



Foreign Policy Discourse of Extremist Hindus

Mohammad Hassan Shaykh al-Islami

Associate Professor of International Relations Faculty of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Tehran, Iran.

Omid Babelian*

PhD Candidate in India studies, Faculty of World studies, University of Tehran, Tehran, Iran.

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Abstract

The present article explores the discourse of extremist Hindus after Gandhi. Gandhi's discourse, in his lifetime, was to become the most important political driving force in India. Having been assassinated by an extremist Hindu, function of Gandhi's discourse has, too, faced many ups and downs in the context of historic developments and following competing discourses and debates, all of which had played a role in shaping India's foreign policy. In this sense, the significance of taking into consideration Gandhi's discourse is being felt more than ever. The present paper examines the effective historic developments, which have contributed to shaping India's foreign policy, basic debates, and discourses based on Hinduism in India, all of which define Gandhi's discourse as their otherness. The main question of the research is "What discourses and to what extent have they been envisaged in India's foreign policy?" The assumption of the research is as follows: "With respect to Gandhi's legacy, India has pursued idealistic policies. However, idealism has managed to shift to realism in the face of extreme nationalism discourses. Gandhi's discourse deviates from practical politics. Thus, Hindu-based political parties, such as Bharatiya Janata Party as the main otherness of Gandhi's discourse, dominate India's foreign policy." The data re gathered on the basis of library resources and the methodology of the research is descriptive-analytical.

Key words: discourse, Gandhi, Hinduism, extremist parties, Hindu nationalism.

* **Corresponding Author:** babelian.omid@ut.ac.ir

Introduction

By raising the concept of non-violence, Gandhi created a socio-political force which led the Indian foreign policy to a peaceful path. Gandhi's discourse has been articulated based on Ahimsa as the central signifier; this discourse is based on accepting yourself and the other, political pluralism, separation of religion from governmental institutions, and ethics, while the political and economic situations, such as the war between India and China, the existence of Pakistan as the hostile other, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the corruption in the Congress attenuated Gandhi's discourse and the conflicting discourses that have been articulated in the direction of eliminating the other and radical nationalism, gained precedence in India's political sphere.

Like other countries, there are different opinions in India that have been formed through extensive ideas and beliefs; these different opinions can be seen in India's foreign policy as well as other sectors. In this article, we will study this issue that what happened to Gandhi's discourse after his death and how Gandhi's principles and norms continued their life in Indian political sphere and how Gandhi's ideals have been changed. We also explored developments of Gandhi's discourse. Debates that have been raised about the direction of Indian foreign policy after Gandhi's death show that which currents have raised against Gandhi's discourse and finally which principles of Gandhi's discourse have continued their lives in Indian economic, cultural, political, and foreign policy sphere; we have also studied the parts of Gandhi's discourse that have been changed under the influence of international environment and globalization.

The main question of this research is that after Gandhi's death, which discourses and with what proportion entered Indian political sphere? The hypothesis of this article states that after the Gandhi's assassination, India promoted an idealist foreign policy, but due to variant developments in different levels this idealism has turned to realism and extremists with radical nationalism discourse promoted their signifiers in Indian society. Gandhi and his discourse have been marginalized and political parties who adhere to Hinduism, namely Bharatiya Janata Party as the major opponent of Gandhi's discourse, have dominated Indian foreign policy.

A correct understanding of Indian foreign policy requires us to be familiar with main discourses in Indian foreign policy; Gandhi's discourse and discourses based on Hinduism and religion in post-Gandhi India are the most important discourses in this country. After advent of international developments such as rise of Pakistan, war between India and China, and the fall of the Soviet Union, radical parties had the opportunity to gain more power. Therefore,

studying these parties leads us to a precise understanding of the causes of Indian foreign policy behavior. In this article, library resources and discourse analysis have been used for testing the hypothesis and analyzing data.

1. Literature review

Dezso Szenkoics published the article, “The Relevance of Mahatma Gandhi’s Philosophy for the 21st century” in 2003; in this article the efficiency of Gandhi’s message for issues like terrorism and moral crises is explored. At first, the author studies Gandhi’s important ideas such as Satyagraha (the truth) and Ahimsa (non-violence); then he proves that although some people believe that although these ideas are idealistic and abstract, they can be useful for contemporary crises.

