lines, Gandhi supports the caste system 'because it stands for restraint, here the word restraint refers to the fact that the caste system puts some restrictions like men marrying many women. As for Gandhi such restraint are positive in nature. Dr. Ambedkar argues that may be some restraints are positive in nature. But, overall the restraint posed by caste system are

---

[113] All India Congress Committee, *The Indian National Congress* (1920- 1923), AICC, Allahabad, 1924, pp- 31- 32.
[114] Valerian Rodrigues (ed), *The Essential Writing of B.R. Ambedkar*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p- 152.
[115] Ibid,p- 162,

discriminatory in nature. As, Dr. Ambedkar pointed out: "The caste system no doubt prohibits a man from satisfying his carving for food cooked in the house of a man who is not of his caste. If morality consists of observing restraints without regard to the sense or sensibility of restraints then the caste system may be admitted to be a moral system."[116]

In the context of the varna system, Gandhi supports the varna system, which is very problematic in nature. As Gandhi mentions:

> "There are nothing in the Varna system which stands in the way of the Shudra acquiring the learning or studying military art or of offence or defence. Contra it is open to a Kshatriyas to serve. The Varna system is no bar to him. What the Varna system enjoins is that a Shudra will not make learning a way of earning a living. Nor will a Kshatriya adopt service as a way of earning a living……..varna means the determination of a man's occupation before he is born."[117]

Dr. Ambedkar has some serious reservation against Gandhi's advocacy of the varna system. He mentions: "Under Gandhism the untouchable may study law, they may study medicine, they may study engineering or anything else they may fancy. So far so good. But will the Untouchables be free to make use of their knowledge and learning?"[118]. Dr. Ambedkar rightly pointed out that Untouchables have the right to acquire knowledge as per varna system, which is suggested by Gandhi. If they do not have right to choose their profession as per their knowledge, then what will be the use of acquiring such knowledge? Or, how will it help the change the present situation of the untouchable? After later half of his life Gandhi changed his position and he advocated the Hinduism without caste.

After reading, Gandhi's view, which is published in the *Navjivan* (Guajarati Journal), in 1921-22, my interpretation, is that the Gandhi is not promoting inter-dining and intermarriage, neither he was opposing. Gandhi's point of view is that even inter-dining and intermarriage cannot reduce the suffering of the untouchables. If we do not change the attitude and heart, the suffering

---

[116] Ibid, 163,
[117] Ibid, pp- 152- 53,
[118] Ibid, 169,

of untouchable cannot be reduced. As, Gandhi himself mentioned that even in the case of orthodox Hindu vaishnavas women they are not dining together with men or any other, but they have love and affection towards the other member of the family. So, in my view, Gandhi meant that love and affection is more important than inter-dining and intermarriage. If love or affection emerges between Untouchable and other members of societies, then the inter-dining and intermarriage naturally occurred. As Dr. Ambedkar pointed out:

> "There are no analogy between family and caste. Inter- caste dinner and inter- caste marriage are necessary because there are no other means of binding the different caste together while in the case of family there exists other forces to bind them together. Those who have insisted upon the ban against inter-dining and inter- marriage have treated it as a question of a relative value."[119]

For Gandhi, every man born as an equal, so they should be treated as an equal though out of his life. That believes of Gandhi, lead him toward the changing position of inter-dining and intermarriage. In 1946, Gandhi said: "At one time I did say that inter-dining was not an essential part of the campaign for the removal of untouchability. Personally, I was for it. Today I encourage it. In fact, today I go even further"[120]. And Gandhi changed entire position on intermarriage. Gandhi announced that in his *sevagram*, no marriage would be practiced, if one of the parties is not a *harijan*. And, also Gandhi changed his position on caste and said: "caste has to go"[121] and he favored that there should be one caste, which is called humanity. So, Dr. Ambedkar criticism of Gandhi did not hold for the long period.

Gandhi genuinely concerned about the upliftment of Untouchables, which reflected in the following lines. He said:

> "I do not want to attain *Moksha*………….if I have to reborn, I should be born as untouchable, so that I may share their sorrow, suffering and the affronts leveled at them, in order that I may endeavour to free myself and them from that their miserable

---

[119] Ibid, 162

[120] Louis Fischer, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi*, Harper and Brothers, 1950, p- 425.

[121] *Collected Works of Gandhi*, vol. 52, p- 121f.

conditions. I therefore prayed that if I should born again, I should do so not as Brahmin, Kshatriya, or Shudra, but as an Atishudra.........."[122]

## 3.1.1 (b) Gandhi's ideas of nation and Minority:

Gandhi in his agenda for making the nation, tried to deal with many issues and placed communal unity at the first place[123]. For Gandhi, communal unity did not mean political unity. He refers to communal unity as heart unity. Gandhi mentions:

> "Communal unity.............that unity does not mean political unity, which may be imposed. It means an unbreakable heart unity. The first thing essential for achieving such unity is for every congressman, whatever his religion may be, to represent in his own person Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Zoroastrian, Jew, etc., shortly, every Hindu and non-Hindu . He has to feel his identity with every one of the millions of the inhabitants of Hindustan."[124]

In the process of communal unity, Gandhi's tasks were to counter two communities: a) The colonial master, who adopted the policy of divide and rule, and) the cultural nationalist. During the period of the British era, instead of nation and freedom movement, the cultural nationalists engaged themselves in the questions, such as, 'Who is the Hindu'?, What is Hinduism or what should be role of Hinduism in the future independent nation[125]. The secular ideology of Gandhi does not allow ignoring these issues. Gandhi was a core believer in the fact that the land belongs to every religion, whether they are practicing one or other religion. Simultaneously, Gandhi was aware of the fact that lots of beliefs of religions are not complimentary to each other. They are

---

[122] *Young India*, 27 April, 1921.

[123] G. A Aloysius, paraphrased Gandhi thirteen point agenda for the nation: 'communal unity , removal of untouchability, prohibition, Khadder, village industries, sanitation, new or basic education, adult education, upliftment of women, health and hygiene, Rashtra Bhasha, love of one's language and economic inequalities through trusteeship'. See, G. Aloysius, *Nationalism without nation in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1997 (2012, 14th edition), p. 205. Actually Gandhi mentioned 18 programmes, see M. K. Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*: Its Meaning and Place, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1941

[124] M. K. Gandhi, *Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place*, in Anthony J. Parel, Hind Swaraj and Other Writings, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009, p- 170.

[125] See, Krishna Kumar, *Political Agenda of Education*, Sage Publications, 1991, and, 'Hindu Revivalism and Education in North Central India', in M. E. Marty and R. S. Appleby (eds.) *Fundamentalism and Society*, Chicago Press, pp- 536 -57. Also see, Meenakshi Mukherjee, *Realism and Reality: The Novel and Society in India*, Oxford University Press, 1994.

completely contradictory in nature, such as cow- slaughter.  For Gandhi, there is no space of violence; in the case of cow slaughter the Hindu must persuade the other religions member.

The cultural nationalists continuously raised that 'Hinduism in danger', this voice turned in different direction 'Islam in danger'. As Prof. Bipin Chandra pointed out that the 'Islam in danger' is later creation of freedom movement[126]. There are many reasons behind the statement of Prof. Bipin Chandra. Initially Muslim leaders supported for pan- India. The creation of Cow Protection society, and One Script, One Language conference, were Gandhian initiatives to counter many Hindu outfits. Through these organization Gandhi, on the one hand are able to counter Hindu cultural nationals, on the other hand they created the havoc among other sections of Indian societies. Gandhi, himself advocated the Hindi to be considered as national language[127].  Muslims came to the conclusion that their interests could not be saved in up-coming nation. In defence of Gandhi, I want to say that throughout of his life he was an advocate of persuasion. Through dialogue and through his thinking ability, Gandhi changes his mind many times. Through some of his assertion and actions are problematic in nature; we cannot say that he carried them forward throughout his life.

