

INTRODUCTION

Nationalism has not been a favourite subject with the political philosophers. One reason for this is that nationalist writers have supported their cause more often with appeals to history than to philosophical arguments. Nevertheless, some kind of philosophical interest in the subject continues. Apart from the nationalist writers themselves, those interested in contemporary politics, statesmen as well as academicians, have taken keen interest in the subject of nationalism, not simply for the fact that it is linked with modern state system by actual boundaries or unfulfilled claims of new boundaries, but also for the continued ideological appeal of the subject. It has therefore been felt necessary to know the evolution of the idea of nationalism itself in the context of a particular nationalist movement.

The conceptual analysis of nationalism, however, has become an urgent concern, as it is necessary to know the forces behind it or its actual process of developing into a movement, after the configuration of world politics changed a lot in the post second world war period. Nationalism became a cry for freedom for a large number of Afro-Asian states during the course of the 2nd World War and in most cases developed into an instrument of escape from colonialism after the war was over. This significant development made the new nations favourite hunting grounds for the Area Studies specialists who could ignore neither the movements nor the cultural ethos behind them.

Our concern with the subject of nationalism came in much the same way. India having been the largest colonial country in the world with a chequered history of partition we propose to study the subject of nationalism in this sub-continent with a view to gaining insights into India's contemporary politics, its present state and probable future directions. For this Bengal was the obvious choice. It was not only the first point of British contact but it was here that the first efflorescence of cultural nationalism was witnessed in the nineteenth century. Normally an inquiry is preceded by some definition of the subject. But we here refrain from offering a definition of nationalism for at least two difficulties. First, the universalist ideas on nationalism are no longer applicable to the new nations who were mostly colonies. Secondly, as we will see in a moment, there are enough ambiguities concerning the nature of anti-colonialism and nationalism. Under these circumstances it is necessary to identify the basic tenets of nationalism in a colonial context so that we can have little doubt about what we should call nationalist thought before we explore its emergence and patterns.

Review of Literature : Conceptual Niceties of Nationalism

Nationalism is not a congenital phenomenon. Men are not born nationalists: they acquire national consciousness. The disagreements as to the meaning and nature of nationalism flow perhaps from the ubiquitous nature of the concept in which

nationalist rhetoric plays a large part, confusing nationalism with other related movements like ethno-centrism, racism, anti-colonialism, populism and in the present century, fascism and nazism. Its amorphous character has eluded identification of the fundamental features of this phenomenon without which the morass of haphazard attribution would further linger on.

One of the best-known universalist formulations came from Hans Kohn who in his magnum opus, The Idea of Nationalism, defined nationalism as "a state of mind, permeating the large majority of a people and claiming to permeate all its members; it recognizes the nation state as the ideal form of political organization and the nationality as the source of all creative cultural life and economic well-being."¹ In explaining this 'state of mind' Kohn felt that it grew out from "some of the oldest and most primitive feelings of man", namely a love for his birthplace, a preference for his own language, customs and food, and a deep attachment to his own religion and race. Kohn, however, did not treat these feelings as nationalism. He wrote: "These feelings have always existed. They do not form nationalism." Nationalism could flourish out of these objective factors; but before the age of nationalism, pride in one's language or territory did neither take hold amongst the masses nor become "an object of political and cultural struggle." At this stage nationalist consciousness is translated into deeds of organized action and the framework of action is the nation state. Kohn pointed out: "As long as nationality is not

able to attain this consummation, it satisfies itself with some form of pre-state organization, which, however, always tends at a given moment, the moment of 'liberation,' to develop into a sovereign state. Nationalism demands the nation-state, the creation of nation-state strengthens nationalism." Kohn himself admitted that nationalism in Europe was the handiwork of the middle-class but this class regarded its role as not merely furthering its own interest but the interest of the nation as a whole, and, in the process, upholding the doctrine of popular sovereignty.

The universal-design theory of Kohn and others² has been modified in its application to colonial situation. In fact, most writers working on Asian and African nationalism have emphasized the feeling of opposition to western colonialism more than pre-existing cultural and ethnic unities or liberation struggle by national bourgeoisie. Curtin feels that when nationalism developed in colonial Africa the people willingly accepted the colonial territorial framework, emphasizing their right to self-determination and political freedom, and sacrificing their cultural and ethnic unities.³ Rotberg found the same in Asia where Indians developed common aspirations and a sense of common destiny as by-products of British colonialism.⁴

This way of conceptualizing nationalism has led to a pairing of nationalism and anti-colonialism. J.S. Coleman in a pioneering work on nationalism in Nigeria drew attention to

certain by-products of colonial situation, namely, the goal of self-government, the concept of national unity, the dominance of westernized elites in leadership and the pre-dominance of modern political values. These were responsible for the development of nationalism which Coleman proceeds to define as "sentiments, activities and organizational developments aimed explicitly at the self-government and independence of Nigeria as a nation-state existing on the basis of equality in an international state system."⁵ It is evident that in Coleman's treatment any anti-colonial political movement (as distinguished from cultural or religious movements in a political form) would be regarded as nationalist movement or manifestation of nationalism.

The pairing of nationalism with anti-colonialism took its most explicit form in Thomas Hodgkin's analysis which raised the pertinent question: "At what stage is it reasonable to describe a movement of colonial protest, or opposition to European authority, as 'nationalist' in respect to its aims and character?" In answering this question Hodgkin decided to "use the term 'nationalist' in a broad sense, to describe any organization or group that explicitly asserts the rights, claims and aspirations of a given African society (from the level of the language group to that of 'Pan Africa') in opposition to European authority, whatever its institutional form and objectives."⁶ Truong Buu Lam also preferred a well-stretched definition which could be easily used to characterize the Vietnamese resistances before the nineteenth century as nationalist.⁷ This way of conceptualising nationalism makes it

a blanket term covering any form of anti-colonial movement within its fold.

The absolute pairing of nationalism with anti-colonialism has led to the belief that nationalism is really anti-colonialism. This robs nationalism of its creative aspect and gives undue prominence to its destructive facet. Smith recognises this limitation and is of the opinion that such a portrayal blurs the positive aspect of nationalism, namely, the aim of creating "a new type of political and social entity, with the arrangement well adapted to the local mores and environment."⁸

While a distinction between nationalism and anti-colonialism must be made within these situational formulations of nationalism the stages indicated in the universalist formulations must be modified with reference to the colonial situations. Even Hans Kohn who emphasized the role of a middle-class as the vanguard vertically mobilising the masses and transforming ordinary sentiments of language, territory etc. into objects for political and cultural struggle, had to consider other situations. We may recall the difference found by Hans Kohn between two groups of western countries in their first assertions of national character. On the one hand, in Britain, France and the United States of America where the third estate had already been very strong, the nationalist urge was largely political, that is, for those political and economic changes of their people's condition which could be brought about with the help of nation state. On the other hand, in Germany

and Slavic countries where the third estate was still weak, the nationalist aspirations were grounded upon the concept of Volksgeist. Naturally, the nationalist sentiment in these countries found cultural manifestations more prominently than political aspirations.⁹ Kohn, only in passing, referred to the Indian national situation. Perhaps he had in mind some dominant late nineteenth century expressions of national sentiment in India which led him to compare Indian situation with German or Russian nationalism wherein he located subdued political perception of nationhood in India. Kohn, however, did not explain the reasons which may be closely linked with the colonial situation itself.

The preceding discussion has been intended to clarify the conceptual niceties of nationalism. A number of clues is now available. In the first place, while it is true to portray nationalism in colonial Asia and Africa as anti-colonialism, the inverse is not necessarily true. That is to say, anti-colonialism in all respects is not nationalism. This distinction is of vital importance in distinguishing discrete types of responses to the colonial situation.

Secondly, dual objectives are likely to characterise nationalist struggle within a colonial framework, namely, the dissolution of colonialism and this is a necessary condition for the creation of a sovereign state, a nation, as the 'undisputed foundation of world order, the main object of individual's loyalties, the chief definer of a man's identity. As the universalistic formulations have all agreed, the political stage of

nationalist movement is entered upon by a limited section of population, frequently described as the bourgeoisie, middle-class or elites, who, despite unequal sharing of power between all classes of society, are engaged in vertical mobilisation of the masses while claiming to represent the nation as a whole. National consciousness appears in a very fluid form. 'It is mainly certain sections of a nation which cultivate national aspirations, and which are more and less recognised as national leaders and spokesmen.'¹⁰ We like to characterize it as vertical mobilisation because social distance is maintained in traditional scale despite some kind of spokesmanship. J. Kenedyⁿ also noted the significance of this feature which gives it a universalist character: "Modern nationalism in Asia was, as in Europe, at first the concern only of the individuals or small groups. Among these were poets, philosophers, journalists, lawyers and schoolmasters who, in the main, stood apart from the large mass of peasant people for whom they acted as unofficial spokesmen."¹¹

Finally, the objective developments in a colonial situation may hinder or transform the nature of key-elements, the class character of the vanguard which, in turn, may condition nationalism (as in German volk experience) in which case nationalism may begin and remain for a considerable period of time at the level of language, culture, religion, customs and other similar factors where contending civilisations may interact frequently. The vertical mobilisation, if any, will be essentially apolitical

and rarely, if ever, anti-colonial. This may be termed 'Proto-Nationalism' only if the first and original nationalist sentiment in a country actually develops into the mature and full-fledged nationalist movement assuming anti-colonial garb and actually imbued with the vision of a nation state. These observations will go a long way in explaining 'nationalist thought' in a colonial environment.

