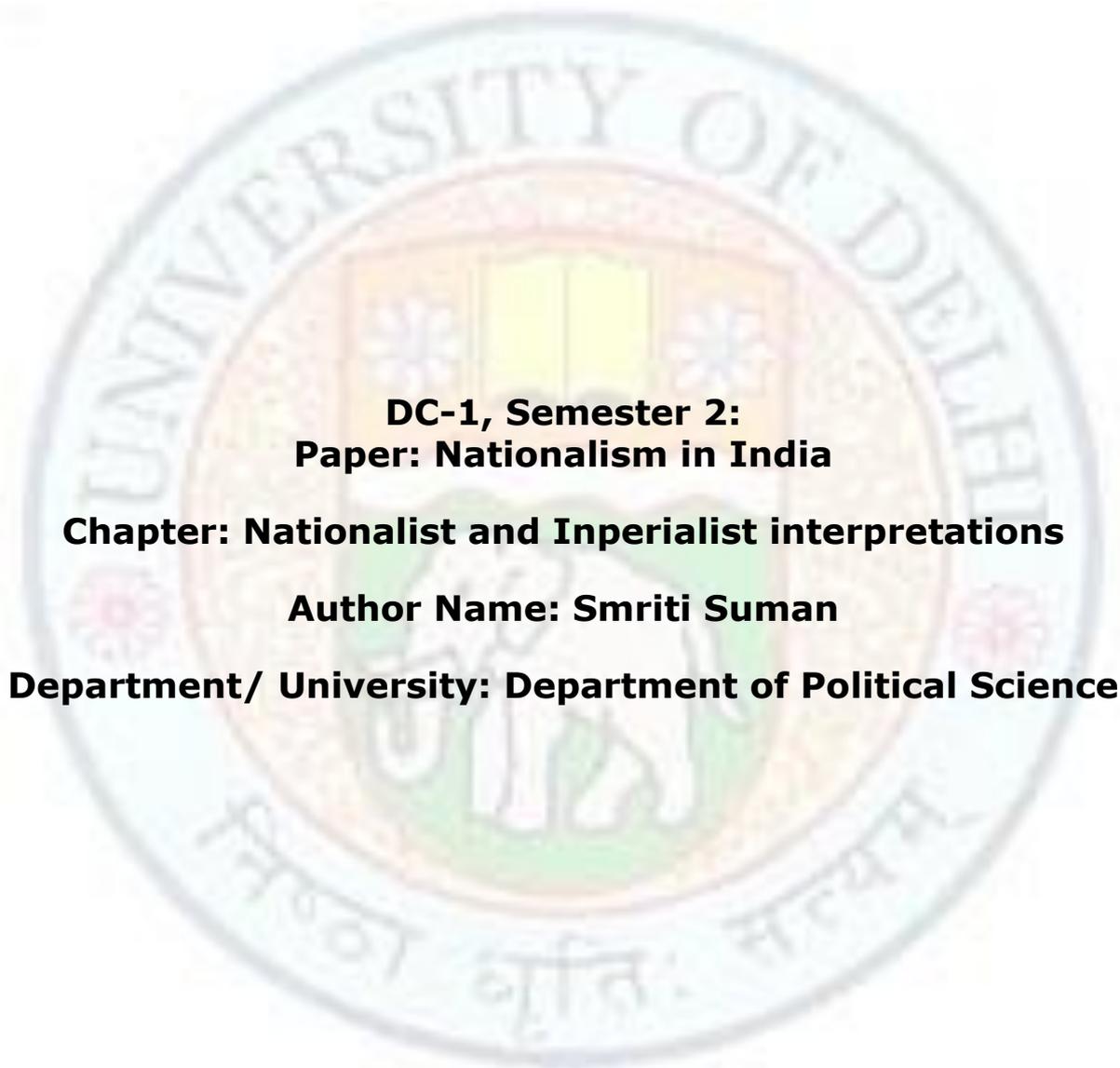


Nationalist and Imperialist interpretations



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Introduction

"Nationalism" has remained an ambivalent concept in the history of political thought and ideas. In all the exited discourses of 'isms', from communalism to secularism, liberalism to communitarianism, regionalism to internationalism, 'nationalism' is the most debated and widely contested concept. It is an ambivalent concept and its ambivalence lies in its dual nature. As Peter Alter¹ suggests, nationalism work as a force of social, economic, and political oppression as well as emancipation. Nationalism' as an ideology remained an explanatory mechanism of both imperialism and anti-imperialism. After First World War, nationalism supported European's thrust of imperial expansion and oppression, though after Second World War the same nationalism worked as a moral force in anti -imperialist struggle of people living in Asia and Africa. According to Ernest Gellner² "Nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy, it requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones." As a principle, this holds that the national and political unit should be congruent. Nationalism as a sentiment and movement completely based on this principle. Many historian in India have argued that Nationalism as an ideology or sentiment did not exist prior to the British rule. Thus in India, nationalism emerged during independence struggle. In this paper our basic focus will be upon history of nationalism in India. As a student of politics we would try to explore, and investigate the politics of this historiography of nationalism. Nationalism is a modern concept. Every modern concept, force or ideology try to justify itself on the basis of history. History always gives some sort of authenticity to the concepts, that's why each and every faction of people related with nationalism in India tried to historicise the concept according to their aims and purposes. Thus historiography of Indian Nationalism is neither unbiased nor neutral. The major purpose of this topic is to unpack those understanding of Indian nationalism by different point of view.

Rather than naming this topic as an approach of understanding Indian Nationalism, in this paper we would try to understand different perspectives, or different point of view which have been used by historian in interpretation of Indian Nationalism. Each historiography of Indian nationalism agrees upon a fact that emergence of India as a modern nation state is an outcome of colonial modernity. They supports this idea that imagination of India as modern, unified, dominant, singular, entity has been developed during anti- colonial struggle. Beyond this point, historiographers have their different ideological, theoretical and intellectual alignments and social commitment. This is this different alignment which shape their different perspectives. At this point I would like to introduce the four major perspectives on historiography of Indian nationalism

- ⇒ Colonial/ Imperialist/ Cambridge School
- ⇒ Nationalist School
- ⇒ Marxist School
- ⇒ Subaltern School

Here we would must understand that each perspective of interpretation of Indian nationalism has its own social-historical context. In this paper without going into very detail description of historical and social context we would describe their interpretation and as a student of Political Studies we would try to reveal the politics behind that. In

¹ To understand what is Nationalism please see book Nationalism by Peter Alter.

² Ernest Gellner, 1983, *Nation and Nationalism*, London: Blackwell Publishing House, Pg 1-18.

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this chapter we will discuss in detail about first two school but before that in very brief we will discuss about all four perspective.