## 3.1.1 (c) Gandhi's Position on Women and their role in the shaping a *nation*:

For Gandhi, to be considered nation as a nation in a true sense, the nation must regard women as equal to the man. Otherwise we cannot achieve *swaraj*, in true sense. Gandhi reflected his idea about women in *Constructive Programme: Its meaning and Place* (1941). In this work, Gandhi penned down four challenges and solutions, in order to work for the emancipation of women;

1) Women should have equal status and must be considered as help mates.

   Gandhi criticized his fellow congress men and advocated the equal status in order to achieve *swaraj*. As Gandhi mentions: '……Congressmen have not felt the call to see that

---

[126] Bipin Chandra, *Communalism in Modern India*, Vani Educational Books, New Delhi, 1984, pp- 163 ff.

[127] M. K. Gandhi, *Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place*, in Anthony J. Parel, Hind Swaraj and Other Writings, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p- 176.

women become equal partners in the fight for swaraj. They have not realized that women must be true helpmate of man in the mission of the service.'[128]

2) According to Gandhi, women were suppressed through custom and law, which is posed by men. In order to achieve emancipation, we must have removed these discriminatory customs and laws. Gandhi suggested: 'In a plan of life based on non- violence, women has as much right to shape her own destiny…..as every right in a non violent society proceeds from the previous performance of a duty, it follows that rules of social conduct must be framed by mutual co- operation and consultation.'[129]

3) Women cannot be treated as slaves; they must be treated as friends.

4) Wives should not sit in home, like dolls. As Gandhi suggested: "Wives should not be dolls and objects of indulgence, but should b e treated as honored comrades in common service."[130]

Through making such points, Gandhi did not just advocate the rights for women. He also wanted to assert that in order to shaping a nation, it is necessary to uplift the women. Even, if India independent, it would not be considered true swaraj. The real success of the nation is determined through the status of women in the nation. In the case of women employment, Gandhi supported Yusuf Ali view and asserted: "…if women in India are not employed as they should be, it can be said that the entire country suffers from paralysis."[131]

## 3.1.2 (d) Gandhi on economy and nation:

Gandhi was quite clear in his argument that if Indians not erase inequality then they would not achieve the goal of nation. For Gandhi, in a industrialized society, it was completely impossible to provide a job to everybody. His opposition against industrialization was based on the insight that in the capitalist society, rich became richer and poor became to poorer. In order to provide to

---

[128] Ibid, 174,
[129] Ibid,
[130] Ibid, 175
[131] *Collected Work of Gandhi*, vol. 7, 11f.

food for everybody, it was essential to return to the village economy and make villages self-sufficient, so that everybody get employment. He supported the spinning wheel rather than handloom, the purpose of supporting wheel was that everyone person would have cloth to wear, they would not depend upon the handloom, which can be monopolized by capitalists. As Gandhi mentions:

> "When as a nation we adopt the spinning- wheel, we not only solve the question of unemployment but we declare that we have no intention of exploiting any nation, and we also end exploitation of the poor by the rich……….when I say I want independence for the millions, I mean to say not only that the millions have to something to eat and to cover themselves with, but that they will be free from the exploitation of people here and outside."[132]

As per my view Dr. Ambedkar showed some bias towards Gandhi in the context of his position in the context of economy. Dr. Ambedkar criticized Gandhi, and he mentions:

> 'The economics of Gandhism are hopelessly fallacious. The fact that machinery and modern civilization have produced may be many evils may be admitted. But these evils are no argument against them. For the evils are not due to machinery and modern civilization they are due to machinery and modern civilization. They are due to wrong social organization which has made private property and pursuit of personal gain matters of absolute sanctity.'[133]

The above- mentioned quotation of Dr. Ambedkar's does not seem fair to Gandhi. Gandhi's was not against industrialization because evil perpetuated by industrialization. His prime focus was on local self government as a prelude to the move toward industrialization. Gandhi seemed clear that industrialization would not solve India's problem. Gandhi asserts:

> "We can never industrialize India, unless, of course, we reduce our population from 350 million to 35 millions or hit upon markets than our own and dependent on us. It is time we realize that, where there is unlimited human power, complicated machinery on a large

---

[132] M. K. Gandhi, *Collected work Of Gandhi (1958- 94)*, Vol 58, Nehru Memorial Library, New Delhi, p- 400.

[133] Valerian Rodrigues, *The Essential Writing of B. R. Ambedkar*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002 (2014, 13th edition), p- 158.

scale has no place…..we cannot industrialize ourselves, unless we make up our mind to enslave humanity."[134]

## Part 2: Tagore's idea of *nation*

"The last sun of the century sets amidst the blood red clouds of the West and the whirlwind of hatred.

The naked passion of self-love of Nations, in its drunken delirium of greed is dancing to the clash of steel and the howling verses of vengeance.

The hungry self of the Nation shall burst in a violence of fury from its own shameless feeding.

For it has made the world its food,

And licking it, crunching it, and swallowing it in

big morsels, It swells and swells

Till in the midst of its unholy feast descends the sudden heaven piercing its heart of grossness."

(Rabindranath Tagore, The Sunset of the Century, 1919)[135]

The above-mentioned lines of the poem of Rabindranath Tagore represented the vision of his idea of the *nation*. Rabindranath Tagore was always aware that the demand of new independent *nation* is not sufficient, it would be done better to uproot the social, moral, and political evils in the society. In the process to criticize the evils of traditional, conservative and patriarchal evil of the India or Bhartvarsa[136], the multi- talented genius Tagore (through his songs, stories, dramas

---

[134] ibid

[135]http://tagoreweb.in/Render/ShowContent.aspx?ct=Essays&bi=72EE92F5-BE50-40D7-8E6E-0F7410664DA3&ti=72EE92F5-BE50-4A47-3E6E-0F7410664DA3

[136] The word 'Bhartavarsa' is borrowed from Rabindranath Tagore's novel *Gora*, in his novel the protagonist of this novel is Gora. Gora militantly practices the Hinduism. According to Gora, the land of India *belongs* to Hindu, and he vehemently believes that the colonialism, missionaries and non- Hindu are danger for Indian culture. In this novel beautifully criticize the 'national identity', where Gora by birth Irish and he completely unaware of the reality of his identity. And after the reality of his identity revealed, then he talked about the *Bhartvarsha* belong to all citizens of

and novels) illustrates the position of Women, untouchable and other downtrodden members of society and their situations. His emphasis is not just on the exploitation of the colonial master. His emphasis is also on the contemporary evils and the mindset of the bourgeoisie class, who do not bother about their exploitative nature. For Tagore, *free* India, does not just refers to freedom from a colonial master, it also refers to the freedom from prejudices and inequalities (here 'inequalities' does not refer just to economic equalities. Instead 'inequalities' refers in term of social inequalities, where individuals are badly treated on the basis of birth). The concern for humanity, which Tagore's primary concern, makes him a pioneer of Modern India.