Review of Literature: Nationalism in Bengal & India

We find an impressive range of works on diverse aspects of life and times of Bengal but there seems to be a keenly felt need of integrating historiography with a document-based study of socio-political and economic thought. In fact, there is no dearth of intensive studies, biographies, studies on mass movements or thematic studies of many varieties. But from these no clear picture of the dynamics of nationalist thought in Bengal emerges. Even the path-breaking work of B.B. Majumdar is more historical than analytical and is, therefore of questionable utility for understanding the evolution of nationalism in Bengal, both conceptually and in terms of the stages of the movement.¹²

An analysis of the general trend of studies on Bengal shows that the studies are either conducted on individual level¹³ (on Rammohun, Vidyasagar etc.) or devoted to the historical aspects of different movements¹⁴ like Santal Insurrection, Indigo Rebellion, etc. There is, to be sure, no attempt at broadly generalizing phenomena considered so far and facts gathered

therefrom. Attempts at generalization have, of course, been made, but, on a different level, that is to say, attention has been directed to the process of modernization and cultural change in Bengal.¹⁵ There are studies of empirical orientation¹⁶ which are helpful for understanding the actual alignments of political forces but which would have been all the more rewarding if studied in relation to the general patterns of socio-political and economic thought. Some valuable works have been produced on agrarian Bengal,¹⁷ which provide important clues to the understanding of the permeation of constitutional techniques of agitation to village level and also to the changing alignment of political forces. Yet, a comprehensive generalization must relate the objective developments of the colonial setting to the cultural patterns.

Of late, there has been a strong interest, often resulting into lively polemics, in the nineteenth century life and society of Bengal. This new trend in historiography, popularly known as "History from Below,"¹⁸ which is being pursued by some scholars, presents a range of facts much useful for the analysis of nationalism. But since these are more historical in nature the thought contents are generally neglected and a conceptual analysis of nationalism in Bengal remains uncovered. This is also the case with some otherwise useful works.¹⁹ Under these circumstances confusion regarding nationalism in Bengal is bound to arise.

There is a view that India had developed the idea of nationalism long before the British came to the sub-continent,

the basic ethos coming from the ideas of unity bequeathed by the Aryans.²⁰ People treating Indian nationalism as a modern phenomenon differ on the nature and the relative importance of the factors promoting nationalism. Despite differences M.N. Roy,²¹ B.T. Mc Cully²² and Anil Seal²³ have all perceived nationalism as a modern phenomenon born of conditions created by the British rule in which a middle class eventually became the leading exponent of the doctrine of nationalism.²⁴ The fall-out of these differences in Bengal has assumed a successive image-building of the major figures of the nineteenth century which, at any rate, reveals a deep confusion regarding the concept of nationalism. David Kopf has suggested that nationalism in Bengal flew from a crisis of identity, a quest for self, the latter being a consequence of the native society's conflict with the aggressive Macaulayism. The people turned defensive and formed an organization called 'Dharma Shabha' (Society in defence of the Hindu socio-ethical religious order), which historically has the importance of being India's first modern nationalist movement.²⁵ Gautam Chattopadhyay who has brought to light some early documents has however located the 'dawn of nationalist consciousness' not in the Dharma Shabha but among the radicalized youth of Bengal in the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century.²⁶ By implication some have preferred a near complete identification of nationalist movement with the freedom movement in India, especially after the birth of the Congress.^{27,27A} Some would, however, like to characterize the late nineteenth century Bengal as revealing a growing national and

regional consciousness which often overlapped.²⁸ Specific reference has been made to the port-cities of India in which the process of nationalism is said to have started after the 1850's in response to 'semi-feudal semi-capitalist' colonial situation.²⁹ Given the conceptual difficulties involved in the studies of nationalist thought, a lopsided growth in the biographies and more general and populist accounts of Swadeshi agitation and revolutionary conspiracies is not surprising.³⁰

It may be noted at this point that the conceptual difficulties concerning nationalism is not peculiar^a to the literature on Bengal. In fact, the development of historiography of Indian nationalism in the last two decades or so has given rise to a number of trends or schools of thought that have mystified the idea of nationalism to a great extent. The current literature on the development and growth of nationalism in Bengal so far have not been able to demystify the idea of nationalism by an intensive examination of these trends in the backdrop of developments in Bengal which preceded other parts of India in the development of nationalist thought. Here we may have a look at these trends.

To the view that nationalism was the consummation of England's work in India, a view put forward in different text books, the nationalist counterpoint was supplied by R.C. Dutt's two volumes of The Economic History of India³¹ which partially accepted the claim of the British to have introduced the tradition of enlightenment and accused the British of gradually becoming 'un-British', the latter leading to a conflict with the natives and inviting the

native nationalist bullwork against the exploitative policies of Britain in India. This had set the tone of nationalist literature for some time.

The departure from this came from what has been described as the 'Cambridge School.' A good many research workers under the influence of Jack Gallagher produced works the main implication of which was that both imperialism and nationalism were superficial and hence could not be viewed as a driving force of history in South Asia. The first important work was done by Anil Seal, namely The Emergence of Indian Nationalism,³² which denied the existence of a body of ideas or persons that could be identified as nationalist and explained the motive force by elite factionalism over the fruits of collaboration with the Raj. Later, the emphasis of this school was shifted from elite factionalism to localities and community power structure as illustrated by the next major work by Gallagher, Seal and Gordon Johnson, namely, Locality, Province and Nation,³³ without however altering the main thrust of the school. The subsequent outputs from this school pursued the themes and produced a series of monographs and books on various regions of India.³⁴

The reaction to the Cambridge School in India was largely provided in the writings of Bipan Chandra whose first major work has been The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism.³⁵ In this and in his other works as well he pursued the main theme of contradiction between imperialism and nationalism. Nationalism,

therefore, was the result of the resolution of the contradiction and not of just self-interest.

Reactions against the Cambridge School also came out in the form of revealing the attempts by nationalist leadership at mass contact, as was done by Sumit Sarker in The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal³⁶ and also in the form of recognition of the role of ideas in nationalist struggle, as was done by Analesh Tripathi in The Extremist Challenge.³⁷ Similarly, the contribution of the native political organisations was highlighted by J.R. McLane in Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress³⁸ and the role of outstanding individuals was brought out by S. Gopal in his first volume of Jawaharlal Nehru.³⁹

From the late seventies there has been a change of emphasis from the elite viewpoint to the activities of peasants. The latter has earned a somewhat controversial label 'subaltern.' The trend is to show that the 'subaltern' population had continued their struggle independently against the Raj and were occasionally betrayed by the mainstream nationalist leadership. This viewpoint has already been substantiated by a number of books and monographs.⁴⁰

These trends considered together raise a number of questions as to the validity and weightage of different factors that have been put forward to explain nationalism in India, such as, the native quest for identity, elite conflict over the distribution of British favours, local and provincial influences, the central contradiction between imperialism and nationalism, the linkage between

the elite and the masses, the role of ideas, the role of British policies, the contributions of political organisations and individuals, the role of subaltern population and the impact of colonial environment. Of course, there have been works on nationalism in Bengal dealing with the one or the other such factors but none has so far sought to explain in terms of a process the role of different factors that have been emphasised in course of nationalist historiography. It may safely be said that any attempt at generalising on nationalism in Bengal on the basis of both subjective and objective factors is found to be lacking so far. An analysis of the dynamics of nationalist thought with reference to concrete colonial reality is thus imperative for demystifying the concept of nationalism in this sub-continent. A path-breaking work in this direction has already been provided by Partha Chatterjee, namely, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?⁴¹ The author has analysed the development of nationalism in terms of departure, manoeuvre and arrival; the first was represented through Bankim, the second through Gandhi and the third through Nehru. We, however, feel that an equal stress should be given on the earlier trends of nationalism in Bengal to understand the 'departure' meaningfully, especially when such work on successive stages of nationalist thought in the early part of the nineteenth century is wanting. It will be our endeavour to explain the dynamics of nationalist thought in Bengal. For this purpose the observations we made on nationalism in a colonial framework should provide us with adequate guidelines.

