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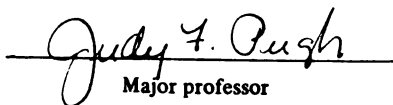
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**THE LEGACY OF ANTI-COLONIALIST NATIONALISM:
REFLECTIONS ON JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S NATIONAL PHILOSOPHY
AND CONTEMPORARY INDIAN CULTURAL POLITICS**

By

Suparna Bhaskaran

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ABSTRACT

THE LEGACY OF ANTI-COLONIALIST NATIONALISM: REFLECTIONS ON JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S NATIONAL PHILOSOPHY AND CONTEMPORARY INDIAN CULTURAL POLITICS

By

Suparna Bhaskaran

This thesis explores the relationship between national culture and nationalist ideology in India within colonial and 'post-colonial' locations. The texts of Jawaharlal Nehru and his are explicated, analysed and assessed within 'post-colonial' cultural politics. While maintaining that Nehru significantly contributed to a post-British India, I suggest that some of his formulations were inherently paradoxical and problematic for a post-colonial India.

Nehru's political philosophy must be analyzed terms of its relevance for existing historical conditions that is, in the colonial era as well as in a post-1947 India. The historical relationship between political culture and material conditions is viewed in conjunction with a changing consciousness, shifting political alliances and rising 'separatist' movements within India. Specifically, I discuss the historical circumstances of, and the problem 'in and of', Jammu and Kashmir. I demonstrate the tension between national culture and ideology, and the problems of the legacy of anti-colonialist nationalism. To conclude, I suggest that nationalist ideologies within post-colonial contexts are confronted with the additional dilemmas of dealing with a trans-national notion of community and multiple politics of location.

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1. INTRODUCTION

I have lived in the United States for the past six years under the category of an F-1 student, or rather, as an international student. This experience, accompanied by my growing awareness of the political, cultural and "separatist" movements and conflicts unfolding in India, has led to my increased interest in the discourse of national identity and nationalist ideology.

Debates about identity that range from a continuum of extreme particularism or separatism to a universal notion of common humanity, have occupied contemporary social inquiry and activism. Considerations about identity characterizes our present epoch. These considerations, along with the interconnectedness with colonial and post-colonial events, add to the fragmentary and alienated history of modernity. This essay provides an account of the discourse of nationalism which addresses some of the pervasive dilemmas of modernity, such as the construction of nationhood, the role of revolution in relation to colonialism and state formation, and the contestations and the eventual acceptance of ideologies into cultural life.

Anthropological literature on national culture has grown out of what have been referred to as the 'national character studies' of the 1930s and 1940s. Among its proponents were Ruth Benedict, Geoffrey Gorer, Margaret Mead, and Abram Kardiner. These authors suggested that national character or culture constituted personality traits of specific nations. This psychological and behavioral approach examined individual traits which they then attributed to cultural characteristics of a nation.

According to such national character theories, national character was analogous to national culture; as such it was believed to reveal fundamental cultural traits which typified a nation. These cultural traits included personality traits that

ultimately defined individual psychologies. Socialization (via parents and kin) was the key factor in the production and reproduction of these traits.

After the 1940s, a declining interest in national character studies was followed by modernization theorists. Modernization theorists were primarily sociologists and political scientists by training. In rejecting the psychological approach of national character studies, modernization theorists placed an emphasis on economic and political structures along with a sense of evolutionary history that mechanically transformed traditional societies into modern ones. In this view, modern institutions such as the state (infrastructure) shaped the national culture, rather than society (socialization) shaping the national culture. Features of modern society included "...urbanization, industrialization, education, internalization of modern values..."¹

A theorist who was influenced by national character studies and modernization theory was Clifford Geertz. Geertz was also an influential figure in the development of the paradigm of 'interpretive anthropology,' which rejects some of the totalizing aspects and evolutionary thinking of modernization theory. Geertz describes nationalism as "amorphous, uncertainly focused, half-articulated," "highly flammable," and the "major collective passion in most new states."² The project of collectivizing mass consciousness is primarily undertaken by nationalist intellectuals. According to Geertz, the construction of political and geographic unity is based on shaky 'cultural foundations' because it draws from the problematic

¹Fox, Richard, ed., *Nationalist Ideologies and the Production of National Cultures*, American Ethnological Society Monograph Series, Number 2, 1990.

²Geertz, Clifford, pg 237, "After the Revolution: The Fate of Nationalism in the New States", in *The Interpretation of Cultures*.

equation between anti-colonialism and "collective redefinition."³ Nationalist politics, entailing the collective definition of a nationhood, constituted state formation and state building. The ideology of nationalism, for Geertz, entails a symbolic framework, characterized by the tension between epochalism and essentialism.⁴

Geertz's commentary on the processes of nationalism and its inherent tensions is insightful; however, he still seems to be trapped in a mutation of the "Parsonian theory of culture." Geertz considers the "Parsonian theory of culture" as "one of our most powerful intellectual tools" toward understanding the ideological dimensions of nationalism. Geertz notes, that the rhetoric and idioms of nationalist consciousness, in its mission of creating "systems of beliefs" or "patterns of meaning," is self-detrimental to a culture because its paradoxes are infused in social institutions. However, Geertz's exposition on the contradictions of nationalist metaphors does not provide an account of how systems of power or self-interest infuse politicized culture. For example, the Indian National Congress and Nehru symbolized unity, freedom, self-rule and democracy. It is important however, to systematically document and understand the formation of political structures of the new nation-state. Political and economic institutions are the crystallizations of human activities, which in turn shape future human actions and conflict. Geertz refers to a "cultural crisis" that inflicts and infuses social, political and economic spheres within a colonial and post-colonial framework, but he does not discuss

³Ibid

⁴Geertz describes epochalism, as having a notion of a historical spirit or telos of a nation that is moving towards national integration and progress. The position of epochalism is exemplified by Jawaharlal Nehru's national philosophy. Essentialism is the view that there are some fundamental cultural and/or religious essences to a nation's coherence. This position is exemplified by M. K. Gandhi. [Geertz, 243, "After the Revolution: The Fate of Nationalism in the New States", in *The Interpretation of Cultures*].

these crises.

