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## FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN NATIONALISM (SECOND QUARTER OF THE XIX – FIRST HALF OF THE XX CENTURY)

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### Abstract

*Indian nationalism can trace roots to pre-colonial India, but was fully developed during the Indian independence movement which campaigned for independence from British rule. Indian nationalism quickly rose to popularity in India through these united anti-colonial coalitions and movements.*

*The paper studies the process of formation of Indian nationalism during the colonial period, the ideological development, forms of expression and institutionalization of Indian nationalism in the second quarter of the 19th century. - the first half of the 20th century.*

*Thus, this paper divides into 4 main parts: 1. Overview of the topic, 2. Research methodology and source base, 3. Author's comments on previous studies and 4. Findings of the study.*

**Keywords:** *Indian nationalism, formation, ideological development, forms of expression.*

### Introduction

Various issues of national-political development of the countries of the Afro-Asian area have been the object of increased attention in domestic and foreign humanities for more than half a century. Modern India is a single state solely as a foreign policy entity where its internal structure consists of a large number of regions. And each of them has a high degree of political independence and differs in many civilizational and cultural features.

Recently, the sovereign Indian nation has been demonstrating high rates of development, its importance in the modern system of

international relations is increasing every year. However, the rapid development of India not only does not solve the issues of internal national integration, but coexists with intensified disintegration and communalist tendencies that call into question the existence of a unified Indian state.

The emergence of nationalist ideology and the very concept of "nation," as in other countries, occurred in India in the modern era after the establishment of the British colonial system. The colonial period was the time when the foundations were created for the

formation of a “sovereign Indian nation” and the idea of its internal political, sociocultural and civilizational-historical unity was formed (along with the fact that many factors of decentralization also arose at this time). Therefore, the study of Indian anti-colonial nationalism as a specific political and sociocultural phenomenon, on the one hand, and as one of the manifestations of the general trends of the Modernity era, on the other, is of high significance for understanding many processes of the national and political development of India.

## 1. Overview of the topic

*The issue of the formation of nationalist anti-colonial ideology in the countries of the East has a rather long and complex history of study in foreign (i.e. Western and Indian) and domestic science.* Often this question became an integral part of research devoted to theoretical understanding of the history of Afro-Asian communities. The idea of the historical backwardness of societies designated as “Third World countries”, widespread until the 80s of the 20th century in foreign oriental studies, was reflected in the works of H. Kohn<sup>1</sup>, E. Kedourie<sup>2</sup>. This approach was subjected to significant revision after the publication of E. Said’s book “Orientalism”<sup>3</sup>. The resulting methodological direction began to be designated by the general name “postcolonial discourse” or “postcolonial theory.” It represents a certain type of interdisciplinary research in which the main focus is on the processes of formation and development of the identities of the colonizer and the colonized. The main provisions of postcolonial theory are most clearly presented in the studies of H. Bhabha<sup>4</sup> and G. Spivak<sup>5</sup>. The ways of representing colonial power and the associated processes of “imagining” Indian civilization in Western consciousness were considered in the works of R. Inden<sup>6</sup>, A. Sen<sup>7</sup>, A. Chatterjee<sup>8</sup>, and in the collections “Texts of Power. Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal,” ed. P. Chatterjee<sup>9</sup>, “The Immortal Western Civilization, the creation of the concept of Western civilization and its “Other”, edited by S. Federisi<sup>10</sup>.

The most successful attempt to date to study the issue of Indian nationalism is presented in the works of the Indian historian P. Chatterjee<sup>11</sup>.

The works of S. Kaviraj also played an important role in the development of this issue. The author presented his own view on the process of formation of the Indian nation and the modern state

of India, considering the phenomenon of Indian nationalism as one of the main components of Indian history and politics of the Modern era<sup>12</sup>.

*In domestic historiography, the question of the patterns of evolution of the countries of the East was one of the key issues.* The authors of the collective monograph “The Evolution of Eastern Societies: Synthesis of Traditional and Modern”<sup>13</sup> developed the concept of socio-historical synthesis as the basis for the socio-political development of colonial and post-colonial societies. Various aspects of this issue were considered by A.I. Levkovsky<sup>14</sup>, L.B. Alaev<sup>15</sup>, B.S. Erasov<sup>16</sup>, V.I. Pavlov<sup>17</sup>, K.Z. Ashrafyan<sup>18</sup>, G.I. Mirsky<sup>19</sup>, V.N. Nikiforov<sup>20</sup>, A.B. Zubov<sup>21</sup>, N.I. Conrad<sup>22</sup>.

