Nation, nationalism and democratic nation-state:

**How do we map democracy on to changed contours of national sovereignty and the international community?**

A common language

A common territory

A common economic life

A common psychological make-up manifested in common specific features of national culturea common psychological make-up manifested in common specific features of national culture
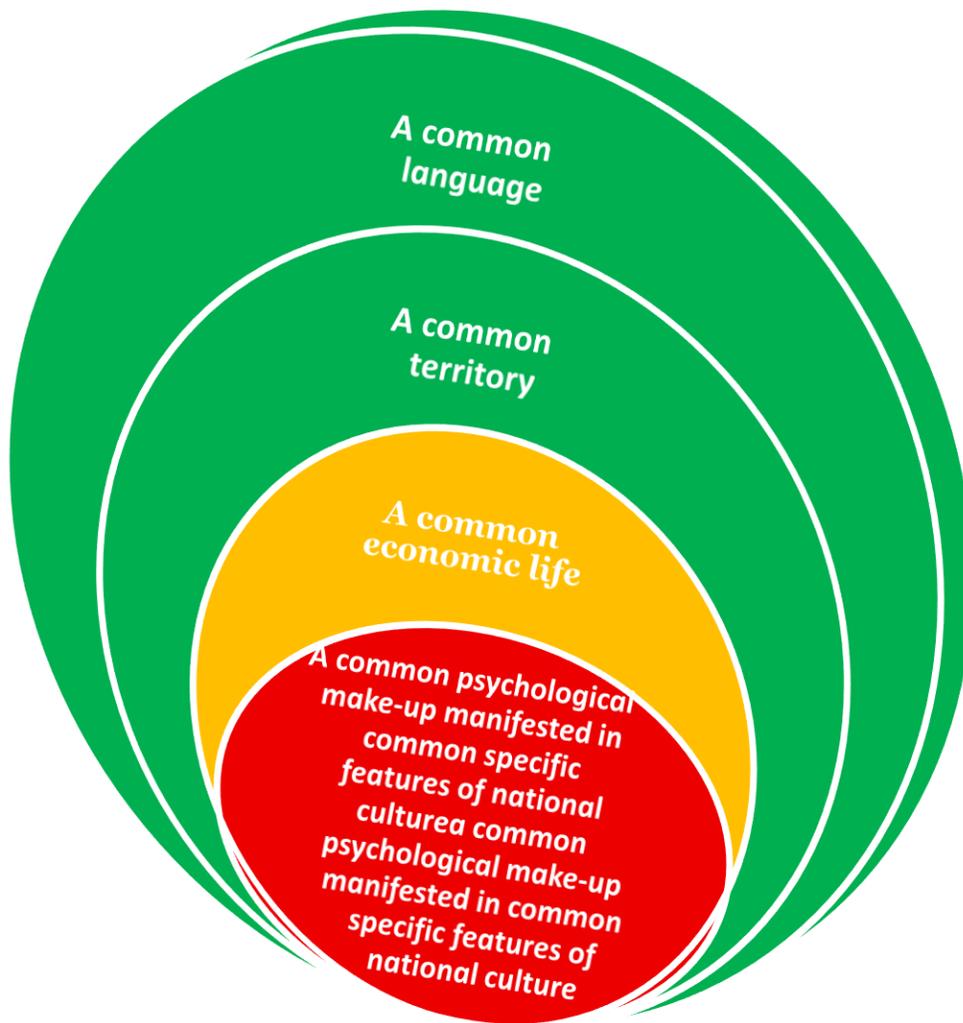
The portrait displays that nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of the common possession of four principal characteristics-"as it is established on the principles of epistemological rationality!
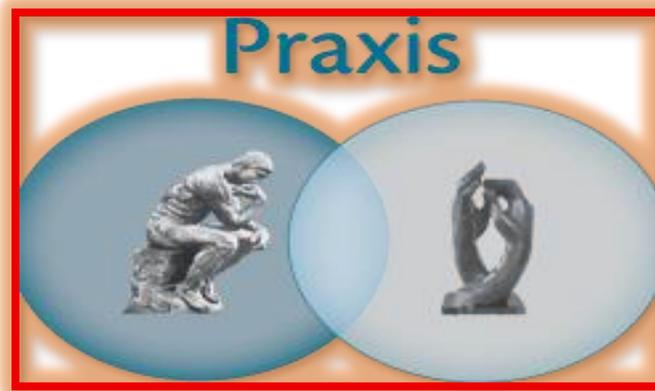
The thinker" sculpture, and the practical doing component of praxis is depicted by Rodin's famous "Two Hands" sculpture.

Necessity of Action/ Reflection: to be fully human, human beings, meant that people would be continuously engaged in a process of becoming, a process of developing all of their potentials, of this latent potentiality depended upon human beings' collective engagement in self and social transformation.