Geertz's notion of a "cultural crisis" can be understood through Partha Chatterjee's systemic and historical analysis of Indian nationalist thought. Cultural crisis, according to Chatterjee, is explained as the emergence of tensions from the paradoxical character of nationalist ideology. As noted by Chatterjee, nationalist thought is polemical because it seeks political power whereby the colonial state is to be replaced by the nationalist state. It is further "shot through with tensions," because it is in fundamental conflict with colonial discourse. The constitution of nationalist discourse maintains its uniqueness by borrowing certain elements of rationalist thinking, but at the same time producing a different discourse. This discourse is paradoxical and different, but still dominated by another discourse.

Furthermore, Chatterjee suggests that nationalism and orientalism occupy key positions within the sphere of colonialist and post-colonialist ideology. Orientalism, notes Edward Said, is a style of thought based on an "..ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'".⁵ This process entails the production and domination of the Orient "politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively..⁶

Nationalism and orientalism must be understood within the historical development of ideas that are in a dialectic with political culture and existing economic forms. Additionally, Chatterjee notes that nationalism and orientalism could be identified by two major characteristics: the thematic and the problematic.

⁵Said, Edward, *Orientalism*, Vintage Books, 1970.

⁶*Ibid*

The thematic aspect of social ideology refers to the moral\ethical principles that influence elements or the relations between elements within a set framework:

"..identification of historical possibilities" and justificatory structures. The problematic aspect represent statements, claims or historical possibilities that are actually justified by an existing moral standard.

The problematic aspect in nationalist thought is however, exactly the opposite of that of Orientalism. The fundamental focus in both discourses is "the Oriental", and "the Oriental" still maintains her\his "essentialist" features prescribed by Orientalist discourse. In the case of Orientalism, "the Oriental" attains agency by clamoring for reason and autonomy. On the other hand, one can thematically draw parallels between Orientalism and Nationalist thought, in so far as they both create similar typologies, such as "east" and "west", and resort to drawing from the ideals and knowledge created by the post-enlightenment era and Western science. It is here that one can see the inherently contradictory nature of nationalist thought, where "it reasons within a framework of knowledge whose representational structure corresponds to the very structure of power nationalist thought seeks to repudiate."⁷ Additionally, Chatterjee notes that this paradoxical element suggests the problematic and thin feasibility of the success of social transformations and the "theoretical insolubility"⁸ of nationalist thought within the post-colonial framework.

Chatterjee provides insight into contradictions inherent in nationalist thought,

⁷Chatterjee, Partha, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*, pg 36, Zed Books, New Delhi, 1986.

⁸Ibid

as well as a useful analogy between orientalism and nationalism. His idealist thesis, however, is limited to an exploration of the history of ideas. Richard Fox goes beyond Chatterjee to provide a processual account of the connections between nationalist ideology and its cultural production under changing material conditions. He further addresses the ramifications of the success or lack of success of a nationalist agenda in attaining hegemony.

For Fox, national culture is constantly being reproduced and produced. It is processual and entails confrontations between communities. From these confrontations, "...emerge nationalist ideologies from which in turn, a national culture gets produced."⁹ National ideologies include conceptions such as, "nationalisms," "sub-national identities," "ethnic nationalisms," "racial identities," and refers to the "cultural productions of public identity. The constitution of peoplehood can be understood from how communities or persons are conceived by themselves and by others, rather than through categories produced from a rigid, static and classificatory view of culture. Elite and mass consciousness accompanying the sense of public identity confronts already existing cultural meanings and conceptions. If these confrontations are successful, there emerges a national culture. "A national culture is always 'temporary' because, whether antique or recent, its character and puissance are matters of historical practice; they are plastic constructions, not cultural givens".¹⁰ This approach provides a view of "nationalism" or "nationalist

⁹Fox, Richard, ed., *Nationalist Ideologies and the Production of National Cultures*, AES Monograph Series, Number 2, 1990.

¹⁰Ibid.

ideology" in terms of changing cultural forms and reflections on what Benedict Anderson refers to as an 'imagined community' or a nation. Fox however, claims that the 'imagined community' is not just 'mass fiction,' and thus he (Fox) stresses that the universal nationalism implied by Anderson, could be a form of objectivism. It is this processual view of 'nationalism' or 'nationalist ideology,' that informs my thesis.

In this essay, I address Jawaharlal Nehru's nationalist philosophy, and thus suggest that Nehru's significant contributions to the Indian revolution and state building entailed the process of constructing a national ideology which required a certain degree of contestation between other ideologies, but eventually emerged as the prevailing national culture. In outlining some of Nehru's key formulations, it is possible to view the underlying framework of Nehru's ideology of secular-socialism.

Nehru's secular-socialism was confronted by other national agendas of pro-Muslim and pro-Hindu factions within and outside of the Indian National Congress (the reasons for their initial failures is discussed in a later section). First, I present Nehru's primary concepts as a process of cultural production of ideas and material reality. Nehru's national philosophy won mass support, and evolved as the national culture of India. No national culture is permanent and this impermanence is indicative of the current emergence of nationalist ideologies throughout the nation. Specifically I document the history of pro-Kashmiri or pro-Muslim ideology which was an important force during Indian independence and the Indo-Pak partition. The uprisings in Kashmir are historically connected to the reluctance on the part of the princely states to join either India or Pakistan (which is discussed later).

The massive disenchantment in Kashmir involving dissatisfaction with political

infrastructure, economic development and the promise of democracy, equality, and general well being, made by secular-democratic-socialism, is a crucial element in identifying peoplehood. Public discontent has erupted into political culture through several violent ways. Disenchantment with the legacy of anti-colonialist nationalism informs the political culture of contemporary India. In presenting the case of the state of Jammu & Kashmir, I discuss the relationship between national culture and nationalist ideology, and present issues of massive disenchantment that confront a post-colonial nation-state.

2. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S BIOGRAPHY:

Jawaharlal Nehru was born on the 14th of November, 1889, in Allahabad, India. Until the age of fifteen he was educated at home by tutors, after which he was trained in the natural sciences and law at Trinity college in Cambridge. In 1912, at the age of 23, he returned to India and enrolled as an advocate for the Allahabad High Court. In 1913, Nehru became a member of the United Province Congress. By 1917 he was elected secretary of the Home Rule League at Allahabad, and was admitted into the All India Congress Committee. In 1919, Nehru met M.K. Gandhi and began participating in the non-cooperation movement. Between 1919 and 1923 Nehru was arrested several times by the British Government for participating in several civil disobedience movements that were organized by Gandhi. In 1929, Nehru was elected president of the Indian National Congress.¹¹

Nehru's political thought was influenced by a myriad of intellectual orientations, including Gandhi, Marx, the Enlightenment tradition, and Vedic philosophy (specifically the monism of Advaita philosophy). Nehru primarily sought a democratic and 'scientific socialism' for an independent India. Unlike most Indian nationalists, Nehru hoped to avoid romanticizing India's past and he stated that he hoped to find a deeper meaning to India's historical evolution and to the vitality and resilience of Indian civilization which had survived through the centuries, despite of invasions and apparent declines.