*Within the framework of former Soviet historiography, the phenomenon denoted by the term “national liberation movement” was repeatedly studied, to which the works of A.N. Heifetz<sup>23</sup>, A.V. Raikov<sup>24</sup>, A.V. Kiva<sup>25</sup>, A.B. Belenky<sup>26</sup>.* A great contribution to the

<sup>12</sup> Kaviraj S. The imaginary institution of India: Politics and Ideas. New York, 2010; Kaviraj S. Trajectories of the Indian state: Politics and ideas. Orient Blackswan, 2010; Kaviraj S. The unhappy consciousness: Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and the formation of nationalist discourse in India. Oxford, 1995; Kaviraj S. Ideas of Freedom in Modern India. // The Idea of freedom in Asia and Africa. California, 2002. P. 97-143.

<sup>13</sup> Evolution of Eastern societies: synthesis of traditional and modern. M., 1984.

<sup>14</sup> Levkovsky A.I. Features of the development of capitalism in India. M., 1963; Levkovsky A.I. “Third World” in the modern world. M., 1971.

<sup>15</sup> Alaev L.B. Formational features of feudalism and the East // Peoples of Asia and Africa. 1987. No. 3. P. 78-90; Alaev L.B., Erasov B.S. Formation or civilization // Peoples of Asia and Africa. 1990. No. 3. P. 46-58.

<sup>16</sup> Erasov B.S. Culture, religion and civilization in the East. M., 1990.

<sup>17</sup> Pavlov V.I. On the stage-formational characteristics of eastern societies in modern times // Theoretical problems of the world-historical process. M., 1979. P. 173-329.

<sup>18</sup> Ashrafyan K.Z. Eastern feudalism: structural features. M., 1990.

<sup>19</sup> Mirsky G.I. “Third World”: society, government, army. M., 1976.

<sup>20</sup> Nikiforov V.N. East and world history. M., 1975.

<sup>21</sup> Zubov A.B. Parliamentary democracy and the political tradition of the East. M., 1990.

<sup>22</sup> Konrad N.I. West and East. M., 1972.

<sup>23</sup> Heifetz A.N. October and the national liberation movement of the peoples of the East. M., 1967. Goldberg N.M. Essays on the history of India. National liberation movement in modern times. M., 1965.

<sup>24</sup> Raikov A.V. Amritsar tragedy of 1919 and the liberation movement in India. M., 1985; Raikov A.V. Awakening of India. (activities of national revolutionary organizations in 1900-1918). M., 1968; Raikov A.V. National revolutionary organizations of India in the struggle for freedom 1905-1930; Raikov A.V. Awakening of India. M., 1968.

<sup>25</sup> Kiva A.V. National liberation movement: theory and practice. M., 1989.

<sup>26</sup> Belenky A.B. The international factor in the ideology of the national liberation movement. M., 1988.

<sup>1</sup> Kohn H. The idea of nationalism. New York, 2005.

<sup>2</sup> Kedourie E. Introduction // Nationalism in Asia and Africa. London, 1971. P. 1-153.

<sup>3</sup> Said E. Orientalism. New York, 1979.

<sup>4</sup> Bhabha H. The location of culture. New York, 1994.

<sup>5</sup> Spivak G. Can the subaltern speak? // Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture. Illinois, 1988. P. 271-313.

<sup>6</sup> Inden R. Imagining India. Oxford, 1990.

<sup>7</sup> Sen A. Indian tradition and western imagination. Cambridge, 1997.

<sup>8</sup> Chatterjee A. Representations of India 1740-1840. Creation of India in the Colonial Imagination. London, 1998.

<sup>9</sup> Texts of Power. Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal. Minneapolis, 1995.

<sup>10</sup> Enduring western civilization. The constriction of the concept of the Western civilization and its «Others». Westport, 1995.

<sup>11</sup> Chatterjee P. Nationalist thought and the colonial world. A derivative discourse. Minneapolis, 1993; Chatterjee P. Nation and its fragments. Colonial and postcolonial histories. Princeton, 1993.

study of the issue was made by A.A. Prazauskas<sup>27</sup>, who studied the various stages of the formation and development of Indian nationalism, its regional directions, their interaction, general logic and direction of evolution.

*In many post-Soviet Indological studies, the emphasis was on the internal features of Indian society.* In the publication "India: the country and its regions"<sup>28</sup>, ed. E.Yu. Vanina, Klyuev carefully developed the concept of regionalism as the basis for the historical development of India. More attention began to be paid to the influence of the religious factor on the development of socio-political thought in India, which was reflected in the works of B.I. Klyuev, collective monograph by A.G. Belsky<sup>29</sup> and D.E. Furman<sup>30</sup>, the collection "India: Religion in Politics and Social Consciousness", works by I.P. Glushkova<sup>31</sup>.

The work of E.Yu. Vanina<sup>32</sup>, published in 2007, was of great importance for the study of the issue, dedicated to the study of the concepts of the Indian past, presented by various ideologists of Indian nationalism.

