INTRODUCTION

The words ‘nation’ and ‘nationality’ are used with vagueness in popular language, although to understand their precise meaning is very important for the students of Political Science. The main reason for this confusion is that both the words are derived from the same Latin word ‘natio’ which implies birth or descent. Thus, they express the same etymological meaning.

Nation

Some people regard nation in a racial sense with an emphasis on the community of birth, race and language etc. They, therefore, regard a nation as people of the same stock. Thus, Burgess defines a nation as a “population of an ethnic unity inhabiting a territory of a geographical unit.” This implies that when some people of the same stock live together in a geographical area they form a nation. Leacock also admits the racial significance of a nation.

In most cases, however, this concept of nationhood is not found to be applicable. It is not possible to maintain purity of race in modern times. The system of migration in the present world has resulted in people in most countries to have mixed blood. Nevertheless, people in different states feel the sentiment of national unity and claim that they constitute separate nations. This has weakened the credibility of the racial concept of a nation.

In the present context, not the community or race, language or religion, but the sentiment of common consciousness or likemindedness is regarded as the basis of a nation. The community of race, religion and language helps in generating unity among people no doubt, but it is equally true that without such communities also a nation can grow. The Swiss people, for example, are a nation without community of language and religion. In fact, religion has ceased to occupy a very important place as a nation-building factor in the present context of the world.

Psychological and spiritual factors play an important part in welding people into a nation. Such feeling of nationhood develops from a common history of struggle against foreigners and the desire to live together. People with such psychological and spiritual ideas form a nation. Therefore, according to Dr. Garner, “A nation is a culturally homogeneous social group which is at once conscious and tenacious of its unity of psychic life and expression.”
According to Barker, the fact of living together in a particular geographical area is the most important condition of a nation. The people may come from different races and breeds, but they develop sympathy for each other from their long association as inhabitants of the same place. Their mutual sympathy may grow as a result of a common history of struggle, happiness or sorrow; a common tradition of language or religion and common culture. This must be supplemented with a common will to live together freely and independently and the power to exercise the right of political self-determination.

A nation has a political meaning which is distinct from a nationality. The theory of 'one nation one state' has made the political aspect of the nation more conspicuous. A nationality is transformed into a nation when it organises a state or at least cherishes a common will to live together in a state for the future.

Nationality

According to Lord Bryce, “A nationality is a population held together by certain ties, as for example, language and literature, ideas, customs and traditions in such a way as to feel itself a coherent unity distinct from other populations similarly held together by like ties of their own.” Mill also expresses the same opinion. According to him, a portion of mankind forms a nationality if the individuals feel united among themselves distinct from any other portion of mankind, co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people and desire to remain exclusively under government by themselves or a section of themselves.

Thus, nationality refers to a people having a common spiritual and psychological sentiment. Such sentiment grows out of commonness of birth, residence, language, religion, historical unity, traditions, culture, etc. When a portion of people feel themselves united and also feel that they are different and distinct from other similar groups, they form a nationality.

Nationality emphasises the commonness of birth and unity of language, race, religion, cultural heritage, customs and traditions etc. without reference to political unity. The people belonging to a nationality, according to Gilchrist, put more emphasis on similarities among themselves and their difference from other men. They also develop a social heritage, an art and a literature of their own distinct from those of others. There is much in common between nation and nationality and much confusion arises as a result. The distinguishing feature of a nationality is the absence of political ambition and stamp. A nationality transforms into a nation when it aspires to political self-determination or actually organises itself into a state.

Difference between Nation and Nationality

As mentioned above, the difference between nation and nationality is vague, but it is essential for students of political science to know the difference. According to modern ideas, a sovereign political organisation is the symbol of a nation, but a nationality does not have such an organisation. A nationality comprises of people bound together by a common religion, race, culture, history and ideology; it becomes a nation by getting a political organisation with the power of self-determination. In the words of Hayes, “A nationality by acquiring unity and sovereign independence becomes a nation.” The Jews, for example, formed a nationality, because they belonged to the same stock, they had a common religion and culture, a common history and a sentimental unity created through common sufferings and enjoyments. They developed into a nation when they got the right of self-determination by establishing a state of their own.
in Palestine. Sometime a nation may combine more nationalities than one. The Indian Nation, for instance, consists of the Hindu, the Muslim, and Sikh and the Anglo-Indian nationalities. Here the boundary of nation and nationality is the same because every nationality does not desire to form a state of its own and all of them aspire to live under the same political organisation.

