

A Critical Study of Hindutva Ideology and its Role in Transforming India's Foreign Policy

Seraj Ahsan *

Article Type: Research Article

Abstract: To advance India's broader foreign policy agenda, Prime Minister Narendra Modi used this leverage. However, a foreign policy based on nationalism does not necessarily serve the national interest. It may be observed that, as New Delhi attempts to expand its global influence, structural differences with established powers are increasingly becoming apparent. Furthermore, Indian public opinion, driven by Hindutva agenda has begun to pressure political leaders to take dogmatic positions, sacrifice diplomatic flexibility and undermine long-term national interests by magnifying minor differences. This article reflects the irony of India's growing ambition. on the one hand, India is rising as one of world's largest democracies and other hand, unchecked Hindu nationalism and Hindutva- driven public opinion may make harder for the country to achieve its strategic goals.

Keywords: India, Foreign Policy, Non-Alignment, Panchsheel, Hindutva, Nehru, Modi

Hindutva İdeolojisinin Eleştirel İncelemesi ve Hindistan'ın Dış Politikasını Dönüştürmedeki Rolü

Öz: Başbakan Narendra Modi, Hindistan'ın geniş kapsamlı dış politika gündemini ilerletmek için bu nüfuzu kullandı. Ancak, milliyetçilik temelli bir dış politika her zaman ulusal çıkarlara hizmet etmeyebilir. Yeni Delhi küresel nüfuzunu genişletmeye çalıştıkça, yerleşik güçlerle arasındaki yapısal farklılıkların giderek belirginleştiği gözlemlenebilir. Dahası, Hindutva gündemiyle yönlendirilen Hint kamuoyu; siyasi liderleri dogmatik pozisyonlar almaya, diplomatik esneklikten ödün vermeye ve küçük farklılıkları büyüterek uzun vadeli ulusal çıkarları baltalamaya zorlamaya başlamıştır. Bu makale, Hindistan'ın artan hırsların yarattığı ironiyi yansıtmaktadır: Bir yanda Hindistan dünyanın en büyük demokrasilerinden biri olarak yükselirken, diğer yanda denetlenmeyen Hindu milliyetçiliği ve Hindutva güdümlü kamuoyu, ülkenin stratejik hedeflerine ulaşmasını zorlaştırabilir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Hindistan, Dış Politika, Bağlantısızlık, Panchsheel (Beş ilke), Hindutva (Hidu Milliyetçiliği), Nehru, Modi

* Dr., Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations Karabuk University, Karabuk Turkey;

ORCID: 0000-0002-5079-6874, E-mail: seraj.ahsan@gmail.com ,

Alıntı

Ahsan, Seraj. "A Critical Study of Hindutva Ideology and its Role in Transforming India's Foreign Policy." *Journal of International Peace Studies*, no. 1 (2024): e0103. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.20287384>

1. Introduction

The foreign policy of post-colonial nation states has evolved around ensuring national interest and national security. However, several countries also employed religion and culture as a source of their foreign policy and India is no exception. Nevertheless, India's foreign policy had largely been secular until Hindu nationalist group under leadership of Modi came to power. During his foreign tour, Modi emphasized Hinduism and Buddhism in his public diplomacy, while largely excluding Islam and Christianity. Despite, there is extensive debate pertaining to Modi's foreign policy but little attention has been paid to his use of *Hindutva* or *Hindu* religious ideology in formulating India's contemporary foreign policy. *Hindu* Nationalist have sought to form an alternative foreign policy doctrine rooted in India's civilizational values and ethos- namely *Samriddhi* (economic prosperity), *Suraksha* (National Security) *Samman* (Dignity) *Samvad* (engaging world through dialogue) *Sanskriti* (Culture and Civilization). Their approach aims not only to enhance India's hard power but also to pursue this goal through a more assertive, or "masculine" foreign policy that upholds India's self-respect and pride on the global stage. Among these values, *Sanskriti* holds particular significance in *Hindutva*- oriented foreign policy. Since coming to power, the *Hindutva* nationalist leadership has actively employed the *Sanskriti* as a means of promoting India's soft power across the globe. Hindu nationalists conceptualized these ideas to position India as a *vishwaguru* (Teacher of the world). They share a common grievance that India has not been able to attain greater civilizational role in global politics that it deserves. Largely due to what they perceive as a secular and west- centric foreign policy. The *Hindu* nationalists in power are making effort to transform old- fashioned Nehruvian foreign policy into a more assertive and pragmatic foreign policy rooted in the Indian civilization and culture. To understand this transformation, it is necessary to take a glance at India's post-independence foreign policy