## 2. Research methodology and source base

**Research methodology.** The main methodological principle of this research paper is the principle of historicism. The use of the historical-genetic method allows us to consider the process of origin and the main stages of the evolution of Indian nationalism in its dynamics. The comparative-historical approach allows us to identify the general and special in the conditions of the emergence and institutionalization of a complex of nationalist ideas among representatives of different trends of Indian nationalism. The method of historical comparison helps to clarify the direction of change and development of regional forms of nationalist ideology and practice.

**The source base for the study** is a wide range of materials related to the era under study. Among them are the works of Indian public figures, reformers, ideologists: R. Raya<sup>33</sup>, K.C. Sen<sup>34</sup>, G.L.

Derozio, D. Tagore, D. Saraswathy, S.A. Khan, S. Banerjee<sup>35</sup>, B. Chattopadhyay<sup>36</sup>, R. Bosh<sup>37</sup>, S. Vivekananda<sup>38</sup>, R. C. Dutt<sup>39</sup>, Dadabhai Naoroji<sup>40</sup>, M.G. Ranade<sup>41</sup>, R.G. Gokhale<sup>42</sup>, A. Ghosh<sup>43</sup>, B.G. Tilak<sup>44</sup>, L.L. Raya<sup>45</sup>, M. K. Gandhi<sup>46</sup>, J. Nehru<sup>47</sup>, S.Ch. Bose<sup>48</sup>, ...

Another group of sources are the program documents of political parties and socio-political organizations, primarily the Indian

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Northbrook, Viceroy & Governor-General of India in 1872. Allahabad, 1936; Sen Keshub Chunder. True Faith. Calcutta, 1957.

<sup>35</sup> Sources of Indian Tradition. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.

<sup>36</sup> Chatterjee Bankim Chandra. Sociological Essays; Utilitarianism and Positivism in Bengal. Calcutta, 1986. Chatterji Bankim Chandra. Essays and Letters. Calcutta, 1940.

<sup>37</sup> Text of the Prospectus of the Society for the Promotion of National Feeling among the Educated Natives of Bengal // Chatterjee G. Midnapore, the Forerunner of India's Freedom Struggle. Delhi, 1986. P. 225-233.

<sup>38</sup> The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda (9 Vols Set), Publisher: Advaita Ashrama, 2016.

<sup>39</sup> Dutt R.C. The economic history of India under early British rule. From the rise of the British power in 1757 to the accession of the Queen Victoria in 1837. London, 2013; Dutt R.Ch. The economic history of India in the Victorian Age. From the accession of the queen Victoria in 1837 to the commencement of the twentieth century. London, 2010.

<sup>40</sup> Essays, speeches, addresses and writings (on Indian politics) of the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji. Bombay, 2018; Dadabhai Naoroji. The European and Asiatic Races. Read before the Ethnological Society, March 27<sup>th</sup>, 1866. London, 2017; Dadabhai Naoroji. The manners and customs of the Parsees. A paper read before the Liverpool Philomathic Society, 13th March, 1861. Publisher: Ulan Press, 2012.

<sup>41</sup> Ranade M.G, Rise of Maratha Power and other essays. Bombay, 1961.

<sup>42</sup> Speeches and writings of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. London, 1966. Vol. II : Political; Political Thinkers of modern India. Delhi, 1992.

<sup>43</sup> The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo : in 37 vol. Pondicherry, 2002. Vol. 6-8.

<sup>44</sup> Tilak B.G. His writings and speeches. Publisher: Kessinger Publishing, 2009; Tilak B.G. Srimad Bhagavadgita Rahasya or Karma-Yoga-Sastra. Publisher: Gyan Publishing House, 2020;

<sup>45</sup> Raya L.L, Life and Work of Lal, Bal, and Pal: A Nation's Homage. Overseas Publishing House, 1962.

<sup>46</sup> Gandhi M.K. Indian Home Rule or Hind Swaraj. Ahmedabad, 1938; Gandhi M.K. India of My Dreams. Ahmedabad, 1960; The collected works of Mahatma Gandhi / Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India. New Delhi, 1979. Vol.15-99.

<sup>47</sup> Nehru J. Glimpses of World History. Publisher: Penguin Books, 2004; Nehru J. Discovery of India, Publisher: Penguin Random House, 2004; Important speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru. Being a collection of most significant speeches delivered by Jawaharlal Nehru from 1922 to 1945. Lahore, 1945.

<sup>48</sup> Bose S. C. Azad Hind. Writings and speeches of S. C. Bose, Publisher: Anthem Press, 2004; Bose S. C. Selected speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose. Publisher: Hassell Street Press, 2021. Narayan J. Socialism, Sarvodaya and democracy. Selected Works of Jayaprakash Narayan. Bombay. Asia Publishing House. 1964.

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<sup>27</sup> Prazauskas A.A. Ethnicity, politics and state in modern India. M., 1990. 17 India: country and regions. M., 2004.