The book “India after Gandhi” written by Ramchandra Guha studies the political problems and challenges of India after Gandhi. Guha tries to explain Indian history in a way that we can recognize India’s contemporary issues. This book studies the years after Nehru, changes in politics, economy, language and the reasons of the survival of India. Moreover, Guha studies freedom movement, codifying Indian constitution, and establishing a liberal democracy in India.

In his thesis “Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?” Vinayak Damodar Savarkar describe the concept of Hindutva; the term Hindutva is used for describing the quality of being Indian. Hindutva is an ideology which tries to turn India into a Hindu country and establish the hegemony of Hindu’s lifestyle. Savarkar considers Hinduism as the ethnic, cultural, and political identity. Savarkar believes that real Hindus are those who consider India as a country where their ancestors lived and their religion emerged. Here, he advocates the establishment of a Hindu state. This is very important in India, because this ideology is the spiritual father of BJP; this ideology is the most important discourse which stands against Gandhi and his ideas.

2. Theoretical framework

Critical discourse analysis is a method for qualitative researches which is philosophically based on constructivism and by emphasizing on human as an agent reduces reality to human constructions. After reviewing the ideas of discourse theorists, the theory of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe is the most efficient theory for answering the research question based on logical reasons; because these theorists brought discourse analysis from its linguistic roots to cultural, political, and social area. This issue will be discussed based on discourse analysis, i.e. the meaningful role of social

practices and thoughts in political life which has been derived from Laclau and Mouffe's ideas and the cultural and critical approach of discourse.

There have been different definitions for discourse. For example, Jorgensen defines discourse as "a special method for describing and understanding the world" (Jorgensen and et.al, 2002: 17).

Michel Foucault also offers another definition: "discourse consists of a limited number of premises for which a number of conditions become existential" (Soltani, 1383: 40).

Fairclough offers another definition for discourse: "in my view, discourse is an intertwined set which consists of three elements – namely discourse act, social act, and the context itself; for analyzing a specific discourse we should analyze all of these elements and their relationships" (Fairclough, 2013: 97).

From Michel Foucault point of view, discourse consists of linguistic and nonlinguistic signs that includes the whole social sphere in addition to language and create a regime of truth.

Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe by emphasizing on Foucault's view and reviewing the theories of intellectuals like Lacan, Barthes, Marx, Gramsci, Saussure, and Derrida, expanded discourse theory to all political and social affairs and created a kind cohesion in this theory. In Laclau and Mouffe's view, discourses shape our image of the world and the truth and only within discourse structure can we understand the social and political affairs and the world of truth generally.

The identity and semantic system of discourses is created by "enemies". Based on this theory, the existence of a discourse which is totally dominant in a society is not possible and in this situation we cannot study the process of evolution of a discourse and semantic system otherwise we consider it against an enemy. Based on the discourse theory, all of the social developments are the result of semantic conflicts between discourses. Discourses are always trying to preserve the meaning of "self" and reject the "other".

3. The main discussion and the analysis of research findings

3-1. the debates in Indian foreign policy after Gandhi

In India, there are many competing views about the role of India in international system. The first view belongs to moralistic people which carry Nehru's ideas and believe that India should behave according to Gandhi's moral principles in the international system; in this view India should become an ethical model for other countries and try to establish a fair and just international order. The second view is based on Hindu nationalism.

Hindu nationalists believe that India should revive the glory of the past by increasing its economic and military power. Nationalism also emphasizes on flourishing epic virtues in Indian society. The third view is realism. Realism believes that India's economic and military capabilities and capacities must increase and India should become a great power among other great powers by relying on its economic capabilities and conventional and unconventional defense forces. The fourth view is liberalism which is based on a global worldview; the elites who believe in this view seek to turn India into a commercial and business power and emphasize on the opportunities of globalism for economic development in India.

1-1-3. Moralization:

Moralization is intertwined with Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhi's ideas and this kind of moralization is referred to as Nehruism. This idea that India should be a moral model for other countries roots in liberal and anti-colonial movements. Anti-colonial movement under Gandhi and Nehru's leadership not only fought for the liberation of India, but also prohibited violence and introduced Ahimsa as the leading idea for liberation movement. Indian anti-colonial movement also consisted of external and international aspects. In this movement, Gandhi and Nehru supported international justice, equality between countries, the right of self-determination, and the rejection of dominance over other countries. Indian anti-colonial movement mostly believed in equality for all countries. When India liberated from British colonialism and achieved independence, moralists defined the role of moral player for India in foreign policy. They sought to expand the spirit of Gandhi's resistance principles into international politics (Gandhi, 1968: 256).