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Nationalism as the Image of New India

The observations we made on the conceptual niceties of nationalism earlier in this chapter were intended to illustrate the problem of approaching our subject. Obviously, a whole range of variations on the theme of nationalism was offered by the prominent Indian nationalists from the late nineteenth century onwards but we do not propose to study them here. Our objective is to unfold the patterns of thoughts as well as various economic, sociological and historical factors responsible for the development of a vigorous type of nationalism under the leadership of Tilak and more particularly his colleagues in Bengal. Nevertheless, it may be worthwhile to take a brief account of the ideas of some important nationalists in Bengal to appreciate the unique spiritual and religious character of nationalist movement of this period. In Bengal especially, the teachings of Aurobindo and Bipin Pal gave to nationalism a spiritual and religious character. There was nothing similar to it in the teachings of Mazzini or the Irish Sinn Fein movement and they never obtained profound hold on the mind and heart of the Indian people.

Aurobindo felt that the renaissance and national greatness of India could be brought only if the popular energy was roused. He thus urged Indians to be aware of the greatness of India which he found to be "one of the oldest races and greatest civilisations on this earth, the most indomitable in vitality, the most fecund in greatness, the deepest in life, the most wonderful in potentiality".⁴² Aurobindo therefore established the greatness of India on the basis of his spiritual view of Indian history. According to him, Indian nationhood could not be understood in the light of Western historical experiences. India should not

aspire to be a materially powerful nation but a spiritually defined one. For this of course it must be politically free (Absolute Swaraj). But he was also of the opinion that India as a nation should not be conceived in terms of her territorial features, rather as the Mother (an idea widely popularised by Bankimchandra whom Aurobindo called a seer, a rishi) as well as a self manifestation of the cosmic spirit.

It is to be noted that Aurobindo, despite his passionate advocacy of Sanatana Dharma as nationalism, was not reviving the dogmatic theology of the scriptures but the moral and spiritual idealism of the ancient sacred books. Moreover, to Aurobindo, nationalism was only a necessary stage in the social and political evolution of man. Ultimately there should be human unity through a world union, and the spiritual foundation of such a consummation could be provided by a religion of humanity and the feeling of inner oneness.⁴³ Tilak, though he was in agreement with Aurobindo on many issues, emphasised less on the vision of spiritualised society and the gnostic community. He again fought for Swarajya (Home Rule) and not for Swatantra (Independence).⁴⁴

Like Aurobindo Bipin Pal also stood up as the champion of spiritual nationalism.⁴⁵ He did not reveal any serious involvement in political activities till the end of the nineteenth century. Before the days of anti-partition movement he had a faith in the British rule as the 'divine providence' but he became almost the oracle of nationalism for a short spell of time (1904-08). In the year 1906 he declared : "Their (the British) viewpoint is not ours. They desire to make the Government in India popular without ceasing in any sense to be essentially British ; we desire to make it auto-

nomous, absolutely free of the British control."⁴⁶ To him, the vision of new nationalism in Bengal was the vision of Universal Humanity wherein all the conflicts and competitions of narrow national life must find their ultimate rest and reconciliation. Thus he was approaching the concept of nationalism as part of broad spiritual vision. Such recognition of a spiritual frame of reference makes politics a part of larger religion of the nationalist and politics becomes a department of the science of salvation.⁴⁷

Bipin Pal in his nationalist phase exhibited a unique awareness of the problems of Indian nationalism. He recognised the 'composite' character of India in the first decade of the twentieth century and identified five great religions, world views and cultures in India-----Hindu, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, Islamic and Christian. He was convinced that the work of nation-building in India could not be conducted "along one single line, whether old or new , but along five main lines... all working together for the development of that national consciousness which alone can once more secure for this country its rightful place among the nations of the world."⁴⁸ So much inspired he was by his hope of various communities developing a common national idea that as late as in 1913 he branded Pan Islamism as an "enemy of Indian nationalism".⁴⁹

After his second visit to England in 1908 Bipin Pal totally changed his views. Citing Japan , China on the one hand and Pan Islamism on the other he held that national autonomy inside an Imperial or International Federation was far more preferable even ideally than than isolated national independence.⁵⁰ Thus Pal was fast losing his contemporary relevance and the people

were being overwhelmed by the 'magic of Gandhiji'.

Benoy Sarkar (1887-1949), the versatile genius, a teacher extraordinaire and a high priest of nationalism did not fully share a spiritual vision of Indian nationalism but nevertheless his vision of new India had its spiritual elements ^{all} ~~air~~right. But he would equally emphasize materialism and here lies the uniqueness of Professor Sarkar's views.

As a nationalist, Professor Sarkar's basic concern was to put India, or Asia as a whole, on an equal footing with the West. While he was much influenced by Vivekananda's proclaimed ideal of India conquering the world he pondered about how to make that possible. And here he differed from Vivekananda's line of thinking and for that matter from the whole trend of spiritual nationalism. While Aurobindo, following Vivekananda, visualised India as a spiritual entity and became eloquent about the distinctive predominance of spiritual values in Indian life, Benoy Sarkar found no essential difference between the East and the West. His researches convinced him that India, nay Asia, had also been secular and materialist like Europe and Europe at some period had been as much spiritual as the East. His Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes (1916), Hindu Achievements in Exact Sciences (1918), Futurism of Young Asia (1922) and his Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus (1922) became the manifesto of Eastern materialism. To the notion of Western superiority in mundane matters he reacted sharply. Such superiority, to him, was not intrinsic to Europe but was due to the accident of historical progress----- industrial revolution. Essentially he found no difference between the East and the West. As he observed :⁵¹

The progress of the nineteenth century and the sixteen years

of the twentieth in discoveries and inventions is an unique phenomenon in the history of six milleniums. But Eur-America, which is mainly responsible for this, and Asia, which has contributed almost nothing to it had been equally "primitive" or "pre-scientific" and "pre-industrial" down to nearly the end of the eighteenth century, if judged by the standard of today. Neither politically nor culturally was there East or West till then. It is the subordination of the East to the West in recent times, both in politics and culture , that has inspired the bombastic jingo fallacy: "East is East and West is West". The jingo need remember that the history of the Middle Ages was really the history of the Expansion of Asia towards Southern and Eastern Europe. The "superior races of those times (c. A.C.600-1600) were the Islamites and BuddhistHindu Tartars of Asia.

Professor Sarkar thus had a theory of nationalism grounded in a general theory of human unity. He conceded that spiritualism had also its role to play in 'young India'. In his famous work Creative India he suggested that India had been asserting its spiritual authority in the intellectual sphere till the British imposed their imperialist control over India. Optimistic philosophy od Gita. Manu's practical guidelines and Veda's philosophy of life were adored by the whole world. Sarkar therefore concluded that India's spiritual strength will enable her to command respect in future too. To him nineteenth century was not the period of reaissance as it was frequently understood but the 'only Dark Age of India'. Nevertheless Sarkar hailed the revival of spiritual renaissance in this period, or better , cultural renaissance, which according to him began from Rammohun's idealism and whose culmination could be seen in 'Ramakrishna empire'.⁵²

So, it is obvious that in the early twentieth century the teachings of Bengal nationalists in general had a spiritual or religious character. This was not an historical accident but a gradual unfolding of a process of development of nationalism.

Research Problem

The preceding discussion on the literature concerning the subject of nationalism has clarified our main research problem as that of bridging numerous gaps in the study of nationalism in Bengal. Among the gaps the following are important for our purpose.

First, there are still unresolved mutually exclusive arguments within each area of studies in respect of Bengal's nationalism, Liberalist, Marxist and Revivalist. These concern the nature of Bengal renaissance, role of the Young Bengal, intelligentsia's attitudes to political movements and so on.

Secondly, there has not been any comprehensive analysis of native thinking patterns in an issue-specific manner, the issues being Permanent Settlement, Free Trade, Colonisation of India, Indigo cultivation, native participation in foreign trade etc.

Thirdly, a lack of knowledge about dominant patterns of thought appears to be instrumental to a diluted use of class concepts. One such concept is of 'Bhadrolok' which often includes respective adversaries.

Fourthly, there has been no realistic analysis of the impact of 1857 Revolt on Bengal's nationalist thought without which neither class configurations nor the patterns of nationalist thought could be understood.

Finally, apart from the revivalist approach which provides a communalist viewpoint no other approach has been systematically

used for an acceptable analysis of secular liberalism transforming into religious symbolism in Bengal's nationalist thought.

In addition to these gaps the very existence of diverse viewpoints on the emergence and development of nationalist thought in Bengal pose the central problem as one of determining the period of emergence of nationalist thought, their possible patterns and dynamics in Bengal.