The present section makes an attempt to investigate Rabindranath Tagore's idea of *nation* and *nationalism*. Unlike other philosophers such as Anthony D Smith and Benedict Anderson, Tagore does not go into the process of investigation of the origin and concept of *nation*. He primarily focuses on the 'challenges of the nation'. The present section primarily focuses on Tagore's two works, *The Home and the World* and *Nationalism.* The intense literary work, *The Home and the World*[137] represents many binaries, 'Home' and 'World', 'Modernity' versus 'Tradition'. In the process of writing an intense literary work, Tagore tries to illustrate the encroachment of the colonizer in the cultural, administrative, economic arena of the colonized. In addition, it also represents the situation of women in the *nation*. The Vietnamese scholar Chi P Pham interprets *The Home and the World*, as the 'failure of nationalist project'[138], on the contrary I will try establish as *The Home and the World* as the 'story of the success of the nationalist project'. In the later part of this chapter, I deal with the question 'Is Tagore's work proposes the cosmopolitanism, rather than nationalism?

---

India, as Gora mentions: "—that deity who belongs to all – Hindu, Muslim, Khrishtan, Brahmo – the doors of whose temple are never closed to any person of any caste or race – the deity not only of the Hindus but of Bharatvarsha." See, Rabindranath Tagore, *Gora*, Vishwabharti, Calcutta.

[137] *The Home and the World* is originally written in Bangla. The original name of this literary work is *Ghare Baire*.
[138] Chi P Pham, 'Rabindranath Tagore's *The Home and the World*: Story of the Failure of the Nationalist Project', Asiatic, Volume 7, Number 2, December, 2013. Chi P Pham, a Vietnamese scholar acknowledges that the terminology, 'nationalist project' borrowed from Partha Chatterjee's work *The Nations and Its Fragment: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories,* New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1993.

## 3.2.1: *The Home and the World*: women and *nation*

In this section, I deal with the question of emancipation of women in the context of *nation* and *The Home and the world*. This question was completely neglected in the context of Indian freedom movement. At a small level this question is raised by certain social reformers, which had some impact on a certain segment of India. For example, argument against *sati partha*, raised by Rajaramohan Roy, and the abolition of *sati partha* had great impact on Bengal, were however, on the other hand, it had hardly any impact on the entire India, because the *satipartha* was regional in nature. So, Rabindranath Tagore emphasizes on women's emancipation is more universal in nature and it could have great impact not just in India, but, on the entire globe.

Rabindranath Tagore wrote *The Home and the World* in 1915, and this could be read in the context of two historical events, which fueled the protest and nationalism not just in Bengal, but all over India. This work could read in the context of the *swadeshi* movement. Before Tagore, the prime focus of this political movement or the freedom movement, was on British Colonialism. Tagore tried to illustrate the role of women during the time of freedom movement. As Rege and Mukherjee, both the scholars pointed out these movements are primarily masculine in the nature. After closely reading the freedom movement and Tagore's, one can emphasize that *The Home and the World* is a critic of over emphasis of masculinity in the freedom movement[139]. For Tagore: "The country is evoked as an entity made up of many people, many landscapes, many histories and cultures …. The nation ...... is a space of dispersion of identities, a field where differences are displayed ….. and plurality harmonize."[140]

The question of Women's emancipation is one of major tenets of the work of Tagore, and it could be traced in the other works of Tagore. In all his works women character primarily plays role as protagonist. In The *Home and the World*, Tagore not just focuses on women emancipation, it can be also read as:

---

[139] Meenakshi Mukherjee, 'Epic and Novel in India', *The Novel: History, Geography and Culture*, ed. Franco Moretti, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2007, pp- 618- 69 .Also, Josna Rege, 'Problem of Action in the Colonial Novel.', *Colonial Karma: Self, Action, and Nation in the English Novel*, Palgrave Macmilan, New York, 2004, p- 48.

[140] Tanika Sarkar, 'Many Faces of Love: Country, Women, and God in The Home and the World', P. K. Datta (ed) *Rabindranath Tagore's The Home and the World: A Critical Companion*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2003, p- 42.

"*……The Home and the World* side by side with *Gora* helps us to understand that 'ghar' and 'bahir' in the novels do not only refer to the question of woman's emancipation from the patriarchal system within her family, with the anti-colonial movement providing a kind of background to it; it is also about a woman's awareness of the anti-colonial struggle……"[141]

Tagore work's *The Home and the World,* can be translated as a criticism of the patriarchal approach of many Indian writers, who advocated that the role of women should be restricted to the periphery of the Home. One can argue that the question of women's emancipation should not be the primary concern in the context of the struggle for freedom from the Colonizer. It should be a prime concern once the country gains freedom from the colonizer. Only once, we achieve freedom, then we move towards women emancipation and other social concerns. Tagore was completely aware about the fact that even highly educated Indians were not completely free from their patriarchal approach, even India got Independence, the situation would not change for women and simultaneously the power shift to those people were leading the freedom movement, would not emancipate women, because majority of them were feudal land lord and patriarchal. As Tagore's senior contemporary nationalist Bankimchandra Chatterjee's view on the women:

"In the past, women were uneducated, and therefore coarse, vulgar, and quarrelsome. By comparison, modern women have more refined tastes. On the other hand, whereas women were once hardworking and strong, they were now lazy and fond of luxury, unmindful of housework, and prone to all sorts of illnesses. Further, in the olden days women were religious. They were faithful to their husbands, hospitable to guests, and charitable to the needy. They genuinely believed in the norms of right conduct. Today, if women do these things, they do so more because of fear of criticism than because they have faith in dharma."[142]

The above mentioned lines denote the mindset of the Indian modernist and even highly educated person. Even, Bankimchandra Chatterjee was patriarchal in his thinking. If Bakimchandra Chatterjee was patriarchal in nature, then anyone can imagine what was the thinking of common Indian citizen in the context of women? Bankimchandra Chatterjee, wrote *Bande Matram* (can

---

[141] Kumkum Sangri and Sudesh Vaid (ed.), *Recasting Women: Essay in Indian Colonial History*, Routledge, New Jersey, 1990, p- 140.
[142] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nations and its Fragments*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp- 135-36.

be translated as hail to the mother), and on the contrary he puts anti- women approach in his thinking. Women do not seem to be included in his vision of mother India. According to Bankimchandra Chatterjee, the role of women is to provide hospitality to their husband and other member of his family. On the contrary, Tagore and Gandhi both advocated equal right to women. They asserted that the success and progress of any society is determined by the success and progress of the women.

Tagore was aware of the suffering of women; and the patriarchal mindset of Indian about women in the society. It would be always inherent in the Indian society. The independent Women *agency* was not possible in the context of patriarchal Indian Society. This fear of Tagore is genuine, and it is illustrated in the view of Sandip, one of the characters of Tagore's novel. Sandip asserts:

> "We are men, we are kings, we must have our tribute. Ever since we have come upon the Earth, we have been plundering her; and the more we claimed, the more she submitted…. The one delight of this Earth is to fulfill the claims of those who are men."[143]

Through the view of Sandip, Tagore simply illustrated the thinking of the majority of Indian thinking in the context of the position of women that women cannot think *independently*. In continuity of Sandip's view, even if India got Independence (during his time, India was still in the hand of colonial master), the situation of women would not improve. Tagore believed that the situation should and must be improved in the society. Otherwise what will be difference between the colonial masters and the emerging Indian nation (where the political power would be in the hand of Indians). Indians are not just colonized by the colonial master, they are colonized by their conservative attitude.

In *The Home and the World*, Vimala is the main protagonist of the novel and a true representative of Tagore's vision of women emancipation. As Vimala asserts:

> "Men never understand these things. They have their nests in the outside; they little know about the whole of what the household stands for. In these matters, they ought to follow womanly guidance.… I felt the real point was that one ought to stand up for one's rights.

