

# 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

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## 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" defn.

- 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-UKS

- > Nationalism is modern  $\Rightarrow$  expression of <sup>old</sup> 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.

} Shift

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

- essential foundation for nation.
- 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 = lang. of people.

dissemination through the market.

# Evolution of Nations and Nationalism

1.9.20

## o Three Phases

- Creole Pioneers → In the Americas, 18-19<sup>th</sup> 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))