Colonial/Imperial/Cambridge School denies the fact that nationalism in India had emerged, developed and strengthen itself against social, political, cultural, and economic exploitation of colonial power. This school believes that imperialism introduced Indians to the basic theories and principles of modernity and enlightenment, bringing along civilisation and social reforms. According to imperialist school, nationalist movement was not a people's movement but a product of the need of the elite groups who used it to serve their own narrow interests or their group interests. Nationalist according to this school are people, who formed group on the basis of cast and religious identities and they used nationalism as an ideology to mobilise masses for their own selfish interest.

Nationalist school of historiography perceived nationalism as a major force and sentiment which strengthen the spirit of freedom and liberty. This school revealed the exploitative nature of imperialist ideology. This school explain Indian independence movement as a national movement and the movement of people. The Marxist school emerged in the horizon of historiography quite later. This school developed itself on the basis fundamental ideas of Karl Marx. Marxism understand imperialism and colonialism as an outcome of capitalism that developed in Europe due to industrial revolution. Vladimir Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg propounded this school. They explained imperialism as a most exploitative system. Marxist school analyses nationalism as an ideology of upper-class native bourgeoisies. R. Palme Dutt and A. R. Desai were founder of Marxist historiography of nationalism in India. They critiqued the class character of Indian nationalism. They argued that peasantry and other lower class people were widely ignored by nationalist elite during India's national movement. This school explains Indian independent movement as a movement of Indian elite. They argues that nationalism in India is full of contradiction and ambivalence.

The fourth school of nationalist historiography, Subaltern school also explained nationalism as an exploitative and dominant ideology. Like Marxist school, this school also criticises the exploitative nature of both imperialist and nationalist ideology. This school was highly influenced by Marxist school though there is a slight difference between Marxist and subaltern school. Subaltern school believes in the Marxist interpretation that Indian nationalism was dominant, and exploitative in nature. It was not homogeneous and unified as it tried to portray itself. But Subalterns slightly differ from the Marxist, on the basis and nature of this exploitation. This school argues that Indian society could not be defined in terms of class only because capitalism in India at that point of time was its very initial stage, thus this school argues that rather than explaining Indian nationalism in terms of bourgeoisies class we would have to understand that Indian nationalism was exploitative in nature on the basis of caste, gender, religious and creed based division and divides. Subaltern School claims that Indian Nationalism had eschewed this internal contradiction within nation and ignored the marginal voices within its larger narrative of unified glorious past of India. This school claims that nationalist historiographer has completely ignored the small voices of history³, history of Dalits, Women, and tribal people. Subaltern School in way tried to bring forward the history from below and history of subaltern. After this brief discussion of these four school we would now shift to detail discussion of first two school as the scope of this chapter is limited to those only.