---

[143] Rabindranath Tagore, *The Home and the World*, Penguin Books, Hammondsworth, 2005, p- 11.

To go away, and leave everything in the hands of the enemy, would be nothing short of owning defeat."[144]

As Chi P. Pham asserts that Vimala uses men (which is plural of man), which refers to all men, and simultaneously Vimala refers "I felt", which is singular in the form, but that does not mean that she simply refers to herself.[145] Vimala is representative of all the women and their suffering. The pain of Vimala and the question of womanhood can be translated in the terms of "Home" and the "World", where home depicts her inner self, which raises the voice of "women respectability"[146]. Vimala's concern puts a new dimension on the nationalist project. The conflict of values in the case of Vimala represents two things: 1) the value, she gains through modernity and modern education, which is more genuine and based on self-consciousness. The Women *agency*, which is continuously denied by the 'outer world', and which she repeatedly assert through individuality and many times she uses the term, like "I felt", "what the household stands for". In the process to the attainment of self- consciousness, she challenges the old and rotten notion of the role of women in the household. 2) She also fights with the value, which is imposed by the World or other, which is fake and exploitative in nature.

Phan Bội Châu, famous Vietnamese writer, defines feminism and advocates the ideal position and rights of the women. The right Phan Bội Châu advocates, and Vimala's position is similar. Vimala does not want to sit like an idol. She purposes that men and women have equal right. Nobody can decide on the behalf of the women, women alone can decide what women has to do and what women are not to do, as Phan Bội Châu mentions:

"Women have the right to listen to what men listen to; women have the right to see what men see; women could disagree just like men do; women have the right to say what men say; women can think what men think. It is reasonable to say that being human is having certain rights, proper rights. There is no limitation to these rights, but they must be

---

[144] Ibid, p- 25,

[145] Chi P. Pham, 'Rabindranath Tagore's The Home and the World: the story of the failure of Nationalist Project', *Asiatic*, Volume 7, Number 2, December 2013, p- 5.

[146] The word, "women respectability", borrowed from Susan Reed. See, Reed, Susan, *Dance and the Nation: Performance, Ritual, and Politics in Sri Lanka,* Madison: University of WP, 2010, p- 200

appropriate, that is: the right of performing national tasks, taking revenge on invaders. If men can perform certain tasks, there is no reason women could not perform them"[147]

Phan Bội Châu, moves further and asserts the contrary position in the context of feminism, earlier he proposes the right of the women. But, on the contrary:

"……they have lived in a patriarchal hegemony for a long time and because modernity is such a vague idea, …. females are historically ignorant, they "have been in the shadow for thousands of years, their legs and hands have been tied and they have been taught how to be a horse and a buffalo…. In all their lives, they have been like passive machines, without any agency. Because their eyes have been shadowed for such a long time, they have become blind; because their ears have been plugged for such a long time, they have become deaf."[148]

It is quite evident that we are worst than the colonizer. In his other work, Partha Chatterjee mentioned that many Bengali writers of Tagore's era advocate women's virtues in traditional terms. For example, Kundamala Debi asserts the virtue of women, even though she was highly educated:

"See how an educated woman can do housework thoughtfully and systematically in a way unknown to an ignorant, uneducated woman. And see how if *God had not appointed us to this place in the home, how unhappy a place the world would be*."[149]

Even in the case of Kundamala Debi, she did not come out from the patriarchal framework. I would argue that *The Home and the World* cannot seen in the terms of failure of nationalist project, I prefer to say that it is success of the nationalist project, because Tagore could not considered India as a political and geographical unit, if Indians would not free from patriarchy. He argued that women are not free, India would not free. In the novel in the case Vimala is

---

[147] Phan Bội Châu, *Một số vấn đề* , translated by Chi p Pham,  p- 48, quoted in [147] Chi P Pham, 'Rabindranath Tagore's *The Home and the World*: Story of the Failure of the Nationalist Project', Asiatic, Volume 7, Number 2, December, 2013.

[148] Ibid,

[149] P.Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Post- colonial Histories,* NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993,  p- 129.

representative free women *agency*. After analyzing the character of Vimala, it cannot be considered as a failure of the nationalist project, because the character of Vimala represents the assertion of women right.


## 3.2.2: Tagore on *nation* and *nationalism*:

Through his many works, Tagore questioned the emerging nation and ask what could be nation implies for emerging nation. Tagore defined  nation, "this organization of politics and commerce whose other name is the Nation, becomes all powerful at the cost of the harmony of the higher social life, then it is an evil day for humanity."[150] Tagore was not concern about nation as a political unit. He was more concerned about the nature of nation. He raised questions about the problem of social evils. In other words, he was more concerned about the future of the masses and freedom from these evil. Tagore not just worried about foreign rule; he was also worried about the home- rule, which has foreign tenets in nature. According to him, it has hardly made any impact, if Indians does not change their attitude. According to Tagore, Indians were demanding a free nation. They assert that the British colonizer was exploitative in nature, and interfered in every zone in the India's social and political arena. However, Indians themselves could not emerge from their feudal in nature. For example, Indian landlords did not consider their workers as human.

 As, Tagore mentions;

> Before the nation came to rule over us we had other governments which were foreign, and these, like other governments, had some element of the machine in them. But the difference between them and the government by the Nation is like the difference between the hand loom and the power loom. In the products of the hand loom, the magic of man's living fingers finds its expression, and its hum harmonizes with the magic of life. But the power loom is relentlessly lifeless and accurate and monotonous in its production.[151]

---

[150] Rabindranath Tagore, "Nationalism in the West", Sisir Kumar Das (ed.), *The English Writing of Rabindranath Tagore*, Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, 2008, p- 422.

[151] Rabindranath Tagore, Nationalism in the West, Sisir Kumar Das (ed.), *The English Writing of Rabindranath Tagore*, Sahitya Akedemi, New Delhi, 2008, p- 424.

The above mentioned lines refer to the fact that social harmony cannot be created, if majority of the masses do not participate in the process of emancipation. The foundational basis of nation and the members of that particular nation are based on social achievement. If this fabric has been shattered, due to any purpose, the purpose of nation cannot be solved. Although, Tagore was not very enthusiastic about the nation, as the above mentioned lines suggest, he categorically mentioned, 'before the nation came to rule over us', there are two reasons behind his unenthusiastic attitude about the nation. In the first place, he was aware of the fact that in the modern nation, many persons are died or were butchered in the name of the nation, on the second place about the masses, which will represent the nation. He was completely aware that in future, there are many individuals, which have no share in the nation.

Tagore moves further and mentioned:

> "……not merely the subject races, but you who live under the delusion that you are free, are everyday sacrificing your freedom and humanity to this fetish of nationalism, living in the dense poisonous atmosphere of worldwide suspicion and greed and panic.."[152]

According to Ramchandra Guha, there are four founding figures of Modern India, Gandhi, who led the freedom movement, Nehru (an advocate of pluralism), 'who nurtured the Indian state', Dr. Ambedkar, who wrote the Indian Constitution and became a pioneer figure in the context of social justice, and Rabindranath Tagore. In his article, Ramchandra Guha "Travelling with Tagore", he simply tries to emphasize that all three foundational leaders' ideas' were assimilated in Tagore's idea. According to Ramchandra Guha, Tagore is more critical about the nation. And this critical attitude of Tagore makes him above the league of Gandhi, Nehru and Dr. Ambedkar. The reason behind this critical attitude is that in the modern India some group must have dominance over other groups, whether it is ruled by Hindus or Moslems, they try to overpower the other, or ignore the other. The vastness of Tagore cannot be ignored by anyone, his attitude about patriotism is also critical. In his article 'Whether East and West in Greater India', he simply puts forward his pluralist view:

---

[152] Rabindranath Tagore, "Nationalism in the West", Sisir Kumar Das (ed.), *The English Writing Of Rabindranath Tagore*, Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, 2008, p- 427.

