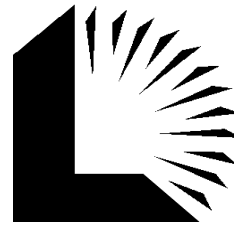


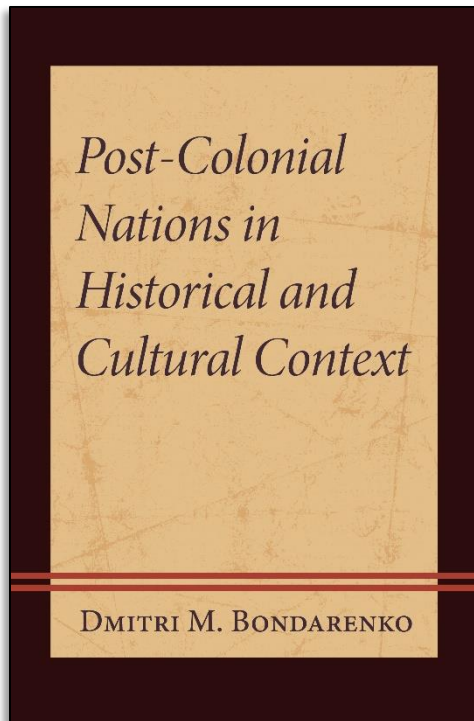
NEW FROM
LEXINGTON BOOKS



GET 30% OFF

POST-COLONIAL NATIONS IN HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

By **Dmitri M. Bondarenko**



REVIEWS

“A brilliant translation of an original book that will continue to provoke the set of initial conversations, while retaining the permanence of the arguments of the African nation state, and the applicability of notions on state, nation and culture. This is a gem.”— **Toyin Falola, Extraordinary Professor of Human Rights, The University of the Free State**

“In this ambitious book, Bondarenko masterfully draws on perspectives from anthropology, history, and political science to examine the ways that postcolonial states have attempted, in a remarkably short period of time, to become nations. Drawing on his field experience in three neighboring African countries, he deftly and insightfully analyzes how their different precolonial and colonial pasts along with the decisions of postcolonial political leaders have generated contrasting trajectories, some more successful than others, of nation building. This should be essential reading for scholars and students of the new nations of Asia and Africa.”— **Robert Launay, Northwestern University**

ABOUT THIS BOOK

Using historical and anthropological analysis, in *Post-Colonial Nations in Historical and Cultural Context*, Dmitri M. Bondarenko examines nation-building in Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia. He examines the nation and state as concepts and how these are changing globally, particularly in regard to the idea that the fundamental characteristic of a nation is a culturally homogeneous community. This feature became a cornerstone of the concept of the nation at its formation in the West by the end of the eighteenth century, but post-colonial migration flows from the Global South to the Global North are increasing multi-culturalism in the North. In contrast, liberated states of Asia and Africa have been multi-cultural from earlier on as they inherited the colonial borders in which typically many peoples were united. Throughout the book, Bondarenko argues that this history of multi-culturalism is an advantage to development in the Global South and that it's necessary to depart from the classical, Western concept of the nation to simultaneously support citizen unity while preserving cultural diversity.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dmitri M. Bondarenko is director of the International Center of Anthropology at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE University).

Hardback:	ISBN 978-1-66694-046-6	July 2023	Regular price: \$120.00, £92.00	After discount: \$84.00, £64.40
ebook:	ISBN 978-1-66694-047-3	July 2023	Regular price: \$45.00, £35.00	After discount: \$31.50, £24.50

*eBooks can only be ordered online.

Post-colonial Nations in Historical and Cultural Context

Post-colonial Nations in Historical and Cultural Context

Dmitri M. Bondarenko

LEXINGTON BOOKS

Lanham • Boulder • New York • London

Published by Lexington Books
An imprint of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.rowman.com
86-90 Paul Street, London EC2A 4NE

This book is a translation of *Постколониальные нации в историческом и культурном контексте* published by LRC Publishing in 2022.

Reprinted material from Bondarenko, Dmitri M. "Nation-Building in Post-Colonial States: Historical Past and Present-Day Realities," *Journal of Globalization Studies*, 2021, Vol. 12, Num. 1. Pp. 18–37, printed with permission.

Reprinted material from Bondarenko, Dmitri M. "Historical and Cultural Aspects of Nation-Building in Post-Colonial African States," *Herald of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 2022, Vol. 92 (1): 96–105, Springer Nature, reprinted with permission.

Copyright © 2023 by The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including information storage and retrieval systems, without written permission from the publisher, except by a reviewer who may quote passages in a review.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Bondarenko, D. M., author.

Title: Post-colonial nations in historical and cultural context / Dmitri M. Bondarenko.