³ Ranajit Guha, 2009, "Small Voices of History" in Partha Chatterjee, ed, Small Voices of History, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, pg 304- 318.

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Imperialist/ Cambridge/ Colonial School:

In post-enlightenment world as Bipan Chandra⁴ argues imperialist perspective first emerged in the writings, pronouncements, and declarations of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, Curzon, and Minto, and the secretary of state George Hamilton. It was firstly put forward by V. Chirol, the Rowlett Committee (sedition) report. American scholar Bruce T. McCully attempted to theorise this approach in 1940. Further this school split into liberal and conservatives. Its conservative wing further developed itself as Cambridge school. Anil Seal⁵ and J.A. Gallagher developed this school in India after 1968.

Cambridge School

The conservative colonial administrator who studied British Empire from imperialist point of view and supported British Empire as a source of civilization in India were known as Cambridge School. Anil Seal, J.A. Gallagher, Gordon Johnson, Richard Gordon, and David Washbrook, were main pioneers of this school.

This School developed its interpretation of Indian past on the basis of imperial needs⁶. Purpose of this school of history writing is to interpret Indian past in a manner so that it could facilitate British Empire. This school deny the exploitative nature of colonialism. They do not recognize the fact that Indian's anti-colonial struggle was an outcome of British Colonialism and its economic, social, cultural and political exploitation of India. They see the Indian Struggle against imperialism as mock battle or mimic warfare. They completely overpassed the imperial contradictions as a reason of for India's struggle for Independence. The imperialist writer deny that India was in a process of becoming nation rather they understood India as a group different caste, religions, creeds, and communities. They argue that political organisations in India is based upon group mobilisation according to these groups and these groups are using Nationalism as a cover to their selfish, and individual interests. National movement according to this school was not a people's movement but a product of the needs and interests of the elite groups. Thus, the elite groups and their private interests provided an idea, ideology and movement of nationalism. Two main constitutive element of this group were, caste and religious identities or political connection built around patronage. They argues that each group had their very narrow selfish interests and they used nationalism as an ideology for mass mobilisation and to gain public support.

Dufferin, Curzon, Chirol, Lovett, McCully and B.B. Misra argues that India's educated middle class used nationalism to fight against 'benevolent Raj'. Anil seal in his book *Emergence of Indian Nationalism* develops an almost similar view like this. He argues that Indian national movement had not been fought against British imperialism rather it represented the struggle of one elite group against another elite group for British support. Thus Anil Seal interpreted Indian National Movement in terms of mutual rivalry and jealousness.

Along caste and religious identities, Anil Seal and John Gallagher⁷ interpreted that Indian elite groups had been formed on the basis of Patron-Client relationship. They theorise that, as the British Imperialism extended its administrative, economic and political power

⁴ Bipan Chandra, 1988, *India's Struggle for Independence*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, pg 15 to 30.

⁵ Anil Seal, 1968, *Emergence of Indian Nationalism: competitions and collaboration in the Later 19th Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pg 7to24.

⁶ Romila Thaper, 1975, *The Past and Prejudice*, New Delhi: National Book Trust of India, pg 4.

⁷ John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson , 1982, *The Imperialism of Free trade*, in Anil Seal, ed, *The Decline, Revival and Fall of British Empire: The Ford Lecture and Other Essay*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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to the localities and provinces, local elites started organising politics by acquiring clients and patrons whose interest they served, and who in turn served their interest. Thus Indian politics began to be formed on the basis of this client-patron relationship. These historians argue that later a bigger leader emerged who acted as a broker and worked as a link between local population and British Raj. Anil Seal says that Chief political brokers were Gandhi, Nehru and Patel. This school believes that local people on whose behalf these political brokers acted, they associated themselves to this movement only after 1918. This school also believes that Indian national movement had nothing to do with the exploitative nature of British colonialism rather it developed itself due to their own grievances such as war, inflation, disease, drought and depression and it is these grievances which were cleverly used by nationalists to convince them to participate in the struggle against British Empire.