<sup>28</sup> Klyuev B.I. Religion and Conflict in India. M., 2002; Klyuev B.I. Political Hinduism // Tree of Hinduism. M., 1999. pp. 452-469.

<sup>29</sup> Belsky A.G., Furman D.E. Sikhs and Hindus. Religion, politics, terrorism. M., 1992.

<sup>30</sup> India: religion in politics and public consciousness. M., 1991.

<sup>31</sup> Glushkova I.P. Transformation of tradition within a single sacred space // East. 1997. No. 3. P. 33-44; Glushkova I.P. Religious identity and the policy of national integration in India // Religion and conflict. M., 2007. P. 223-265; Glushkova I.P. Gods here and now: Hindu

<sup>32</sup> Vanina E.Yu. The past for the sake of the future. Indian nationalism and history (mid-19th – mid-20th centuries) // Nationalism in world history. M, 2007. pp. 486-505.

<sup>33</sup> The English works of Raja Rammohun Roy. Calcutta, 1991. Vol. 1-2; Roy Raja Rammohun. Selected Works. New Delhi, 1977.

<sup>34</sup> Sen Keshub Chunder. A Selection. Madras, 1979; Sen Keshub Chunder. Lectures in India. Calcutta, 1954; Sen Keshub Chunder. The New Samhita. Calcutta, 1956; Sen Keshub Chunder. Nine Letters on Educational. Measures to the Right Hon'ble Lord

National Congress<sup>49</sup>, as well as the earlier ones - the Society for Promoting the Acquisition of Basic Knowledge<sup>50</sup>, the Bombay Association and the Pune Sarvajanic Sabha<sup>51</sup>.

To study the socio-political thought of India, the artistic creativity of the ideologists of nationalism was used: B. Chattopadhyaya<sup>52</sup>, R. Tagore<sup>53</sup>, poets I. Gupta and M. Dutt<sup>54</sup>, G.L. Derozio<sup>55</sup>, G. Manmohan, M. Hasrati, Vallatola, B. Subramanya, G. Maithilisharan, D. Nanalala, C. Brijanarayana, S. Viswanantha, M. Tjhaverchanda, D. Nalinibali, D.P. Agarwala<sup>56</sup>.

Another group of sources includes materials on the preparation and conduct of uprisings and other political protests.

Materials from the British and colonial press, in particular the London Times, Bombay Times and The Times of India, were of great importance for the study.

The study also used legislation relating to the governance of India, the charter of the East India Company.

The last group of sources consists of statistical materials and official reference publications.

### 3. Author's comments on previous studies

3.1. The processes of formation of patriotic and early nationalist ideas had significant variations in various regional and ethno-religious communities of 19th century India. The general trend was the formation of two languages of Indian nationalism. A feature of the external language was the adaptation of the basic elements of Western political culture to justify the demands and requests put forward to the colonialists. The formation of the internal language was the result of the transformation carried out by modern consciousness of individual fragmentary, often elitists, elements of traditional Hindu/Indian culture into the egalitarian

<sup>49</sup> Indian National Congress. Containing an account of its full texts of all the Presidential addresses, reprint of all the Congress Resolutions, Extracts from all the Welcome Addresses, Notable Utterances; The Indian National Congress. 1920-1923. Being a collection of resolutions of the Congress and of the All India Congress Committee and of the Working Committee of the Congress from September 1920 to December 1923. Allahabad, 1924; Indian National Congress. March 1940 to September 1946. Being the Resolutions passed by the Congress, the All-India Congress Committee and the Congress Working Committee. Allahabad, 1946.

<sup>50</sup> Awakening in Bengal in Early Nineteenth Century: Selected documents. Calcutta, 1965.

<sup>51</sup> Source material for a history of the freedom movement in India (Collected from Bombay Government Records). Bombay, 1957. Vol. I: 1818-1885.

<sup>52</sup> Chatterji Bankimchandra. Anandamath or The sacred brotherhood. Oxford, 2005.

<sup>53</sup> The Complete Works of Rabindranath Tagore, General Press, 2017.

<sup>54</sup> Modern Bengali Poetry: Desire for Fire, Sinha Aerunava. (edited and trans.). Kolkata: BEE Books. 2021.

<sup>55</sup> Sources of Indian Tradition. New York, 1959.

<sup>56</sup> Ten Twentieth-century Indian Poets. Oxford India Paperbacks, Publisher: OUP India, 1990.

symbolism of an abstractly "imagined" community (nation).