**Difference between Nation and State**

People in general make no distinction between the state and the nation. For example, the term ‘nation’ used in the expression ‘Argentine Nation’ as part of the title of the Constitution of Argentina or in the expression ‘United Nations Organisation’ implying an organisation of the sovereign states means ‘state’. Here the terms ‘state’ and ‘nation’ are used to mean the same although the two are actually different. The principle of ‘one nation one state’, as advocated by President Woodrow Wilson of America and the application of the principle extensively after the post-World War I period have, in fact, made the state and nation almost synonymous; the theoretical difference between ‘nation’ and ‘state’ cannot however be altogether ignored.

A state is defined as ‘a people organised for law within a definite territory’; it is a combination of population, territory, government and sovereignty. But the mere combination of these elements cannot make a nation. The feeling of oneness among the people is of vital importance for a nation. It is for this reason that Austria-Hungary, before World War I, was one state but not one nation. The Austrians and the Hungarians were not united by sentiment of love and they had nothing except the political bond common among them; they were quite distinct from each other and were not even willing to live unitedly. In general, a nation becomes a state when it acquires sovereignty. In a single-nation state, therefore, the distinction between the state and the nation disappears. Sometimes a state may combine several nationalities to create a nation. The difference between the state and the nation becomes distinct when a nation either fails to have a state or is deprived of its statehood. Japan and Germany, for example, though lost their statehood after World War II, still continued to be nations. They ceased to be states because they lost their sovereignty and continued to be nations because the people in each country still aspired to live unitedly in the future and remained united by sentiment. In fact, subsequently, they were able to attain statehood again.

Statehood, moreover, is objective but nationhood is a subjective concept. Psychological unity based on commonness of religion, language, culture etc. is essential for creation of a nation. Sometimes, even without them or in spite of heterogeneity, a feeling of oneness may be generated among people who may constitute a nation. But statehood implies four tangible elements: population, territory, government and sovereignty. For this reason Russia under the Tsar was a state, because all the elements necessary for statehood were present there, but because of the absence of aspiration of the people to live under the Tsar, they did not constitute a nation at that time.

**PRINCIPLE OF ONE NATION, ONE STATE AND MULTINATION STATE**

A multination state consists of more than one nation capable of enjoying political freedom. Before World War I, most of the states of the World were multination states. The Russian,
German, Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires, for example, contained many nationalities desirous of political freedom, but their desire to live independently was ruthlessly suppressed by the sovereign power of each state. Again, when every distinct nationality is given the right of self-determination, a state comprises one nationality only or every nationality gets its independent government. This brings into existence single-nation states. The system of establishing such states is known as the 'One Nation, One State' principle. John Stuart Mill was an ardent supporter of the ideal of single-nation states. According to him, “It is in general a necessary condition of free institutions that the boundaries of governments should coincide in the main with those of nationalities.” In the modern time, President Woodrow Wilson of America advocated the application of this policy after World War I. As a result, new states like Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia etc. came into being. These replaced the old polynational states.

This principle has some merits, no doubt, but its application may lead to multiplication of the number of states and create a condition for breach of international peace. Hence, some thinkers do not support this principle. Lord Acton, for example, opines that a combination of different nations is as necessary a condition of civilised life as the combination of individuals to form a society.

Are We Indians a Nation?

On the plea that there exist religious, communal, linguistic and regional differences in India, many Western critics tend to say that Indians do not constitute a nation. Laying stress on the centrifugal forces, they point out that India is lacking in unity which is vital for a nation because Indian society is torn by disunity among people professing different religions, speaking different languages and living in different regions of the vast sub-continent.

The above ideas entertained by the Western critics are not acceptable. It is true that there exist diversities in India, but diversity does not mean disunity; rather, unity in the midst of diversity may be regarded as the basic feature of the composite culture of India. India has a long and chequered history of assimilating different races and people of different religions and culture into her multi-dimensional society. Even before independence, when Mr. Jinnah was advocating his theory of distinct and separate nationality for the Muslims, the existence of fundamental unity in India was admitted by the Simon Commission which remarked, “It would be a profound error to allow geographical divisions, or statistics of population, or complexities of religion, caste and language to belittle the significance of what is called the Indian National Movement.” It is true that the nation was divided on the basis of Jinnah’s two-nation theory and was a victory for the centrifugal forces. This was, however, the result of manipulations by the political leaders to serve their self-interest rather than the interest of the common people. This is proved by the fact that a majority of Indian Muslims opted to remain in India although some of them did migrate to Pakistan.