Nehru's major works, ¹² written while in prison, reveal his formulations on the

¹¹Jawaharlal Nehru:An Anthology, Edited by Sarvepalli Gopal, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1983.

¹²"Glimpses of World History", "The Discovery of India", and "Autobiography".

interconnections between free humanity and socialism (which he sometimes used interchangeably with nationalism and democracy).

In this paper, I draw from some of Nehru's texts to document and present his key formulations on why it was necessary to identify India as a nation-state. Within this process of identification was the preliminary consensus between intellectuals, nationalist leaders and the general public, that foreign domination was illegal and needed to be eliminated. Furthermore, it was necessary for Nehru (and allied nationalists) to propose a nationalist ideology that took into account the material reality of domination, and documented the cultural history of India. The documentation of a cultural history was necessary to point out that an essential India does exist and will always exist. Once the nation was identified, it was also imperative for Nehru to establish a state apparatus and a potentially viable form of government (in an independent India), and thereby construct a viable nation-state.

Consequently, it was also necessary for Nehru to elaborate on the tools available to achieve freedom. It is here that Nehru elaborated on the concept of "revolution." He distinguished different forms and types of revolutions, and eventually selected one best for India. Moreover, Nehru discussed the concept of nationalism, and types of nationalisms, and proposed a theory of anti-colonialist and nationalism. The production of this theory is further explicated and discussed as Nehru's nationalist ideology of secular-socialism.

3. CENTRAL NEHRUVIAN CONCEPTUALIZATIONS

3.1 REVOLUTION

For Nehru, revolution and change were co-extensive and inevitable facts of history. Revolution was viewed as a natural and necessary symptom of the "national body politic."¹³ Furthermore, revolutions aim at the well being of the majority of the people and become a means to an end, which is social stability, security and human emancipation. Thus the preconditions and the driving force behind any revolutionary movement are discontent and dissatisfaction.

Revolution, Nehru noted, must be radical and thus, the liberation of India was not a reform movement, nor was it reactionary. Resistance against foreign rule is justified, necessary and unavoidable, he argued but revolution cannot stop there. The revolutionary process needed to continue after overthrowing the British, and here Nehru used revolution interchangeably with progress and change. Even after independence, Nehru proclaimed, "Remember this, we are still the children of the Indian Revolution", "...we have not ceased to be revolutionaries."¹⁴

The form of revolution Nehru called for was the Gandhian strategy of satyagraha. This strategy embodied the doctrines of non-cooperation (mass or individual civil disobedience) and non-violence. In following this path, Gandhi felt, communities are led to the "truth," which ultimately meant that the means collapsed with the ends. Gandhi stated "....an eye for an eye makes the whole world blind," which suggests that a movement that is grounded in peaceful strategies and moral

¹³ Sankar Ghose, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, Allied Publishers, Calcutta, 1984.

¹⁴ M.N. Das, *The Political Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru*, 45, The John Day Company, New York, 1961.

reasoning will lead to an ethical and peaceful society. This strategy is elaborated further in what Nehru referred to as 'his brand of nationalism.'

3.2 NATIONALISM

Nehru called for a nationalism that was grounded in liberal-socialist and secular values. Moreover, this form of nationalism was constituted by an understanding of history, culture and tradition; an attachment to a geographic region; solidarity among persons; collectivization against oppression; and collective freedom in the form of liberty and equality. "This nationalism aimed to identify itself with political democracy, laying stress on popular sovereignty, general will and national government."¹⁵ The framework of this understanding of nationalism was satyagraha.

According to Nehru, the world was divided into two vast camps, namely the imperialist and fascist on the one side, and the socialist and nationalist on the other. Indian nationalism was a form of socialism that stood opposed to imperialism, fascism, nazism and the evils of capitalism. "Fascism and imperialism thus stood out as the two faces of decaying capitalism, which were opposed by socialism in the West [namely the Soviets] and the rising nationalism in the east."¹⁶ Nationalism in the east was the "historical urge to freedom" and fascism\ nazism was "the last refuge of reaction"(Essays II, 70, Presidential address to National Congress, Lucknow, April, 1936) Although sometimes Nehru used nationalism and socialism interchangeably, he was critical of the totalitarian nature of Stalinism in the Soviet

¹⁵Ibid

¹⁶ Sankar Ghose, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, 305, Allied Publishers, Calcutta, 1984.

Union.

Nehru notes that although the British brought about political unity through regional domination of India, they were also instrumental in provoking forces to combat them (the British). These new forces, in the form of nationalist consciousness, sought to maintain geographical and political unity, and to gain freedom from British control. Additionally, Nehru posited that the British who created an empire (or Raj) founded on domination, had to deal with the crumbling and resistance of those very foundations. As far as Nehru was concerned, the British Government's divide and conquer policy was inherently paradoxical. The notion that foreign domination was unethical required the complementary notion of what was rightfully "India," or the nation-state. Nehru's next project was therefore to define a nation, a state, and a nation-state.

3.3 THE NATION

The central political objective of national consciousness was, for Nehru, the building of a nation-state, that would embrace all people, give everyone an equal right of citizenship irrespective of sex, language, religion, caste, wealth or education.