"whether it is to belong more to the Hindu, or the Moslem, or whether some other race is to assert a greater supremacy than either—that is not the problem with which Providence is exercised. It is not as if, at the bar of the judgment seat of the Almighty, different advocates are engaged in pleading the rival causes of Hindu, Moslem or Westerner, and that the party that wins the decree shall finally plant the standard of permanent possession. It is our vanity which makes us think that it is a battle between contending rights—the only battle is the eternal one between Truth and untruth."[153]

Like Gandhi, Tagore was also worried about hyper nationalism. The patriotism which eventually turns violent, the reason behind the advocacy of *Ahimsa* (Gandhi) is that Gandhi was aware that if we get freedom from the colonizer, through violent mode then in every demand masses would indulge in violence, which would easily get out of control. Tagore also moves in the framework of Gandhi. He considers that the free movement is just a shift of power in regimes. The freedom movement is like the replacement of white Englishmen with black Englishmen. Tagore was genuinely concerned about humanity. He did not just advocate the idea of human rights and equality. He also believed and practiced his idea in his own daily life affair. His vision about *shantiniketan* reflects the practice of his idea, which he advocated throughout his life. According to him the university should be represent the idea of equality, freedom and justice. In santi niketan, everybody could join and study, whether they were women, untouchable or any other members of society. They would have to cook for everybody; and eat in a single mess. The universal brotherhood was the core of the philosophy of the Tagore.

Tagore said:

'I will not buy glass for the price of diamonds and I will never allow patriotism to triumph over humanity as long as I live. I took a few steps down that road and stopped: for when I cannot retain my faith in universal man standing over and above my country, when patriotic prejudices overshadow my God, I feel inwardly starved'.[154]

Tagore was worried about the fact the patriotism can easily overpower humanity. In true sense the Tagore's position (in the context of nation) is unchallengeable. The only problem in the

[153] *Nationalism, Internationalism and Imperialism: Tagore on England and the West*, in G. R. Taneja and Vinod Sena, Literature East and West: Essays Presented to R. K. Dasgupta, Allied, New Delhi, 1995, p- 41.
[154] Ibid,

Tagore writing, that he suggests the problem of Indian nation, but, he does not suggest the solution to uproot social evil. Even in the case of *shanti niketan*, there were few students can get education in this institution? But, at the ideological level Tagore was unmatchable, especially in the sense of vast writing in different genre.

## 3.2.3: Reading Tagore and Gandhi together

Tagore criticized Gandhi and simultaneously the Indian masses, which were always ready to follow commands without any critical thinking, on the other hand Tagore also argued that the non- cooperation movement does not solve any purpose. Because,

> The command to burn foreign clothes has been laid on us, I, for one, am unable to obey it. Firstly, because I conceive it to be my very first duty to put up a valiant fight against this terrible habit of blindly obeying orders, and this fight can never be carried on by our people being driven from one injunction to another……But we must refuse to accept as our ally the illusion haunted magic-ridden slave-mentality that is at the root of all the poverty and insult under which our country groans. Here is the enemy itself, on whose defeat alone *Swaraj* within and without can come to us.[155]

Here, I think Tagore was being unfair to Gandhi. Gandhi advocated the burning, he was aware that the using of this cloth benefitted the British industrialists. And second reason behind such advocacy is that Gandhi wanted Charkha, to replace the mills. Gandhi, as per my view, had correctly pointed out that such a routine use of charkha would the nation to provide cloth to everybody then return to charkha, at least that time- period. In this approach, Gandhi not only preserved the economy from foreign hand, simultaneously saved the raw material in order to provide cloth to everybody.

Tagore, was inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, and also criticized the Gandhi narrowness (the word narrowness used by Tagore, although I do not endorse this word for Gandhi) in the certain issues. He tried to focus on the problems of Mahatama Gandhi approach in certain aspects in his

---

[155] Amartya Sen, 'Tagore and his India', Robert B Silvers and Barbara Epstein (ed.), *India A Mosaic*, The New York Review of Books, New York, 2000, p- 91.

political activities. If we read both Tagore and Gandhi simultaneously, then we come to the insights of that Indian nation must be approach in this direction, which draws from the conclusion of the both the thinkers.

On the case of Gandhi political praxis, the non co- operation movement, Tagore showed unhappiness in the corresponding letter to his Friend and the professor of Santi Niketan, Charles Freer Andrews. He emphasized:

> "What irony of fate is this that I should be preaching cooperation of cultures between East and West on this side of the sea just at the moment when the doctrine of Non-Cooperation is preached on the other side?"[156]

I think that, the doctrine of non co-operation was used by Gandhi, to uproot the colonizer. And this doctrine was used by Gandhi in many circumstances to enforce the rights of the oppressed. It should be noted in this context that workers used only other methods then it create chaos and it will be diverted their genuine demand. Even, during the period of colonization. If Indian did not co-operate with the administrative or other purposes, it was hard for colonizer to rule over India. However, this did not mean that Gandhi was against the values, which were coming through the colonizer, so, Tagore's criticism is at other plane, and Gandhi's political actions are on the other plane. Tagore is not just critical about the colonial master, but, in the same time he also appreciated the western ideas which proposed by the colonial master, who has the liberal values, and imitate the modern value, such as Women emancipation. *The Home and the World* depicted the modernity.

After analyzing both, thinkers' work and their acts, Jawaharlal Nehru mentioned:

> "Tagore and Gandhi have undoubtedly been the two outstanding and dominating figures of India in this first half of the twentieth century. It is instructive to compare and contrast them…..Tagore, the aristocratic artist, turned democrat with proletarian sympathies, and represented essentially the cultural tradition of India…… Gandhi, more a man of the people, almost the embodiment of the Indian peasant, represented the other ancient tradition of India, that of renunciation and asceticism. And yet Tagore was primarily the

---

[156] Tagore *selected writing*, p-258.

man of thought, Gandhi, of concentrated and ceaseless activity. Both, in their different ways, had a world outlook, and both were at the same time wholly Indian. They seemed to represent different but harmonious aspects of India and complement each other."[157]

## 3.2.4 Is Tagore a cosmopolitan?

Martha Nussbaum, after reading the Tagore's novel *The Home and the World*, reached to the conclusion that Tagore was a cosmopolitan. I want to argue that Tagore is not a cosmopolitan. Although, his major concerns with the universal Human rights, in earlier section, I established that Tagore was critical about the nationalist project and the direction in which nationalist movement was going. However, it should be noted that Martha Nussbaum has raised certain thought provoking arguments.

As per my reading of Martha Nussbaum's article[158] , Nussbaum makes two points in order to establish Tagore as a cosmopolitan. First, the title of the novel *The Home and the World*, second, the name of his university Viswa Bharti, were interpreted by Martha Naussbaumn to demonstrate that to take Tagore was a cosmopolitan. The title of the novel, *The Home and the World*, here world can be interpreted in many ways, but I think it refers to two things. First, it refers to tradition versus modernity. The protagonist of the novel Vimala, through modern education asserts than women should not sit like doll and second things is that the women should participate in the nationalist movement. The name of university Visha Bharti, signifies that every section of society should have a right to get knowledge and enter into the world of knowledge.