Incidentally, the problem is more relevant to the period preceding the eighties of the nineteenth century. There is little doubt as to the nationalist phase after the Congress movement started. So we have decided to concentrate on the dynamics of the patterns of nationalist thought in Bengal from 1800 to 1885. Periodisation is, of course, a difficult and somewhat artificial exercise. Yet 1800 does provide a meaningful starting point for this study, in that it was in this year in which the Fort William College was established: a momentous historical event which heralded the institutional birth of British Orientalism in India. If 1800 provides a useful starting point, various dates could have been employed to terminate this work. Of these 1885 seemed the most suitable; for it was the year in which a number of significant decisions were taken. For example, this was the year in which the Tenancy Act was passed, an act that brought to a close a series of important land laws which highlighted emerging class conflicts between the landlords and substantial peasants. More

generally, it was the year during which the Indian National Congress was founded; an organisation which proved to be the first and the most powerful political interest group of the political elites of India.

This periodisation cannot, however, be strictly adhered to for the purpose of our study. Since we are not merely interested in the statics but in the dynamics of nationalist thought we have got to identify the factors and forces that came to play their part before 1800 and which continued to determine the shape of things to come well beyond 1885. For example, Permanent Settlement was enacted in 1793 which determined the agrarian setting of nationalist movement considerably since its inception to date. Yet 1800 was selected as the starting point and not 1793 because the shape of things under Permanent Settlement became clear only by 1800. At the end we propose to provide some insights into some major aspects of the dynamics of nationalist thought well into the present century. Since that does not directly belong to the period of our study but is considered indispensable for showing the dynamics that will be provided as an epilogue to our study.

Research Questions

Keeping in mind the problem relating to this research the following questions, which arise naturally, should be answered. These questions arise partly from a review of literature and partly from logical inferences and theoretical framework which we propose

to discuss in the next section.

1. At what point of time and under what circumstances the nationalist thought emerged in Bengal and how it acquired anti-colonial features?

We have noted earlier that any expression of square anti-colonialism does not necessarily produce a conspicuous pattern of nationalism but any feeling of native solidarity may develop into anti-colonialism under certain circumstances. It is, therefore, obvious that the above question is pertinent in our study of nationalist thought in the nineteenth century Bengal.

2. What different patterns of nationalist thought are discernible in the nineteenth century Bengal? How and to what extent did these patterns influence the ultimate shape of the nationalist movement?

These questions may be broken down further. For example, whether one pattern of thinking emerged after another became exhausted or whether some patterns of thinking coexisted? Again, whether there was any major and continuous pattern of thinking with different stages of development? These are important questions and should find plausible answers if the development of nationalist thought is to be understood.

3. If any of the patterns of thinking failed to contribute successfully to the growth of nationalism, what might have been the reasons?

We may remember in this connection the Dharma Sabha movement, the earliest native social movement in the nineteenth century

Bengal. The movement was described by David Kopf as 'Proto-nationalist' while there were others who refused to subscribe to this viewpoint. We have, therefore, not only to understand the true character of the movement but also to examine its impact on the nationalist movement. Similarly, there had been other movements on which the interpretations vary widely regarding their claims to nationalism. For example, Sanyasiⁿ and Fakir Rebellion, Wahabi and Farazi Rebellion, Santal Insurrection etc. The above question has thus been formulated to cover all these.

4. Was there any evident class-basis of the different patterns of thinking in the nineteenth century Bengal? If so, how was such class-basis related to the growth of any relevant pattern?

It may be pointed out here that a class analysis of the patterns of thought is to be attempted by us not because of our belief in any "strait-jacket" opinion but because we propose to use it as a technique of bringing in different subjective and objective factors that might have had some bearing on our subject. We have used the concept of class in a general sense which will be spelt out at the beginning of the next chapter.

A related part of these questions concerns the circumstances or the 'objective setting' in which the patterns of nationalist thought might have evolved. This part of questions is, therefore, important in the sense that the emergence of nationalist thought and its evolution through phases can be meaningfully understood with reference to its environment as obtaining at that time and

not simply as ideas. The vastly agrarian society of Bengal must have had its limitations and significance for development of nationalist thinking. If we remember this aspect we confront a series of questions which have not attracted due attention so far.

(1) Was there a connection among agrarian structure, British policy and Bengali elitist perception of and reaction to the major movements and issues of the nineteenth century? If so, to what extent such connection could be traced, taking into account other possible connections?

(2) Depending on the nature of connection, what was the impact of the same on native associational politics and to what extent such alignments set or offset the balance of class forces in relation to major political issues and movements?

(3) Were the changing alignments of forces and the elites' perception of environment consistent with the logic of the colonial system?

(4) To what extent were investment patterns derived from the logic of the colonial system and how did these patterns interact with the patterns of socio-political and economic thought?

Framework of Inquiry

Thus, some kind of theoretical framework is necessary if we are to generate questions and answer them. We decided not to rely on formal structural-functional framework because of its

alleged ideological bias. Moreover, we felt that our theoretical framework should be developed with reference to the colonial context of our study. More specifically, the theoretical framework should be developed on the basis of the following parameters of interaction between the British rulers and the Bengali population.

First, most of the recorded history represents nationalism as exclusively or predominantly elitist achievements. But a study of interaction must take into account the subaltern contributions. Secondly, the elite core was not a homogeneous one. Among them were poets, journalists, lawyers, school-teachers, landlords and businessmen, who in the main, stood apart from the large mass of peasant population for whom they acted as spokesmen, but, who, at the same time, were engaged among themselves in alliance and enmity. Some have described them as 'Bhadrolok',⁵³ while some have preferred to use the term 'Establishment Men'.⁵⁴ To us, however, it is possible to avoid the controversy by using the blanket term elite. As a blanket term it has the disadvantage of being imprecise. To overcome this we must be very careful to note its changing compositions.

Thirdly, the Bengali elite felt a need to define themselves, their environments and their own positions within those environments in terms of the British presence: whether they welcomed it as providential or condemned it as an onslaught on their identity, they could not afford to ignore it.

Fourthly, the British also had to engage in a continuous process of defining and re-defining their position in a colonial environment: whether they took the pledge of not interfering with the native society, or decided to reform what appeared to them as a barbarous and superstitious land, they had to take into consideration the native response and support.

Finally, the interaction between the British rulers and the Bengali population involved both subjective and objective relations, each not necessarily complementing the other, but both in the ultimate analysis, setting the patterns of nationalist thinking.

All these parameters could not be covered in the studies we indicated in the Review. These always abstracted some aspects of colonial setting, however important, from the totality of its interrelatedness and interdependence and thereby failed to indicate the total process of emergence and development of nationalist thinking. Systemic studies of this nature began with those seeking to understand the interactional aspects of dominant and subordinate systems. Rachel Van Baumer, for example, indicated that the superior-inferior relationships between the British and the Bengali elite on the one hand and the Bengalis' wide variation in attitudes towards British culture on the other prevented a synthesis of British and Bengali cultures.⁵⁵ Apart from the central question which Baumer's analysis leaves unanswered, whether and how this prevention of synthesis led to the emergence of nationalist think-

ing, several other factors, such as respective assumptions of key population, nature of their activities with regard to other segments of the society, that affect nationalist thinking remain uncovered. David Kopf pursued a similar theme: interaction between a dominant and a subordinate culture and an identity-quest on the part of the Bengali elite. He established a connection between British Orientalism and a renaissance-centered nationalist phase in Bengal.⁵⁶ The framework adopted by Kopf assumed superior society as the independent variable and peripheral society, excluding the native elite, as the givens. If we take care to examine how the British policies and perceptions underwent changes on being affected by and in turn affecting the native responses, or how the other social segments actually influenced the whole process of nationalist thinking, we become aware of the essentially limited nature of Kopf's framework.

Martin Orans, who has studied the interaction processes among various groups has developed the theory of rank concession syndrome (RCS) after studying the Santal tribe of India.⁵⁷ The RCS theory generates a number of interesting hypotheses on the acculturation patterns of an "encysted" (meaning, presumably, subordinate) society, in interaction with a superior dominant society. Let us note the relevant aspects of RCS.

(1) An encysted society concedes rank to a dominant society when it accepts a position of social inferiority in any form.⁵⁸

(2) Acceptance of inferiority produces a tendency to emulate. In short, rank concession leads to emulation.⁵⁹

(3) The dominant societies must demand allegiance to at least its official symbol of suzerainty. To this end, the dominant society exercises its "external pressure" on the encysted society to adopt its customs. It also creates a pressure for 'reform' of the encysted society.⁶⁰

(4) The tendency to emulate is likely to be more intense among segments of the encysted society with superior status tending to destroy internal aspect of solidarity. Emulation is likely to be of differential variety which may be due to the following reasons:

(a) The elite tend to have more intimate contact with the members of higher social units because they are often representatives of their society in inter societal relations;

(b) The elite may attract a coterie belonging to high social units but remain personally limited in political and economic power; such a coterie derives political and economic advantage from this kind of relationship and confers prestige on the benefactor;

(c) No amount of emulation in the absence of the requisite economic and political power can achieve rank improvement. Hence, the wealthy and the powerful are the only ones in a position to attain higher rank in exogenous relations through emulations;⁶¹

(5) All the borrowing tendencies which flow from rank concession produce external pressure and lead to an encroachment on the encysted societies. This tends to diminish solidarity in those societies.