The way that non-violence principle should be realized within states' foreign policy and international arena has not been clarified by Gandhi; although some principles have been generally introduced only for Indian foreign policy, the practicality of these principles did not have the opportunity of being tested in international interactions. After Gandhi's death and unlike the moralists, the Indian Congress believed that India is not an organization for preserving global peace and the principle of non-violence is not enforceable, in the way that has been used for India's anti-colonial endeavors; on the other hand, moralists emphasized that India should become an independent model for the foreign policy of other countries. They emphasized on Indian cultural and civilization heritage as a large and diverse country for promoting peace and peaceful coexistence in international scene. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of India tried to expand morality into Indian foreign policy and defined some principles in

this regard (Nehru, 1961: 26). These principles have been the minimum criteria which have been inspired by historical procedures. Since the right of self-determination has been one of the basic principles of Indian anti-colonial struggle, moralists emphasized on India's independence in foreign policy. In fact, after the victory of anti-colonial movement in India, a strong support has been shaped for India's independence in foreign policy and peaceful coexistence with other countries. Moralists emphasized on diplomatic means and negotiation for peaceful settlement of disputes between countries (Hasan, 2007: 82). Nehru believed that India's interests should be secured through cooperation with other countries.

2-1-3. nationalism

Nationalists who are known as Hindu nationalists have been marginalized in Indian foreign policy until 1980s. They are the most influential and oldest critics of moralism in Indian foreign policy. Hindu nationalism roots two distinct feelings of shame and pride. They are proud of the history of ancient Indian civilization and are shamed of being attacked and defeated by foreign forces. They pay attention to British colonialism and the wars and defeats against Muslims. They believe that enter a new resurrection. A resurrection for reviving the glory of the past which can be achieved through promoting epic virtues in Indian society (Wallace, 1980: 618).

In spite of moralists, nationalists emphasize on an active foreign policy and the purpose of this foreign policy is to revive the glory of the past which has been defeated by British colonialism and wars against Muslims. They emphasize on the material, semantic, and heroic capabilities of Indian national glory and believe that India will achieve its past glory through economic development and increasing defense capabilities and Hindu's heroic spirit. They also consider the civilization and cultural heritage as the Indian identity and define a Hindu identity for the country (Madhav, 1966: 261).

Nationalists meet the intellectual needs of Bharatiya Janata Party. They deeply believe that Hindus defeated against British colonialism and Muslims because they did not pay attention to their Hindu identity; therefore, India should appreciate its Hindu identity and become an undefeatable power. Because they believe that other countries and foreign powers, despite moralists' believes, do not pay attention to the arguments of weak states; therefore, the intellectual philosophy of nationalists is that India will be respected only when it could be able to defeat other but pretend to be modest. They believe that law of the jungle should be the basis of Indian foreign relations and in the international arena, the powerful will achieve

what they desire and weak states lose what they already have, unless they become powerful (Schweller, 2011: 291).

In practice, the ideas of nationalists face basic paradoxes. Material resources of power consist of requirements that change the virtues and characteristics of Hindu identity. On one hand, they try to increase the material resources of their countries' power, and on the other hand, the increase of such resources requires policies which lead to a change in India's values and cultural heritage. They worry about India's material power and the situation of non-material values and the heritage of the past. Therefore, they are doubtful about modernization, but for empowering India they need to modernize the country.

3-1-3. Liberalism

Liberals have promoted in India during the last decade. After more than three decades of dominance of the moralist approach in Indian foreign policy, it has been clear that they cannot gain enough international support for promoting the moralist behavior or model in international relations. Liberals have a universal viewpoint. The purpose of this group is all-sided economic, social and political development in India. They believe that economic and social development should be the purpose of Indian foreign policy and should behave as a developmental country in international scene.

In spite of moralists, they prefer development over increasing military force and reviving the glory of the past. In their view, economic and social development is the purpose itself and it is not considered as a mean for increasing the national power and reviving the glory of the past; achieving this goal requires expanding the relationship with developed countries. In their belief, India must attract foreign investment and modern technology and infrastructure and expand its relations with global markets. They pay attention to liberal values not Hindu ones (Mohan, 2003: 13).

Liberals believe that the value of economic and social welfare is more than moral principles and we cannot follow abstract moral principles in foreign policy, principles which make the assessment of achievements difficult (Gupta, 2012: 283).