- 3.2. The appearance of the Indian National Congress party was the result of a political compromise between the British government and part of the colonial elite - carriers of the external language of Indian nationalism. The compromise became possible thanks to the found "common language" between the colonizer and the colonized, despite their pursuit of different goals. In the period from 1885 until 1905, the ideology of the INC developed within the framework of the external language of Indian nationalism and was reduced to demands for expanded access of Indians to the system of colonial administration. At this stage, there was a deepening of the conceptual level of the argumentation system, built within the traditions of modern Western political rationalism and liberalism. The early leaders of the Congress laid the foundations of "civic" and "secular" nationalism.
- 3.3. Beginning in 1905, Indian oppositionists developed and intensified the concept and slogan of *swaraj*. The gradual introduction of this slogan into the official ideology of the INC testified to its beginning reorientation from the colonizers to the colonized, that is, "inside" Indian society.
- 3.4. Since 1918, the concept of Gandhism, designated as the ideology of "total nationalism," began to play a decisive role both within the INC and in the history of the liberation movement. Gandhism asserted the superiority of Indian civilization over Western civilization not only in the spiritual, but also in the political and economic spheres. Within the framework of Gandhi's concept, the "lexicon" of the internal language of Indian nationalism was replenished due to the sacralization of social and everyday symbols. The category of "spirituality" became key in his program for solving socio-economic issues and the future political development of India.
- 3.5. The concept of "civic nationalism," which began to actively penetrate anti-colonial ideology since 1929, was initially formed as the ideology of an independent state. This concept fully succeeded in challenging the legitimacy of the colonial power and establishing the status of India as a full-fledged subject of international relations. Formed within the framework of Nehruism, the idea of "unity in diversity" was internal in nature, since it was based on the cultural and historical characteristics of the Indian nation.

This study tries to comprehensively cover the features of the development of Indian nationalism of the colonial period as a special political and sociocultural phenomenon. The author made an attempt to move away from characterizing the main directions of Indian nationalism within the framework of the traditional/modern dichotomy and move to its definition within the framework of external/internal. The designation of various directions as the internal and external languages of Indian nationalism made it possible to consider this phenomenon as having a purely modern, but at the same time different from the Western origin.

## 4. Findings of the study

### 4.1. On the concept of Indian nationalism

The specificity of the phenomenon of “Indian nationalism” is that its study inevitably leads to the need for comparison with in general, various European analogues - in particular, with Western liberal nationalism.

According to a scheme that has been widespread for a long time in foreign historiography (adherents of which were E. Kedourie, H. Cohn, etc.), Eastern nationalism was born as a result of a complex of cultural inferiority of the elite of dependent countries. This elite tried to adjust their own cultural standards to the level of Western ones, while maintaining their own identity. From this, nationalism was defined exclusively as a subject of European import, which led to the judgment that in eastern countries it could only have a deliberately backward and imitative character.

For a long period, Russian historiography was dominated by V.I. Lenin introduced the concept of “nationalism of an oppressed nation” into scientific circulation. This approach emphasized the social nature of the phenomenon, depending on which the level of its progressiveness was determined. But in general, its basis was also the recognition of the catching-up nature of “Eastern nationalism”, conditioned by the idea of the universality of the world-historical process.

A milestone in the history of the study of nationalism was the publication of works by such researchers as B. Anderson, E. Gellner, E. Smith, E. Hobsbawm. Despite a number of significant disagreements, all scientists developed one key thesis, which was that nationalism and the concept of “nation” are exclusively a phenomenon of modernity and formed in the space of modern social consciousness.

But in the history of the study of “Eastern nationalism”, these works did not make a significant break. Each of the authors, one way or another, insisted on the universality of the nationalist idea, or on the “secondary” nature of its Asian version.

P. Chatterjee opposed both supporters of “imitation and backward” assessments of Eastern nationalism and B. Anderson. Objecting to the latter in terms of the fact that eastern countries are assigned a permanent role as consumers of intellectual products of the Western world, he raised the question of different “paths of imagination” of a nation. According to Chatterjee, the specificity of the “Indian path” of the formation of nationalism was that even before the birth of the INC political movement, it established itself in the domestic sphere. This was reflected in the fact that representatives of the colonial elite tacitly asserted their own sovereignty in spiritual and social matters.

The basic characterization of Indian colonial society as a dichotomy of external and internal proposed by Chatterjee was taken as one of the main methodological guidelines for this paper.

Another issue that needs to be examined is the socio-political context of the development of Indian nationalism, particularly in comparison with Western liberal nationalism. Both of these types of nationalist ideology had a common goal - the establishment of a new type of legitimacy of power. Western liberal nationalism achieved it through challenging the traditional type of legitimacy (dynastic), and Indian anti-colonial nationalism achieved it through challenging the modern type of legitimacy - colonial. The rationale for this type of legitimacy was the rule of colonial difference, based on racist assumptions that the Asian population was incapable of independent government. The colonial system was one of the attributes of the modern system of international

relations, which was approved, among other things, thanks to the development of Western liberal nationalism. In other words, in order to join modernity, Indian nationalists needed to challenge this very modernity.