(6) Some rank-paths support solidarity while some others undermine or destroy it:

(a) The pursuit of rank through political power by a society, whether by war or by winning elections, serves to support social solidarity. Centrifugal tendencies are to be countered through cooperation and the latter demands and contributes to social solidarity;

(b) The pursuit of rank through economic improvement is divisive because it encourages greater emulation on the part of those who have superior economic power. In fact, pursuit of economic rank-path is often inhibited by internal ties which demand redistribution of economic gain. Thus preventing individual accumulation and investment.

(7) The choice among rank-paths depends in part on the objective conditions of the alternatives.

(8) If a society after a long pursuit of rank on the economic path switches to political rank-path it is bound to have an intense emulation-solidarity conflict in that society in which pressure for emulation continues. Should a cultural movement develop under these conditions it must be bound to be marked not only by a re-

emphasis on the distinctive traits but also by a strikingly innovative process. Thus a cultural movement which begins largely as a means of strengthening solidarity so that political gains could be made may become genuinely creative, though it must continue to satisfy the requirements of its original impetus.⁶⁵

It is possible to use Orans' RCS theory for the purpose of developing a theoretical framework for our study. The RCS theory, it may be seen, combines an emphasis on acculturation process with the study of both subjective and objective dimensions of such a process. This was acknowledged by John N. Gray.⁶⁶ We should however be conscious of its two major limitations. First, Orans does not consider the processes (both objective and subjective) within the dominant or superior society, which affect the processes of emulation and rejection within the subordinate societies. Secondly, the RCS theory does not indicate the role of different segments within the subordinate societies (the patterns of and motivations for conflict and cooperation) that might have important bearing on elite behaviour and thinking in nation-making. Adapting the RCS theory for the purpose of analysing the patterns of nationalist thought then demands consideration of all the major parameters of colonial situation in general and those obtaining in Bengal in particular. We present below such an adapted version of the RCS which we may call Colonial Syndrome of Nationalism (CSN). This might be taken as the framework of our inquiry.

(1) A colonial power must come into conflict with that part of the native society with which it shares a common but mutually

exclusive goal involving objective interests such as trade or business. Such power also develops the scope for cooperation, albeit on a subordinate position, for the native society. This cooperation takes the form of a symbiotic relationship between the colonial power and some part of the subordinate native society. This is the basic aspect of colonial rule that leads to a series of assumptions and assessments: These are, in a nutshell, (a) assumptions and assessments of the colonial rulers about their role and position in a colonial environment; (b) their assumptions and assessments of the subjugated or subordinated country; (c) assumption of the native elites about the superior society and the nature of interaction with it and (d) assumptions and assessments of the native elite about themselves. Thus the objective and subjective factors on the one hand and the assumptions and assessments on the other are interdependent and likely to be in a flux.

(2) The colonial activities always lead to a divided response. The social systems of the native society which is caught in a conflicting relationship with the colonial rulers often try to resist colonial encroachment. In the event they are unsuccessful, they concede power to the colonial society but continue resisting the socio-cultural assimilation with the superior society. The parts of society that are partners in a symbiosis concede rank to the colonial society. Rank concession involves recognition of the aspects of dependence and acceptance of a subordinate position.

This in turn, leads to a tendency to emulate. Emulation becomes more effective in case of those that adopt an economic rank-path thereby diminishing the internal aspects of solidarity.

(3) The tendency to emulate and the resistance to assimilate combine together to produce a pressure for reform. The superior society exercises 'external pressure' for reform in various ways combining both positive and negative sanctions such as scholarships, jobs, symbolic rewards and prohibitory legislations. The rank-conceding native elite tends to complement the ideology of reform.

(4) In addition to the effects of economic rank-path reform tends to be divisive of social solidarity. But at least two factors tend to inhibit the scale and nature of reform:

(a) The resistance of the power conceding part of population to assimilation continues to limit reform, and

(b) The rank conceding part of the subordinate society tends to ensure its acceptability on the intra-societal relations.

Reform thus tends to combine emulative practice and decreasing solidarity. To combine these two, the native elite seek to mobilise the masses vertically. Such vertical mobilisation tends to be largely apolitical and this evolves round various social issues such as language, culture, religion and the like. The effect is a type of proto-nationalism in which reform is continued with trait maintenance, in which the emulation patterns are claimed to be indigenous. Obviously, such expressions have no iota of anti-colonialism.

(5) The power-conceding (but not rank-conceding) part of the native society tends to experience or recognise the effects of synergistic⁶⁷ action that refers to the adverse pressures put on them by the partners in the symbiosis. The population recognising this synergistic effects tends to provide a common front against such pressure. In the absence of an economic rank-path the members share homogeneity of position and outlook. Hence, solidarity is sought to be built through horizontal mass mobilisation that is likely to utilise the appeals of language religion, common traits or common fear. While the effects of horizontal mass mobilisation are likely to be anti-colonial, they also tend to nullify the development of protonationalism into full-fledged nationalist struggle which may already be suffering from its own contradictions. By its very nature this type of mobilisation is likely to increase solidarity within the power-conceding part of the native society, but division in the larger part of society. This divisive trend expresses itself in a growing tension between tradition and modernity in general and between rank-conceding and power-conceding parts in particular.

(6) The volume of changes in the interactional level tends to affect the avenues of mobility. The extent to which the colonial set-up permits cooperation determines the avenues of mobility for the native elites and their role. Any change toward decreasing cooperation will impose restriction on the economic rank-path for the native elite and ~~xxx~~ will make political rank-path a necessity.

(7) The adoption of political rank-path tends to increase the pressure for solidarity in the larger social context. Since the leadership comes from the top layer of a segmented society, the technique of vertical mobilisation is likely to be manipulative and necessarily political. The elite tends to act as an organiser of mass movements promising rewards to everyone, though such movements tend to be of special advantage to the elite only. The essentially manipulative nature of such mobilisation is likely to use the masses as a solid front of opposition only on selected issues that the elite consider worth fighting for. Aspects of cooperation will continue and prevent any organised anti-colonial struggle. Thus a political rank-path adds a political dimension or element of struggle to the interactional process and acts as a complement to nationalism. National consciousness from its very fluid state appears in specific issues and a certain section of a people emerges as the acknowledged spokesmen and leaders that cultivate national aspirations.

(8) Political techniques of mass mobilisation and organisation are likely to accompany cultural movements to increase the solidarity necessary for countering centrifugal tendencies. At this stage the emphasis in thought shifts from emulation to resistance to assimilation. Solidarity at this stage becomes a function of language, religion, social custom and tradition. In a culturally and socially homogeneous society this leads to a cementing of popular sentiments but in a culturally and socially heterogeneous

society it is more of anti-colonialism than integrative virtues that set the tunes for nationalist struggle. These will tend to surface at various levels of a nationalist struggle.

Method of Inquiry

Our modification of the RCS theory has generated a theoretical framework on the associated symptoms of nationalism in a colonial context (CSN) on the basis of which the special problem under investigation may be approached. This we propose to do by using some models. Model-building in its widest sense means choosing from the jumble those aspects which are considered significant and relating them to form a coherent picture. Every model is a selective and abstracted representation of an object or a process that is an aid for the mind for proper comprehension of certain aspects of the object or the process under study. While this stands out to be the general nature of a 'model' the specifics vary according to the types some of which may be noted here :

Iconic Model - This represents an actual situation. A model of a multi-purpose dam or a scaled-down aircraft used in wind tunnel experiments offers a good example.

Analogue Model - In this type of model the features of real world are represented by analogous features such as maps, flow-charts and diagrams.

Symbolic Model - In this type of model real situations are represented by symbols, usually mathematical, using simple arithmetic and graphs but often algebraic

techniques.

Sometimes a distinction is drawn between a model that describes (selectively and abstractly) a certain object or a certain process and a model that in addition to describing enables one to make decisions regarding changes in the object or in the process, - that is to say, between Descriptive and Operational models.

In the field of social sciences model-building very rarely takes the form of Operational model. Symbolic representation also is commonly used in physical sciences. Although a model in social sciences can and does often make use of analogue features, it tends primarily to be descriptive. Obviously such description must be analytical and intended to exhibit the real relations underlying the appearances between or within the phenomena under study. To us, and specially for our purpose, even such descriptive model would help us to abstract, select and examine the relevant factors responsible for the development of nationalist thinking in Bengal. This type of a model would help us in one more way. As C.B. Macpherson has pointed out, an additional dimension of models in thinking is an ethical one, a concern for what is desirable or good or right.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Once we recognise the justificatory claims of models found by us, we create a scope for their evaluation.