After independence, India has established the new republic on the basis of equality, liberty, fraternity and secularism. Independent India envisages a new social order in which Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, Assamese, Bengalees, Punjabis and Keralites may enjoy equal status with freedom of movement to, and freedom of residence in, any part of India with complete liberty to worship in whatever manner they choose. All citizens of India irrespective of race, religion, language, sex and place of birth have been given equality and
every one of them is determined to live with amity and work for the betterment of the state. If psychological and spiritual unity is considered important for nationhood, India must be called a nation because India has enough of it. Besides, the differences of religion have been losing ground along with the advancement of modern civilization. It may be expected that in future these diversities will be regarded as the different colours of India's multi-faceted culture instead of being considered as the causes of disunity. Independence has given India a sovereign status, which is one more important element of nationhood.

Lastly, the differences of language and religion etc. are present not only in India, these are found also in states like the U.S.A. and Switzerland. If, in spite of such differences, the Americans, or the Swiss can be recognized as a nation, there is no reason why the same status should be denied to the Indians.

ELEMENTS OF NATIONALITY
The forces which help in unity necessary for binding people together as a nation are termed as 'the elements of nationality'. There are many elements of a diverse nature. The presence of all of them is, however, not necessary at one time. Some of them are found to contribute to the process of moulding nationality at a certain stage or in case of certain people, while some others may be found playing an important part in certain other stages or in case of certain other people. The part played by such factors is elaborated below:

1. Community of Race
People who think that they belong to the same stock feel a unity among them. Such people generally like to live together under the same administrative set-up. This is a racial unity. In the modern world, of course, no race can claim purity of blood because every country has now become a union of different races. Moreover, in the modern age, a feeling of racial unity or unity of kinship has lost much of its former importance. For example, although the British and the Germans originally belonged to the same stock, they have formed distinct nationalities. In the U.S.A., on the other hand, there are people of different ethnic groups but as inhabitants of their state they are bound by ties of a nationality.

2. Common Residence
Geographical unity is also one of the factors of nationality. People who live together for a long time within a particular area, feel united because of their long association. The experiences of common pleasure and pain inspire them to live together for the future also. If a group of people is once inspired with the idea of living together, they are found to cherish the idea permanently. It is for this reason that the Jews did not forget their common identity, in spite of having spread out all over the world for centuries.

3. Common Language
Community of language is another factor of nationality. The people speaking the same language feel alike; unity of language helps establishment of common idea, tradition and culture. According to Fichte, a common language is a bond of unity. In the words of Boehm, "The concept of mother tongue has made language the source from which springs all intellectual and spiritual existence. The mother tongue represents the most suitable expression of spiritual individuality." A common language is, however, not an indispensable factor of nationality. For
example, the Gaelic and English speaking people together form the Scottish nationality, and a difference of language has not proved to be an obstacle in the way of unity among the scots.

4. **Common Culture and Tradition**
Culture and tradition are to a great extent dependent on language. People who speak the same language develop the same kind of literature and culture and feel alike. For example, people wearing the same kind of dress and observing the same festivals and adhering to the same traditions feel cultural homogeneity and develop spiritual unity which help the growth of nationality.

5. **Common Religion**
In primitive society, religion exerted significant influence in maintaining unity among the people. In those days, religion was inextricably interwoven with politics and it exerted influence on the state. Thus, it could aptly be considered as a force behind national unity. But, as a result of growth of the spirit of tolerance and rise of freedom of worship, religion has lost its former position in society as a dominating force in creating unity. There are examples of nationalities consisting of people professing different religions and forming part of a single state in the present world.

6. **Common History**
Historical unity based on certain important events of the past may be a useful instrument for generating a sense of unity among people. People who are aware that their ancestors were co-sufferers of common difficulties or partners of some powers or prestige, may feel alike and united. Such a feeling is an important element of nationality.

