

## **National Character and Leadership in Pakistan: Challenges and Response**

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### **Abstract**

National character, leadership, and charisma produce modern type of charismatic leadership. This paper examines charisma in national leadership in Pakistan. It observes that national leadership and charisma is not theoretical, but contextual, arguing that there is a connection between prevailing self-image of a nation concerning its own national character, culture and values and the kind of charismatic leadership that holds sway over the nation in times of crisis.

### **Introduction**

Leadership and national character collectively generate a modern type of charismatic leadership. This paper studies National character and leadership, as the national leader often has no legitimacy or in terms of Max Weber, he has no 'rational-legal authority' and consequently, has to rely mainly on his/her personality to maintain his/her as a leader. This paper argues that there is a connection between the existing National Character and leadership that holds an influence over the nation in critical times. In modern days, leaders control and manipulate people by embodying the National Character into their minds. The people follow their leader as they see him embodied with their own idealized personality. This is different from natural obedience and legal authority.

Sociologists have created models for leaders but historians emphasize that it is the culture which work as a bond between leader and followers. For example Winston Churchill was aware of his interaction with people when he said, 'I must obey my people.'

### **What is National Character**

Like public opinion, this is not an easily measurable, quantifiable or even assessable quality. In fact according to Richard Muir, writing in his book *Modern Political Geography*: "The most elusive thread in the complex fabric of nationhood is that of national character. Though geographers have tended to disregard the subject, variations in national character can produce concrete geographical manifestations, and may form a significant factor in the political

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geographical process... The main alternative to the idea that power accounts for international behavior seems to have been that the traits of nations are expressed in international actions... In 1930s, political scientists tended to reject national character as being based on subjective stereotypes of nations. A decade later it was established on the basis that different distributions of culture traits are found from nation to nation, and concept model personality was developed. Elusive as it may be, model personality exists, though correct interpretation and evaluation are extremely difficult" (Muir, 1973).

"Despite the prevalence of subjective stereotyping, one needs not to be surprised that national character exists. Each individual is, to a considerable extent, moulded by the process of socialization that he or she has undergone. And the values, attitudes and patterns of behaviour implanted during socialization vary from nation to nation as well as time to time, place to place and class to class" (Graza, 1966). Mehnort (1966) has analysed the relationship between communism and the Chinese and Russian society. He concluded that Chinese history and culture produced a national character that took a practical, materialistic pragmatic view of communism. To him, the Russian experience was likely 'to produce a more emotional and messianic approach'.

### **Characteristics of National Character**

Richard Muir (1973) has drawn attention to three important points, which need to be kept in mind while discussing national character. They are:

#### **a. Kinds of Behaviour:**

Two kinds of behaviour emanating from national character are likely to interest political geographers and geo-politicians, *i.e.* (a) behaviour reflective of national idiosyncrasies; (b) national reactions to 'perceive national character of others.'

These topicalities are discernible in the pre-partition Hindu-Muslim attitudes, and the post partition Indo-Pak relations. Before 1947, the Hindus loathed the Muslims as their sacred image-breakers and vivisectors of Mother India. The Muslims looked down upon them as devious and hypocritical cowards, wont to hitting below the belt and stabbing in the back. After 1947, the Pakistanis were inspired by the spirit of martyrdom and 'Jihad' (holy war) as fearless deliverers, thus reflecting the 'Jihad, Mujahedeen, and Shaheed' (holy war, valiant-veteran and martyr) complex and syndrome. The Indians were suspected as being hegemonic and militant. The Bharatis looked upon Pakistan as a recalcitrant prodigal son which should be cut to size, whipped to good behaviour and reassimilated into the Indian or Hindu/mainstream (Mehnort, 1963).

**b. Time-Circumstance Variations:**

National character, both 'covert and overt' or as manifest in inner beliefs and outward conduct and actions, is changeable and varies with time and circumstances. Yet sometimes history does seem to repeat itself (Lieber, 1973). Thus, after its dismemberment in 1971, Pakistan appears to have undergone a mutation. It is more realistic, pragmatic and pacifistic. Similarly, Bangladesh appears to have learnt some bitter lessons and is not longer infinitely tied to the Indian umbilical cord. It is admirably, bravely struggling to pursue an independent foreign policy and to fight off the Indian tentacles, while returning to the Islamic fold.