Other titles: Postkolonial'nye natsii v istoriko-kul'turnom kontekste. English

Description: Lanham : Lexington Books, 2023. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023014456 (print) | LCCN 2023014457 (ebook) |

ISBN 9781666940466 (cloth) | ISBN 9781666940473 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Postcolonialism—Africa. | Postcolonialism—Asia. |

Nation-building—Africa. | Nation-building—Asia. | Tanzania—Politics and government. | Uganda—Politics and government. | Zambia—Politics and government.

Classification: LCC JV246 .B66 2023 (print) | LCC JV246 (ebook) |

DDC 325.6—dc23/eng/20230327

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023014456>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023014457>

∞™ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

In loving memory of Terry, Norman, and Zayka

Contents

Acknowledgments	ix
Introduction	1
1 The Nation and Modernity	5
2 Colonialism—Post-colonialism—Nations	31
3 Post-colonial Nations in Historical and Cultural Context: Three Cases	111
4 Nation-Building in Post-colonial Countries in Historical and Cultural Context of Our Time	159
Conclusion	201
References	205
Index	329
About the Author	343

Acknowledgments

This book is a translation of *Постколониальные нации в историко-культурном контексте* published by LRC Publishing House in 2022. Reprinted material from Bondarenko, Dmitri M. “Nation-building in Post-colonial States: Historical Past and Present-Day Realities,” *Journal of Globalization Studies*. 2021, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 18–37, Uchitel Publishing House, printed with permission. Reprinted material from Bondarenko, Dmitri M. “Historical and Cultural Aspects of Nation-Building in Post-Colonial African States,” *Herald of the Russian Academy of Sciences*. 2022, Vol. 92, No. 1, pp. 96–105, Springer Nature, reprinted with permission.

The author would like to express special thanks to all the members of his fieldwork teams who contributed a lot to collecting, processing, and discussing field evidence, and to all the interviewees who were so kind as to spend their time in frank communication. They are those without whom this book could never be written. The author is sincerely grateful to Stephen A. Kowalewski, O. Igho Natufe, and Igor V. Sledzevski for the insightful comments they made at different stages of his work on this book. Deep gratitude also goes to O. Igho Natufe for his assistance in bringing the text of the book into conformity with the norms of the English language.

Introduction

If we approach the question, which countries are post-colonial, in formal terms, all those that have ever been in colonial dependence should be recognized as such. In this view, for example, all the states of the New World, including the United States and Canada, would be among them. So, the very notion of “post-colonial countries” (“post-colonial societies,” “post-colonial states”) would probably lose its meaning because it would then reflect only a formal historical fact that does not allow considering the contemporary countries that fall under it as a single category in any sense—political, economic, or sociocultural. At the same time, it is also clear that the notion of post-colonial countries must reflect precisely the features of essential similarity between the societies and states it covers. Yet, are there many essential similar features rooted in the colonial past between, for example, Canada and Lao, Mexico and Chad? Definitely no. From a historical perspective, the notion of post-colonial countries turns out wider than from sociocultural: in the historical sense, considering the liberation of colonies in the New World in the late 18th–19th centuries as the first stage of decolonization that preceded the second one which swept through first of all Asia and Africa in the middle—second half of the 20th century—is absolutely justified (Isin 2012: 563). Attributing countries of the Americas, especially Latin America, as post-colonial may make sense (see Kaltmeier et al. 2011: 16–20), but only if they are analyzed as a very specific part of the post-colonial world, separately from the countries of Asia and Africa, because there are too many sociocultural differences between them which are much more significant than any similarities determined by the colonial past. Of course, each country in Asia and Africa is unique in its own right. However, they share some significant commonalities (some of which are studied in this book) rooted in their colonial political, social, economic, and cultural history. It may be legitimate to

consider all the post-colonial states (except former settlement colonies—the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) as a single category (“the Global South”) whose position is impacted significantly by the colonial past of the countries it unites in international relations studies, but the present work does not presuppose them.

One more point to be clarified at the outset is that only the countries that were colonies between the second half of the 19th and the second half of the 20th centuries are discussed in this monograph, and not even all of them but only those which were colonies of West European states. This means that former possessions of the Japanese, Ottoman, and Russian Empires are not studied here (except those which later passed into the hands of Western European colonialists like many Arab countries). Thus, the states studied in this work are those that have gained independence from the Western powers after WWII, that is, since 1945. Although from a strictly formal point of view, with this approach, one might wonder if Cyprus and Malta should not be considered as post-colonial countries. These states have typically capitalist economies and social structures that correspond to it, specific yet no doubt generally European by their type cultures, they are European Union member-states, but gained independence (both from Great Britain) only in 1960 and 1964, respectively. Anyway, we discuss here the countries of Asia and Africa that form the majority of countries that have liberated themselves from colonial dependence after WWII. So, we do not study the Mediterranean states that gained independence during this period, as well as the small island states of the Caribbean and Oceania which also have undeniable specificity due to their geography, history, and culture.