7. **Common Administration**
People who live under the same administrative set-up become partners in many things. As a result, they become sympathetic to one another. Foreign domination and dictatorial rule contribute substantially to the growth of national unity. History is full of instances of popular revolutions through which people irrespective of religious and linguistic differences, came together to overthrow the tyrants. Again, the foreign rule of the British in India generated so much unity among the people that such unity had never existed before the British rule.

8. **Common Interest**
People who have common interests feel close to each other. Common economic and defensive interests are very important factors in strengthening the bonds of unity. People are found to work unitedly, neglecting all differences among them for the safety of their economic interests and defence of their motherland.

9. **Common Political Aspirations**
The will to have their own state or to have autonomy in the matter of administration is a good tie, which binds people together in spite of many differences among them. The memory of political unity of the past and the aspiration for future political unity bring people closer and make them forget many of their differences. For instance, the people who migrated from various
countries of Europe and settled in America forgot their differences and brought into existence the strong American nation.

The above discussion shows that there are many factors which may play a part in moulding nationality, but none of them is absolutely essential; elements like common race, religion, residence or language have ceased to be important. Nationality in the present time is considered to be a spiritual ideal which the sociologists call 'Like-mindedness.'

RIGHTS OF NATIONALITY

1. Right of Self-determination
The right of self-determination is considered to be the most important right of every nationality. This refers to the inherent right of every nationality for complete independence or at least substantial autonomy in case it forms part of another nation in the same state. President Woodrow Wilson of the U.S.A. stressed the right of self-determination of every nationality. He said, "Self-determination is not a mere phrase; it is an impressive principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril."

After the First World War, this principle was applied to a considerable extent in Europe; but discrimination was made against the nationalities of Asia and Africa in this matter. After the Second World War, of course, the right of self-determination was conceded to some nationalities of these two continents also. The right of self-determination is not a rose without a thorn, and is also beset with many difficulties.

There are certain other rights of nationalities such as Right to Exist, Right to Language, Right to Local Laws and Customs, Right to Religion and Right to Legal and Political Equality.

2. Right to Exist
The right of a nationality to maintain its continued existence is known as the right to exist. This is as fundamental in the case of a nationality as the right to life is to an individual. A nationality's right to exist implies limitation on the state, since no state has the right to suppress the individuality of the nationalities which exist within its boundary.

3. Right to Language
This right implies that every nationality should have the freedom to speak its own language, to teach its language to the children, and to improve it and its literature. No big or powerful nationality should try to impose its language on the smaller or less powerful nationalities. Conversely, no nationality the population of which forms only a small portion of the total population of the state should claim to use its language as an official language of the state.

4. Right to Local Laws and Customs
People of a nationality may have allegiance to certain customs and laws of their own. They may mentally suffer if they are debarred from observing them. Hence, every nationality should have the right to preserve its local laws and customs, if they are not in conflict with the contemporary moral sense or prevailing laws of the state.
5. Right to Religion
The right to religion implies the right to worship and perform rites according to one's own belief, the right to propagate religion, the right to maintain religious institutions etc. No authority of the state should interfere with this right of a nationality.

6. Right to Legal and Political Equality
The right to legal and political equality is very essential for every nationality. This includes equality before the law and equal protection under the law. It also means absence of discrimination against any nationality in election of representatives and holding of public offices. If a nationality is deprived of these rights, it cannot contribute to improvements in the state.

MODEL QUESTIONS

Essay Type
1. Define 'Nation' and 'Nationality' and point out the difference between them.
2. Distinguish between (a) Nation and Nationality (b) Nation and state.
3. What is the essence of the principle of 'One nation, One state'? Do you think that every nation should have the right to constitute a state?
4. Do Indians constitute a nation?
5. Discuss the various elements of nationality.
6. What are the rights of nationalities?

Short Answer Type
1. What is a 'Nation'?
2. What is the difference between a State and a Nation?
3. Write short notes on: 'One nation, One state' policy; Right of self-determination; Right to local laws and customs of a nationality.
4. How does a common religion help the growth of a nationality?

Objective Type

Give very brief answers:
1. From which Latin word is the term 'nation' derived?
2. Who advocated the theory of 'One nation, One state' after the First World War?
3. Give an example of an element of nationality.
4. Give an example of a right of a nationality.