There is the theme of golden age. For the Senegalese historian Cheikh Anta Diop, the 'modern pharaoh' of African studies:

"It was first the Ethiopians and then the Egyptians who created and developed to an extraordinary degree all the elements of civilization at a time when all other peoples – and the Eurasians in particular – were plunged into barbarism ... It is impossible to exaggerate what the whole world – and in particular the Hellenic world – owes to the Egyptian world and Ethiopian. "

"Humankind is losing faith in the liberal story that dominated global politics in recent decades, exactly when the merger of biotech and infotech confronts us with the biggest challenges humankind has ever encountered."-Ademe Billal

"Ethiopians have primordial intrinsic nature that is there are immediate environments that are those situations that confront an individual or group at a given point and activate certain mental responses. In the case of a national group, the example of seeing the mobilization of a foreign military force on the nation's borders may provoke members of a national group to unify and mobilize themselves in response. There are proximate environments where individuals identify nonimmediate real or imagined situations in combination with immediate situations that make individuals confront a

common situation of both subjective and objective components that affect their decisions."-Ademe Billal

Preclude

What is a nation? A nation is primarily a community, a definite community of people. This community is not racial, nor is it tribal. The modern Italian nation was formed from Romans, Teutons, Etruscans, Greeks, Arabs, and so forth. The French nation was formed from Gauls, Romans, Britons, Teutons, and so on. The same must be said of the British, the Germans and others, who were formed into nations from people of diverse races and tribes. *Thus, **a nation is not a racial or tribal, but a historically constituted community of people: Ethiopia is a nation which is not a casual or ephemeral conglomeration, but a stable community of people.***

Thus, Ethiopia is a nation that is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of the **common possession of four principal characteristics-as it is established on the principles of epistemological rationality**, namely:

> - *a common language,*
> - *a common territory,*
> - *a common economic life, and*
> - *a common psychological make-up manifested in common specific features of national culture*

Note that the above argument is predicated on logical reasoning and one deductively conclude what a nation is. **A nation is formed only as a result of lengthy and systematic intercourse, as a result of people living together generation after generation.**

Those narrow nationalists who think that the scheme they propose, with its new unscientific historical development of a nation or with illogical characteristic of the concept "nation," is profoundly mistaken and cannot be justified either theoretically or in practice, politically. Obviously, a scheme which leads to such absurd conclusions cannot be regarded as a scientific scheme. Only one thing remains, and that is to admit that the epistemologically rationalist theory of the nation is the only correct theory.

The critical issue of the nation is well articulated in a speech given in 1985 by then president of the Federal Republic of Germany, R. Von Weiszäcker]:

"I belong to a people, the German people. What are the characteristics which we Germans share as a people? What does it mean to belong to such a people? What does the fact that I am German have to do with my identity as a person? Does this fact place a claim on me? Does it mark me? Does it include responsibilities for me? Does it include obligations to me as a German, obligations which I would otherwise not have to fulfil? (...) It is up to us to give content to the term 'German,' a content with which we ourselves and the world would like to live in peace."

Which is not a psychological comment because it is not about the deep-seated need of people to express feelings of collective identity. The question of the nation here is asked from a normative perspective. That will also be the starting point of this study. Here arises the question of what a good society should represent, at least in its political framework. Note that a democratic state (if any of the nation -states of Africa are democratic state per se) should refer to universal principles, that much is certain. It is directed to a general good, and it must protect the rights of citizens and promote their welfare. With respect to this, the Sudanese state must live up to the same norms as the Ethiopians. Yet in modern times the state is considered to be a nation-state; it refers to a particular, national distinctions. Belonging to the Sudanese people is not the same as belonging to the Ethiopians people. The reference here is to the coinstanteneous cohesion of a group which sees itself as this people and not another. At first sight, this cohesion is not situated at the level of political principles but rather in the domain of a daily life: shared traditions, memories, historical experiences, language and religion.

The philosophical and critical issues involved in this concept of the nation-state concerns the relation between the national and the state dimensions. More generally, it concerns the relation between the pre-political and the political. Behavioral indicators of political and pre-political doctrines:

Pre-political thought (behavioral indicators)	Political thought (behavioral indicators)
Not a level of full political/class/group consciousness	Varying degrees of level of consciousness of group interests
No coherent viewpoint or interpretive framework	Awareness of linkages between "biography" and "history"
Belief that "what will be will be" (*que sera sera*)- a stoic fatalism about present and future	Some awareness of connections between "levels of reality" (micro/meso/macro)
Strong sense of piety /godliness (loyalty and obligation) - strong sense of the "sacred "and who can disobey the sacred	Deliberate decisions -----based on ability and effort to choose strategy
No vision of a different "now" or "future" ...except by "chance" Decisions not made from awareness that the future can be altered or controlled. Pre-logic (emotions, sensations, undifferentiated sense of oneness)	Analysis is reasoned and consistent...within frameworks of interpretation Control of impact of custom/tradition and of change impiety... (the "is" is "subject to change") Full Political is Dialectical Logic (DL)

