

Theories and Practices of Nationalism

11. 8. 2020

Overview

- Early conceptions of nationalism.
- Many came from marxist concepts
- lots from 1960s
- 3 imp theoreticians for this course
 - Benedict Anderson ————— Imagined Communities (Book)
 - Ernest Gellner ————— Nationalism and Modernisation
 - Eric Hobsbawm ————— Nation as "invented Tradition"
- Nationalism in India
 -
 -
 - Javed Alam
- Nationalists and their views
 - how various people in India during the colonial period perceived nationalism.
- Zionism
- Globalisation and Nationalism
Contradictions, etc.

Logistics

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

Why Study Nationalism

- most pervasive ideology in modern world.
- kind of paradoxical {
 - All other ideologies, there is splintering, and variation all over.
eg.:
 - Differing shades of capitalism, liberalism, vegetarians, etc. } BUT There are commonalities
 - Differing ideologies.
 - An Indian nationalist will not have commonalities with any other
- Everything is impacted by nationalism } figure out how
- Be aware of positive, negative aspects
- Understand how it affects personal, public, professional lives.

Assessment

• 6 short class test (30%)

- Random days, topics
- Short answers. Based on that class / classes given before.

• 4 assignments (40%)

- max: 1500 words
- show: listened to lectures, read readings

• Term Paper (30%)

- 3 months to do
- Show different lectures
- 2500 +

Plagiarism

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

Next Class:

Nation, Nation State, National, Nationalism

14.08.2020

Nation and its synonyms

Common synonyms: Country,
Kingdom,
State,
Land,
Region,
Polity,
People,
Community,

diff: - not united
+ self refer.

- State also includes apparatus. Is not necessary.
- again, unclear. Can exceed a nation, or include multiple
- Similar ^
-
- Closest. But not necessary.
- self referential.

Definition of Nation?

Saejas suggests: a mixture of the above

• Root: Latin nationem "birth"

• Historian: the word only starts getting used in the 18th century. And still, rarely so.

Common use: 19th Century.

• Giving 3 definitions:

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

Does not necessarily work.
eg: India

- a political society composed of subjects or citizens with
 - common territory
 - history
 - laws
 - culture

members of a

note the distinction republic (indiv. sovereignty)
members of a kingdom

not necessary:
- Britain
- France
- etc.

can be contentious

can change by definition

abandons the "political society" def.

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

• Features of a Nation:

• Common

all heavily contested

- Ethnicity, Language, Territory, History, Laws, Culture.
- Sense of Solidarity.
- National Consciousness (is that "ism"?)

• Multiple fights over nations despite

- similar languages (Punjabi, Bengali, English)
- similar religion (Pakistan and Bangladesh)
- similar territories

Consider:

- Korea: 1 nation, 2 territories, maybe 2 cultures, histories?
- Pakistan: formed on the basis of religion
Bangladesh: formed on the basis of language
- Great Britain: Eng, Wales, Scotland all consider themselves separate nations.

• Questions

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

• Sovereignty

- are all nations equal members?
 - IR says yes, but does it work that way?
 - Are there laws transcending national boundaries?
- Can a nation survive without political autonomy?
 - eg: Scots
 - eg: Catalonia?

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

• Going back to the "Scientific Definition"

- All scholars agree: there is no "scientific definition"
- nation exists if a significant no. of people consider such.
- there is no set number
- they possess "national consciousness"

an "ism" is an ideology.

• What is an Ideology

- System - justifying worldview.
- eg:
 - Capitalism: everything should be controlled by the free market.
 - Nationalism:
- - prepackaged units of interpretation
- - spread because of:
 - human motives to understand the world
 - avoid existential threat
 - maintain valued interpersonal relationships

?? :

SOCIOLOGY: - - cultural beliefs that justify particular social arrangements

Basically: - A political belief system.

• Nationalism

• As an Ideology

focus on this >>>

• As a practice

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What is an ideology

• A system-justifying worldview.

Often in real life, we don't only follow one ideology

eg: Our interpretation of an action: "A mother slapping her child"
can be looked at as either - mother's love
- abuse

We fit our systems to the ideology.

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

Nationalism as an Ideology

IN IDEOLOGY

- primacy has to be given to the nation.