"Sometimes as I reached a gathering, a great roar of welcome would greet me: Bharat Mata Ki Jai--Victory to Mother India! I would ask them unexpectedly what they meant by that cry, who was this Bharat Mata, Mother India, whose victory they wanted? My question would amuse them and surprise them, and then, not knowing exactly what to answer, they would look at each other and at me. I persisted in my questioning. At last a vigorous Jat, wedded to the soil from immemorial generations, would say that it was the dharti, the good earth of India, that they meant. What earth? Their particular village patch, or all the patches in the district or province, or the whole of India? And so question and answer went on, till they would ask me impatiently to tell them all about it. I would endeavour to do so and explain that India was all this that they had thought, but it was so much more. The mountains and rivers of India, and the forests and the broad fields, which gave us food, were all dear to us, what counted ultimately were the people of

India, people like them and me, who were spread out all over this vast land. Bharat Mata, Mother India, was essentially these millions of people, and victory to her meant victory to these people. You are parts of this Bharat Mata, I told them, you are in a manner yourselves Bharat Mata, and as this idea slowly soaked into their brains, their eyes would light up as if they had made a great discovery"¹⁷

Although to many nationalists the "idea" of a Mother India carried utopian, dream-like, passionately real meaning, with Nehru it was more of the language of politics. A political slogan whereby he and "they" could collectivize and debate at meetings. The nation was the whole people, and within this unity Nehru was acutely aware of the immense cultural separation between "people like them and me." Implicit in Nehru's notion of Bharat Mata was "unity through diversity," a political slogan still popular and interpreted in various ways today. A united India was the core of Nehru's cultural essentialism.

3.4 THE UNITY OF INDIA

The unity of India as a nation was Nehru's central concern toward the later part of the freedom movement. For Nehru the unity of India was a synthesis of an intellectual conception as well as an emotional experience. He further felt that although under varying historical phases India was politically divided, kings and emperors of the past had always sought to unite the geographical region of India. These attempts at unification succeeded to some extent, but the British had managed to gain the most political unity for a sustained period of history (between 150-200 years). This unity also entailed the synonymous development of transportation, communication and modern industry.

Nehru seemed to consistently posit an idealist vision of the historical idea or the

¹⁷ Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 48-9, John Day, New York, 1946.

spirit of India in which unity comprised a persistent essence or spirit of peoples, through historical phases. He further indicated that this contemporary unity "was a unity of a common subjection" which would give rise "to the unity of common nationalism." "It was not a superficial idea imposed from above, but a fundamental unity which had been the background of Indian life for thousands of years."¹⁸

Political and cultural unity for Nehru was closely bound with economic reforms. "But the real problems of India, as of the rest of the world are economic, and they are so interrelated that it is hardly possible to tackle them separately."¹⁹ Thus, for Nehru there would be no narrowly Muslim or Hindu nationalism or linguistic nationalism if the spirit of revolution continued. This spirit or force of revolution needed to attack the agricultural and land system, and unemployment, as well as synthesize the scientific application of industry with cooperative farming. Nehru's vision of a modern, free India was one of democratic socialism, where casteism and communalism needed to be mitigated effectively. Finally, Nehru felt that peaceful nationalisms would eventually lead to the possibility of internationalism.

"Some people talk of one nation one culture, one language. That cry reminds me of some of the Fascist and Nazi slogans of old. We are one nation of course, but try to regiment it in one way will mean discord and conflict and bitterness. It will put an end to the richness and variety of India and confine and limit the creative spirit and joy in life of our people" (Presidential Address, Indian National Congress, 58th Session, January 17th, 1953).

¹⁸ Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Unity of India*, 29, Lindsay Drummond, London, 1948.

¹⁹ *Ibid*

In order to realize Nehru's vision of an Indian nation the development of the infrastructure into a parliamentary republic was necessary. Such a republic would require an emphasis on centrist politics. The Indian parliament was thus constituted as a variant of the Westminster model.

3.5 STATE FORMATION

Nehru was a staunch advocate of a liberal state, specifically, the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy. Nehru's vision of parliamentary democracy or democratic socialism embodied characteristics such as centrism, secularism and federalism. The center allowed for differences and a certain degree of autonomy of local governments at the state level while at the same time the central government acted as the ultimate coordinator and unifier of the nation-state.

Moreover, in adhering to secularism, all religious groups in India (Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh, Christian, Jewish, etc.) were to be given equal recognition. "What it means is a state which honours all faiths equally and gives them equal opportunities; that, as a state, it does not allow itself to be attached to one faith or religion, which then becomes a state religion."²⁰ This, he felt, should not be much of a task for Indian society because India had a long history of religious tolerance. In maintaining a scientific temper, religion and politics needed to be placed in separate domains at a safe distance from each other.

The Nehruvian democratic state also aspired to maintain a balance of the "state versus society" relationship. In other words, Nehru deemed it absolutely essential to maintain an apolitical army, by allocating higher power to civilian over military

²⁰Nehru, Jawaharlal, in "Jawaharlal Nehru: An Anthology", edited by Sarvepalli Gopal, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1983.

factions in the government.

In the following section I analyze the adequacies and paradoxes of Nehru's philosophy and its relevance to contemporary culture. I argue that Nehru's key ideas embraced a notion of a transformed humanity, one that is initially driven by a spirit of common history and culture toward self-rule and social equality; however his vision, would ultimately lead to a collective world community fundamentally based on a concept of internationalism.

4. NEHRU'S CONCEPTS OF NATIONALISM: AN ANALYSIS OF IT'S STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS

Nehru's political and national philosophy tended to make paradoxical distinctions and equations between frequently used categories such as capitalism and socialism, or the nationalism of the east and the nationalism of the west, in its initial task of providing a national philosophy that gave coherence, solidarity, and direction to the masses and the Indian National Congress. Furthermore, in his pursuit of a "scientific temper" and the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy, Nehru seems to be ambiguous about a crucial dimension of a nation undergoing revolution, namely that of "culture".

In rejecting the profit hungry capitalism of the west, Nehru seems to ascribe to the east (specifically the Sub-Continent) a form of spiritual essentialism. He falls into an east-west or spiritual-material dualism. According to Nehru the British were politically more disciplined and organized, but morally and ethically lagging. Consequently, noted Nehru, Indians may have had some problems gaining materially but "in matters involving humanity and respect for the individual and group, India was far more advanced and had a higher civilization"²¹

Additionally, in his conception of nationalism of the east (i.e., revolutions that are anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist) and the nationalism of the west (socialism, or any anti-capitalist stance without the forms of Stalinist authoritarianism), Nehru fails to address the close connection between nationalism and capitalism. Nehru states that the two prominent examples of the evils of capitalism are nazism and fascism, capitalism thus cannot generate any other forms of nationalistic

²¹Nehru, Jawaharlal, "The Discovery of India", pg 196.

movements. The rise of capitalism has been in itself a crucial dynamic in the rise of the middle class, national bourgeoisie, and modern nation-states²². The rise of nationalism can be equated with the rise of print-capitalism, the standardization of calendrical time and the rise of vernacular languages. Benedict Anderson explicates the close interconnection between national self consciousness (for him the nation being an "imagined political community,"²³ where memberships are anonymous in character) and language. Print-language gave language fixity, where differences in dialects gave rise to 'languages of power' or standardized dialects that were closer to print languages. The spread of education thus resulted in an increase of print-literacy and bilingualism, which gave the colonial world linguistic access to alternative models of nationhood. The ideology of nationalism is closely intertwined with the rise of modern linguistic communities. Nehru recognizes the communicative role of the printing press in fueling movements, but fails to acknowledge the close and re-enforcing relationship of capitalism and modern nationalism.