The nature of “proto-nationalist” ties in pre-colonial Indian society should also be examined. The results of modern research allow us to conclude that the types of these connections differ in traditional Indian and European medieval societies. E. Hobsbawm identified the two most durable proto-nationalist ties of the Western Middle Ages - political and religious in the form of belonging to one state/dynasty. In traditional Indian society they were weakened. The results of research in modern Indological medieval studies show that the most durable form of identity was a sense of belonging to a particular region.

Thus, Indian nationalism faced two interrelated tasks - the establishment of India as a full-fledged subject of international relations through challenging colonial legitimacy and the formation of the idea (“imagination”) of a single Indian nation.

#### *4.2. Specifics of the emergence and development of early nationalism in Indian colonial society of the 19th and early 20th centuries (second quarter of the 19th century - 1905)*

This part examines the process of emergence and development of patriotic and nationalist ideas in the first two stages. The original “creator” and bearer of nationalist ideology was the new elite of colonial society. Indian nationalism from its inception was not homogeneous, but consisted of a number of trends that differed in content, symbolism used, methods of representation and the “audience” to which they were potentially directed.

In relation to the period from the second quarter of the 19th century before 1885, three main trends can be distinguished, to one degree or another characteristic of the development of Indian regions. These include the emergence and development of the external and internal languages of Indian nationalism, as well as the activation of anti-colonial sentiments based on proto-nationalist ties.

*From the second quarter of the 19th century.* Foundations of the phenomenon that we have designated as the external language of Indian nationalism began to form. The external language of Indian nationalism is understood as a set of symbols, concepts and intellectual traditions belonging to Western culture adapted by representatives of the Indian elite and used to justify requests and demands addressed to the colonialists. The formation of the foundations of an external language was manifested in the ideas of R. Rai, program documents of societies and associations that put forward recommendations and requests to the authorities, ranging from improving a number of economic conditions to expanding political rights (“Young Bengal”, etc.). The demands put forward were moderate, but were mostly based on rational criticism of colonial policies and Western political and legal theories.

One of the key characteristics of the external language of Indian nationalism was its appeal to the colonialist (and not to the native society), which laid the foundation for political dialogue with the colonial power.

During this period, the key issue of the entire nationalist discourse has already emerged, conventionally designated as the dilemma of the new elite between Westernism and originality. The convention of the designation is due to the fact that in relation to nationalism it is impossible to talk about Westernism in its pure form, i.e. the

desire for absolute copying of Western models, nor about pure originality, that is, the desire to preserve native culture without any changes. A significant simplification would be to reduce this situation to the ideological conflict characteristic of many Eastern European and Asian societies between various groups - supporters of Westernism, or "populism". Of course, in Indian society this situation manifested itself in cultural and everyday contradictions, when representatives of the intelligentsia often criticized each other for an overly Westernized way of life, or for not agreeing to live in accordance with the canons of Western "civilized" society. But this was only the surface level of manifestation of this dilemma. At a deeper level, it was expressed as a holistic internal issue of the nationalist idea and could not be reduced only to the struggle with an external opponent. This conflict was an internal feature of the concepts of Indian ideologists of nationalism. Each of them was not just a manifestation of this conflict, but rather one of the options for its resolution, which depended on the upbringing, education, intellectual search of the individual himself, as well as his individual experience of living in a colonial society.

One of the first manifestations of this dilemma was contained in the ideas that laid the foundations for the external language of Indian nationalism. In this form, it boiled down to an attempt to protect the interests of one's own society with the help of Western concepts, mainly liberal rationalism. This political practice did not imply copying Western concepts, but their use to protect their interests, and subsequently to defend the right of the Indian nation to have the status of a full subject of international relations.

*In the second half of the 19th century.* In Bengal, the foundations of an internal language of Indian nationalism were beginning to be laid. The internal language of Indian nationalism is understood as a set of elements of traditional culture, used by nationalist ideologists in a fundamentally different, compared to the traditional, understanding to designate the symbolism of a new type of community - the nation. The peculiarity of the internal language was its potential targeting of the native population, and its "incomprehensibility" for European colonialists, to whom it could seem to be nothing more than a manifestation of traditionalism or an archaic relic.

As a result of the transformation, a number of elements of traditional culture that previously had a narrow elite or religious meaning turned into symbols of the nation. It was through this symbolism that the image of an abstract community of people living in a certain territory and having a common history was subsequently formed ("imagined") in the space of public consciousness. In fact, one of the main purposes of this symbolism was to mark this territory and "create" this common history.

In B. Chattopadhyay's poem "Bande Materam", through the sacralization and feminization of the country's space and its nature, the image of the Motherland Goddess was created.

S. Vivekananda's concept of missionary nations was a response to the Western theory of political evolutionism and its Indian alternative. It was created through the transformation of the traditional Hindu concept of individual and caste dharma and aimed to challenge the rule of colonial difference through internal categories.