In *Dawn of the Planet of the Apes* (2014), the post-apocalyptic narrative of brewing conflict between the apes—descendants of animal experimentation and genetic manipulation—and the remaining humans—survivors of a human-made ape virus pandemic—follows a familiar political story line of mistrust, enmity, and provocation between opposed camps. The film may be seen as a science fiction allegory of any number of contemporary cycles of violence, including the 2014 Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which was concurrent with the film's release. In the first part of the movie, we see the two communities in a kind of **pre-political state**, struggling in isolation from one another in an effort to survive. There is no real internal conflict or disagreement within them that would have to be settled politically. The communities have leaders, but leaders who are listened to only because of the respect accorded to them. However, when the two communities come into contact unexpectedly, a political dynamic begins to emerge in which the question becomes whether the two groups will be able to live in peace together or whether their history and memory of hatred and disrespect will lead them to conflict. It is a story in which we ask whether it is going to be the regulative moral codes that govern everyday social behaviour or the friend/enemy dynamics of politics and war that will win the day. ***The underlying theme is that when the normal rules that govern everyday behaviour are deemed no longer sufficient to conduct life, politics as an exception in its various forms emerges.***

The spontaneous, pre-political, socio-cultural, and affective distinctiveness and cohesion of a group is different from the political entity that is based upon rationally epistemological principles of public regulations. Thus, the issue is precisely the relation between these two. In the context of the problem of the nation it is useful to define

nationalism. By nationalism we mean the ideology which pursues congruity between both the political and the pre-political:

As alluded to above, these concepts are historical in that pre-political thought preceded political thought. Yet, in our society today…and in other societies around the world, we find a mixture of them…varying with people as individuals and groups and with different subjects and situations. Pre-political thought and some Political thought might be associated with "conservative" or "traditional" ways of thinking…while Political thought might be more associated with "liberal" or "legal-rational" ways of thinking. While I think that Political is certainly preferable to pre-Political thought, not all Political Thought is beneficial…its conservative and liberal versions both have their limitations. Full Political thought is therefore CRITICAL thought, RADICAL (going to the root) thought…and as I'll maintain just below, DIALECTICAL thought. So, these two polar concepts are, again, most useful as devices to analyze the complexity of today's reality. **[The most fruitful use of them is to see them as coexistent in our society and world today. This leads to insights about kinds of people, different situations where one mode is dominant, and about our ideology about ourselves and the possibility/probability of change.]**

This definition has the operational advantage that it dovetails /interlocks with the common definitions of Gellner [E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Oxford: B. Blackwell 1983). *Nationalism* is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent.]. It also has the advantage that it is a purely political definition and so dissociates itself from more extreme meanings. Extreme meanings appear, for example, where there is excessive idolatry of one's own group or when all particular relations (family, class, religion) become subordinate to interests which are shared with members of the nation. *We can think of a modern sate, that is, a state which grants people rights independent of their social or cultural position.*

In order to be able to solve the current Ethiopian problem as a sovereign nation, we must accept the problem of nationalism as it is. It is not a tribal or ethnic regression to an archaic type of society as promulgated by TPLF-OLF ethnocentrism. Nationalism is essentially a modern political ideology that offers its own answer to the question concerning the relation between the political and pre-political order.

Goals of this article is to:

- *develop an understanding of how and why nationness came to be a dominant identity pattern in modern history.*
- *gain a theoretical appreciation of the notions of "nation" and "nationalism" from multiple points of view, among them the proposition that nationhood cannot be taken for granted but exists in flux and requires constant reaffirmation.*

- *identify and critically examine the key ideas and issues, as well as the main players in the theoretical debates that shaped the recent historiography of nationalism studies.*

Current literature on nationalism generally defines a nation as a group of people sharing a set of "objective" characteristics (such as language, territory, religion, race), and "subjective" characteristics (such as myths, a sense of solidarity and of historical continuity, common beliefs).

This definition is vague: as Yael Tamir stresses, no nation will have all of these characteristics, but only some of them (example Ethiopia), together with the existence of a national consciousness. In some case, the objective characteristics can be easily identified the case of a colonized nation is an appropriate example); while in others, the Jews diaspora for example, the subjective identification with the group, the sense of the solidarity and of a common history and fate, are the most significant factors.

The objective characteristics of a nation (some of its institutions and practices) may not distinguish it from other comparable groups, if it were not for the distinctive way in which conational interpret their common life. The shared sense of a common identity thus reveals itself to be more significant than the distinctive character of "objective "practices, although there also must be some number of such objective characteristics**; a mere will to form a national group would not suffice to qualify as such.** The differences between scholars, then, have to do with subjects such as the reasons for the formation, durability and dissolution of ethnic groups, the power of ethnic identity, the flexibility of ethnic identity (to what extent ethnic identities are open to change) and the political and social implications of ethnic identities.