3-1-4. Realism

Realists are an influential group in India's foreign policy and have emerged after the end of nationalists' dominance in India and also after the end of the cold war bipolar structure; specifically, this group emerged during the end of 1990s. Their main concern is to promote India into a great power. For realists, becoming a great power is an expected and natural demand. They consider economic and military development as a mean for becoming

a great power and they are optimistic about developing relations with the United States. From their perspective, the United States is the most powerful state in the current world and the two countries have common interests in containment of China and fighting against Islamic radicalism in South Asia.

3-3. evolution in India's foreign policy

From 1990s, a set of internal, regional, and global developments led to a change in India's foreign policy. In global level, the Soviet Union collapsed and the bipolar system was replaced by a unipolar leading by United States; the new system was not accompanied by security competitions which were common during the cold war. In regional level, China turned into a dynamic country with a high rate of economic growth due to open door policy. In internal level, the economic programs faced with a great crisis and failure and lost its reputation. Regarding foreign policy, moralists had lost their popular support. In this situation, new ideas about India's foreign policy emerged and dominated the country's foreign policy; accordingly, India's foreign policy entered a transition period after the cold war. There is an internal consensus in India's foreign policy that moralism is an inappropriate approach for foreign policy. Nationalism, realism, and liberalism are the approaches that have a decisive influence on India's foreign policy (Schweller, 2011: 291).

From 1990s, India realized that the continuity of ideological policies has had irreparable detriments for Indian economy and its international position; therefore, India adopted more practical approaches in foreign policy. After independence, India always sought to achieve dominance through "third world charter" and "anti-colonial" policy; but the result of this policy not only met the expectations but also left India behind his regional rivals. In fact, during these years, no real coalition has been formed to be led by India. From early 1990s, India put aside its radical policies and moved toward practical policies and cooperation and integration with internal markets. The change in India's foreign policy started from economic policies.

Semi-socialistic economic model in India resulted in deficit in payment balance in 1991 and the treasury has been depleted due to buying vital items especially oil. After a period of political instability, Manmohan Singh who was the minister of finance at the time, started the reforms under the pressure of IMF in order to turn India's economy to a more competitive one.

Singh decreased the value of Indian rupee in order to increase exports. He decreased the limitations of foreign investment and released one third of Indian industries from government ownership. In some sections, Singh moved some state assets to the private sector and even invited the private

sector to participate in transportation, aviation, energy, and communication industries (Yuan, 2001: 38).

Thanks to the IT revolution in India, exports increased from 7 percent of GDP in 1990 to 20 percent in 2010; moreover, the number of software and export services businesses has increased by 40 percent (Pandit, 2013: 88). IT businesses which were not expanded until recently, earn 30 billion dollar annually. This industry has created 9 million jobs directly and indirectly (Sikdar, 2013: 44).

In 1990s, the role of India in international system and the image of Indian elites about India's position in international system have been changed. In 1999, when Bharatiya Janata Party won majority in Congress and Atal Bihari Vajpayee became the Indian Prime Minister, India's foreign policy had been remarkably changed. During this decade, economic Self-sufficiency and the policy of import substitution have been abandoned. Socialism, tendency towards the third world, and non-alignment movement had been also abandoned and India turned into an emerging power (Scot, 2009: 12).

In the course of time, Bharatiya Janata Party moved towards radical nationalism. The party won the election 1999 through nationalistic slogans such as making a powerful India, achieving a permanent seat in the Security Council, strengthening the military power, moving from socialism towards capitalism, establishing close relationships with the United States, and focusing on pragmatism in foreign policy.

In 2004, Bharatiya Janata Party lost the election because it could not satisfy radical Hindus during their four years of governance. In this year, Atal Bihari Vajpayee was replaced by Manmohan Singh. He emphasized that "India's foreign policy would not be basically changed" (Singh, 2004: Ministry of external affairs). Singh believed that the external world is a fixed variable for India's economic growth; in other words, the external world and the global economy is considered as a great opportunity for internal development in India that should be exploited. In this era India's foreign policy sought the following goals:

Preserving the high economic growth, guaranteeing the import of energy, balanced economic and social growth, the development of villages and remote areas for eliminating unemployment, and economic liberalism and seeking for more integration with developing and developed countries, especially Asia-Pacific economies. Singh believed that the policy of economic development is consistent with dominant global procedures as a part of the consequences of the socialist block collapse (Yahya, 2003: 14).