We study only the countries that were in this or that form of colonial dependence (mandated territories, protectorates, etc.), that is, did not have the status of politically independent states and do not deal with so-called semicolonies (China, Persia, and so on) which did not lose formal political independence despite strong positions of foreign powers in them. Thus, the countries that we are studying as post-colonial have in common the fact that their current situation, including the matter of nation-building, is largely determined by the colonial past in which they were not politically independent even officially but were under the direct and complete authority of a Western European state. Moreover, contrary to semicolonies that existed as states before transforming into them, a huge part of now post-colonial states was just created by colonialists. Thus, geographically, the notion of post-colonial states in this work does not coincide with such notions as now outdated the “Third World” or presently popular “Global South.”

So, we focus on the countries of Asia and Africa which were colonies of the Western states between the second half of the 19th and the second half of the 20th centuries and gained independence after WWII.

With similarity of post-colonial countries as societies and states with still relatively recent and making a significant impact on their contemporaneity colonial history, their world is very heterogeneous and diversified from the cultural, social, economic, and political points of view. It includes the states whose peoples have cultures with deep written tradition (most countries in Asia), on the one hand, and the states whose peoples' languages acquired scripts only in the colonial period from the European linguists (mainly in Tropical Africa), from the other. Post-colonial states include both the poorest countries of sub-Saharan Africa (Niger, Central African Republic, South Sudan, etc.) and superrich Gulf countries (Kuwait, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, and others). Among post-colonial states are those with their own voice in the international arena, such as India, Indonesia, Nigeria, and small states—Bhutan, Lesotho, São Tomé, and Príncipe. There are numerous post-colonial republics and several monarchies (Bahrain, Morocco, Eswatini, and several others).

Nevertheless, with all the diversity, the post-colonial Asian and African countries share common features caused precisely by their colonial past. The absolute need for the formation of national unity within the borders of each state, that is, of nations, as a vitally necessary condition for the social development of post-colonial countries in any sphere is one of the most important such features. The formation of post-colonial nations is what this book is about. The author's conviction that understanding the essence, specific features, directions, and results of the nation-building process in the post-colonial world is possible only if the consideration of this process is placed in a broad historical and cultural context which is the starting point for our analysis. This context includes social, political, and intellectual history since Antiquity and especially the whole period of the formation and existence of nations as a phenomenon—the era of Modernity from the end of the 15th century to the present day, and not only Asia and Africa but also Europe and North America: it was there that the phenomenon of the nation arose for the first time, and its reflection over the centuries in the Western tradition of political and social philosophy has a significant impact on nation-building in post-colonial states.

“The weight of the past is a major handicap for Africa,” the African (Nigerian) scholar Chibueze Ofoeibe has recently written (2017: 59). Almost everyone will agree with this statement, remembering the slave trade, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. However, no matter how trite it sounds, history really has no place for the subjunctive mood, and post-colonial African countries have to continue the historical path that their peoples have passed. Yet, world history—the historical dynamics of the world a part of which post-colonial societies are—is not linear. Watersheds between epochs are fundamental changes that do not negate the previous stages of historical

development, but also do not just continue them: the Neolithic Revolution, the Axial Age, the Age of Discoveries, the Industrial Revolution, and so forth. Accordingly, the significance of specific phenomena of the past for the present and future also changes.

The immediate research subject in this work is the nature of the nation and, in connection with it, the nature of society and state in post-colonial Asian and African countries. However, the post-colonial world does not include former colonies only. It is the whole contemporary world because decolonization of the second half of the 1940s–1960s had hardly less serious transformational consequences for the Global North than for the Global South. Today, sociocultural and political processes in the whole world are largely determined by the consequences of decolonization; suffice it to recall the impact of migrations from former colonial countries on the Global North, the very fundamental principles of its societies, cultures, and states. It is possible to claim that post-coloniality is a no-less meaningful feature of the contemporary world than post-industrialism. Both of these features have a decisive influence on its characterization as post-modern. In particular, it is not by chance that in the framework of a new comprehension of the phenomenon of post-colonial societies, “the theme of post-coloniality arises on the threshold of the 21st century synchronously with the general actualization of the theme of post-modernity” (Neklessa 2020: 33; see, e.g., Bhabha 1994: 171–197). We will try to show that in today’s conditions, the pre-colonial and colonial historical legacy can be not only an obstacle but also an advantage in the formation of such a key event for the existence and development of any contemporary countries as the nation. However, so that the past does not turn out to be a weight dragging down but turns to the benefit of today and tomorrow of post-colonial societies, a new perspective on both history and contemporaneity of post-colonial countries and the whole world, first of all, Europe as the motherland and globalizer of the phenomenon of the nation, is necessary.