Romila Thapar⁸ in her article 'Interpretation of Indian History: Colonial Nationalist and Post-Colonial', discusses that modern historiography of India has been inaugurated by British power. In order to legitimize their imperial rule in India they started inventing a past of modern India. This process was further taken forward by nationalist historiographers and post-colonial historiographers (Marxist and Subaltern Interpretation of Indian History). Thapar pronounced British historiography as Colonial School. She argues that colonial historiography of India was based upon the thrust of colonial power of gaining knowledge about India. She argues that imperial historiography was based upon the idea of "knowledge is power"⁹. To gain legitimacy in their pursuit of power within India they started locating connections between Indian and European past. In that process they did not only investigate Indian past for gaining knowledge but instead they constructed a different knowledge about Indian Past. This ideological intention of imperial power inaugurated a whole range of debates, discussion about "the orient". Thapar further argues that this process led to the very stereotypical project of Indian national self as a complete contrast of western and idea of Europe. This historiography was mainly responsible for shaping imagination about "The orient" as an "other" of Occident. Thapar in this essay understands colonial historiography within two major sub-schools.

Those two sub-schools are:

- ⇒ Orientalist School of Historiography
- ⇒ Utilitarian School of Historiography

The Orient means the East. This word is traditionally being used by people to discuss any things, and knowledge related with east. It's a Latin word. Opposite of this word is the Occident.

Orientalism refers to the study of the orient mostly by the Occident. Edward Said very first time theorised this process in his book 'Orientalism' which was published in 1978. He used this term to describe the biased nature of western academic and artistic practices which established the orient as a fixed category and as something very different, antique and other to the occident. Said claims that Orientalism was an outcome of prejudiced perspective of the west. Edward Said took help of Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony and Michel Foucault's understanding of discourse and relationship between Power and knowledge.

⁸ Romila Thapar, 2000, "Interpreting Colonial History: Colonial, Nationalist, and Post-Colonial" in Peter Ronald Desouza, ed, Contemporary India: Transitions, Delhi: Sage Publications, pp 25-36.

⁹ To understand the relationship between Knowledge and Power you can read Michel Foucault's [A French political Philosopher and Historian] famous essay "power and knowledge" that is widely available on net.

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Orientalist School of Historiography:

Battle of Plassey [1757] was a very decisive moment in the history of modern India. After this battle colonial rule founded in India in a real manner. Immediately after this war British ruler started looking for different justification for their colonial rule in this country. They took help of history for this purpose. Reconstruction of Indian history was basic need as well agenda of colonial administration. The colonial perspective on Indian History develop in phases. In first phase Colonial ruler were very critical to the Indian culture and civilization. Early source of Indian history writing was the writing of Christian missionaries. They portrayed Indians as pre-modern, primitive, savage, people. Though their knowledge was based upon the studies of Indian scriptures and religious book and conversation with pundits and mullah but they understood us as primitive and savage people. Purpose of this kind of knowledge was to portray the fact that Indian history was stagnant and non- progressive. Here I would like you to understand this fact that purpose of this kind of historiography was to justify colonial rule in India. They wanted to project the fact that only they can bring civilisation and progress to Indian society. That's how they justified their imperial power. But very soon they started realising the fact that they can't go very long with this process.

At this juncture they took an orientalist turn. Orientalism as Edward Said argues was a knowledge thrust of Europeans for gaining power, that's why European tries to write history from above. But in India, situation was different. European produced knowledge about Indian History after dialogue with Indian Brahmin Pundits and Islamic priest those who had an authority over Indian Knowledge system but here also purpose of orientalism was only to produce the knowledge of past to meet the requirements of present. The need at that point of time was to serve the colonial state. In its very beginning this school started making connection between Indian history and European history. They started studying Indian languages, and religious scriptures. This tradition believes that like Europe India had also a great and glorious past. Sir William Jones a great British philologist (those who study linguistics). He was a most prominent linguistic scholar and philosopher of his time. He started making connection between Indian and European languages. He established a linguistic connection between Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin and by doing that he made a connection between Indo-European families of languages. His intention behind this was to establish a fact that Indian history is as old as European and Indian too have a glorious antique past as Europeans. He also defended a glorious classical past of India and tried to link it with the Biblical stories. For example, orientalist parallel the story of Noah's Ark as an almost parallel to the story of Manu.