What is important for my present purpose, then, is that the common academic conviction that ethnic groups are (mythical) kinship groups show in what sense they should be regarded as Ethiopians. First, their members identify themselves as parts of a natural and organic whole as they believe, or act as if they believed, in their belonging to a common descent, i.e., to a shared extended family. But, *second, the group also appears as if it were natural, organic and familial in the objective sense.*

In order to explain that I would like to refer to the elements that exist, according to Smith, in any national mythology. These elements, or rather a series of them, are:

a. a myth of origins in time; i.e., when the community was 'born';
b. a myth of origins in space; i.e., where the community was horn';
c. a myth of ancestry; i.e., who bore us, and how we descend from him/her;
d. a myth of migration; i.e., whither we wandered;
e. a myth of liberation; i.e., how we were freed;
f. a myth of the golden age; i.e., how we became great and heroics;

g. a myth of decline; i.e., how we decayed and were conquered/exiled; and

h. a myth of rebirth; i.e., how we shall be restored to our former glory

Today we think of the **nation-state** as the form of modern political life. A nation-state is a political unit whose boundaries are co-extensive with a society, that is, with a cultural, linguistic or ethnic *nation.* The modern state is based on the principle of *sovereignty* and the sovereign state system. **Sovereignty** is the political form in which a single, central "sovereign" or supreme lawmaking authority governs within a clearly demarcated territory. The **sovereign state system** is the structure by which the world is divided up into separate and indivisible sovereign territories. Democracy however is not a static political form. Three key elements constitute democracy as a dynamic system:

> - *the **institutions of democracy** (parliament, elections, constitutions,*
> - *rule of law, etc.), citizenship (the internalized sense of individual dignity, rights, and freedom that accompanies formal membership in the political community),*
> - *and the **public sphere** (or open "space" for public debate and deliberation).*

On the basis of these three elements, rule by the people can be exercised through a process of **democratic will formation.** Jürgen Habermas (1998) emphasizes that democratic will formation in both direct and representative democracy is reached through a deliberative process. The general will or decisions of the people emerge through the mutual interaction of citizens in the public sphere. The underlying *norm* of the democratic process is what Habermas (1990) calls the **ideal speech situation**:

An ideal speech situation is one in which every individual is permitted to take part in public discussion equally, question assertions, and introduce ideas.

Ideally no individual is prevented from speaking (not by arbitrary restrictions on who is permitted to speak, nor by practical restrictions on participation like poverty or lack of education). To the degree that everyone accepts this norm of openness and inclusion, in free debate the best ideas will "rise to the top" and be accepted by the majority. On the other hand, when the *norms of the ideal speech situation are violated, the process of democratic will formation becomes distorted and open to manipulation.*

The **modernist interpretation of nationalism** and nation-building perceives that nationalism arises and flourishes in modern societies described as being associated with having:

> - *an industrial economy capable of self-sustainability of the society,*
> - *a central supreme authority capable of maintaining authority and unity,*
> - *and a centralized language or small group of centralized languages understood by a community of people.*

Modernist theorists note that this is only possible in modern societies, while traditional societies typically: lack a modern industrial self-sustainable economy, have divided authorities, have multiple languages resulting in many people being unable to communicate with each other. (Prominent theorists who developed the modernist interpretation of nations and nationalism include: Henry James Sumner Maine, Ferdinand Tönnies, Émile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Talcott Parsons.)

Multiculturalism: The idea of the nation as a culturally and politically united whole has, particularly since the 1960s, been challenged by the rise of multiculturalism. Nationalism has always been an example of the politics of identity, in the sense that it tells people who they are: it gives people a history, forges social bonds and a collective spirit, and creates a sense of destiny larger than individual existence. Multiculturalism is also a form of identity politics, but its stress is rather on the 'politics of difference', stressing the range of cultural diversity and identity- related differences in many modern societies. Multiculturalism not only recognizes the fact of cultural diversity, but also holds that such differences should be respected and publicly affirmed. Australia has been officially committed to multiculturalism since the early 1970s, in recognition of its increasing 'Asianization'.

The relationship between multiculturalism and nationalism is complex. The nationalist traditions that are most disposed to accommodate multiculturalism are liberal nationalism and anticolonial nationalism:

> ***This is because both traditions embrace an essentially 'inclusive' model of the nation as a political or 'civic' entity rather than a cultural or 'ethnic' entity. Members of the nation are thus bound together less by a unifying culture and more by common citizenship and shared allegiances, this is an excellent example of Ethiopia before ethnocentrisms took place.***

Multiculturalists, for their part, often view: liberal toleration as nothing more than cultural imperialism, that is, as an attempt to impose western beliefs, values and sensibilities on the rest of the world. Firmer foundations for a theory of multiculturalism can be found in the idea of value pluralism. Isaiah Berlin developed a theory of **pluralism that has been used by many multiculturalists to justify a politics of difference**. An alternative basis for multiculturalism has been advanced by Bhikkhu Parekh. In Parekh's view, cultural diversity is, at heart, a reflection of the dialectical interplay between human nature and culture.