*The features of the emergence of patriotic ideas in regional and ethno-religious communities of North-West India.* The ethno-religious community of Parsis played a great role in the formation of the external language of Indian nationalism, as well as its

secular foundations, which quite early integrated into the processes caused by the British presence (business, education, etc.).

As in Bengal, the foundations of the external language of Indian nationalism were laid in the program documents of various societies (Bombay Association, Association of British India, etc.).

A significant complex of symbolism in the internal language of Indian nationalism was created in the last quarter of the 19th century in Maharashtra. B.G. Tilak was one of the initiators of the exaltation of the cult of Shivaji (who had previously been a figure of purely regional history).

The leader of the Arya Samaj society, D. Saraswati, turned Vedic Aryanism into one of the most powerful elements of nationalist symbolism, proclaiming the spread of Vedic culture as the sacred duty of every Aryan. Obvious is the absolutely modernizing nature of this statement, incompatible with traditional Hindu consciousness, which was able to perceive only a narrow layer of society (brahmins) as carriers of Vedic wisdom.

The activation of proto-nationalist categories was manifested during anti-colonial protests, which were more typical for the Muslim community of northwestern India.

During the Sepoy uprising of 1858-1859, the rebel leaders used two main symbols - Mughal power and religious identity in the form of fighting the "infidels". Neither these symbols nor the uprising itself had a significant impact on the ideology and practice of the anti-colonial movement, since they called for the restoration of the lost past.

*The development of nationalist ideology, associated with the creation of the Indian National Congress party in 1885.* In the period from 1885 to 1905, the ideology of the INC was formed primarily in terms of the external language of Indian nationalism.

In the ideas of Dadabhai Naoroji, G.K. Gokhale, M.G. Ranade reflected the reception of Western political theories, and partly Orientalist ideas about Indian history. They considered the establishment of British power in India to be an unconditional blessing and recognized its achievements (the introduction of a modern legal, judicial, educational system). The main demand was to expand the representation of the native population in the colonial authorities. One of the functions of the external language of Indian nationalism was a rational search for internal contradictions of colonial legitimacy and, more broadly, the European system of international law. Recognizing the basic liberal and democratic principles of the internal structure of modern Western states as absolute benefits, the congressists called on the colonialists to implement them at the level of the system of international relations. The element of criticism was proof that the political course pursued was far from the goal of domination declared by the colonialists, i.e. making Indians capable of self-government.

At that time, Indian political life represented an attempt at dialogue between a narrow group of local liberals and the colonial authorities and their disputes with representatives of more radical views. For the development of the liberation movement, it was necessary to expand the social base and the group of potential speakers, which could not be done without the use of the internal languages.

#### **4.3. The main directions and specifics of the evolution of Indian nationalism in the first half of the 20th century (1905-1947), is devoted to the analysis of the evolution**

of the external and internal languages of Indian nationalism during this period.

The crisis in the external language of Indian nationalism and Indian liberalism that emerged at this moment was its inability to provide an adequate response to the current situation and the lack of further development.

#### **4.3.1. *The role of the concept of swaraj in the formation of Indian nationalist doctrine***

During the movement against the partition of Bengal that began in 1905, a number of concepts of swaraj were actively used, which to one degree or another implied liberation from foreign power.

A. Ghosh presented the most radical understanding of swaraj, which implied liberation not only from the British Raj, but also from the influence of Western civilization.

However, the direct “locomotive” of the development of liberation ideology was the concept of swaraj by B.G. Tilak. Combining elements of both the internal and external language of Indian nationalism (with a predominance of the former), it occupied an “intermediate” position. The concept of swaraj as a religious duty, dharma, was combined with Tilak's understanding of it as a natural right given by birth (the latter was very close to the Western political tradition). This feature was also evident in the political rhetoric of the “home rule” movement, which made it possible to reach a temporary compromise with both the colonialists and the “moderates.”

#### **4.3.2. *The historical role of Gandhism in the formation of Indian nationalism***

The transformation of Gandhi's concept into the official ideology of the INC marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of anti-colonial doctrine.

The idea of Gandhism was the denial of all the achievements of Western countries, including their political and economic structure. Such an ideology of “total nationalism” was fundamentally new even for speakers of the internal language of Indian nationalism. Previously, many of its ideologists were inclined to recognize the West's superiority in political and economic achievements.

In the broadest sense, Gandhi recognized the need to implement his own “Indian path of economic and political development” (decentralization of the political and economic system, manual labor, etc.).

The internal language of Indian nationalism also underwent significant transformations within the framework of Gandhism. The sacralization of elements of everyday culture and their transformation simultaneously into religious and national symbols created a special type of political rhetoric. It made it possible to fulfill the key task of Gandhian ideology - the combination of spiritual, political, material and religious foundations while simultaneously criticizing the lack of spirituality and materiality of Western civilization. The novelty of this position is obvious in comparison with traditional Indian intellectual culture, within which such a combination would not be possible.