However, it is difficult to consider Tagore as a cosmopolitan, because, if Tagore was indeed a cosmopolitan then he should have been indifferent to colonial or any other Government. On the contrary, Tagore had opposed the foreign rule. Tagore had criticized the nationalist leaders, because he was aware that the approach of the nationalists towards women, untouchable and minorities did not lead to modernity. The fact that Tagore advocated human rights, moral and ethical values of human beings does not mean that he can be considered as a cosmopolitan.

---

[157] Homer A Jack, *The Gandhi Reader: A Source Book of His Life and Writing*, Samata Books, 1983, p- 223.
[158] On the basis of her reading, she concludes that Tagore is a cosmopolitan. See, Martha C. Nussbaum, 'Patriotism and cosmopolitanism' in Josua Cohen (ed.), *For Love of Country?*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1992, pp- 3- 20.

# Conclusion

Unlike Gellner, who argued that the nation is falsely implicated and Benedict Anderson, who argued that nation is created, Anthony D Smith argued that, neither nation is the falsely implicated nor, is the created. According to Anthony D Smith, print capitalism strengthens the feeling for the nation, but nation is not created. In the modern times, a nation could have liberal values, such as, freedom, justice, and free will and so on. Simultaneously nation had an origin in pre-modern *ethnie*. Moving Further, Anthony D Smith defined, nation as a cultural unit, nation-state as a political unit and nationalism as an ideology, through which people were deeply associated with the nation. To this point I do not have any disagreements with Anthony D Smith.

Anthony D Smith argued that nation has a homeland, and people are historically associated with territory. The masses, which constitute a nation, have 'common myths and historical memories'. Smith added to this 'common, mass public culture', 'a common legal rights and duties' and 'common economy' as essential features of a nation[159]. In a later version, he removed mass public culture, a common economy, common legal rights and duties. And he added common law and customs in more vague terms. My disagreement with the Anthony D Smith is that it is impossible to imagine that customs could be practiced uniformly throughout the territory of the nation. Even the term common law could not be considered as a feature of the nation, this is a feature of the nation- state. The nation-state makes law for the masses, even some of laws are not practiced throughout the entire territory of a nation. In the case of India, for example, some laws are not applicable trough-out the territory. In the case Catalonia, which I mentioned in the first chapter, common laws are not practiced through- out Catalonia.

In the case of nationalism, Smith had defined the nationalism as follows,

1) Nationalism is "the process of forming and maintaining nations or nation-state"[160].
2) Nationalism is "a consciousness of belonging to the nation, together with sentiments and aspirations for its security and prosperity"[161].

---

[159] Anthony D Smith, *National Identity*, p- 14.
[160] Ibid, p- 72,

3) "A language and symbolism of the 'nation' and its role"[162]

4) Nationalism is "an ideology, including a cultural doctrine of nations and the national will and the prescriptions for the realization of national aspirations and the national will"[163].

5) Nationalism is "a social and political movement to achieve the goals of the nation and realize its national will"[164].

Anthony D Smith systematically defined the concept of nationalism. In the context of nationalism, I do not have any disagreement with Anthony D Smith's definition of nationalism.

Moving further, Benedict Anderson had defined the nation in the terms of *imagined community*. According to him, the imagined community is a political community, which is created through the use of print- capitalism. It is a sovereign community. I have certain objections to Benedict Anderson's conception of nation as an *imagined community*. The imagined community cannot be sovereign, because as Aristotle defined sovereignty is a supreme power of the state. If sovereignty is a supreme power of state, how can the *imagined community* be sovereign? Even in the case of long-distance nationalism, the people are settled in another country and yet part of the nation in which they are born. In this case the *imagined community* could not be considered as sovereign, because they are coming in the purview of the other sovereign nation-state. My second objection to Benedict Anderson's thesis of *imagined community* is that if the nation is created then, for a long period it cannot be sustained. Because, as per Benedict Anderson, print-capitalism created imagined community, in the same way print-capitalism could be create a new nation. This process would never end. However, it is quite evident that nation existed everywhere. There could be some other reason for the sustenance of nations.  As per my view it must be a cultural association, through which masses are deeply connected with each other to their nation.

My view is that print-capitalism might strengthen the feeling of belonging with the nation or print capitalism can help *imagined communities* to imagine bigger sameness or belongingness to certain territory. For example in pre- modern societies, there were less tools of communication,

---

[161] Ibid,
[162] Ibid,
[163] Ibid,
[164] Ibid.

people were aware about lesser territory (50 km or 100km) and some cultural practices. Masses of pre-modern societies were able to imagine smaller territories and smaller *imagined communities.* However, due to emergence of print capitalism and other modes of communication, there became aware about the grater masses and larger territory. Through these modes of communications, there were able to become aware of the larger territory and common practices. Through these cultural tenets, they were able to identify with larger territory. That's why they were able to consider a large territory as an *imagined community*. So, Instead of arguing that the nation is a creation of print capitalism or other modes of communication, I prefer to say that print capitalism or other modes of communication strengthened the sense of belonging with a nation. In addition, I am also endorsing Partha Chatterjee critique of Benedict Anderson's *imagined community*. After analyzing the social and political structure of the Third World, Partha Chatterjee said that these countries are still colonized or will be forever colonized. So, Partha Chatterjee rightly concluded with the question, *whose imagined community?*

Moving further, in the context of Gandhi and Tagore, I completely agree with both the philosophers and their progressive ideas about the emancipation of women, untouchablity and the inclusion of minorities in the emerging nation. Gandhi's ideas in the context of nation and economy are not traditional and pre-modern. Gandhi was completely aware about the fact that, to provide employment, cloth, and food to everybody. It was necessary to strengthen the village economy and move to the process of industrialization. Gandhi's advocacy of village empowerment and the decentralization of the economy were criticized by many of his contemporaries. However, in modern times his ideas of decentralization of economy are practiced by many countries. In the context of upliftment of the situation of untouchability, Gandhi's view made immense impact during the period of colonization and his concerns were translated in the Indian constitution. In his vision, Gandhi was quite clear that if women were not emancipated, then the nation must be paralyzed. In the context of minorities, his inclusive ideas are completely unchallengeable. To uproot these social evils, Gandhi in his political practices advocated non-violence (*ahimsa*), *satyagraha.* These practices were based on truth. For Gandhi truth is God.

I would argue that Tagore was in practice a Gandhian, although he had certain disagreements with Gandhian methods. However, in his approaches, he never doubted Gandhi's intentions.

Gandhi's view on women were incorporated by Tagore in his novel *The Home and the World*, or vice-versa we can say that Tagore's view were incorporated by Gandhi in his political agenda. Simultaneously, Gandhi's concern (in *Hind Swaraj* Gandhi argued that if we do not change our attitudes, then we would only replace British raj with an Indian Raj) with nation and nationalism, were shared by Tagore in his work *Nationalism*. Tagore's critique of nation and nationalism is read by Martha Nussbaum as cosmopolitanism. But as per my view Tagore was aware about the attitudes and behaviors of his countrymen and other countries, where mass butchering took place in the name of the nation. That is why he criticized nationalism, which is turned into hyper nationalism in the name of nation.