**c. Relative Influence:**

It is often very difficult to determine the influence of national character vis-à-vis other influences and factors, in the national policy or decisions making process, and in certain actions of a state or their results (Cordeiro, 2009).

Thus, all that can be said summarily of the 1971 Indo-Pak War, keeping in mind the popular opinions about the three nations and national characters involved, is: that Bengalis being very volatile and emotional, were misled. While the Pakistanis, being gullible, politically immature and trusting, were tricked and taken unawares, to some extent. And the Indians with their well-known planning and calculation, took advantage of both; and using the weaponry of spy-war propaganda, employed image projection as a tool or instrument of foreign policy, to trick the whole world, including the Russians, apart from the west. They also tarnished Pakistan's image very badly.

But having said all this, we know that it is simplistic view, for there were numerous other factors, at play. However, their relative influence is on all the decisions and actions involved are difficult to determine.

**National character: Myth, Reality, or Ideal.**

National character is both myth and a reality; a fact and an ideal. The bitter part of the reality is denied, minimized or hidden, the pleasant, blown up and highlighted. The ideal is a source of inspiration. Past symbols are invoked, and new ones created in the process. Sometimes this may lead to escapism, with harmful consequences. Aided by modern techniques of subversive propaganda and psycho-war, the national character of one state may be used to dilute the morale, spirit or even loyalty of the other. At national level, image projection/tarnishing, is to the state what character building, slaughter/assassination- as the case may be, is to the individual (Malphurs, 2003).

**National Spirit and Nationalism:**

National character, especially as an ideal, can be a great fillip, guide and motivator. When expressed in terms of the 'national spirit' or 'nationalism', it becomes the goad to action, the key to survival and the repository of sovereign independence (Hybels, 2002). In Pakistan, the national spirit or nationalism, which, originally created it, is often invoked or recommended as an integrative and inspirational force. As a nation's value-system, life style and sum total of its ideals, principles and values, national character is the nation's élan vital, esprit d'orps, moving spirit, inspiration and guide.

**National Will and Policy:**

Varying with time and depending on circumstances, different nations have different attitudes towards the vital issues of survival, like war and peace. These are determined by national policy, the national will and national character. National character influences action and vice-versa (Meyer & Daniel, 2007). Thus, the interaction is mutual. Policy making is affected by the national character traits of the decision-makers and by their views of and reactions to the national character of other nations or their policy makers. Foreign investments, too, are attracted or repelled by national character reputations.

**Leadership:**

The national leadership uses the instrumentality of the national character to influence decisions and effect reforms in all important walks of collective life. Problems are tackled and issues attempted to be settled with its help. Of course, nothing is static. Life is dynamic and so is character, which is its product and reaction to it. As situations and challenges change, efforts are made to mould, adapt or adjust national character accordingly. National character, like individual human character, is thus, essentially, the drive to live well and adequately. All the mass media of communication are employed to affect and reflect public opinion, the people, parties, pressure groups, power elites and lobbies and so, to build, vary or simply to express national character (Lorg, 2008).

The leadership of a country at the national level and in various sectors of activity plays a major role in this process. The role of the leader is highlighted in the succeeding pages.

**Leadership and Nation-Building: Theories of Leadership**

**"The 'Great Man' Theory of History"**

"Two famous writers have presented us with opposite theories about the influence of leaders. Thomas Carlyle (2014) wrote most passionately: "Universal

History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom of the history of the Great Men who have worked here." Heroes teach us right and wrong ; he said ; heroes give us great inventions and discoveries, It is the great few who transform society ; the Multitude follows them. Modern democracy, he believed, has produced millions of fools who vote, other men who go to parliament and palaver and inevitably, the few who act' (Carlyle, 2014).

**"Tolstoy's Infinitesimal Elements:"**

By contrast, Count Leo Tolstoy asserted that there is no greater fool than he who thinks he makes history and believes others when they assure him he does.' Not even a leader like Napoleon Bonaparte, according to Tolstoy, has any part in determining the course of history. Napoleon was the tool of vast social forces beyond his control. "Studying the laws of history', Tolstoy declared, 'we must absolutely change the objects of our observation, leaving kings, ministers, and generals out of the account, and select for study the homogeneous, infinitesimal elements that regulate the masses" (Tolstoy, 2009).