Orientalist tradition led to the foundation of:

Asiatic Society of Bengal 1784

Sanskrit College in Banaras 1794

Fort William College in Calcutta 1800

Romila Thapar in her essay argues that this school of historiography also made racial connection between Asian and Europeans. They made Aryan connection between European and Asian societies. Certainly their purpose was to unify Indian and European past, but in that process they intermingled caste with race and tried to established the fact that upper caste Indians are basically people of Aryan Race. Thus they introduced Indian society to the category of race. Shekhar Bandyopadhyay argues that we can understand orientalism in practice, in the programme and policies of Warren Hastings. Their fundamental principle was to rule India according to Indian laws and rules so that they could gain legitimacy. For this purpose it was compulsory to them to gain knowledge about Indian society. They wanted to assimilate Indians under British rule rather accommodating them with British Raj. Thomas Trautmann argues that the orientalist historiography had different political project. He has suggested that by

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promoting the kinship relationship between Indians and Europeans (racial connection) coloniser were trying to morally bind the colonized to the colonial rule through a rhetoric of love. There were two factions of orientalist. Lord Cornwallis as an orientalist administrator believed in glorious past of India but he found contemporary India in decaying status. Cornwallis was in favour of Anglicisation of the administration of contemporary India. He was in favour of intervention in Indian society but there are other faction of administrator like Thomas Munro who defended the customs and traditions of Indian society and supported the policy of non-intervention.

Thus at the end of this phase of imperialistic perspective I would like to recapitulate some of the important point of this phase

- 1) In this phase orientalist were inspired with the romanticism and classicism of Indian past
- 2) Main purpose of their project was to create an exotic image of India. Through historical representation of India they constructed a metaphysical and spiritual imagination of India. In this process orientalist, somehow conveyed the message that India is a completely different land than the Europe. India is spiritual, and believe in transcendental while Europe is scientific and believe in fact and realities. Thus they created India as an "other" of European self.
- 3) Thirdly in this phase mostly European were following a non-interventionist approach in Indian social custom and tradition.

Jeremy Bentham propounded the Utilitarian principle. In his book A Fragment of Government he argued that "it is the greatest happiness of greatest number that is the measure of right and wrong". Though he further gave "the principle of utility" but he further argued in favour of greatest happiness of greatest number. On his line, in Indian context James mill justified the colonial power presence in India and imperial utilitarian liberal policy.

Utilitarian School of Historiography:

Romila Thapar argues that by the end of 19th century imperial ideology has shifted as its need has changed. By this time colonial conquest of India has completed, now British Empire wanted to gain a control over Indian economy so that they can acquire raw-material for Industries in England and also a market for finished product. In simple terms they wanted to gain control over Indian economy. That's why they shifted their approach from non-interventionist to interventionist. To justify their approach from non-interventionist to interventionist they needed a justification. This phase of imperialistic historiography was concentrated upon that and they invented a new school for justification of their changed approach.

A new school was created called Utilitarian school. This school was prominently represented by James Mill, Lord William Bentinck, and Lord Dalhousie. As James Mill took charge of East India Company in London he started guiding policies towards India according to utilitarian principle. In his book "History of British India" published in 1817, very first time he argued that, people like Sir William Jones created a myth about India's glorious past. He denied all glorious interpretation of India's cultural, spiritual and traditional richness. He emphasised the weakness, and stagnant condition of Indian society, and established the fact that to bring progress in Indian society India needed a

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change. He further argued that only British legislation could be an agent of change for Indian society. Following him, utilitarian school of thinking developed their school along this line. They wanted to bring change through education and legislation. Though there were internal paradox (paradox means ambiguity or dualism) existed within this school. People like T.B. Macaulay wanted to bring change through introduction of English education but Mill himself was in favour of vernacular education. Second example of this paradox was abolition of sati and child infanticide through legislation by Lord William Bentinck. He was a great believer of utilitarian philosophy and idea i.e to bring change through legislation. Despite this he retained a fact that he has a great respect for Indian tradition and nurtured an idea that he will give back to Indian their true religion. Thus he justified his act of abolition of sati pratha on the basis of ancient Hindu Scripture and established that this is the true Hindu religion, and in this dualism of change in the disguise of continuity, paradox of utilitarian school lies.