Finally, I want to say that Tagore's progressive ideas, were reflected in his works and had an impact on educated people. Since, Tagore was less politically active, so his ideas were not available to the uneducated masses). On the other hand, through his political activities, Gandhi was able to communicate his progressive ideas to the every section of the masses and through his writing and corresponding letters, he was able to communicate with the intellectuals. So, I would conclude that it was the due to the arrival Gandhi, that the rise of nation took place.

# Bibliography

## Primary source

Anderson,Bendict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso Editions, 1983 (1991).

-------------------- *Long- Distance Nationalism: World Capitalism and Rise of Identity politics,* Centre of Asian Studies, Amsterdam, 1992.

Gandhi, M. K. *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule,* Ahmedabad, Navjivan Publishing House, 1938.

---------------- *Collected Work of Gandhi (1958-94)*, New Delhi: Nehru Memorial Library

Gellner, Ernest, *Nation and Natioanlism*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983.

Smith, A. D, *Theories of Nationalism*, London: Harper and Row, 1971 (1983)

------------- *Nationalism*, A Trend Report and Annotated Bibliography, *Current Sociology* 21, no. 3, The Hague: Mouton, 1973 (a)

------------ "Nationalism and Religion: the Role of Religious Reform in the Genesis of Arab and Jewish Nationalism", Archives de Sociologie des Religions 35, 23-43, 1973 (b)

------------ (ed), *Nationalist Movement*, London: St Martin Press, 1976

------------ *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford: Martin Robinson, 1979 (a)

-------------'The "Historical Revival" in Late Eighteen Century England and France', *Art History* 2, no 2, 156-78, 1979 (b)

------------ *The Ethnic Revival in the Modern World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981 (a)

------------ "State and Homeland: the Social and Geographical Implications of National Territory", *Millennium, Journal of International Studies*, 10, no. 3, 187- 202, 1981 (b)

------------ "War and Ethnicity: the Role of Warfare in the Formation, Self-images and Cohesion of Ethnic Communities", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4, no. 4, 375-97, 1981 (c)

----------- *State and Nation in the Third World*, Brighton: Harvester Press, 1983.

------------- "Ethnic Myths and Ethnic Revivals", *European Journal of Sociology*, 25, 283-305, 1984(a)

------------ "National Identity and Myths of Ethnic Descent", *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, 7, 95- 130, 1984 (b)

------------- *Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.

------------- *National Identity*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1991.

------------- *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, p- 190

-----------------'when is a nation', Geopolitics, 2002, 7, 2, 5-32.

------------- *Ethno- symbolism and Nationalism: A cultural approach, London,* New York: Routledge, 2009.

Tagore, R. N. *Nationalism,* London, Macmillion, 1919

------------- *The Home and the World*, London, Macmillion, 1921.

# Secondary source

Abrams, Anne, *The Valiant Hero: Benjamin West and Grand-Style History Painting*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1986.

—— 'The goodness of nations', in Peter van der Veer and Hartmut Lehmann (eds), *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Acton, Lord, 'Nationality', in *Essay on Freedom and Power*, Glencoe IL: The Free Press, 1948.

-------------- *Essay in the Liberal Interpretation of History*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Aggarwal, R. N. *Indian National Movement*, Delhi: Metropolitan Book Co., 1971

Akzin, Benjamin, *State and Nation*, London, Hutchinsion University Library, 1964.

All India Congress Committee, *The Indian National Congress (1920- 1923)*, AICC, Allahabad, 1924.

Aloysius, G. *Nationalism without nation in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997 (2012, 14th edition)

Alter, Peter. *Nationalism*, London: Edward Arnold, 1989.

Althusser, Louis, *Ideology and Ideological State Appratus in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays,* London: Verso Editions, 1971.

Ambedkar, B. R. *The Essential Writing of B. R. Ambedkar,* Edited by Valerian Rodrigues, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Amin, Samir, *Class and Nation*, London: Heinemann, 1981.

Anandshankar Ray, "Tagore and Tolstoy", *Indian Literature*, Vol 4, New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, 1961.

Anita, Desai, Introduction, *The Home and the World*, by R. Tagore, Hammondsworth: Penguin Books, 2005, xxi-xxxii.

Aurobindo, Sri, *On Nationalism*, Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1965

Armstrong, J. A. *Nations before Nationalism*, Chapel Hills: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

Armstrong, John (1976) 'Mobilized and proletarian diasporas', American Political Science Review 70, 393–408

—— *Nations before Nationalism*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

—— 'Towards a theory of nationalism: consensus and dissensus', in Periwal (1995, 34–43), 1995.

Ashis Nandy, *The Illegitimacy of Nationalism: Rabindranath Tagore and the Politics of Self*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994

Balibar, Etienne, 'Racism and Nationalism*', in E. Balibar and E. Wellstein, Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, London: Verso Books, 1991.

Barnard, Fredrick. *Herder's Social and Political Thought: From Enlightenment to Nationalism*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.

Baron, Salo, *Modern Nationalism and Religion*, New York: Meridian Book, 1960.

Barth, Fredrik (ed), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1969.

Bartlett, Robert, *The Making of Europe*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994.

Beitz, Charles, *Political Theory and International Relations,* Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Bendix, Reinhard, *Nation- Building and Citizenship*, enlarged edn, New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1996 (1964).

Bhabha, Homi (ed), *Nation and Narration*, London and New York: Routledge, 1990.

Billig, M. *Banal Nationalism*, London: Sage, 1995.

Brass, Paul, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, London: Sage, 1991.

Breuilly, Jhon, *Nationalism and the State,* Manchester University Press, 1982.

Brown, J. "The Mahatma in Old Age: Gandhi's role in Indian Political Life 1935- 1942, in R. Sisson and Wolpert (ed), *Congress and Indian Nationalism*, London: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Calhoun, Craig, *Nationalism*, Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997.

Carr, Edward, *Nationalism and After*, London: Macmillion, 1945.

Chamberlin, E.R., *Preserving the Past*, London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1979.

Chatterjee, P., *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Post- colonial Histories,* NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993. Cohler, Anne, *Rousseau and Nationalism*, New York: Basic Books, 1970.

Cohn, Norman, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, London: Seeker and Warburg, 1957.

Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Essays in National Idealism*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1981 (1909).

Culler, Jonathan. "The Novel and the Nation", *The Literary in Theory*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Deutsch, Karl, *Nationalism and Social Communication*, New York: MIT Press, 1953 (1966, 2nd edition).

Deutsch, Karl and Foltz, William (eds), *Nation Building*, New York: Atherton, 1963.

Diaz-Andreu, Margarita, *A World History of Nineteenth Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism and the Past*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Dieckhoff, Alain and Jaffrelot, Christophe (eds), *Revisiting Nationalism: Theories and Processes*, London: C. Hurst & Co., 2005.

Doob, Leonard, *Patriotism and Nationalism: Their Psychological Foundation*, New Heaven CT: Yale University Press, 1964.

Dyson, Stephen, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts: A History of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006.

Edensor, Tim, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002.

Engelhardt, Juliane, 'Patriotism, nationalism and modernity: the patriotic societies in the Danish conglomerate state, 1769–1814', *Nations and Nationalism* 13, 2, 205–23, 2007.

Fanon, Franz. *The Wretched of the Earth*, Trans. Richard Philcox, New York, Grove Press, 2004.

Fischer Louis, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi*, Harper and Brothers, 1950.

Freeden, Michael, 'Is nationalism a distinct ideology?', Political Studies 46, 748–65, 1998.

Gellner, Ernest , *Thought and Change*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964.

—— 'Scale and nation', Philosophy of the Social Sciences 3, 1–17, 1973.

—— *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.