Socialism for Nehru was a form of civilization and a scientific method of "social analysis." It was a scientific mode of social inquiry which focused attention on the economic domain which he viewed as the root of social and religious conflicts. Socialism also signified a transformed humanity. Nehru however, seemed

²²The pattern of state formation in Europe needs to be distinguished from state formation in India. State formation in India needs to be understood as being driven by an amalgam of the pre-British Mughal state, Gandhian theory and liberal theories of the state. Furthermore, Indian state formation and nation-building, under Nehru and the Congress Party, is for the most part characterized by class reconciliation [versus the specific class conflicts between feudal lords and the bourgeoisie, or the bourgeoisie and the proletariat].

²³Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London, 1983.

to inconsistently call for a synthesis between socialism and "enlightened capitalism," in order to create a democratic socialism. A weaknesses in this formulation of socialism is his lack of attention to labour or social labour. Nehru's concepts could consequently be viewed as individualistic and anti-agricultural, considering that the majority of the population was employed in agricultural labour.

Nehru's ambivalence to capitalism was characterized by an underlying notion of a probable mixed economy (e.g., socialist and capitalistic institutions, with primary power in post-British India vested in state run institutions rather than the private sector). For Nehru, the state would be the principal actor controlling the excesses of private capital. In its initial formulations, such a relationship [private-public sectors] was deemed acceptable to most industrialists because it provided for laws protecting domestic industries. The monopoly of the state and its possible evils in India were never addressed by Nehru. The parallels between a capitalist mode of production and a mixed economy is significant. Nehru's democratic socialism could thus be viewed as a variant of the capitalist mode of production.

Nehru felt that there was never any consistent form of centralized states in the subcontinent.²⁴ Therefore, the success of a liberal state in a united India depended on a rational reconciliation of linguistic, ethnic, religious and regional identities. The crucial binding element for this process was industrialization, the growth of a scientific community and economic interdependence among regional groups. Nehru perceived this economic and political networking as strengthening national integration. Additionally, Nehru would refer to the "mind of India," whereby

²⁴There is archaeological and historical speculation that states that, forms of centralized governments have existed during different phases of Subcontinental history. For example, the cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa [Indus Valley Civilization, 2300 BC], or during the Mughal Empire [15th century, AD].

"some kind of a dream of unity has occupied the mind of India since the dawn of civilization."²⁵ However, India's "coma-like" state or "mental stupor," can be revitalized by "modern consciousness".²⁶ Such a "modern consciousness" was, for Nehru inherently paradoxical because its primary driving force was the influence of British culture, capitalism and political policies. On the one hand, this dynamic consciousness can reject stagnation and induce change, but on the other hand, it destroyed the local agrarian system with the introduction of private property.

Within the paradigm of progress and industrialization, Nehru seemed to leave out an important element, that of culture. Nehru seemed to have "accepted the orientalist view that the traditional culture was ill-suited to modern India and best left alone to die an inevitable historical death".²⁷ As far as Nehru was concerned, the "spirit of science" was necessary to remove the political and cultural decline of India. The period of decline for the Indian civilization was inevitable for Nehru, because "there are repeatedly periods of decay and disruption in the life of every civilization."²⁸ According to Nehru, throughout history India had always rejuvenated itself through several nationalist movements,²⁹ and Swaraj (self-rule) would certainly do the same.

²⁵Nehru, Jawaharlal, "Discovery of India", pg 31.

²⁶Ibid, pg 23.

²⁷Bikhu Parekh, "Nehru and the National Philosophy of India", Economic and Political Weekly, pg 35, January 5-12, 1991.

²⁸Nehru, Jawaharlal, "The Discovery of India", pg125.

²⁹Nehru distinguishes these movements as being primarily religious in nature, such as hindu revivalism of the "Golden Age" of the Gupta Kings. Nehru's maintains that nationalism of the congress was in no manner religious, cult-like, reactionary or genetic [Nazism].

An integral aspect of culture and the ideological domain is education. Nehru's emphasis on education was at the university level, whereby scholarship was an instrument of producing "trained manpower," rather than an interactional, dynamic, and revolutionary activity in relation to political culture and nation-building. Thus, education was primarily viewed by Nehru as being in the domain of the development of "scientific temper" and technology. The issue of primary and secondary education was given little attention and the colonial structure of the system was never questioned. Schools included (and still do) private, public, convent-run, secular, vernacular or 'English-medium.' By and large, the English-medium and convent-run are considered most prestigious to this day. Moreover, school curricula continue to follow a primarily British mode of testing. To add to the lack of any educational policy, Nehru seemed ambiguous regarding a definite linguistic policy concerning education.

Although Nehru was adroit with his political language in addressing the realities of different classes, his elitism is explicit when he refers to the knowledge of peasants. For the rural audience, which was the majority of the sub-continent, he deemed it necessary to draw from mythical references in Indian history (e.g., the notion of a King Bharat from the manuscripts of the Rig Veda, 500-1000 BC). Bharat Mata, or Mother India, was initially clearly an important political slogan for the elite lead Indian National Congress in organizing the masses. Nehru himself admits that it was Gandhi's entry into the politics of the Indian National Congress that enabled the freedom movement to unite the masses with the founding members of the Indian National Congress. Nehru refers to Gandhi as the key mobilizer and instigator of the psychological domain of the anti-colonialist movement among Indians of all classes, religions, genders and ethnicities.