Both Carlyle and Tolstoy are representative of a long roster of illustrious writers. Those who share Carlyle's view of the role played by men of genius tend also to be aristocratic in political viewpoint.....who believe that they themselves were to be among the great of history and that their indomitable wills could overcome all obstacles—Hitler and Mussolini for example.

By contrast, those who have agreed with Tolstoy have often been socialists. For socialism, as Marx taught it, is a triumph of the masses over the few, and irresistible historical tendencies over individual effort-socialism being the irresistible tendency of the modern age,'

The fact is that both the above theories of leadership are only partly true. Thus we have the man of the moment, history or destiny. The relationship and interaction between and of the leaders, their times and settings, and social forces, is complex, constant, and varying mutual. Therefore, we know that history is both the consequence of the acts of leadership and particular heroic men and women, and the product of the interaction of social forces in the historical process—the forces being socio-political, economic, nationalistic, cultural, religious, geostrategic and international, etc.

**The Psychology of Leadership**

Leaders are both unique and typical...What is true of the 'Great' leaders is true of the minor; No grand principle distinguishes one from the other.....A

psychological 'halo'...surrounds the 'great' leader and seems to distinguish him from the others.

"In 1950, Dr. Johan B. McConaughy reported a study of eighteen members of the South Carolina General Assembly...The results...indicate that the political leaders were decidedly less neurotic than the general male population ;...more self-sufficient ;...decidedly more extroverted ; but that they were only slightly more dominant. Furthermore, "they are to a large degree, more self-confident than the average person and have fewer feelings of inferiority; and ... they are less irritable and tense than the average person." Finally, they appeared not to have 'fascist ideas' and to be not much more conservative than the average... It is quite possible that this group typifies the 'subelite' rather than the most dominant group (Graza, 1966).

"Less definite conclusions were reached by Dr. Ralph M. Stogdill, who surveyed 124 studies of Leadership and found only a small amount of agreement concerning the traits of most leaders. There seemed to be vague indications in a number of studies that leaders topped their group average in such characteristics as age, height, weight, physique, appearance and dominance. But the outstanding fact, as Dr. Stogdill discovered, is quite plain. It is at present impossible to say that any single trait distinguishes most leaders from followers in all groups taken together. Political situations vary so greatly that they require very different types of leaders at different times and places'. Motivation is "One of the most outstanding political psychologists, Harold D. Lasswell suggests that the most dynamic type of political leader compensates for personal inadequacies feelings of deprivation create high tension that seeks outlets. There are many outlets, but those men destined to become politically active, choose power or prestige as compensation. Since power has always to be justified in terms of the public good, they repress their private motives and acquire a set of beliefs truly political— a notion of the 'public interest'. They may or may not in fact serve the public interest in the light of history...of course, the intense motivation of such a man only partly explains his power; he must also acquire political skills— military, organisational or demagogic'(Graza, 1966).

This type of exceptionally forceful leader (—men of pure power'), however, includes only a fraction of all those who satisfy our definition of a leader. Many political leaders 'fall' into office; they may be born to it: they may get office with little effort because of family connections. Others may serve in high political posts simply because of technical skills.....Most political leaders are subject to a variety of motives ; they may wish to earn money, acquire leisure, help their

careers, and so on. Taking all political leaders into consideration, those who are compensating for intense feelings of deprivation are an important but unknown fraction of the total number.

#### **Nobler Motives**

Apart from the above psychological, selfish, personal or secular motives, there can be other nobler and impersonal ones. Depending also on the field of leadership, they include religious and ideological, altruistic and welfare-oriented, nationalistic, pacifistic, cosmopolitan, fraternal and international leaders or leader-types.

#### **Mean' Motives**

Among the ignoble can be mentioned conquestorial, expansionist, jingoistic, militant, hegemonic and imperialistic. These are, of course seldom spelt out, or even realised and acknowledged. Often, they are camouflaged under noble clichés and slogans, which are used as rationalizations and justifications.

#### **Leadership Roles**

Political leaders, while trying to mould national character and public opinion, in order to affect the reforms programmed by them in their manifestos and creeds or credos, are themselves affected by national character. This is but natural, for they are products of the same milieu and members of the same society. They are bound to interact. Leadership would be impossible without that (Grazia, 1966).