If our object is to examine the patterns of nationalist thinking, their limits and achievements, we cannot set up a single model and accommodate in it all the hypotheses indicated in the

CSN. Arnold Brecht thus recommended successive models or what he called 'speculative constructs of a dynamic character' so as to depict the development of society in an entire epoch.⁶⁹ C.B. Macpherson, who for the first time, successfully constructed models for the study of liberal democracy is of the opinion that the use of historically successive models reduces the risk of myopia in looking ahead.⁷⁰ A single model would have committed us to the belief that Indian nationalism was going to be confined to its present mould. But to do so would be to foreclose changes following alterations in the social and economic relations. More importantly, the use of a series of models is likely to reveal the full content of the contemporary model and a fuller dimension of the present stage. For, the present stage of nationalism is itself an amalgam, produced by partial rejection and partial absorption of previous models, each of which was formulated as an attack on one or more of previous models. Since we can be selective with the phenomena under study we can indicate the substantial elements of each model though the formulators might be unaware of them. Taking into account the extent to which each model is an overlay on a previous one, we are likely to see the full nature of the development of nationalist thought by looking at the successive models and at the reasons for their creation and their failure as well. At the end, the models should serve as the basis for testing the acceptability or otherwise of CSN.

One more utilitarian consideration also guided us in selecting model building as our method. A model is both extensive

and intensive. Without the aid of a model the size of this work would have grown ten times the size of the present one, yet perhaps bringing in no sharper conclusions than those the present one proposes to do.

Now we may indicate the plan of the present work. Each model is a historically successive model. Though each model highlights the native aspect of nationalist thought factors and situations relevant for the development of each model are considered in the beginning. The class basis of each model is discussed in accordance with our objective of relating ideas to their contexts and each has also been evaluated separately. Model building actually starts from Chapter III. Chapter II does not belong to the series of historically successive models of nationalist thought in the sense that it isolates, on the basis of the observations made by us on the relationship of anti-colonialism and nationalism, patterns of thoughts and movements which do not form part of the nationalist models. Chapter III starts with a model that refutes the currently available interpretation of the emergence of nationalist thought in Bengal. Chapter IV supplements Chapter III, also in terms of a model, by identifying the first original expression of nationalism in Bengal. Chapter V illuminates a different conceptual pattern of nationalist thought in terms of a model whose class basis is identical with that of the former. Chapter VI analyses the radical changes in the circumstances and content of nationalist thought also in terms of a model which is the last in the present series. Chapter VII provides an epilogue to the present study in

which

which some of the main patterns of nationalist thought are projected beyond the period of our study. Chapter VIII presents a summary of conclusions. The conclusions arrived at the end of each model are brought together and their relationship examined with the observations made under CSN.

A word or two may not be out of place to underline the limits of our study. It must be acknowledged that our method of model building itself imposes a limit on our study. Since a model is essentially selective our study may not be regarded as a comprehensive study of the life and times of Bengal but only of those aspects of the study which are relevant to our understanding of nationalist thought.

Secondly, although Bengal in this period was gifted with a number of statesmen and leaders of unparalleled repute we could not take up for review, except on a few occasions, the different assessments made about them. Nevertheless it is perfectly plausible to use the present models for dealing extensively with the contributions and failures of any elite member of this period should one feels interested in entering into the never-ending polemics about the major figures of nineteenth century Bengal.

Finally, we have excluded from our study a very steady line of thinking in nineteenth century Bengal, which relates generally to the belief in universalism. This belief was present, except in the Orthodox section, among all the liberals. Had we tried to include this trend in our models it would have been an

injustice to a theme that requires another full length study.

NOTES

1. Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origin and Background, (New York:1960), p.16. Subsequent citations are taken from his The Idea of Nationalism and Nationalism:its meaning and history, (Princeton:1955).
2. An almost similar treatment of nationalism can be found in Boyd C. Shafer, Nationalism, Myth and Reality, (New York: 1955); A.D. Smith, Theories of Nationalism, (London:1971).

Professor V. P. Varma , a distinguished political scientist to have produced the first systematic and comprehensive books on Indian political thought has noted that there have been two different treatments of nationalism , one emphasising the spiritual roots of nationalism and the other, the materialistic roots of it. Behind the Wilsonian terminology , or the concept of self-determination , there is the theoretical background of the development of nationalism in western political thought since the sixteenth century onwards. Kant is probably a pioneer in the idealist-spiritualist tradition of nationalism. Obviously Kant with his championship of the categorical imperative and the advocacy of a world system of republics could not have much to do with nationalism. But he was an initiator and leader in the movement of idealism which was a great contributing factor in the advance of German nationalism. Again, nationalism as expounded , for example , by Jefferson , Hegel, Mill, Mazzini, Bluntschli and Renan, has enshrined the concept of nation as almost

the supreme object of devotion. It is considered the centre of allegiance and is to evoke a willing responsiveness from the inhabitants. So, nationalism is regarded as something ultimate. Karl Marx, on the other hand, has considered nationalism to have objective-materialist roots. Marx considered nationalism as an epiphenomenon or by-product of capitalism. He considered it as the clarion call of the capitalists who used it to bolster their own interests against competition from the capitalists of other countries. Accordingly the realisation of international communism by the proletariat is the ultimate goal and thus nationalism must be replaced by proletarian internationalism. Lenin, in accordance with the Marxian legacy, would consider the operativeness of self-determination as something transitory, because nationalism itself, in the Marxian theory, is something intermediate and is to be transcended. Naturally, nationalism, viewed in this way, does not have that kind of emotional aura attached to it which self-determination and nationalism can have in western political theory.

Professor Varma is of the opinion that nationalism is to be interpreted as a complex and composite movement with both idealist-spiritual and objective materialistic roots and therefore German idealism and Marxism are both inadequate in comprehensively explaining the theory and movement of Indian nationalism. He also makes a very significant point about the need to have an original approach to Asian situation. According to him Wilsonianism was not truly a universal design theory. Wilson never had

in mind the wholesale liberation of the struggling peoples of Asia and Africa. Wilsonian self determination was conceived in the context of the struggles of the minorities in the Hapsburg and the Ottoman empires and therefore Wilson pondered about the liberation of Czechs, Magyars etc. Leninist theory too was conceived in the context of cultural autonomy of the peoples of the Russian empire. Professor Varma casts doubt about whether Lenin conceived of self determination as implying the full political liberation of the Asiatic peoples who were subjects of the Russian empires. In any case , the Leninist theory of self determination might have influenced , at the time of formulation , columnists and writers in newspapers like the Abhyudaya and the Kesari, but it never had a serious impact on the political ideology and advancement of nationalist movement in India. Tilak took the Wilsonian concept of nationalism seriously . The movement of Hindu revivalism as a factor of Indian nationalism has more in common with Kantianism and Hegelianism than with Marxism.

While we are concerned with the development of nationalist thinking in the context of Bengal and that too in the nineteenth century Bengal these points of general relevance are not to be lost sight of. We would have to take them into account when we would try to formulate our theoretical guidelines for ~~anything~~ analysing nationalism in Bengal. Interestingly, it will be found , that the theoretical formulations on Africa

and Asia which have emphasised colonial situation have not always done justice to the objective-materialist roots and the idealist-spiritualist roots of nationalism. It may not be possible to study nationalism in the 'complex and composite' manner suggested by Professor Varma in the limited period of our study and given the nature of specific research questions that we have here. But nevertheless we would attempt to supplement our emphasis on objective - materialist premise with reference to idealist-spiritual factors as far as possible. However to obtain insights into this approach one must consult V.P.Varma, Modern Indian Political Thought, (Agra:Lakshmi Narain,1987), pp.3-15.

3. P.D. Curtain, "Nationalism in Africa,1945-1965" in Review of Politics, XXVIII, 1966, pp. 143-4.
4. R.I. Rotberg, "African Nationalism: Concept or Cofusion?" in Journal of Modern African Studies, IV:I, 1966,p.,36.
5. J.S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, (Berkely: 1960),pp.,169-70.David Marr also supports Coleman in his restricted use of the concept. Vide D. Marr, Vietnamese Anticolonialism, 1885-1925, (Berkely: 1971), pp. 5-6.
6. T. Hodgkin, Nationalism in Colonial Africa, (New York: 1969), pp. 20-25.
7. Truong Buu Lam, Patterns of Vietnamese Response to Foreign Intervention: 1858-1900, (New Haven:1967),pp. 29-31.
8. Quoted in R. Suntharlingam, Indian Nationalism: An Historical Analysis, (New Delhi: 1983),p.14.

9. Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism, n.l, pp. 3-4.
10. Fredrick Hertz, Nationalism in History and Politics, (London: fifth impression, n.d.) p.23.
11. J. Kennedy, Asian Nationalism in the Twentieth Century, (London: 1968), p. 12.
12. B.B. Majumdar, History of Indian Social and Political Ideas: From Rammohun to Dayananda, (Calcutta: 1967) - Henceforth to be called only HISPI.
13. A few more works may be indicated. Sushobhan Sarkar (ed), Rammohan Roy on Indian Economy, (Calcutta: 1965); V.C. Joshi (ed), Rammohun Roy and the Process of Modernisation in India, (Delhi: 1975); S.D. Collet, The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Ray, (Calcutta: 1962); Chandicharan Banerjee, Vidyasagar Charit, (in Bengali), (Calcutta: 1909); Ashok Sen, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and His Elusive Milestones, (Calcutta: 1977); Srikant Ray, Bengal Celebrities, (Calcutta: 1906); Maniklal C. Parekh, Brahmarshi Keshub Chander Sen, (Rajkot: 1926); Badaruddin Umar, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar O Unish Sataker Bangalee Samaj, (in Bengali), (Calcutta: 1980); Ebadat Hossain, Marxbader Bichare Rammohun, (in Bengali), (Calcutta: 1983).
14. A short list may include the following also: Blair B. Kling, Blue Mutiny, (Philadelphia: 1966, Reprint, 1977); Tapobijoy Ghosh, Nilbidroher Charitra O Bangalee Buddhijibi, (in Bengali), (Calcutta: 1983); Swapan Basu, Ganaasantosh O Unish Sataker Bangalee Samaj, (In Bengali), (Calcutta:

1984); Kalyan Kumar Sengupta, Pabna Disturbances and the Politics of Rent, (New Delhi: 1974); Suprakash Roy, Bharater Krishak Bidroha O Ganatantrik Sangram, (in Bengali), (Calcutta: 1972); Sunil Sen, Peasant Movements in India (Calcutta: 1982).

15. Some important works on this line are: F. Dimock, Bengal: Literature and History, (East Lansing: 1967); Stephan Hay, "Western and Indigenous Elements in Modern Indian Thought: The Case of Rammohun Roy, " in Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernisation (Princeton: 1965); David Kopf, British Orientalism and Bengal Renaissance, (Berkeley: 1969); Charles H. Heimsath, Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform, (Princeton: 1964); Rachel Van M. Baumer, Aspects of Bengali History and Society, (New Delhi: 1976).
16. J. Broomfield, Elite Conflict in a Plural Society, (Berkeley: 1968); Anil Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Colaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century, (Cambridge: 1968); S.N. Mukherjee, "Class, Caste and Politics in Calcutta, 1815-38" in E. Leach and S.N. Mukherjee (eds.), Elites in South Asia, (Cambridge: 1970).
17. Chittabrata Palit, Tensions in Bengal Rural Society (Calcutta: 1975) and Perspectives on Agrarian Bengal, (Calcutta: 1982); R.B. Chaudhury, The British Agrarian Policy in Eastern India, (Patna: 1980); Dietmur Rothermund, Government, Landlord and Peasant in India, (Wisebanden: 1978).
18. Sumit Sarker, 'Popular' Movements & 'Middle Class' Leadership

in Late Colonial India: Perspectives & Problems of a "History from Below," (Calcutta: 1983), Chap 2; Ranjit Guha, Subaltern Studies I: Writings on South Asian History and Society, (Delhi: 1982), pp. 1-5.

19. Among many of this kind the following three are widely famed: R.P. Dutt, India To-day, (Calcutta: 1970); N.K. Sinha, History of Bengal, (Calcutta: 1971); A.R. Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism, (Bombay: 1959).
20. B.T. McCully, "The Origins of Indian Nationalism According to Native Writers, in Journal of Modern History, VII, 1935, pp. 296-99. For a more detailed account vide R. Mookerjee, The Fundamental Unity of India, (London: 1914); A. Besant, How India Wrought for Freedom (Adyar: 1915).
21. M.N. Roy, India in Transition, (Bombay: Reprint, 1971)
22. B.T. McCully, English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism, (New York: 1940).
23. Anil Seal, n. 16.
24. We have bracketed M.N. Roy, MacCully and Seal together only because they treated nationalism as a modern phenomenon. The differences in their approaches are fundamental. Roy synchronised national consciousness and national movement with the development of the native bourgeoisie. This has become an orthodoxy among Marxist historians of whom the

best known are R.P. Dutt, n. 19, A.R. Desai, n. 19. Those who criticise this "Strait-jacket" and include many other socio-political factors into consideration are well represented by Sumit Sarkar, The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903-1908 (New Delhi: 1973), pp. 507-10, and Amallesh Tripathi, The Extremist Challenge, (Bombay: 1967), pp. 141-49. MacCully treated nationalism as an exotic growth fostered by English education, and refused to recognize the role of imperialism and colonial subjugation in this regard. Seal admitted this but treated the educated middle class as extension of the castes from which the members originated. According to Rajat Ray this posed a challenge to the Marxist interpretation of modern Indian History. Some works on Indian Nationalism by professional historians trained in Western Universities downplayed the economic factors and instead "assigned the central role in politicisation to the sharpening of pre-existing social rivalaries in traditional India." Vide Rajat Roy, "Three Interpretations of Indian Nationalism" in B.R. Nanda (ed), Essays in Modern Indian History, (Delhi: 1980), pp. 16-17.

25. David Kopf, n. 15, p. 266.

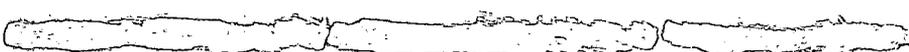
26. Gautam Chottopadhyay, Awaking in Bengal, (Calcutta: 1965), pp. XV-XLIX.

27. Narahari Kabiraj, Swadhinata Sangrame Bangla, (in Bengali), (Calcutta: 1954).

27A. In previous note no. 2 we had referred to two types of roots of nationalism. Indeed some works can be cited as ones having emphasised either one or the other roots of nationalism in India. Romain Rolland's two books , one on Rama-krishna and the other on Vivekananda, referred to romantic features of nationalism. Bhupendranath Datta , on the other hand , made a throughgoing sociological analysis, including economic and all the materialist forces, of Indian polity which have a direct relevance to the subject of nationalism in India. To Datta both caste and class evolved out of the Hindu society itself. He therefore took issue with Max Weber who had seen influence of religion on Indian caste system and reflected on the impossibility of social revolution or reformation. To Datta Weber failed to distinguish between a "Revealed Religion" of the theologians and the "Tribal Religion" of the anthropologists. According to Datta tribal mores and notions still underlie the Hindu social system. Furthermore the feudal economics and the state with its handmaid Brahmonism took a new form and determined the evolution of the present-day Hindu society. Datta further suggests that many groups are still in the tribal stage and therefore India has not completely evolved into the stage of nationality. It may be interesting to find that the more illustrious brother of Bhupendranath , Swami Vivekananda suggested in an article, entitled "Aryans and Tamilians" in Prabuddha Bharat (reprinted in the Mayavati Memorial Edition of the Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, vol. iv, 12th edn., 1985, pp. 296-

302) that the Aryan caste system was a means to "ensure a healthy uprise of the races very low in the scale of culture"(p.297) with the assurance that"one has every chance of rising from a low caste to a higher or the highest; only in this brotherhood of altruism , one is compelled to take his whole caste along with him"(p.298).Datta refered to the caste systems among the Muslims ,the Christians ,and to the fact that all are culturally united , ie. ,in terms of common ethnicity. The formation of nationality as formulated in the modern world would further mould them together. Vide Bhupendranath Datta , Studies in Indian Social Social Polity, (Calcutta: 1983),pp. 389-90.

But for the obvious limitation of Datta's work in tracing the spiritual and romantic aspect of nationalism in India his analysis is flawed by a vain hope that there is indeed a universal design theory of nationalism and Indian nationalism may be a late-comer but is sure to move along the beaten track of western nations. Datta never consider colonial factors seriously . Anybody who is familiar with the theories of underdevelopment(ECLA thesis, World System and Dependency etc.)would be aware of the problematic of structural change.

Professor Varma has rightly drawn our attention to different factors that have influenced nationalism in India among which were the intellectual renaissance , western impact, the rise of a new economic class---to name only a few. Vide V.P. Varma, Modern Indian Political Thought, n.2, pp. 3-15. 