Finally, I would like to address Nehru's thoughts on parliamentary democracy. Nehru preferred to adopt the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy for independent India. He felt that this was one way in which the communal and regional interests could be integrated. Such a model of government involved a federal and centrist administration, with an autonomous center (New Delhi) and a relatively autonomous regional states. It is not clear, however, whether Nehru questioned the adequacies of the Westminster model for Indian conditions, or considered other alternatives like other leaders such as Gandhi, Vivekananda, M.N. Roy, Sardar Patel or Aurobindo.³⁰ In the case of Kashmir, the notion of a parliamentary democracy is currently being primarily challenged by the model of an Islamic state.

In the following section I address the problem "in and of" Kashmir, as colonial and post-colonial predicaments. During the time of independence and partition, as well as during the British Raj, the princely states of Jammu and Kashmir plagued British administrators and Indian nationalists. I argue that although Nehru and his supporters managed to assimilate Kashmir into the Indian Union, the economic, cultural and political ramifications have affected several factions in India.

³⁰The alternatives to Nehru's model of the state were the Gandhian State, the Hindu State, the Islamic State (which at that point in history resulted in Pakistan), and a highly authoritarian state. The strongest contenders to the Nehruvian model were Subhash Chandra Bose and Sardar Patel. Both advocated a highly authoritarian state. Bose felt that "....Hitler and Mussolini represented the wave of the future....," and that India and Japan should collaborate in this venture. Although he formed a government in exile in Japan, with German and Japanese support during the early forties, he died in 1945. Although Patel initially had advocated an authoritarian Hindu state, he too followed Gandhi and Nehru. Patel died in 1950, thus eliminating any major threat to Nehru for the next 17 years.

5. THE PROBLEM IN AND OF KASHMIR

Ever since India and Pakistan gained independence in 1947, the question of Kashmir has plagued India-Pakistan relations. The constant border uprisings have attracted the attention of nations such as China, the former Soviet Union, and the United States. Although the focus of the superpowers on Kashmir at one point "sometimes stood as a surrogate for larger global interests," the shift in superpower relations has shifted attention from Kashmir over other global conflicts.³¹

"The Kashmir conflict is rooted in the colonial history of the Sub-continent."³² At the dawn of independence, prior to British withdrawal, there existed two major factions of nationalist political leadership. The Indian National Congress, lead by Jawaharlal Nehru, espoused a democratic and secular State. The Muslim League, lead by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, felt that it was necessary to have separate Muslim and Hindu States. The Indian National Congress and Nehru contended that British India with its diverse religious, ethnic, and linguistic groups could "coexist only under aegis of a strong secular state."³³ The Muslim League claimed that Muslim and Hindu histories and customs were distinct and needed to be maintained separately in divided nation-states. Further, Jinnah felt that a predominantly Hindu India (State) would discriminate against the Muslim minorities.

Debates between the Muslim League, the Indian National Congress, and the departing British Government, finally led to a complicated and hurried decision. The Muslim majority States (which included the division of Punjab in the west and

³¹Ganguly, Sumit, "Avoiding War In Kashmir", pg 57, Foreign Affairs, Winter, 1990.

³²Ibid

³³Ibid

Bengal in the east) became Pakistan (i.e. West Pakistan and East Pakistan), the states with a high Hindu population became India. Further tenacious problems of the princely states lay ahead, however several princely states (of the total 565 princely states) had visions of independence following British decolonization. Lord Mountbatten, however, under pressure from Nehru, gave the princely states an ultimatum to either join India or Pakistan.

Under the rule of Maharaja Hari Singh, Kashmir, was among the several princely states that sought independence. Nonetheless, unlike other states, Kashmir had a different religious demography. Although Kashmir was under a Hindu monarch, its population was significantly Muslim. The situation was further complicated by the existence of a secular and democratic movement led by Sheik Mohammed Abdullah (a Muslim). Sheik Mohammed Abdullah's party, the Kashmir National Conference, was a popular movement in the valley.³⁴

In the midst of these debates, the western border of Kashmir was attacked by Pakistani troops disguised as tribespeople (who joined local Pathan tribespeople). As a result of this attack, the wavering Maharaja asked for India's assistance, and in return promptly acceded to the Indian Union. Nehru's intervention was followed by the 1947 India-Pakistan War.

The 1947 War resulted in the Pakistani occupation of the north-west portion of Kashmir (prior to the Indian military stopping the Pakistani advance); the north-west portion of Kashmir was named Azad ("Free") Kashmir; and finally a United Nation (U.N.) ceasefire was in effect by January 1st, 1949. Pakistani 'occupied' Kashmir was provisionally integrated into the Pakistani State and Kashmir was

³⁴Josef Korbel, *Danger in Kashmir*, 89, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1966.

given a "special status (in the Indian Union) under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. Among other matters it allows only native Kashmiris to own immovable property." ³⁵

By the early 1950s, India's administration expanded over Kashmir, despite unresolved dialogues (concerning the plebiscite) with the United Nations. In 1951, the Kashmir National conference (under Sheikh Abdullah) gained an overwhelming victory in the local elections. By 1953, however, conflicts between Abdullah and one of his lieutenants [Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed] increased, coupled by Abdullah's conflict with the Central Government. Abdullah's conflict with the Center (New Delhi) involved problems with resource allocations (i.e., funds allocated by the Central government to local governments) to Kashmir as well as some controversial remarks made by Abdullah regarding Kashmir's position in relation to the Indian Union. These conflicts led to the imprisonment of Abdullah, a movement piloted by Bakshi Mohammed (who was also backed by the Center). Clearly these developments were viewed by the Pakistani Government as the possibility of a pro-Pakistani sentiment in Kashmir.

Meanwhile in Pakistan, the military ruler, President Mohammed Ayub Khan, along with a rising young politician Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (the father of Benazir Bhutto), began re-evaluating the United Nation resolution concerning Kashmir. This re-evaluation involved testing the Indian military response. In 1965 Pakistan attacked the area of the Rann of Kutch (Western Gujerat), but by referring the issue to the International Court of Justice, India achieved a ceasefire. Following this incident, the theft of the Hazaratbal (a sacred Muslim relic) led to riots in Kashmir.

³⁵Sumit Ganguly, *Avoiding War in Kashmir*, 59, *Foreign Affairs*, Winter, 1990.

These developments provided an avenue for the Pakistani attack on Kashmir in September, 1965. However, this war ended in a few weeks "under a considerable pressure from the international community, including a U.S. arms embargo on the warring parties..".³⁶ Finally, in 1969, Ayub was overthrown by a military coup.