As described by Singh, the Indian dream “is an open society, an open and prosperous economy, a plural, multi-cultural, and multi-ethnic society which can be achieved through expansive relations with global economy and close and friendly ties with great powers.” Singh considers liberal democracy as the natural political order in modern world and believes that India not only needs to move towards global economy but also it needs an open society for growth and development. Singh’s policies indicate the change from non-alignment policy to the policy of close relationships with great powers, especially the United States (Singh, 2005: The globalist).

3-4. Gandhi’s discourse in transition

Gandhi’s discourse with Ahimsa as the central signifier has been articulated on the basis of accepting ourselves and others, political pluralism, separation of religion and state institutions, and moralism. On the other hand, the political and economic situation such as the war between India and China, the conflict with Pakistan, the Soviet Collapse, and corruption in Congress marginalized Gandhi’s discourse. Therefore, other discourses that have been articulated in the basis of eliminating others and radical nationalism became more powerful in Indian politics.

3-4-1. India on the basis on Hinduism

After the independence, apart from secular politics, Hinduism was also an important force in contemporary India. This force has provided the situation for nationalism in India. Moreover, Hinduism played an important role in consolidating the borders and national solidarity based on being Indian. Hinduism became the main basis of nation-building in India. Indian nationalism is closely related to Hinduism, just like nationalism in Pakistan which is based on Islam (Bhambhri, 2007: 173).

Hindu resurrection or militant Hindu nationalism has been revealed in the form of variant political organizations and movements. These organizations are listed below: RSS, a Hindu cultural organization, the members of which learn martial arts and support a Hindu definition about Indian nation; Jana Sangh, RSS political party which is an anti-Muslim organization; BJP, a nationalistic political party; Vishwa Hindu Parishad which focuses their activity on liberating Hindu religious sites; they claim that these religious sites have been occupied by Muslim mosques (Brass, 1994: 15). These Hindu nationalistic organizations played an important role in reviving the feelings of Hindu nationalism across the country (Kinnvall & Svensson, 2010: 283).

The believers in Hindutva and RSS have never accepted some of the commitments of the 1949 constitution such as federalism, pluralism, and secularism. They have advertised the discourse of “one people, one culture,

and one nation” and believed that India must move towards “one country, one state, one language, and one government.” Thus, BJP leaders tried to redefine the constitution in order to build a nation which is based on Hindu nationalism (Brass, 1994: 89).

Despite the discourse of Ahimsa, Hindutva redefined the cultural signifiers in order to turn them into political signs and provide the situation for violence. After the independence, they referred to Gandhi’s discourse as an anti-Hindu and condemned this discourse. They considered seculars and Muslims as their enemies. During the dominance of Hindus in the country, religion has changed from a faith to an ideology; this resulted in a religious fundamentalism which dominated Indian politics (Sen & Wagner, 2009: 302).

3-4-2. Religious-based parties in India after independence

Establishing political parties on the basis of religious affiliations has a long history in India. There are many religious-based parties in India which have been recognized by Indian election commission. We will describe some of these parties below.

3-4-2-1. Hindu parties

As Bhambhari mentions, for Hindus, the Indian society has been appropriate for the policy of Hindutva and due to the fact that Hindu cultural symbols can be politically maneuvered by Hindu parties, the religious-based parties dominate secular ones. These Hindu nationalist parties have pursued “Hindu, Indian, India” slogan. In this discourse, Indian national ideology and Hinduism dominates other discourses. Indian culture becomes Hindu cultures and minorities should declare their loyalty to the symbols and main foundations of the culture of the majority.

3-4-2-1-1. Akhil Bharatiya Ram Rajya

Akhil Bharatiya Ram Rajya was one of the first Hindu parties after the independence. This party has been established in 1948 and supported the policy of reviving Hinduism but it was not successful (Weiner, 2006: 138). They did not accept the concept of “nation-state”. They believed that in Hinduism there is not a clear border between nation and state. Like Hindutva, RRP sought a common civil law in India based on Hinduism as the first religion. The party won three seats in 1952 election and two seats in 1962 election. Later, this party joined Bharatiya Jana Sangh.

3-4-2-1-2. Bharatiya Jana Sangh

Bharatiya Jana Sangh roots in RSS. When Gandhi was assassinated by a radical Hindu in 1948, RSS was prohibited from political activities. When this prohibition has been eliminated, RSS leader and a group its members decided to start political activities; therefore, Madhav Sadashiv Golwalker,

RSS leader, proposed the idea of establishing a political party. BJS was officially established in 1951 under the leadership of a Bengali politician (Graham, 2006: 157).