James mill did the periodization of History of India. He divided India into three parts. Hindu Civilisation, Muslim Civilisation, and British India. He argued that the pre-British Hindu and Muslim Civilisation were backward and stagnant. They did not find any linkages between Indian and European civilisation. They initiated whole theory of White Aryan as European and Indian as dark skinned people. Thus for them India was a part of 'dark continent' and Indian society was basically a caste ridden, ritualistic, unchanging static society. They argued that Indians are unaware of the revolutionaries' idea of "The Modernity". Indians according to them, are unaware of the idea of scientificity, rationality and individuality. Utilitarian theorist created a concept of "oriental despotism" for India. Here in very brief we will try to understand the concept of oriental despotism.

"Oriental despotism": The Orient means the East, and "despot" is a Greek word that means tyrannical ruler. This idea has been used by different European political philosopher to describe the governing condition in oriental society. Aristotle firstly used this term to define the process of oriental governing system in his famous book "Politics". Later on this term has been used by series of political thinker from Montesquieu, Machiavelli, and Hegel. Thus oriental despotism became a conceptual framework to define Asiatic governing society. This became a guiding idea of Eurocentric interpretation of Asia, Africa, and Middle East. Marx further argued that oriental despotism was necessary for "Asiatic Mode of Production". Asia is an agrarian society and for agricultural society individual property right could not be accepted. Thus oriental despotism is required in this part of world.

Thus likewise Orientalist School, Utilitarian School too helped in "essentialisation" of India. They also wanted to gain legitimacy like the orientalist, both school wanted to portray India as other of Europe but there is a thin difference between both. Utilitarian school dismantled the fact that Indian past had never been as glorious as Orientalist portrayed it. Secondly, they established the fact that only colonial administrative practices could bring change, unified identity, and social reforms in Indian Society.

Thus imperial perspective never gave recognition to the nationalist and even the idea of India as a unified territory and Indian Nationalism

Nationalist Perspective:

Nationalist perspective on Indian historiography was an outcome of reinterpretation of her past by the leaders of freedom movement. This school emerged as a juxtaposition of Imperialist school. Social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and counter reformer like Dayanand Saraswati were the prominent people who contributed in formation of nationalistic perspective in India. They played a major role in formation of pan-Indian identity of India. Early nationalist were trying to hegemonies over various regional and

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provincial identities and later nationalist were trying to hegemonies the whole south-east Asian identities and try to manipulate and subordinate those identities into pan-Indian identity. Post-colonial Scholar Gyanprakash¹⁰ in his famous article "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of Third World: Perspectives on Indian Historiography" argues that Nationalist Historiography was an attempt of writing post-orientalist history of India. They emerged to affirm their voice against imperialist view that India is an unchanging, and static society. He argues that, in their attempt of taking a break from Imperialist Historiography, Nationalist Historiographer bring both continuity and change from the orientalist history. Nationalist continued the "Essentialisation process" as projecting the image of India as spiritual, metaphorical land as compare to scientific West. Thus as imperialistic perspective they also see India as an "other" of The West, but then there is a rupture. Nationalist Historiography in opposition to imperialist perspective constructed transformed India as an object of knowledge, from a passive to an active subject, from an inert to a sovereign territory. They deny the Imperialist claim that only colonial administration can bring change in Indian Territory. Thus Nationalist Historiographer contested the imperialist claim that India as a modern nation state could be emerged only through colonial administration. Gyanprakash quoted some Nationalist-Historian like H.C. Raichoudhary, Beniprasad, R. C.Mazumdar, and says that these historian located the idea of India as a modern nation state in ancient Indian history, in history of Gupta and Maurya Dynasty. Romila Thapar argues that nationalist historiographer claimed that everything good in India like spirituality, Aryan Origin, political ideas, art and rich tradition had its completely Indian origin. Nationalist even claimed that India's golden age made strong contribution in development of Southeast Asian culture. Nationalist Historiographers dismantled the concept of "oriental despotism".Gyanprakash and Romila Thapar both argues that nationalist were agree on the periodization of Indian History into Hindu, Muslim and the British Period. Acceptance to this Imperial divides of Indian past, further inaugurated a birth of religious nationalism in India. In upper written passage we understood a continuities and ruptures between Imperialistic and Nationalistic school. Now we will discuss the different strand of nationalist school. Jawahar Lal Nerhru, V.D.Sawarkar, Dada Bhayi Naoroji, Lala Lajpat Rai, R.C. Majumdar, S.N. Banarjee, and B.R.Nanda were the prominent scholar and leader of this school, who invented, developed, and discussed the thoughts and philosophies of this school. We would understand this school in three parts:

- 1) "Secular" Nationalist Perspective
- 2) Religious Nationalist Perspective.
- 3) Economic Nationalist Perspective.