A state can have multiple competing ideology.

– eg: America: – WASP

– Civic

IN PRACTICE

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

Aside: Government employees need not be nationalist?

Other

Global Ideologies

Liberalism and Socialism

Socialism

Marxism

Ideologies that claim to surpass National Boundaries.

- Incredibly pervasive, you don't need to be Marxist/Nationalist/Liberal to believe in core principles of the same.

} All prominent from 19th century.

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

→ this implies: all authority is open to critique.

→ brings about the idea of Universal History (all humans on the same plane)

Universal Humans

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

Liberal Limits

- Early ones were kinda hypocritical. (colonial empires, etc)
- These states had growing nationalism
 - Liberalism confined within the nation.

The Classic Marxist Position.

- on the basis of liberalism but faster.

Starting line is the same.

Need to see outcomes are important, conditions should be shaped so.

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

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

• Cracks in the Position

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

• Lenin

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

- starts with classic position
- Despite opposition to nationalism, as nations are a reality. equality of nations, hence removing proletariat divides.
- Still does not consider oppressed nations

- the Right to Secede.

- by persecuting the others, nationalists are upholding privilege of the Russian Landlords, and the communist party is opposed to all privileges, so they uphold the right to nations to self-determination
- They do not advocate secession, but countries have the right to do so
- After the revolution, groups were given the option to secede. The party would campaign against them, but they were allowed to.

- Significant impact in Asia

(slides)

- The Leninist Line

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- Rosa Luxemburg

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

- Stalin

- common: language
territory
economic life
psychological make-up

- 20th Century Comm. Practice

- Nation + ism part of world.
... states,

Communist party in \Rightarrow of nation

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

Early Academic Theories of Nationalism

• Weber

- based on "sentiments of prestige"

to understand society, need
to understand social classes.

imp. aspects of class.

Weber: UC, LC,

Middle: \rightarrow big state class

Morso: UC, LC, +

middle class: petite bourgeois
(constable)

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

- Party values too.

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

- None of these necessary:

- language
- Religious creed \rightarrow ind. sects, churches, etc.
- social and ethnic structures
- Descent.

= Nationalism is a middle class ideology.

• E.H Carr

Rise of Nationalism in 20th Century catastrophic

(slides)

• Hans Kohn

- Context: Jewish . fought for Austria-Hungarian, POW Russia, Zionist in Palestine-USA

- > Nationalism is modern \Rightarrow expression of ^{old} nations as organised states.
- "masses are no longer in the nation but of the nation"
- nation == peop

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

Western:

- the state precedes nationality.

Comes after
Individual rights

\Rightarrow hence: nationalism is not dependent
on culture or language

- religion here is a private affair

= Based on

- Individual rights
- Constitutional rights

Eastern:

- emerge as protests against existing social structure.

- No social base:

Expansion by propaganda and education.

- Emerge in context of "Western" as alien.
- emphasis on the past.

- Not about "citizens" but the "folk", defined in culture.

- Creation of an "ideal future" with the "myths of the past"

Nation as an Imagined Community

BENEDICT ANDERSON

o Starting Point:

- both liberalism and marxism failed to understand/define nation and nationalism
- nationalism seen as lowly
- eg: WWs as bad example.

A global revolution
against nationalism
till 1945

VE+

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

- comes from a Historical - Anthropological Understanding

- started off Marxist

- He was seeing nationalism growing as an anthropologist in SE Asia

• Introduces 3 Paradoxes:

1. Nations are objectively modern **VS** Nationalists claimed their nation was ancient (subjective)
2. It is universal as socio-cultural concept **VS** In manifestations, very particular
- like gender, race, religions
3. Most powerful political power **VS** Ideology that is philosophically very poor

Indian ID ≠ any other
• class
• lived out

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

• Definition

- Imagined
- political
- community
- imagined as inherently
- limited, and
- Sovereign

What is Community?

• Community ≠ Society

Gemeinschaft

identity given

Anthropology

- Social order based on personal ties, 1000s at most
- Custom and tradition as moral code
- Family guiding force for social stat, economic roles, relations.
- fulfillment but no individual movement

identity created and earned **Gesellschaft**

Sociology

- social relations: contract, mutual consent.
- reason
- Individual as the centre.
- Anonymity, alienation; but social mobility.