Peaceful relations did not last long, and in 1971, another war between Pakistan and India erupted. This war was fought on the western part of Pakistan (directly in relation to Kashmir) and on the eastern part of Pakistan (which seceded from Pakistan to form independent Bangladesh). Kashmir received relatively less attention during this war.

On July 2nd, 1972, the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Indira Gandhi, met at Simla (India) to sign a crucial treaty regarding Kashmir. The agreement stated that "the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them".³⁷ As historical events since 1971 indicate, however, the interpretations made by the two countries clearly differ. India deemed it unnecessary to involve external agents and preferred to avoid any internationalization of the Kashmir issues, whereas Pakistan claimed that international attention would hasten the process of legitimating Azad Kashmir.

³⁶Ibid

³⁷Percival Spear, *The Oxford History of Modern India:1740-1975*, 339, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1988.

6. KASHMIR TODAY

In 1989, uprisings in Kashmir were directly related to a wave of 'ethnolinguistic' and ethnic sub-nationalism that covered the whole of India. The first such wave of 'ethnolinguistic' sub-nationalism occurred in the 1950s concerning the linguistic divisions of the states of India. The latest wave of sub-nationalism was preconditioned by the success of India's "positive discrimination" or affirmative action policies.³⁸ The affirmative action policies facilitated the entry of India's minority groups (linguistic, caste, and religious) to the realm of politics, employment, and education. This further contributed to increased interactions, often violent, between Muslims (minorities) and Hindus in northwest India. Additionally, Kashmir's domestic problems have been aggravated due to the dubious politics the dominant Congress(I) party (under the leadership of Indira Gandhi and later, her son Rajiv Gandhi). In order to create larger constituent support in certain states, the Congress(I) "forged dubious alliances" with local parties. This included unfair electoral procedures in local elections. Clearly these actions blatantly insulted the democratic procedures set up by the Indian National Congress, and impeded any avenues for democratic protests.

In 1986, under the Rajiv Gandhi government, such a dubious alliance was struck by the Congress(I) and the Kashmir National Conference (under the leadership of Farooq Abdullah, the son of Sheik Abdullah). "The Kashmir elections of 1987 were marked by chicanery and deceit on a scale not witnessed in recent years in India".³⁹

³⁸The Telegraph, Calcutta, 13th October, 1990.

³⁹Ganguly, Sumit, "Avoiding War in Kashmir", Foreign Affairs, pg 63, Winter, 1990.

The repression of democratic forces, corrupt electoral procedures, economic underdevelopment, high unemployment rates, and finally religious and ethnic tensions, have systematically led to militant uprisings in Kashmir. There are three primary groups in Kashmir that are actively involved in such uprisings, and within these groups are several sub-factions. First is the explicitly pro-Pakistani group, which is comprised of Muslim fundamentalists with links to the fundamentalist Pakistani Party (Jammait-i-Islami). Groups associated with this orientation are: the Muslim Students Federation, Islami-Jammiat-Tulba, and the Hezb-ul-Mujahideen. Second is the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) (which is the oldest secessionist group, established in 1965). Along with the JKLF are sub groups such as the Kashmir Students Liberation Front, Mahaz-i-Azadi, and the Kashmir Mujahideen Liberation Front. The JKLF want an independent state of Kashmir. And finally, there is the Jammu and Kashmir People's League which is explicitly pro-Pakistani.⁴⁰

Membership in these groups have been estimated conservatively at 5000, primarily comprising of young and college educated people. However, although these groups have been successful in preventing the existence of a cohesive centralized governing body in the Kashmir valley, they too have lacked cohesion, which may be attributed to ideological differences and conflicts between group leaders.

The overall escalation of uprisings in Kashmir has led the Indian Government to make accusations against the Pakistani Government. For example, Pakistan has been accused of providing military and financial support; supporting camps in Azad

⁴⁰Ibid

Kashmir; and actively seeking the help of neighboring Arab nations. India has further reason to believe that a fundamentalist group (Hezb-i-Islami) in Afghanistan, led by Gulbudin Hekmatyar, is providing aid to the uprisings. This connection with Afghanistan is primarily due to encouragement of the Pakistan Internal Agency and Afghani dissatisfaction with India's Afghan policy. In addition, all Pakistani political leaders have always included in their electoral speeches a historical claim to Kashmir. "After all this is one issue that unites the Pakistani people by evoking memories about Pakistan's troubled relations with her principal adversary, India".⁴¹

The situation in Jammu and Kashmir represents the historical development of ideologies and material relations that were repressed and subjugated at one point in history, but grew in force as an anti-Nehruvian ideology. The cultural construction of the "Kashmiri" involves the rejection of what it means to be an Indian (Bharatiya) and what constitutes Bharat Mata. Groups identify themselves either as members of a "Free Kashmir" that is, independent of India or Pakistan, or as pro-Pakistani. The identification of being Kashmiri is based on being Muslim and a defender of an Islamic state. The Islamic state would be completely oppositional to Nehru's secular-democracy. Therefore, as far as proponents for "Azad Kashmir" (Free Kashmir) are concerned "a particular national ideology requires an independent state or autonomous territory for its realization."⁴²

⁴¹Ibid

⁴²Fox, Richard, ed., *Nationalist Ideologies and the Production of National Cultures*, AES Monograph Series, Number 2, 1990.

7. CONCLUSION

According to Ernest Gellner, prior to the 19th century the word "nacion" meant "...the aggregate of the inhabitants of a province, a country or a kingdom"⁴³ and sometimes a foreigner. The modern concept of nation required a connection of a body of citizens with its political organization, the state. This state linked the nation to a specific geographic region. The process of this linkage entailed the development of vernacular languages, print media, and a cultural elite, that encouraged the transmission of cultural histories of the nation. In addition, the widely held concept of the nation-state in Europe "...implied national economy and its systematic fostering by the state, which in the 19th century meant protectionism."⁴⁴ Bourgeoise-liberal ideology in 19th century Europe identified three features of an authentic nation. First, the nation-state was seen as the logical evolution of the family and the assimilation of small communities. Second, this principle of progressivism involved territorial expansion and national unification. This process of expansion and consolidation provided the nation-state with the military capabilities for further conquests.