Top leaders of BJS party were from high castes, especially Brahmins. They were militant nationalists who derived the Hindu's nationalism signifiers from Hindu traditions. The party did not recognize the concepts of majority and minority in India. For them, there was one nation with one culture; Hindu society and the nation were the same. Their goal was to return India to the Hindu nation. They mainly emphasized on Hindu culture, religion, and other similar concepts (Brass, 1994: 84 & Kumar, 1990: 102 & Shakir, 1986: 120).

This party played an important role in the establishment of Bharatiya Janata Party. In 1977, Bharatiya Jana Sangh besides other parties such as congress party, and socialist party established the inclusive Bharatiya Janata Party which held power in the central parts of India and some other states (Graham, 2006: 157-8). After Janata party divided in 1979, BJS remain in the coalition, but after 1980 election, the members of BJS separated from Janata party to form a new party; they named this new party Bharatiya Janata which will be described in the next section

3-4-2-1-3. Bharatiya Janata Party

Bharatiya Janata Party or Indian people's party is the direct successor of BJS and is known as a right-wing and religion party. This political party is under the influence of high-caste Hindus. The newly established party defined five commitments regarding the activities of BJP:

First, "India is one nation and Indians are one people who tolerate religious pluralism and different ideologies, languages, and interests. BJP believes that people of different religions and ideologies must be able to live together in peace and sympathy. A national agreement is possible only when the development of one group leads to the development of other social groups. Those who are loyal to foreigners and participate in anti-social activities cannot be a part of this agreement (Graham, 2006: 159-60).

The second principle was commitment to democracy and basic rights. The third principle was "positive secularism" which required supporting minorities and their life and assets. Fourth principle was "Gandhian secularism" which requires the replacement of capitalism by the principles of cooperation and trust in all economic contexts; the fifth principle was "value-based politics" which meant that social and political life must be led by set of norms and values. These principles apparently show that "BJP is a party with liberal and human concerns and shares the same ideas as the

Nehru's Congress party in 1950s. Despite these principles, was preparing for a nationalistic orientation with Hindu characteristics (Ibid: 160-161).

As Arora mentions, the word "secular" had a special meaning for BJP leaders. According to Singh, secularism means impartiality in relation to the religion itself. He seriously opposed with the idea of separation between religion and state and when he was talking about different religious sects in India, he did not referred to Christians and Muslims at all (Arora, 2008). Moreover, Hindu nationalists claimed that they are the real seculars, because minorities will be benefitted from Hindu's dominance; accordingly, if Hinduism ignores religious rights, it will be dependent on the caste system which means that other religious minorities must adhere to Brahman value system. Furthermore, Hindu nationalism has always accepted that religious minorities may be able to perform their religious rituals in privately, but in the public they have to respect Hindu traditions (Jaffrelot, 2007: 313-314).

Since RSS had been active in most Hindu-Muslim turmoil, BJP tried to hide its radical face. According to Van Der Veer, BJP claims that it is "the people party" but for them people means the majority of Indians who are Hindu. The goal of BJP is the governance of Rama which means the governance of Hindu majority. Therefore, they oppose with every concession for minorities, especially Muslims. "Rama government is a utopian endeavor, a demand for a pure and uncorrupt politics, job and welfare for every Hindu; in this utopian desire Muslims are considered as foreigners (Van Der Veer, 2006: 258-9).

3-4-2-1-3-1. BJP ideology: Hindutva

In the national level, BJP has decisively declared its commitment to the establishment of a Hindu state. As Basu mentioned, BJP emphasize on three elements: a powerful or Hindu government, centralized party organization, and relationship with RSS (Basu, 2006: 59-60).

Although BJP alleviated Jana Sangh discourse in order to accept Indian party system, it continued Hindutva discourse (Jaffrelot, 2007: 20). Hindutva is the basis of the BJP programs. This party sought to establish a mythical monarchy based on its interpretation of nationalism. They believe that India will become a united nation only by adhering to Hindutva. Therefore, we cannot understand BJP without considering Hindutva. As Bhambhri mentioned, "Hindutva is established on the basis of the ideology of "we" and "other" and Hindu cultural symbols are used for mobilizing people; moreover, freeing Ayodhya, Varanasi or Kashi and Mathura temples is the religious duty of Hindus" (Bhambhri, 2007: 174-175).