As the twentieth century progressed, claims were increasingly made that the age of nationalism was over. This was because its task had been completed: the world had become a world of nation-states. History undoubtedly seems to be on the side of the nation-state. The three major geopolitical upheavals of the twentieth century (the First World War, the Second World War and the collapse of communism in eastern Europe) each gave considerable impetus to the concept of the nation as a principle of political organization.

Internally, nation-states have been subject to centrifugal pressures, generated by an upsurge in ethnic and regional politics. This heightened

concern with ethnicity may, indeed, reflect the fact that, in a context of economic and cultural globalization, nations are no longer able to provide a meaningful collective identity or sense of social belonging. Given that all nation-states embody a measure of cultural diversity, the politics of ethnic coherence cannot but present a challenge to the principle of the nation. Unlike nations, ethnic or regional groups are not viable political entities in their own right, and thus look to forms of federalism and confederacies to provide an alternative to political nationalism, a doctrine promulgated/inculcated by TPLF-OLF gangs. For them:

> *it appears important to reject the simplistic and dangerous ethnic conception of the nation, it is because, in general, this concept generates exclusion, racism and xenophobia. But xenophobia begins as soon as one is unwilling to accept a different self-representation held by a different national community. Most of those untamed prophets who promote an ethnic concept reject ways of thinking about the nation which are different from their own.*

In democratic nationalism. tolerance is required not only for the treatment of the external relations between nations but also for the development of a new sort of national identity, one in which tolerance would become an accepted norm in the internal relations between different cultural groups within the nation. I believe that this is what a sociopolitical conception can do. Tolerance is built in such a view of the nation. It is, as it were, constitutive of the sociopolitical national identity.

We must also avoid presupposing anything in favour or against the nation-state if we want a harmonious relationship between theory and practice. We must reach an equilibrium between individual and collective rights. We must also try to formulate a balanced account between the subjective and objective components of the nation. In practice democratic will formation in representative democracies takes place largely through political party competition in an electoral cycle. Two factors explain the dynamics of democratic.

Important enlightenment we should learn from the sixtieth [critical thinking]:

- They assumed the awesome responsibility of building the kind of tightly disciplined organization which would be able to take state power at the head of the Ethiopian working citizens and all the other oppressed and discontented strata of Ethiopian society
- They concentrated their extraordinary abilities and energies on the task which they had concluded was decisive to the success of the Ethiopian revolution: the building of an apparatus of dedicated, disciplined revolutionists to lead the entire population in the struggle for power.

- For the Martyrs, the notion of citizenship is widely seen as extending beyond the ethnic community, province, and nation to include important global elements. They even went beyond their own nation to include that "today's citizen is increasingly a world citizen and educating for global citizenship is important." Citizens, particularly young ones, had been described as critical thinkers and selfless—they did know the basic information necessary to function as citizens; inclusiveness, oneness, and freedom for all—they felt cut off from the political arrogancy, hate, dehumanization, disloyal to their motherland. They observed contemporary the regimes as pervaded by dishonesty and corruption; and agnostic. However, they did believe in the values necessary to undergird democratic citizenship that includes all citizens. In addition to the dual crises of ignorance and alienation, they *instructed in their literature great concern about the lack of commitment to the values of citizenship.*

- Whether one is dealing with cognitive matters such as level of factual information about politics or conceptual sophistication in its assessment; or such motivational matters as degree of attention paid to politics and emotional involvement in political affairs; or questions of actual behavior, such as engagement in any of a variety of political activities from party work to vote turnout itself: *education is everywhere the universal solvent, and the relationship is always in the same direction: devoid of hate atrocity, interethnic conflict, and genocide*. The higher the education, the greater the 'good' values of the variable. Martyrs thought us that the educated citizen is attentive, knowledgeable, and participatory and the educated uneducated citizen is not. They further guided us and left the legacy that the relationship between education and civic and social engagement requires delineating multiple dimensions of engagement, namely: political **engagement, civic engagement, voting, trust, tolerance, and political knowledge.**

- **The sixtieth were good persons and good citizens**: they were organized under their protagonist party line-wished to instill or nurture a willingness among our future citizens to sacrifice their self-interests for the sake of the common good. For them, participation on this view is important both to stabilize society and to enhance each individual's human flourishing through the promotion of our collective welfare. They believed that "freedom" is the right of every human being to become more human.