Nationalist ideologies in the 'third world' were propounded primarily by an elite group that identified the nation. An interconnected event was the development of vernacular languages and the print media. Like their European counterparts, the elite leaders of 'third world' nations drew from somewhat similar conceptions of the nation-state. The Indian nation-state was thereby characterized by a process of

⁴³Gellner, Ernest, Nations and Nationalisms, pg 1, 1983.

⁴⁴Hobsbawm, Eric, "Nations and Nationalism since 1780", pg 29.

unification of geographical regions and citizens, but it had the added agenda of national liberation.

Two forms of nationalist ideologies within the Indian sub-continent have been discussed and historically located in this paper. First, a 'secular' and unifying nationalism of Nehru (and his supporters in the Indian National congress) was primarily fueled by the need to overthrow colonial domination, and attain political emancipation and unification of communities of differing religions, ethnicity, language and socio-economic affiliations.

The second form of nationalist ideology focuses on combatting a national culture established by a 'secular' national liberation ideology; it is characterized by further religious and socio-economic divisiveness. This movement primarily draws most of its mass support from disgruntled, educated, and unemployed youths who direct their dissatisfaction at the Indian government, which has failed to meet the democratic-secular standards of the Nehruvian nation-state. Furthermore, this form of nationalism is the kind of reaction that is unhappy with the legacy of anti-colonial nationalism and the hegemony of the post-colonial state, and that several nation-states of the third world face today.

Nehru's national philosophy entailed defining a nation, "India," in terms of a cultural history. The nation needed to be linked with a political state, which adopted a version of the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy. To be successful, the Indian nation-state required the assimilation of communities differing in language, religion, class, caste, and ethnicity. The Nehruvian 'secular' ideology was a crucial constitutive factor.

The national ideology of the proponents of "Azad Kashmir" is also rooted in the colonial history of the Raj and the Indian sub-continent. The political manoeuvring

between leaders of the Kashmiri princely state, Indian Government and the Pakistani Government, however, ultimately paved the way for accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union. This process, built on unstable foundations, has produced uprisings and skirmishes regarding linguistic issues emerging from the 1950s, culminating in an explosive contemporary situation. Undemocratic actions of the Indian government have systematically lead up to the reactionary movement of "Azad Kashmir". This ideology posits an "Islamic" state for Kashmir. Moreover, the Azad nation is regarded as either free of India or Pakistan, or a part of Pakistan (which also is an "Islamic" state).

The fundamental violations of the Nehruvian standards of a socialist-secularism have led to several undemocratic measures by the Indian Government. These violations comprise both historical breaching of political processes as well as initial paradoxes of post-colonial nation-statehood. The central government has meddled with local governmental procedures and electoral processes to the point that the State resorts to authoritarian solutions. This includes the increasing infiltration of the military in the Valley to replace a growing corrupt police and paramilitary units. The central government, which has for the most part been the Congress Party, has maintained an inconsistent policy with the National Conference, from Sheik Abdullah to Farooq Abdullah. The Congress Party along with other parties who have occupied central power insist on using politically manipulative rhetoric such as blaming the Pakistanis or the Americans. Political slogans, along with the help of the media, charge the political climate with the ideology that the Indian government is doing its best to keep its enemies at bay. This is not to reject the possibility that either Pakistan or China may be involved in the issue concerning sovereignty of areas within Kashmir.

Another development that has occurred in the Indian political system is the growing fragmentation and personalized politics of the Congress Party. The simultaneous and mutually reinforcing concepts of national integration, democracy, and a unified Congress Party, were consistently inherent in the nationalist movement, particularly under the leadership of Nehru. Strained relations and conflicts began in 1969, under the leadership of Nehru's daughter - Indira Gandhi, when the Congress Party split off to a Congress(I) ("I" being for Indira). This is not to suggest that the supposed symbolic imagery of a unified Congress reflected a unified nation, rather, I argue that increasing political fragmentation and undemocratic procedures and the structural and ideological domains of culture mutually constitute one another.

Other fragmentary features that plague national culture stem from a lack of attention given to linguistic policies, the restructuring of the educational system and affirmative action policies. Also, the discrepancies resulting from a "mixed" economy produce and maintain inequities in both the state run and privately run sectors.

The nationalist ideology of Nehru and the Congress Party eventually constituted the national culture of independent India. This national culture like any other culture has been in constant flux. This flux can be linked to unresolved or ineffectively addressed historical tensions and contradictions. These paradoxes may range from an infrastructural apparatus of a 'mixed economy' to explicitly violent military advances. The Kashmir Valley is just one example of such historical tensions.

Potentially, the ideology of "Azad Kashmir" can expect to be confronted with similar problems. Initially, there is the conflict regarding whether to join Pakistan.

By joining Pakistan, "Azad Kashmir" will inherit existing and additional problems, such as the escalating factionalism within the Muslim community. Will Kashmiri Muslims or Kashmiris be treated democratically? Such dilemmas resulting from confrontations between a universal-unificatory nationalism for the 'common good', and specific-particularistic nationalisms, will inevitably plague such communities. This thesis leads me to ask other questions concerning the intertwined forces of social movements. For example, can uprisings even begin addressing issues pertaining to male supremacy in Kashmir and the rest of India?

Finally, it is necessary to explore the significance of the "nation" and "nationalism," in an increasingly transnational world. How viable can these notions be in a transnational climate with ever increasing divisive categories? Concepts of nationalism that rejected colonial administrations implicitly called for a form of internationalism, and paralleled 18th century notions of an expansive national economy. Nationalism, "....is no longer, as it were, a global political programme....,"⁴⁵ and has to take into consideration broader international and domestic divisive pressures. It is here that the issue of cultural essentialism is relevant. I suggest that one encounters different forms of essentialism. The type of essentialism that claims a narrow identity politics based on local blood, genes or behavioural traits is what Nehru regards as dangerous. However, an identity politics that does not fall into such narrowness and takes into account political and historical location, needs to be taken seriously. The identity politics of Nehruvian nationalism considered only a few factors, limited to being elite, male and Indian. Although the identity politics of Azad Kashmir, limitedly addresses economic

⁴⁵Hobsbawm, E. J., "Nations and Nationalism since 1780", pg 181.

inequalities, it oscillates between narrow racial and religious ideologies. As a result, both forms of nationalist ideologies are informed by a restricted interests. These restrictions must be initially widened by incorporating pluralist interests such as: the politics of scarcity, anti-patriarchal politics, and ultimately an understanding of India's geopolitical location.

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