—— 'Do nations have navels?', *Nations and Nationalism* 2, 3, 366–70, 1996.

Ghosh, S.K. "Indian Bourgeoisie and Imperialism", EPW, vol. XXIII, no- 45-47, 1988, pp- 2445-58.

------------- *India and the Raj 1919- 1947*, Calcutta: Prachi Publication, 1989.

Ghosh Tapobarta, "The Form of *The Home and the World*" in Pradip Kumar Datta, *R. Tagore's The Home and the World, A Critical Companion*, London: Anthem Press, 2005.

Glazer, Nathan and Moynihan, Daniel (eds), *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.), *Mapping the Nation*, London and New York: Verso, 1996

Gouldner, Alvin, *The Rise of the Intellectuals and the Future of the New Class*, London: Macmillan, 1979.

Guibernau, Montserrat, *Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996.

——, *Nations Without States*, Cambridge: Polity, 1999.
—— *The Identity of Nations*, Cambridge: Polity, 2007.

Gurbhagat Singh, "Recent Nation Theory and the Nationalist Quest in Indian Novel", in E. V. Ramakrishnan (ed), *Narrating India: The Novel in search of the Nation*, New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, 2005.

Greenfeld, Liah, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Grosby, Steven , 'Religion and nationality in antiquity', European Journal of Sociology 33, 229–65, 1991

    —   'The verdict of history: the inexpungeable tie of primordiality – a reply to Eller and Coughlan', Ethnic and Racial Studies 17, 1, 164–171, 1994.

—— 'Territoriality: the transcendental, primordial feature of modern societies', Nations and Nationalism 1, 2, 143–62, 1995.

Hastings, Adrian, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

— 'Special peoples', *Nations and Nationalism* 5, 3, 381–96, 1999.

Hayes, Carlton, *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*, New York: Smith, 1931.

—— *Nationalism: A Religion*, New York: Macmillan, 1960.

Hobsbawm, Eric, 'Some Reflections on "The Break-up of Britain"' *New Left Review,* 105, September-October 1977.

Hutchinson, John, 'Indefence of transhistorical ethno-symbolism: a reply to my critics', *Nations and Nationalism*, 2008.

Jonathan Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism: A critical Introduction*, Basingstroke: Palgrave, 2000.

Judith Butler and Gayatri Spivak Chakravorty, *Who sings Nation- State?,* London: Seagull books, 2007.

Kalyan Chatterjee, "Gora: Tagore's Paradoxical Self", *Indian Literature*, 227, Sahitya Academy

Keer, Dhananjay, *Mahatma Gandhi*, Popular Prakashan, 1973.

Kh. Kunjo Singh, "Tagore's *Gora*: A study in the Nationalist Perspective", in Mohit K Ray, Studies on Tagore, New Delhi, Atlantic Publishers, 2004.

Kumar, K. Political Agenda of Education, New Delhi: SAGE, 1991.

Kumkum Sangri and Sudesh Vaid (ed), Recasting Women: Essay in Indian Colonial History, New Jersey: Rouledge, 1990.

Kymlicka, Will, *Politics in the Vernacular Press: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, Citizenship*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Laxshmi Subramaniam, "Rabindranath Tagore and the Problem of Self Esteem in Colonial India", in Rajat Kumar Ray (ed), *Mind, Body and Society: Life and Mentality in Colonial Bengal*, Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Markovits, C. Indian Business and Nationalist Politics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Mill, J. S. (1861), 'Nationality' in Woolf, S. (ed), *Nationalism in Europe, 1815 to Present*, Routledge, London and New York, 1996.

Mukherjee, Meenakshi, "Epic and Novel in India", in Franco Moretti (ed), The Novel: History, Geography and Culture, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2007.

------------------------ Realism and Reality: The Novel and Society in India, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Nairn, Tom, *The Break-up of Britain: crisis and neonationalism*, Verso; London and New York, 1981 (2nd edition) and Common Ground Publication, 2003 (3rd edition).

Nanda, B.R. *Mahatma Gandhi*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Natrajan, S. *A Century of Social Reform*, Asia Publishing House, 1959.

Niharranjan Ray, "Three Novel of Tagore", Indian Literature, Vol 4, New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, 1961.

Nussbaum, M.C., 'Patriotism and cosmopolitanism', in M.C. Nussbaum *For Love of Country?,* Ed. by Joshua Cohen for Boston Review (pp. 3- 17), Boston: Beacon Press, 2002.

Ozkirimili, Umut, *Theories of Nationalism: A critical Introduction*, Basinstoke: Palgrave, 2000.

Parekh, B. Colonialism, Tradition and Reform, New Delhi: SAGE, 1989.

Pham, Chi, "Rabindranath Tagore's *The Home and the World*: Story of the Failure of the Nationalst Project", *Asiatic*, vol 7, no 2, 2013.

Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman, *Nationalism: A critical Introduction*, London and New Delhi, SAGE, 2002.

Parel, J.A. Hind Swaraj and Other Writing, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Rege, Josna. "Problem of Action in the Colonial Novel", Colonial *Karma: Self, Action, and Nation in the Indian English Novel*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Reed, Susan, *Dance and the Nation: Performance, Rituals and Politics in India*, Madison: University of WP, 2010.

Richard Allen and Harish Trivedi (ed), *Literature and Nation: Britain and India 1880- 1990*, London: Routledge, 2000.

Sarkar, Tanika, "Many Faces of Love: Country, Woman and God", in Pradip Kumar Dutta, R. Tagore's The Home and the World, A Critical Companion, London: Anthem Press, 2005.

Sen, A. (2002). 'Humanity and citizenship', in M.C. Nussbaum *For Love of Country*? Ed. by Joshua Cohen for Boston Review (pp. 111- 118), Boston: Beacon Press, 2002.

Sen, A. "Tagore and His India" in Robert B. Silvers and Barbara Epstein (ed), India A Mosaic, New York: The New York Review of Books, 2000.

Seton- Watson, Hugh, *Nations and States*: *An Enquiry into the Origin of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism,* Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1977.

Sharddananda, S. *Inside Congress*, Bombay: Phoenix Publication, 1946.

Snyder, Louis, *The Meaning of Nationalism*, New Brunswick, 1954

Tagore, R. "Sadhana" in *Ravindranath Tagore Omnibus*, New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd. 2012.

--------------- *Selected Letters of Rabindranath Tagore*, Ed, Krishna Dutta and Andrew Robinson, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Walker, Connor, *Ethno-Nationalism: The Quest for Understanding*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994a.

Weber, Max, *From Max Weber: Essay in Sociology*, H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills (eds.), London: Routledge, 1985.

## Internet source

http://www.Exploringgpolitics.org/pblication_efferink_van_leonhardt_nation_nationalism_state_modernism_etthosymbolism_primordialism_perennialism_identity_ethnies_vernacular_language_industrialisation. Accessed on 22-3- 2017

http://www.politicalsciencenotes.com/essay/sovereignty-meaning-and-characteristics-of-sovereignty/254. Accessed on 28-4-2017.

http://tagoreweb.in/Render/ShowContent.aspx?ct=Essays&bi=72EE92F5-BE50-40D7-8E6E-0F7410664DA3&ti=72EE92F5-BE50-4A47-3E6E-0F7410664DA3. Accessed on 28-4- 2017.

www.i-house.or.jp/programs/wp-content/uploads...Tagore-essay_R.Guha_Pdf. Accessed on 5-5-2017.

www.worldeconyandfinance.org/PDFS/ulrich_beck_global_risk.pdf. Accessed on 7-5-2017.