- **Believing in genuine dialogue**: besides insisting that the solutions we seek come from problems rooted in our experience, the Martyrs' motions us toward adopting a pluralistic sensibility that respects the "other," given that there is more than one way of being. A pluralistic sensibility is manifested through the tolerance we exercise during any dialogue. Democratic interactions are based on a type of faith in humanity, in the belief that all are able to discuss their problems, that is, the problems of their country, continent, world, work, and of democracy itself. In

order to engage and be engaged by others in dialogue, it is necessary that we cultivate a sensibility of confidence, humility, and willingness to risk loving others and that we allow others to be who they are. Genuine dialogue is not possible without these values. The ***sixtieth did not pretend to have any solutions other than to suggest that an open-ended dialogue could lead us to have a more just and humane world.***
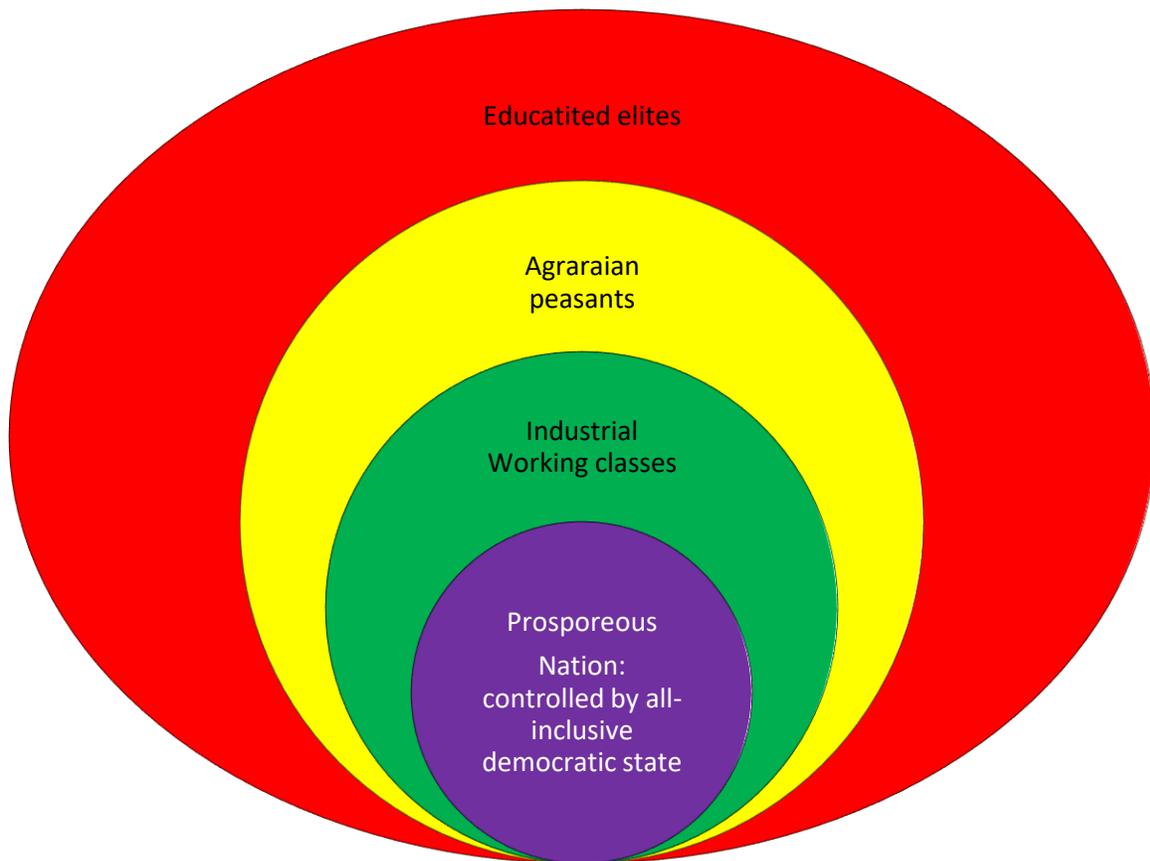
Time evolution of prosperous nation from the ground-up (Not from top to bottom biases!)

"We cannot solve our problems with the same thinking we used when we created them."
-Albert Einstein

He continued instructing:

1. "The crisis of our time" the scientist sustained, "concerns the relationship of individual to society [whereby the individual] does not experience his dependence on society as a positive asset, as an organic tie or as a protective force, but rather as a threat to his/her rights or to his economic existence."

2. "This crippling of individuals I consider the worst evil of capitalism" Einstein lamented. "Our whole educational system suffers from this evil. An exaggerated competitive attitude is inculcated into the student, who is trained to worship acquisitive success as a preparation for his future career." Furthermore, the mastermind questioned mainstream assumptions characteristic of popular strands of economic thinking. Einstein sustained that we can transcend our lower faculties and our sheer selfish impulses and that we are not bound to be subservient to **"cruel, self-inflicted hate"**. Instead, as rational creatures we can uphold and live into what he called a "**cultural attitude**" that makes life as satisfying as possible. (Put differently, pride and basic instinct need not trump humility and enlightened intellect.) *Einstein rightly recognized that science can only determine "what is", while it is the role of religion to establish "what should be."*

Nationalism, ethnic conflict, and class struggle: a critical analysis in mainstream social revolution

The crux of problem lies on Renan's and Weber's classical statements on these phenomena stand out as prime examples of neo-liberal/neo-colonial theories that have informed, in one way or another, all other subsequent mainstream formulations of the nation, nationalism, and ethno-nationalist conflict in the twentieth century.