Leadership implies the skilled and effective exercise of political power. The leadership role, therefore, involves the deft manipulation of the instruments of authority. These are:-

- (i) Propaganda, information, education and enlightenment; mature political education, as distinct from mere political consciousness.
- (ii) Force, coercion and even violence, if necessary.
- (iii) Socio-economic measures and management ; and
- (iv) Political or legal sanctions.

Wise and far-sighted leadership will always weigh the pros and cons and consider the legitimacy of its contemplated action, and the use of its instruments of power/authority and skills of the art or game of leading people. These political skills, as stated earlier, are material and moral, intellectual and physical. They

are militaristic and authoritative; managerial, administrative and organisational; and demagogic, rhetorical or oratorical. They require a high degree of practical intelligence, expertise and experience in public and human relations; in social psychology, mass motivation and public inspiration.

"Ceremonial and rhetorical skills, soldierliness and organising ability have always characterised the office holders and office seekers of societies everywhere. Furthermore, particular environments seem each to favour particular. Revolutions accelerate changes in the skills demanded of politicians, but they do not transfer them" (Graza, 1966).

In Pakistan, Ayub Khan entered the scene in 1958 as a "welcome saviour" (at that time), of an Elitist Revolution, introducing a soldierly politician ; which was a total break from the decadent civilian bureaucratic and senile political leadership of those days, which had run out of time and fortune. Later in 1969, 'the people popular revolution' brought Bhutto to the national horizon as a 'deliverer and rescuer of beleaguered and truncated Pakistan; when he reemerged among the masses as a charismatic political leader of 'pure power' (Jalal, 2012).

### **Socialization**

Different cultures and societies are inclined to favour different skills of leadership, depending on their life styles, priorities and value systems. For leadership, like education, upbringing and culture, is essentially a process of socialization. But the general political skills already mentioned- military, educational, intellectual and organizational are almost universal, differing of course, in degree and emphasis. The variable factors which condition them are time, place and circumstance. The popular people's leaders may be oratorical, appealing to the emotions; the elitist leaders may be intellectual.

### **Social Class and Leadership**

While a closed social system (like Hinduism) with its bureaucratic cadreism, `casteism and exclusivistic classification or compartmentalization, may favour certain elitist classes with leadership, an open social system like Islam encourages merit and quality, any and every where. For Islam is against class consciousness and class distinctions, and aims at a classless society. But that is the ideal. The reality in Pakistan, as elsewhere in the world, points to a society in flux, a nation in transition. There are, of course, the feudal, bureaucrats, businessmen, industrialists, intellectuals, intelligentsia, the educated and the illiterate, the labour and worker, the careerists, professionals, servicemen and



employed, the unemployed and partly employed, the rich, the nouveau riche and the poor etc. Above all, the masses and classes, the elitists and the people. And we have the usual three broad classes --lower, middle and upper, may be with their sub-groups, at times and places. But despite---or because of--all the leveling poverty---there is plenty of social mobility from one class to another. With no barriers and segregation in between, to create a massive social problem. Inter-marriage may help this mobility. But very often it is the result of personal effort and successful exertion. This results in acceptance and even assimilation in another class (Cohen, 1973). Merit, money and success bring their own rewards; though success may not always be meritorious, honest or deserved. It is not just that money makes the mare run! Islam is an egalitarian and classless religion. Even so, political leadership, for all the money, resources and skills/organization that it demands, seems to be the preserve of the upper, middle or privileged classes-- money-wise, socially, educationally or otherwise, perhaps, for a yet controlled and still developing trade unionism in Pakistan.

### **Leadership and its Requirement**

#### **Expertise**

Apart from the general skills already discussed, leadership requires expertise and specialisation. The role of the elected executive, legislator or other functionary of the state, is not everyone's cup of tea. Ability or success in one field or skill is no guarantee of success in another (Hybles, 2002). In 1971, Pakistan's generals discovered too late that politics was not their kind of game. All attempts at 'political job analysis' are threatened or thwarted by the hazards, chances, fortunes and mishaps of politics. An individual may score all the points in any such skill-testing. He may even win the majority of votes in an election. But he may fail when actually put on the job.