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

Yes, search for community in society.

• Why Imagined

- the members of even the smallest nation will never meet their others, yet there is an image of communion
- a lot is invested into making this imagination real.

• Why Limited?

- even the largest nation has an "other" beyond boundaries
- no nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind.
- contrast with religion, marxism, vegetarianism, desire that all play cricket, etc.

• Why Sovereign?

- nation as sovereign, not king or dame

• How Community?

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

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○ Cultural Roots of Nationalism

- unlike self-held political ideologies (marxism, etc)
it is more like

- Religious community
- Dynastic Realm

} But also opposed, in a way.

○ Religious Community

- self-conceived as cosmically central
- the religious (sacred language) →
 - has a script, unlike the rest (oral languages)
 - not territorially limited
 - In theory, the deader the language the more "everyone has access"

- Structure

- Centripetal: territorially (pilgrimage spots)
socially

Notions are: - boundary oriented
- horizontal

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

- Incoming Decline:

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

o Dynastic Realm:

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

- legitimacy started waning
↳ kings latched on to nationalistic ideas
- } shift.

o On Time:

- pre-modern: messianic time (History lecture)
↳ without the paintings
- } omnitemporal

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

- o the importance of mean-while
- Events embedded in society

- clocked calendric time.
 - ironic intimacy
- } Mental architecture allowing thought of nationalism.

Succession of Plurals

print capitalism

idea of copyright

Rise of the Vernacular
language of admin = language of people.

dissemination through the market.

essential
foundation
for nation.

Evolution of Nations and Nationalism

1.9.20

o Three Phases

- Creole Pioneers → In the Americas, 18-19th century, definitely primarily Republican
 - Language Nations → In Old Europe. Mass Politics
 - official Nationalism →
- ↓
Overlap.
- Modular form of national whatever

o Creole Pioneers

((slides))

- Portuguese: Brazil
- Spanish: Central, Western America
- English vs French.

} these fights seen as
Protestant vs Catholics

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

o Riddle of American Nationalism

- why creoles first to dev concepts of nation-ness, before most of Europe?
- why European settlers defined nation in the same breath?

Due to how Spanish Americas were Admined.

- > each province was self-contained
- > creole operated only within boundaries of the province

- creole from Argentina limited
 - Spanish can move around
- Brazil was not such.

Due to fear of power creep in Latin America

o Journey as Meaning

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

o Modern State Journeys

((slides))

o Common Circuits

- bounded by boundaries of administrative region
- shared festivity of American Birth
- emotional connect within value laden geography.

o Imagining the Common Journey

((slides))

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

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

o The great liberator

countries not united, but separate.

o Phase one

((slides))

4.9.20

o Phase 2 In Europe

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

- Mid-19th century Europe starts getting into it

- due to spread of vernacular.
 - aided heavily by comparative linguistics
 - no sacred language → all on an even footing
 - vernacular gets a script
- } Languages get rules

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

- Literature Consuming Publics

- enables writing down history of a Nation
- written work is done in the vernacular
- the language of use defined boundaries of the nation

Language

Politics

- BUT, they didn't map to existing national boundaries

↓

Austro-Hungarian empire eg: German, but multiple language.

⇒ hurts those that don't know it.

req. for language

↓

req. for nation

- leaders
- propaganda
- money

in these nations, linguistic nations emerged as an idea from a new social class. "lesser gentries"

they are also closer to the masses

- Imagining Community in the Vernacular

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

- Accumulating Memory of Print as a model

- vernacular in script allows for the creation of nation-wide imagination of a movement.
- print allows for models of nation that are modular and accessible.
- Creation of an immutable "thing" than can be accessed.
- Concept becomes "it"

- Pirate Nations

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

o Phase 3: Official Nationalism

- States define themselves in national terms.

- National Emperor

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

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

- Russification ((slides))

- Addition of "Nationalism" on top of Autocracy, orthodoxy
- Russian used to be language of peasants. French was upper nobility, German was mid-level.
↓
Russian made State Language.

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

- Pali's Pathos

- Indian^{born} can go up the ladder, but can only operate for other Indians.
- but they are also estranged from parent society.

- Official Nationalism becomes a Global Model

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

The Last Wave