I)   According to Renan's view,

A great aggregation of men, with a healthy spirit and warmth of heart, creates a moral conscience which is called a nation. When this moral conscience proves its strength by sacrifices that demand abdication of the individual for the benefit of the community, it is legitimate, and it has a right to exist.

This subjective, idealist view of the nation is consistent with Renan's conclusion, where he states:

"Through their varied, frequently opposing, abilities, nations serve the common cause of civilization; each holds one note in the concert of humanity, which, in the long run, is the highest ideal to which we can aspire."

Defining the nation in these terms, Renan highlights one aspect of the fundamental features of mainstream, bourgeois theories of the nation and nationalism: **a subjective,**

idealist conception of the nation that is largely a product of the mind, an abstraction that emerges from the collective imagination.

Another, equally important, aspect of bourgeois theorizing on this question is the overemphasis on ethnic and cultural phenomena to explain the origins and development of the nation and nationalism, historically and today. In this view, culture and ethnicity, divorced from class forces in society, take on a life of their own and form the basis of social relations and social movements and their ideologies, including nationalism.

II) Max Weber's classic statement on this question fits in to both of these ideological frames of thought. A subjective, idealist conception of the nation that incorporates an ethno-cultural definition of nationalism and national identity is how Weber developed his approach to this question in the classic context. In a key passage in one of his major works, Weber writes:

*If the concept of "nation" can in any way be defined unambiguously, it certainly cannot be stated in terms of empirical qualities common to those who count as members of the nation. In the sense of those using the term at a given time, the concept undoubtedly means, above all, that one may exact from certain groups of men a specific sentiment of solidarity in the face of other groups. Thus, the concept belongs in the sphere of value*s.

In this sense, **"a nation is a community of sentiment,"** writes Weber: "And one must be clearly aware of the fact that sentiments of solidarity, very heterogeneous in both their nature and their origin, are com- prised within national sentiments." Moreover:

the idea of the "**nation**" is apt to include the notions of common descent and of an essential, though frequently indefinite, homogeneity. The nation has these notions in common with the sentiment of solidarity of ethnic communities, which is also nourished from various sources. Weber goes on to point out that the "sentiment of solidarity" that goes with the "idea of the nation" is well integrated into a cultural frame of reference facilitated by a collective "mission" that solidifies a community and gives it its sociocultural, as well as national, identity:

"The earliest and most energetic manifestations of the idea [of the nation], in some form, even though it may have been veiled, have contained the legend of a providential "mission." Those to whom the representatives of the idea zealously turned were expected to shoulder this mission. Another element of the early idea was the notion that this mission was facilitated solely through the very cultivation of the peculiarity of the group set off as a nation. Therewith, in so far as its self-justice cation is sought in the value of its content, this mission can consistently be thought of only as a specific "culture" mission. The significance of the "nation" is usually anchored in the superiority, or at least the irreplaceability, of the culture values that are to be preserved and developed only through the cultivation of the peculiarity of the group."

Weber's conventional, idealist views on the nation and national identity in such cultural, value-centered terms, complements well the arguments of other classical mainstream theorists, such as Renan, who have provided the foundations for subsequent bourgeois theories of the nation and nationalism developed by their contemporaries.

Among later bourgeois theorists who have followed this path, one may include Hans Kohn, Carlton Hayes, and Louis Snyder. In his book The Idea of Nationalism, Hans Kohn writes: "Nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness." Kohn goes on to state: ***Nationalism is an idea, an idée-force, which calls man's brain and heart with new thoughts and new sentiments, and drives him to translate his consciousness into deeds of organized action***.

"Nationalism," writes Kohn, "recognizes the nation-state as the ideal form of political organization." Hence, in this sense, "Nationalism demands the nation-state; the creation of the nation-state strengthens nationalism." Elsewhere, in Nationalism: Its Meaning and History, Kohn writes: "***Nationalism is a state of mind, in which the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be due the nation-state***."

Having mystified the phenomenon beyond any concrete social meaning, Snyder defines nationalism as a **"state of mind"** as Kohn had done, as "nationalism" for Snyder "is a condition of mind, feeling, or sentiment." "Nationalism is a powerful emotion," he writes, "a form of consciousness by which the individual proclaims his supreme loyalty to the nation. This broad, psychological and metaphysical focus on the purported "mysterious" and "elusive" nature of nationalism by these earlier mainstream theorists, idea **promulgated by the ethno-centric TPLF-OLF-ELF idealists**, has given way to a variety of more recent contemporary neo-colonialism/imperialism and Arab Emirates theories that are more sophisticated in their reasoning through the adoption of a socio-cultural perspective that incorporates questions related to ethnicity and ethno-national issues.