28. Leonard, A. Gordon, Bengal: The Nationalist Movement: 1876-1940, (Delhi: Indian edition, 1974), pp. 10-11.
29. Amalendu Guha, "Nationalism: Pan Indian and Regional in a Historical Perspective" in Social Scientist, Marx Centenary Number 3, Feb. 1984, pp. 42-43.
30. An article by B.B. Majumdar and another by Tarasankar Banerjee under the title 'Bengal' contain important bibliographical information. Vide S.P. Sen (ed), Historical Writings on the Nationalist Movement in India, (Calcutta: 1977).
31. R.C. Dutt, The Economic History of India, (London: Reprint, 1956), 2, vols.
32. Anil Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, n. 16.
33. Gallagher, Seal and Gordon Johnson, Locality, Province and Nation (Cambridge: 1973).
34. We have a number of works on this line. For example, Chris Bayly, The Local Roots of Indian Politics: Allahabad: 1880-1920 (Oxford: 1975); Gordon Johnson, Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism, Bombay and the Indian National Congress, 1880-1915 (Cambridge: 1973), D.A. Washbrook, The Emergence of Provincial Politics: Madras Presidency, 1870-1920, (Cambridge: 1976); C.J. Baker and I.A. Washbrook, South India, 1880-1940 (Delhi: 1975); Rajat Ray, Social Conflict and Political Unrest in Bengal

1875-1927 (Oxford: 1985); Judith Brown, Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics, 1915-22, (Cambridge: 1972).

35. Bipan Chandra, The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism (Delhi: 1966). Vide also his Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India, (Delhi: 1979) and Communalism in Modern India (New Delhi: 1984).
36. Sumit Sarker, The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, n. 24.
37. Amal Tripathi, The Extremist Challenge, n. 24.
38. J.R. McLane, Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress, (Princeton: 1977).
39. S. Gopal, Jawaharlal Nehru (London: 1976).
40. A few examples may be given here -
- Gyan Pandey, The Ascendancy of the Congress in U.P., 1926-34: A Study in Imperfect Mobilisation (Delhi: 1978); David Hariman, Peasant Nationalists of Gujrat: Kheda District, 1917-34, (Delhi: 1981); Kapil Kumar, Peasants in Revolt: Tenants, Landlords, Congress and the Raj in Oudh, 1886-1922 (Delhi: 1984); Sumit Sarker, "Popular" Movements and "Middle Class" Leadership in Late Colonial India: Perspectives and Problems of a "History from Below," n. 18;
- Ranjit Guha, Subaltern Studies, n. 18.
41. Partha Chatterjee, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse ?, (Delhi: 1986).

42. Sri Aurobindo, "The Ideal of the Karmayogin", p.1, Quoted in V.P.Varma, The Political Philosophy of Sri Aurobindo, (Calcutta:1960), pp. 223-24. Vide also Aurobindo's 'New Nationalism' in Sri Aurobindo (Pondicherry: Aurobindo Ashram, 1972), Vol. 1. pp. 905-10.
43. V.P.Varma, Modern Indian Political Thought, (Agra: 9th Edn. 1987) p. 307.
44. V.P.Varma, The Life and Philosophy of Lokamanya Tilak, (Agra: 1978).
45. Varma, n.43, pp. 283-84.
46. Bipin Pal, Swadeshi and Swaraj, (Calcutta:1954), p. 57.
47. Bipin Pal, The Spirit of Indian Nationalism, (London: 1910). Vide also his Memories of My Life and Times, Vols. 1&2, (Calcutta:1951).
48. Bipin Pal, Writings and Speeches, (Calcutta:1951), Vol. 1, pp. 32-33.
49. Bipin Pal, Nationality and Empire, (Calcutta:1916), pp. 362-90.
50. Ibid, pp. xix, xxxii.
51. Quoted from Benoy Sarkar's "Postulates of Young India" in the article by Indra Palit, "Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar----The Man, The Scholar, The Patriot" in Pradyot Ghosh, (ed), Acharya Benoy Kumar Sarkar (in Bengali), Maldah: 1988), pp. 162-63. Vide for an introductory discussion, Achintya Biswas, "Sri Benoy Kumar Sarkar----Jiban O Sadhana"(in Bengali) in Madhuparni, Special Autumn No.1398 BS. Vide for a critical discussion Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyay, "Benoy Kumar Sarkar:The Theoretical Foundation of Indian Capitalism" in (ed) The Bengali Intellectual Tradition, (Calcutta: 1979).
52. Benoy Sarkar, Creative India, (Lahore: 1937) .

53. J. Broomfield, Elite Conflict in Plural Society, (Berkeley: 1968), pp. 5-6.
54. Leonard A. Gordon, Bengal: The Nationalist Movement 1876-1940, n. 28, p. 24. He questions the sociological value of the 'Bhadrolok' concept since it often includes adversaries, p. 7.

'Elite' and 'Elitist' had become taboo words in the Western political vocabulary being associated with Fascist and Nazi ideologies. Actually elite is a neutral word; there can be open as well as closed elites. The famous Italian elite theorists, Mosca, Pareto and Michels all spoke of circulation of elites. Pareto cast a pessimistic look at democracy when he established everpresent connections among riches, power and qualities in his book The Mind and Society. But Mosca, in his The Ruling Class, accepted, in a qualified way, the distinctive features of modern democracy and admitted that the majority might have some control over governmental policy. Among the Italian theorists, Guido Dorso made the noteworthy attempt to demonstrate that elite theory is not on principle inimical to the existence of a democratic polity. For an analysis of Dorso's views vide Dante Germino, Beyond Ideology: The Revival of Political Theory, (New York: 1967).

American social scientists have attempted to re-fashion the concept of elite in an analytical direction. Harold Lasswell^{in his} (The Comparative Study of the Elites) and Raymond Aron^{in his} (The Opium of the Intellectuals) have distinguished political elites from the plurality of elites in society. The current trend is to apply the term elite in a functional sense (as distinguished from class power or racial

superiority) and in relation to social structure. This theory of plural elites as applicable to modern democracies is widely advocated by modern liberal scholars. Anthony Sampson states it clearly in the conclusion of his study of the upper strata of British society: "The rulers are not at all close knit or united.... No one man can stand in the centre, for there is no centre." Vide Anthony Sampson, Anatomy of Britain, (London: 1962), p. 624. For a general discussion of elite theory vide T. B. Bottomore, Elites and Society, (London: 1964).

The notion of plurality of elites has been rejected by C. Wright Mills in his Power Elite, (New York: 1959). America, to Mills, is ruled by a 'power elite', a cohesive group of economic, political and military elites which is least subject to popular control. Mills' inability to explain the unity of elites provoked a Marxist answer from Ralph Miliband's State in a Capitalist Society. It referred to their ruling class character. Nicos Poulantzas however criticised Miliband for his failure to criticise the idea of plurality of elites: "Miliband's reply, which he supports by 'facts' is that plurality of elites does not exclude the existence of a ruling class." Vide R. Blackburn (ed), Ideology in Social Science, (Glasgow: 1977).

The controversy between elite theory and Ruling class is more relevant in the context of developed capitalist or socialist society. One of the weaknesses of elite theories has been its inability to link formation, growth or circulation of elites with actual loci of power. While the Ruling Class theory is clear about this a pure class analysis may not be possible in a developing society. Vide note no 1 of chapter 2 of the present thesis.

There is much insight in the observation that "An Asian philosophy and sociology of history should be constructed which would examine the relevance of Mosca's concept of the Ruling class and the Pareto's concept of the Circulation of the Elite to the social and situational systems of Asian lands" Vide V.P.Varma, Modern Indian Political Thought, (Agra: 9th Edn. 1987). Though our study is too limited for such a 'construction' we would try to use the concept of elite in this direction.

55. Rachel Van Baumer, "The Reinterpretation of Dharma in Nineteenth Century Bengal" in Aspects of Bengali History and Society, n. 15, pp. 85-86.
56. David Kopf, British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance, n. 15.
57. Martin Orans, A Tribe in Search of a Great Tradition, (Detroit: 1965).
58. Ibid, p. 124.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid, p. 126.
61. Ibid, p. 127.
62. Ibid, p. 128.
63. Ibid, pp. 128-29.
64. Ibid, p. 129.
65. Ibid, pp. 131-32.
66. John N. Gray, "Bengal and Britain : Cultural Contact and the Reinterpretation of Hinduism in the Nineteenth Century"

in Baumer (ed), n. 15.

67. The concept of Synergism has widely been used in natural sciences. We have adopted the concept in our study. The following meaning is given in the dictionary which we also followed: "The combined effects of agents such as hormones or drugs when they set in the same direction on living systems. Synergism may result in an effect which is greater than the sum of the effects of the agents when they act individually." Vide Michael Allaby, Macmillan Dictionary of the Environment, (London: 1985), p. 478.
68. C.B. Macpherson, The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy, (London, New York: 1977), pp.3-4. In this pioneering work he has constructed interesting models of liberal democracy.
69. Arnold Brecht, Political Theory: The Foundations of Twentieth Century Political Thought, (Bombay: 1970), p. 112.
70. C.B. Macpherson, n. 57, pp. 7-8.