#### **Individual Differences**

There are also individual differences even between leaders holding the same office in different points of time. Situations and circumstances may have changed radically, calling for different skills, attitudes and approaches. That is why men who occupy the same position can be diametrically opposed in character. Yet each may not only survive the challenge or just deliver the goods, but, in his own way, execute the job excellently. Of course, others at the same seat either fail or just scrape through (Posner & Barry, 1987).

Thus, there can be no set pattern of leadership. There are, of course, favorable types and traits, despite individual differences. Some of these can be common to the differing office holders of the same chair. These popular traits have been referred to in the preceding pages.

### **Group Relationship and Function**

Leadership cannot be explained fully through 'trait', class, skill or functional analysis, individually or collectively. The reason is that leadership itself is the relationship of a whole to a particular political group situation that in itself is influenced by all interrelations. Thus, "leadership is a function of the group and cannot be understood by merely studying the leader.

Moreover, the supply of qualities of leadership appropriate to a given situation may be a function of more than one group" (Graza, 1966). We, therefore, have to view a leader in relation to his political party. Also with reference to other political parties, pressure groups, power elites, factions, machines, lobbies and splinters. And the other influencing factors, negative and positive, supporting and opposing, cannot be ignored, either--including the problems and challenges. Leadership is like human life, character and personality, which is more than the sum total of its parts.

### **Some Problems of Leadership**

Freedom movements in erstwhile colonies have been led by middle or high class elitist leadership, which is though highly nationalistic, itself at a disadvantage vis-a-vis the people, being western educated. In the flush of the liberation struggle and the joint opposition to the alien rule, these differences are forgotten. But after the euphoria of independence has tided over, cracks and credibility gaps may begin to appear. These may widen, if not bridged over in time, and may even cause a change of leadership. This is what happened in Pakistan after the Quaid's death in 1948. In India, the Congress remained in power because of : (i) the charismatic leadership of Nehru ; (ii) the weakness of the opposition ; (iii) the will of the people, and : (iv) national unity generated by Gandhi's assassination ; (v) the ability of the Congress to obtain this will in its own favour--by growing with the times. But Indra Gandhi's high— handedness brought in the Janata Party, which is more people-oriented (Becker, 2013).

According to Richard Muir, 'Political elites, in attempting to create domestic nationalism, may launch campaigns of national revitalization involving efforts to purge the state of alien symbols and practices, often with the invocation of a mythical golden age of cultural purity'. (That is how Islam, ideology, socialism,

democracy and nationalism got misused and sloganised in Pakistan), 'However, the elites themselves are generally greatly removed from the populations which they claim to represent, being modern in culture, intensely nationalistic and educated to a high level and in the language of the metropolitan (or imperialist) country'. E. Shils calls such 'intellectual elites' relatively discrete collectives' — ethnic, communal, religious or linguistic') (Muir, 1973).

"Meanwhile, not giving the ruling party its fair chance, political opposition takes the form of a claim to regionalism and decentralization. At the same time there is a tendency among elites to confuse opposition to state policies and secession, and this leads to the suppression of opposition parties and the formation of one-party states'.

The above, too, is typical of the Third World and Afro-Asian countries. It has been happening gradually in Pakistan; and is often the order of the day in India.

### **Charismatic Leadership**

The evolution of a popular people's leadership and a one-party state or government may be synchronized. They are also generally contemporaneous with the emergence of a charismatic leader. Such a leader may not be of or belong to the same social class as the masses. But he identifies himself with them and is whole-heartedly accepted by the people as one of them, like some leaders of the Indo-Pak Freedom Movement. The secret of his success lies in this very fact. The charismatic leader is a popular spirit and can feel their pulse and heart heat. Being so revered and cherished, he is more in a position to reform the society and bring about change, for he has the willing cooperation of the people. At least till such time as he is on the ascent, he can influence public opinion and mould the national character for good or ill. But it better be for good, as his acceptance is in proportion to his creditability and his recognized ability to deliver the goods. Seokarno and Ayub Khan, too, were charismatic leaders- whose tragic fall came about with the loss of their general acceptance. Jinnah, Gandhi, Nehru and Nasser retained their charisma till their death or dying days. Mujib-ur-Rehman is another tragic case study in the psychology of the fallen archangel of politics. Indra Gandhi and Z. A. Bhutto are/were the leading charismatic leaders of South Asia who, despite all the mounting opposition to them, showed a remarkable instinct for survival till their foreseeable end (Hayat, 2008).