After the collapse of Nehru hegemony and creation of ideological and political vacuum, Hindutva emerged for attracting the political support of the masses which was the result of political struggles for identities. Since India is a multi-identity country, this discourse is based on violence and coercion, because it contrasts the real India which is a cosmopolitan country. Moreover, this identity based policy has always considered Muslims and Christians as “others” (Ibid: 164-165 & 221).

Creating a Hindu identity has been extremely important for BJP and this identity has always been against Muslims and Christians. In 1990s, a Hindu-based policy with the purpose of creating a Hindu identity has been the dominant policy in India. Sangh Parivar used religion for mobilizing the masses in the election. They could attract the middle and upper-middle class by resorting to these policies; they mobilized unemployed poor people against religious identities. Sangh Parivar has set a common social purpose for different Hindu classes and has been successful in mobilizing Hindu people and promoting Hinduism in India (Ibid. 223).

In fact, as Vanaik mentions, deeper social developments especially in middle castes and cultural mobility have provided the context for religious activities in favor of Sangh coalition. After the defeat in 1980-1984 election, the control of RSS over the party increased. In 1984, the replacement of Vajpayee by Advani who has closer relationship with RSS, the control of RSS over the party was evident. Moreover, the party emphasized more on the traditional ideology of Sangh by rejecting “Gandhi’s socialism”. Therefore, Sangh coalition moved towards right-wing policies and polarized Indian politics (Vanaik, 2006: 173-198).

Although BJP is not considered as a pure fundamentalist party, depending on Hinduism and religious symbols played an important role in its policies. They believe that the big Muslim minority has been detrimental for the unity and integrity of the country and they have created separatist movements in Kashmir, Panjab, and north eastern parts of the country (Brass, 1994: 87-8).

As Chakrabarty mentioned, BJP has employed all militant and conflictual instructions against Muslim for political benefits (Chakrabarty, 2009: 73). As Vijay Kumar Malhotra, BJP senior leader said in 1996, “Hindutva and the Indian nation are the same. There is no contradiction between the two” (Copland & McGuire, 2007: 280). The main ideology of Sangh is that Indian emancipation will be possible only through Hindu self-consciousness. According to Vanak, there are two approaches regarding the characteristics of the Hinduism: internal and external cohesion and solidarity based on Hinduism. First, they tried to make Brahmanism more flexible and compatible. The other

approach of Sangh coalition is uniting against a common enemy which can be beneficial during internal hostilities in the party (Vanaik, 2006: 183).

Although BJP changed the violent approaches in Hindu nationalism due to political coalitions, this change occurred only in their words. Hindu nationalism changed into “cultural nationalism” and the term “pro-Hindu” changed into “real secularism” and anti-Muslim policies has been hidden by “emphasis on internal security” (Arora, 2008). In the statement that has been published in 21st June 2009, it has been emphasized that “the basic ideology of Hindutva should not be interpreted as means of religious practices or in the form of a radical ideology. This ideology is related to culture, characteristics of people, lifestyle, and therefore everything” (Kinnvall & Svensson, 2010: 275). Nevertheless, these political parties preserved their close links with Hindu nationalist movement and its main ideas.

3-5. the process of modern nation-state based on Hindu nationalism

The project of nation-building process, in addition to providing the ruling system interests, is one of the main ideas of Modi’s government intellectuals who have been gathered in think tanks such as Vivekananda International Foundation and India Foundation; these think tanks provide the situation for government activities and have the support of Hindu nationalists (VIF Report, 2016: 3). There are two main approaches in Indian nation-state building process: internal nation-state building and strategic cooperation with global structure. These approaches seem to be beneficial to the middle class, the government and pro-globalism forces:

A. Establishing absolute sovereignty: “Hindu nationalism has been chosen as the national culture and security and the formal ideology of the government, majority of the people, and the middle class. The mainstream seeks to consolidate Modi’s position as the new leader of the party in economic globalism era; therefore, the first step is to consolidate state sovereignty through attracting and articulating other identities and elements such as Buddhism, Sikhism, and other minorities like Muslims (Ansari, 2016: 1-30).

B. Creating a single law and procedure in India: these intellectuals are seeking to revoke the structural institutions and pluralistic and complicated traditions and replace it with the culture of ruling class which is the Hindu majority. For example, the Indian constitution which consists of 400 pages and other laws and complicated national regulations are the obstacles in the process of a structural nation-state building and creating unified social institutions (Itty Abraham, 2014: Orf).