III)   The class nature of nationalism and national movements: Democratic nation state

Contrary to the distorted critique of classical epistemologically rationalist by some self-styled "rationalists" who have turned to neo-liberal and neocolonial, idealist modes of thought for answers, we argue here that ***nationalism and national movements are phenomena that cannot be studied in isolation without taking into account the social and class structure of the society in which they arise.*** National and ethnic divisions (as well as nationalist ideology, as an extension of such divisions) are manifestations of class conflicts and class struggles that are at base a reflection of social relations of production.

"National relations," writes G. Glezerman, *"cannot be understood outside of and independently of class relations":* This being the case, a class approach is one of the most

important features inherent in the methodology of the dialectical analysis of social phenomena, including nations, national interests and national movements.63 "The division of society, or a nation, into classes," Glezerman continues, "and the division of humanity into nations, nationalities, etc., have different historic roots. ***Yet relations between nations and classes cannot be viewed in isolation from each other.***

Not that our theoretical analysis is based on the national and the colonial question are closely connected to his analysis of modern imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. Historically, this linkage, which laid bare the imperialist domination and oppression of colonized peoples and nations, led to the consequent response that set the stage for the struggle for national liberation. national self-determination. From summed up the characteristic features of a nation in the aforesaid statements: ***A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture***.

International a broader definition of the rise of nations and national movements that corresponded to developments in the latest stage of capitalist development—the age of ***modern imperialism*** and neocolonialism. Thus, a broader reconceptualization of the national question and national self-determination that would include nations colonized and oppressed by **imperialism/colonialism/neo-colonialism/ethno-centric-fascism**, provided the basis of a modified modern theory of nationalism that became the classic statement of the epistemologically rationalist position on this question during the twentieth century. In this context, "The very processes of the formation of nations, the development of the national liberation movement, and the rise of national states," writes Glezerman, "cannot be correctly understood without taking into consideration the **class** or classes which determine the social content of these processes and are their motive force." Thus, "***nations as well as classes come into existence on the basis of the objective process of social development.***"

Conclusion

Countering classical and contemporary idealist formulations of the nation and nationalism as an "**idea**" or "an **imagined community**," we have argued that an analysis of the class nature of nationalism and national movements provides us with a better understanding of the nature, form, and content of nationalism, as well as the nature and dynamics of the society that a given movement is struggling to build. In developing an alternative analysis of the relationship between class, state, and nation, we have attempted to show that nationalism and national movements are a product of the interests of a particular class or classes (i.e., the national and petty bourgeoisies) who are the direct beneficiaries of this ideology which represents the position of these classes so as to **further advance their narrow, nationally-based interests.**
We have shown this to be the case in my brief account of the internal dynamics of the parochially stated national movement as an example of a national movement that has not

been immune to the logic of class relations and class struggles in the larger society. Stressing the importance of class analysis in examining the nature of nationalism and national movements, we have argued that we will be better able to comprehend these powerful and persistent phenomena if we adopt a class perspective that is grounded in the principles of historical materialism.

> *Ethiopia did not develop or found in the epoch of the raising capitalism/imperialism! the people of each/ethnic group/ nationality had already greatly heightened their...patriotic consciousness, greatly changed and transcended their original situation of mutual antagonism, and gradually formed bonds of equality, unity, mutual help, and cooperation as a basis for realizing common political aims and interests. Therefore, the establishment of a united, multiethnic groups was the desire of the great bulk of the people of all ethnic groups/nationalities in our Ethiopia.*

Minority nationality areas are mostly located in border areas of the motherland, imperialism, neoliberalism, the Arab Emirates supported by Prosperity Party, the Oromo narrow and infantile elites, the TPLF, reactionaries and modern revisionists will use every means possible to unite with these reactionaries in ethnic groups in order to subvert the motherland. Among the nationalities/ethnic groups they encourage nationalist sentiments, sow seeds of dissension among various nationalities, and plot to carry out their evil plan to split the unity of the nation.

In practice, politically, the scheme of the TPLF-OLF inevitably leads to the justification of national, imperialist and neo-colonial oppression/aggression, whose exponents emphatically refuse to recognize as real nations oppressed and unequal nations which have no separate national state of their own, and consider that this circumstance gives them the right to oppress these nations!

Eventually, we conclude that the power of grit, nonetheless, demonstrates incremental predictive validity of success that measures over and beyond IQ and conscientiousness. Collectively, the above narrative suggests that the achievement of difficult goals entails not only talent but also the sustained and focused application of talent over time!

- Dogmatism and empiricism alike are subjectivism, each originating from an opposite pole of subjectivist trends!
- Theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice creeps in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary transformative praxis!
- Transitional people's democratic government is the sole trajectory that will lead to a new society where justice and liberty will be germinated if the temperature of social revolution is warm enough to speed it!

- Blind support to authority is pure opportunism backed by dogmatism and ignorance! Victory for the overwhelming majorities and the unity of Ethiopia as one nation!
- **We** are iron that sharpen iron!
- **We stand by the side of our beloved people and be the voice of the voiceless!**

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