According to Alfred De Grazia, "This man of 'pure power' is one of the types that sometimes provides us with a special kind of political leader, the charismatic

leader, who gains dictatorial powers during periods of widespread social distress. He seeks to incite as large a mass of people as possible. Unstable times, the twentieth century, for instance, provide him an immense audience that, to another age or land, seems unbelievably suggestible and stupid (e.g. the tragic-trio: Mujib, Bhutto and Indira Gandhi since 1970 (Grazia, 1973).

“Max Weber first defined the nature of Charisma. Charisma is the quality that enables one man, without measurable traits far exceeding those of his followers, without coming from any ruling group or holding any office, to exercise surpassing magnetism and to gather a tremendous following. Charisma is 'non-rational' and 'non-bureaucratic' (Weber, 1947).

It is a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary man and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least specifically exceptional powers and qualities \_Pure charisma is specifically foreign to economic considerations. Wherever it appears, it constitutes a 'call' in the most emphatic sense of the word, a 'mission of a spiritual duty'?

Charismatic leadership, evidenced in a man originally by some remarkable or 'miraculous' accomplishments, can be maintained only by the continuous demonstration of those abilities- prophecy, heroism, striking successes- or by a 'routinising of charisma'. Charisma becomes institutionalized or reutilized when the initial contempt of a charismatic leader and his followers for organization, positions, money and laws diminishes in fact, if not in theory, and regularized ways of achieving the sinews of permanence such as bureaucracies and taxation, are established (Hamilton, 1991).

As much as a charismatic leader challenges the existing political leadership, he cannot be expected to gain support from the status quo for his mission, be conservative or radical in relation to the ideas of the existing political leaders. He, therefore, prospers on mass support and only belatedly receives adherents from among the established leaders.

Caution is necessary, for charisma may be used to explain too much. Max Weber was careful to state that charisma is often mixed with the traditional kinds of authority, and the charismatic leaders, for all their contempt of rules and regulations, frequently utilized existing channels of assent. Furthermore, essentially non-charismatic offices may acquire charismatic occupants (e.g.) Abraham Lincoln who was 'more than the President'.....Besides, purely

charismatic leaders cannot arise anywhere at any time. It depends on the time, place and circumstances, also on the receptivity of the followers (Weber, 1947). 'According to De Grazia (1966), charisma is more often present in subdued form".

As with the variegated psychology and motivation of leadership, so with the complexity of the drives of charismatic leaders, not all of them are averse to law or political institutions, except pure anarchists, who, of course, cannot last long. No matter, how personalized one's rule, organization is essential for the political process. This, in turn, necessitates parties, manifestos and programmes law, institutions, traditions and other norms, principles and organs of a proper political system. Of course, leaders like Hitler hide under the law simply to legitimize their unconstitutional acts. Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman is an example of a charismatic leader misleading and ruining his nation. But we have extremely and genuinely constitutional luminaries like the Quaid-e-Azam, as well. When leadership commits itself against the existing order, it also seeks to reform its decadent laws and institutions.

### **Conclusion**

Though geographers have tended to disregard the subject, variations in national character can produce concrete geographical manifestations, and may form a significant factor in the political geographical process. The main alternative to the idea that power accounts for international behavior seems to have been that the traits of nations are expressed in international actions. Political leaders, while trying to mould national character and public opinion, in order to affect the reforms programmed by them in their manifestos and creeds or credos, are themselves affected by national character. Depending also on the field of leadership, they include religious and ideological, altruistic and welfare-oriented, nationalistic, pacifistic, cosmopolitan, fraternal and international leaders or leader-types. Policy making is affected by the national character traits of the decision-makers and by their views of and reactions to the national character of other nations or their policy makers. Leadership: The national leadership uses the instrumentality of the national character to influence decisions and effect reforms in all important walks of collective life. Therefore, we know that history is both the consequence of the acts of leadership and particular heroic men and women, and the product of the interaction of social forces in the historical process—the forces being socio-political, economic, nationalistic, cultural, religious, geostrategic and international, etc. Behaviour reflective of national idiosyncrasies, national reactions, to perceive national character of others. In

fact according to Richard Muir, Writing in his book *Modern Political Geography*: “The most elusive thread in the complex fabric of nationhood is that of national character.

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