Secular Nationalist Perspective:

Though each faction of nationalist perspective challenged Oriental authority on India's knowledge but Secularist approach emerged in response of specific identification of India's Past with certain specific religion [Hindu]. GyanPrakash suggests that Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's "Discovery of India" could be a major source for development of this faction of Nationalist perspective. In this book Pandit Nehru argues that "it was undesirable to use Hindu or Hindu religion for Indian Culture. He states in this book that India is a culturally diverse country. It has been a great combination of religious,

¹⁰ Gyan Prakash, 1990, Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives on Indian Historiography, in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Apr., 1990), pp. 383-408, Published by Cambridge University Press, URL: <http://www.jstore.org/> Accessed: 20/10/2013.

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cultural, and social diversity. India according to Nehru, was a land of "unity in diversity". He denied any specific relationship between Hindu religion and India's ancient past. "Discovery of India" was according to GyanPraksh is a documentation of Indian united past through history. Thus he constructed an Image of India as a secular, and united territory. Though India has witnessed lots of religious creed-based divides but finally it has achieved a victory over it. Now India is a unified, undivided and glorious territory.

Religious Nationalist Perspective:

This approach of nationalist historiography was based upon Hindu revivalism. They argued that India was essentially a Hindu nation. It has been a land of Veds and Upnishad. It has been a land of great Sanskritik tradition and spirituality. They projected India as a fatherland for Hindus. Then they argued that in later part of history means (Middle Age) Islam came to India and after arrival of Muslims, India's history decayed into current status. Their nationalism was based upon religious sentiment and Hindu Glorification. Indian leader who represented this faction of Indian Nationalist Historiographer were Vinayak. Damodar. Sawarkar, Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak and others. Leaders like Aurovindo Ghosh constructed an image of spiritual India as a contrast to material west. They strongly contributed to glorious spiritual image of India with contrast to imperial interpretation of India as a society full of social evils like sati, child marriage, and dowry system. These nationalist used religious festivals and tradition to enhance nationalist feeling among people of colonial India. Further rise, of religious nationalism led to the rise of communalism in India. This led to the Hindu-Muslim divide in India and facilitated the idea of religious identity in India. These leaders also supported use of force and coercion to bring revolution against colonial power.

GyanPraksh further argues that though religious nationalism was violent in nature but they were v though religious nationalism was violent in nature but like secular nationalist they also very much supportive of idea of India as a homogenous singular entity. This we can understand with an example. Vinayak Damodar Sawarkar wrote a book "Indian War of Independence: 1857" in year 1909. In this book he very strongly condemned the approach of orientalist scholar who called Indian struggle of 1857 as mutiny. Sawarkar used a word revolt in place of mutiny. He further interpreted that arm struggle of 1857 was actually an all India revolt against colonial exploitation and atrocities.

Chetan Bhatt in his book *Hindu Nationalism: Origins, Ideologies and Modern Myth* presented a great critique of Hindu Nationalism in India. He argues that Hindu Nationalism is based on the claim that it is a product of authentic, spiritual, ethnic, and religious tradition of India but it's a myth. He suggested that Hindu nationalism is a modern myth and ideology of Hindutwa is an outcome of influence of European romanticism and enlightenment ideas. Hindu religious identity according to Bhatt is based upon primordialism, organicism, vitalism as well as racism.

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Though scholar like Christophe Jaffrelott argues that "Hindu nationalism" largely reflected the Brahminical view of the high caste reformers. He criticises the domination of Hindu nationalism and its subordination of other ethnic, caste-based, religious struggle that happened during anti-colonial struggle.

Economic Nationalist Perspective:

Economic nationalism was based on the economic critique of colonialism. Economic

Dadabhai Naoroji wrote a book Poverty and Un-British Rule in India. Naoroji, Ranade, and R.C.Dutt published The Economic History of India. They published three volumes of this book. Later these book became a source for economic nationalist perspective.

nationalist strongly criticises the economic exploitation of colonial power. DadaBhai Naoroji, Justice M.G.Ranade and R.C.Dutt represented this school. Economic nationalist argues that poverty in India is an outcome of application of the classical economic theory of free trade. British Empire changed its policy of direct extraction of raw material and

Adopted a less visible policy of exploitation through free trade and foreign capital investment. Now India became a source of agricultural raw material and turned into a field for British Capital Investment. These scholar believed that India's development could only be possible by Industrialisation with Indian capital, while foreign investment would lead to drainage of wealth by extraction of profit. Dadabhai's conceptualisation of drainage theory became a major explanatory terminology to reveal the hidden economic exploitation of imperial power.