C. Creating a central organization which obeys the leader in the government structure and is responsible for mobilizing, preserving, and

distributing the resources and also distributing and allocating the forces of the Indian modern state: establishing intellectual foundations such as Vivekananda International Foundation and other intellectual, financial, and ideological centers has been part of creating a cohesive organization. The ideology of Hindu state, which is also known as Hindutva, tries to establish a Hindu country in which minorities are the “other” (Jaffrelot, 2016: 1-3). In this regards, comprehensive plans such as moving Hindu people to disputed areas, attracting Hindu people from outside the country, domination of Hindu culture, supporting the holiness of cow, and creating militias for supporting cows are being carried out (Election Manifesto, 2014 BJP Party).

After the cold war, India gradually turned from “non-alignment” strategy to “the strategy of “Multi-Alignment” (Narayanan, 2016: the Hindu). This strategy which has been carried out during moderate Prime Ministers, especially Manmohan Singh, continued and evolved in Modi’s government. For example, in 2016, Prime Minister Modi did not participate in the non-aligned movement summit which was held in Venezuela. Moreover, under Manmohan Singh leadership, India signed an agreement with the United States regarding its nuclear program and supported the United Nations resolution against Islamic Republic of Iran as one of the important members of the non-aligned movement. Regarding the changes in Indian foreign policy, Mr. Modi mentions that “the duty of foreign policy is not to change others’ minds and the purpose of foreign policy is finding common interests and wherever India’s interests require, we will have dialogue with every country”. He added, “India must accept that the bipolar world has been eliminated, but India understood this reality a little late. Today world is intertwined and interdependent” (Kejriwal, 2017). Based on this theory, strategic relationships between India, United States and Israel are intertwined.

Conclusion

After Gandhi, India which has recently gained independence, became fatherless. In early years, Gandhi’s legacy was valuable; however political conflicts have been already started. After the independence, India follows non-alignment in its foreign policy. As time pasts, ideals turn into realities, the Congress party faces with corruption, and the Soviet Union collapses. India faces with hostile others named Pakistan and China. More importantly, we are faced with separatist movements inside India. In fact, after Gandhi’s assassination and based on his legacies, India moves towards idealistic and humanitarian policies, but this idealism turns into realism due to security threats from China and Pakistan and the Soviet collapse. In this situation, radicals take

advantage of this opportunity and consolidate their central signifiers by resorting to their traditions. Gandhi's non-violence idea created a social force which led into independence, but after Gandhi's assassination, Indian foreign policy deteriorated from its peaceful path and started a new direction.

Despite the geopolitical necessities, India refrained from being committed to the Soviet Union or the United States. Nehru was not willing to join great powers; moreover, such policies would not have gained internal support because of anti-colonial movements. Nehru believed that commitment to one of the two great powers would deprive India from its independence in foreign policy and lead the country into serious security competitions with other blocks which would result in an increase in military expenses; on the other hand, this commitment is not consistent with non-violence and peaceful coexistence principles. The idea of independence and autonomy shaped the mentality and attitude of the Indian generations that before 1947 were fighting against British colonialism. During Nehru's era, Anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic attitudes dominated over bureaucratic structures. The forces that dominated decision-making centers considered international unions as a means for controlling smaller countries by great powers which would lead India to return to the period of colonialism.

Studying these historical developments indicate that today, the role of Gandhi in Indian foreign policy is limited to public diplomacy and advertisement. Gandhi disgusted weapons of mass destruction and spoke of peaceful coexistence; but India is now a country with nuclear weapons and is not a member of NPT. Gandhi talked about love in his political activities. But idealism has been replaced by realism and pragmatism due to historical changes. Inside India, Gandhi's legacy exists on all hostile discourses and they cannot ignore Gandhi. Radical parties gradually took power in Indian politics due to weaknesses of Congress party and separatist movements. These discourses try to forge the history and abuse the international system to realize their goals. One of the main purposes of this discourse is to build a modern Westphalian nation-state with charismatic leadership.

Finally, we have to consider this fact that Gandhi's discourse and character is the basis of all his rival discourses. Gandhi is the "other" of all of these discourses and is considered as the voice of minorities and marginalized parts of Indian society; A voice which will mobilize all marginalized people. The authors of the present article believe that Gandhi's discourse will revive in the future of India. Modern India has been established on the basis of pluralism and unity in diversity and hostile discourses cannot be successful in articulating such an India.

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