#### **4.3.3. *The specifics of the ideology of “civic nationalism” of J. Nehru.***

This concept contained many elements of Western political doctrines. The position of Nehruism was consolidated due to the fact that it was able to fully substantiate the status of India as a full-fledged subject of international relations and show the inadequacy

of the old system of international relations. This was significantly influenced by the events of the Second World War, and directly by the ideology of fascism. Drawing an analogy between Nazi ideas and the foundations of colonial policy, J. Nehru argued that the allied countries in relation to the colonial states were the creators of those principles that are today embodied in the ideology of fascist Germany.

Within the internal language of Indian nationalism, a universal symbolism capable of uniting the entire population has not been developed. Some of its elements quite successfully performed an integrating function, but at the same time they were disintegrating factors, since they could often be perceived as purely Hindu. This most acutely affected the issue of Hindu-Muslim unity, which was not exhausted by the notorious “two nations” theory.

Within the framework of the internal language of Indian nationalism, attempts have been made repeatedly to create a symbol of the Hindu-Muslim community, as well as interfaith and intercultural harmony of the population of the entire country. Nehruism proposed the concept of India as “unity in diversity”, which became a temporary solution to the issue. It relied on the “secular” version of the history of the “ancient Indian nation” created by J. Nehru, which, among other things, used a number of elements of the internal language of Indian nationalism. In essence, the concept of “unity in diversity” embodies Western principles of democracy and liberalism. But thanks to the neutral designation, it was not perceived as either a Hindu or a European construction. On the contrary, this interpretation was able to identify the pluralism of Indian society precisely as its distinctive characteristic from others, including Western societies.

## **Conclusions**

***One of the key characteristics of Indian nationalism was the conflict between "Westernism" and "originality", which should not be identified with the conflict between modernization and traditionalism.*** For a long time, in the humanities, only those examples that were close in their external form to Western ones were considered manifestations of modernization in Eastern societies. Any appeal to elements of one's own culture was regarded as a manifestation of traditionalism or the preservation of archaic remnants.

Recently, it has become an axiom that the emergence of the concept of “nation” and nationalism itself is a consequence of the emergence of a modern type of consciousness. From this point of view, the perception of anti-colonial ideology as a result of the conflict between modernization and traditionalism is a significant contradiction. This conflict was clearly expressed in Indian colonial society, but it did not play any significant role in the development of the nationalist idea.

***The emergence of nationalist ideology became possible thanks to the transformations taking place in the Indian social consciousness that were of a modern nature.***

*The first stage in the formation of Indian nationalism can be considered the period of time from the second quarter of the 19th century to 1885.*

During this period, the processes of emergence of two main forms of representation of Indian nationalism took place - its external and internal languages. Through the creation of religious reform and public organizations, the first models of institutionalization of anti-colonial ideology arose. Thanks to these organizations, the external

language of Indian nationalism began to enter into Indian political practice. The internal language was formed through fiction, as well as in the context of religious reform activities and ideology.

*The second period of development of Indian nationalism can be distinguished from 1885 to 1905.* This stage was associated with the creation and first years of functioning of the Indian National Congress party. The fundamental difference from the forms of institutionalization of the previous stage was that the INC was declared as a national, not a regional organization, and its ideological platform was based on a pan-Indian identity. The consistent use by the first leaders of the Congress in political practice and rhetoric of the categories of the external language of Indian nationalism made it possible to lay the foundations for its “secular” and “civil” variant.

*The third period of development of Indian nationalism can be designated from 1905 to 1917.* The beginning of this stage was marked by the crisis of the Congress as a political organization and its ideological platform. During this period, mass movements became the leading political force (first for the partition of Bengal, then for “home rule”). In the course of these movements, elements of the internal language of Indian nationalism are developed, and in a number of key concepts they are integrated with its external language.

*The fourth stage in the development of Indian nationalism took place from 1918 to 1929 and was associated with the development of the ideology of Gandhism.* During this period, the Congress again became a leading political force. During the period of Gandhi's leadership, the political rhetoric of the party was completely reoriented from the colonialists to the Indian population. Actions of civil disobedience are becoming major events in Indian political life. The rhetoric they used, based on the categories of the internal language of Indian nationalism, made it possible to expand the base of the liberation movement.

*The fifth stage of the development of Indian nationalism took place from 1929 to 1947, and was associated with its culmination point - the ideology of “civic nationalism” of J. Nehru.* Despite the fact that Nehruism failed to provide a sufficient ideological basis to preserve the unity of the country and neutralize separatist tendencies, it became the ideology of an independent state. At the conceptual, and ultimately at the institutional level, it established the country's status as a full-fledged subject of international relations and became the basis for the nation-state building of an independent India.

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