Drainage Theory: Drain theory was a key-concept of economic nationalism. It was argued that home charges, military charges, and interest payment on railway investment led to direct drainage of wealth in India. This resulted into the budget deficit of British Indian Government. This resulted into stricter tax-policy of British India. Demand of High land revenue resulted to land alienation and impoverishment of peasantry.

Economic nationalist recommended that British Empire should reduce expenditure and taxes, a reallocation of military charges, a protectionist policy to protect Indian industries, reduction of land, reduction of land revenue assessment, extension of permanent settlement to ryotwari and mahalwari areas, protection of cottage industries and handicraft.

Shekhar Bandyopadhyay¹¹ argues that by challenging the whole concept of paternal imperialism, economic nationalist like other nationalist strand questioned the whole moral authority of colonial power. Economic nationalist argued that India could only achieve the path of development through promotion of India's indigenous capitalism. It is this idea of Indian capitalism had been further immensely criticised by Marxist critique.

At the end of this chapter we would try to understand two three basic character of Nationalist perspective. Gyanprakash summarises it in a very simple terms. He

¹¹ Shekhar Bandyopadhyay, 2004, From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India , New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited, Pg 66-250.

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characterises two strong features of nationalist historiography. Firstly he argued that like orientalist scholars, nationalists also believed in the glorious past of India, but beyond that they differed. For orientalist scholars, India was an "object of knowledge" but from a nationalist perspective, India is an undivided, united, and sovereign territory. Secondly, nationalists gave India an ontological status, which had been thoroughly denied by orientalist scholars.

Partha Chatterjee further argued that Indian nationalism was different but 'derivative discourse' of European nationalism. Ashish Nandy, also argues that though Indian nationalism emerged as a response to western imperialism, but in that process it also got into the same trap. Nationalistic perspectives do not reject the exploitative structures of global modernity. It ignored the voices of lower-class, lower-caste, tribal lives and women in India about which we will discuss in detail under the topic of Marxist and Subaltern Perspectives.



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Shekhar Bandyopadhyay, 2004, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited, Pg 66-250.

Summary:

This chapter will try to understand the emergence of nationalism in India from the imperialistic and nationalistic perspectives. This paper will give the detail analysis of these two schools and its critique. In conclusion this paper would argue that politics of historiography on Indian nationalism shows the fact that emergence of India as a modern nation state is a product of colonial modernity.

Glossary

Historiography: The narrative presentation of history based on a critical examination, and selection of material from primary and secondary sources and most of the time that process of selection is political in nature. Thus historiography becomes political in nature.

Orientalism: Orientalism refers to the study of the orient mostly by the Occident. Edward Said very first time theorise this process in his book 'Orientalism' which was published in 1978. He used this term to describe the biased nature of western academic and artistic practices which established the orient as a fixed category and as something very different antique and other to the occident.

Utilitarianism: Jeremy Bentham propounded the Utilitarian principle. In his book *A Fragment of Government* he argued that 'it is the greatest happiness of greatest number that is the measure of right and wrong'.

Secularism: secularism is a system of social and political philosophy which argue in favour of state should not be biased to particular religion.

Drainage Theory: Drain theory was a key-concept of economic nationalism. It was argued that home charges, military charges, and interest payment on railway investment led to direct drainage of wealth in India.

Ideologies: Such a body of doctrine, myth, etc with reference to some political and social intention.

Hindutva: This is an ideology forged by Vinayak Damodar Sawarkar, which interpret India as a holy land and fatherland for Hindus. It came to prominence in late 1980s and led to the rise of communalism in India.

Nationalist and Imperialist interpretations

Revivalism: revivalism is a desire to revive what belongs to an earlier time. Hindu revivalism was a phase when Hindu Scholar tried to save Hinduism from the charges of ritualism and backwardness.

Subalterns: A subordinated position

Subaltern School: They criticises nationalism from the perspective of History from below.

Exercises:

Analyse and explain the Imperialistic perspective of nationalism in India?

What are the differences between secular and religious perspective of nationalism in media?

What are the major point of differences between Imperialistic and Nationalistic understanding of nationalism in India?