After attaining independence from British colonial rule, India sought to establish close diplomatic ties with newly independent Afro-Asian countries, aiming to position itself as a leader in the emerging global political and strategic order. India was keen to further the democratization of international affairs, aiming to ensure that politically weak and economically less prosperous third world would also have voice and role in International affairs.¹ Apart from that, India sought to ensure that these newly independent and economically disadvantaged countries should have equal access to available economic resources so they would not face major obstacle in their development. in the early years of its independence, India consistently demonstrated

¹ S. D. Muni, "India and the Post-Cold War World: Opportunities and Challenges," *Asian Survey* 31, no. 9 (1991): 862–874.

solidarity with newly decolonized countries at every level of International fora.² Therefore, India was one of the first countries that supported the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. In 1952, India along with Ireland, advocated for an international ban on nuclear testing and jointly drafted a resolution.³

However, India made efforts to establish an international order in which the use of force would be minimized. To further this effort, India actively participated in United Nations peacekeeping missions and sought to resolve regional conflicts through dialogue and peaceful means. To carry forward these interests, India became a member of International Control Commission in Vietnam, along with Canada and Poland. India joined the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea and was also part of the United Nations Peacekeeping force deployed in Belgian Congo.⁴

2. India's Foreign Policy between Idealism and Realism

For a long time, Jawaharlal Nehru has been seen as one of the most important architects of modern India. He played a major role in framing India's foreign policy. Therefore, examining Nehru's thought process will be helpful in understanding the basis of India's foreign policy in its early phase. India's cultural geography shaped Nehru's worldview, while India's anti-colonial movement led by Gandhi also influenced him profoundly. He followed the Gandhian teaching of "*Satyagraha*" (the struggle to find truth) during the freedom struggle. As India's first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru conceptualized country's foreign policy in the broader context of anti-colonial movements, expressing it through the principles of non-alignment, *Panchsheel*, disarmament, and One World. He did his best to apply Gandhian principles of non-violence, tolerance and the belief that means justify the ends in the conduct of International Relations. Nehru himself was a witness of two world wars. He saw in the name of national interest, how, the imperial powers destroyed the entire world. So, Nehru decided to incorporate an idealist approach into India's foreign policy and present India "essentially a gentle and peace-loving country" not as a belligerent power driven by realpolitik against other nations.⁵

The occurrence of two disastrous wars and the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, strengthened the view of Indian leadership, headed by Nehru, that International Politics lacked moral guidance, sympathy and concern for human dignity. Hence, under Gandhian ideals, Nehru envisioned "*new civilization*" based on

² K. R. Narayanan, "Nehru's Vision of India and the World—Then and Now" (Nehru Memorial Lecture, 1997).

³ Jawaharlal Nehru, *India's Foreign Policy: Selected Speeches, 1946–1961* (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1961), 69.

⁴ D. R. SarDesai, *Indian Foreign Policy in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, 1947–1964* (University of California Press, 1968).

⁵ S. Gopal, ed., *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, 2nd ser., vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 1972), 7.

international co-operation and tolerance, rather than the practice of *realpolitik*. India aimed to formulate a people- friendly foreign policy that would not generate resentment against any nation.⁶ Therefore, it avoided being seen as emerging hegemon. Despite being an impoverished country, India refused to take sides in bloc rivalries and choose to be neutral in Cold War politics. Nehru's humanism and his sentiments for a World Confederation are reflected in Martin Wight's "English School of International Relations," which depicts world politics as nothing but "a realm of human experience." Nehru used to believe that world politics is the part of humanity's moral journey, not just a contest for power.⁷

To several observers, India's foreign policy appeared moralistic, as it projected the national interest in terms of broader ethical commitments. World cooperation and world peace are considered as essential for India's own security and development within India, it was endorsed because it was the only dignified option that the nation could afford.⁸ To resolve regional conflict especially with Pakistan regarding the *Kashmir* issue, India took the matter to the United Nations, hoping that it would get resolved peacefully. Unfortunately, due to Cold War politics, the matter could not reach any conclusion and the issue still remains a major standoff between India and Pakistan.⁹ A section of Afro-Asian leaders denounced India's action to drive out the Portuguese from their colonial enclave in *Goa* in 1960. Having failed to find a diplomatic solution with dictatorial Salazar regime in Portugal, Nehru, as India's Prime Minister, opted to use the force.¹⁰ One of the most significant and troubling development in India's early foreign policy was the deterioration of relation with China and outbreak of the Sino-India war in October 1962. This unfortunate event also exposed the limitations of the lofty, idealistic claims of India's foreign policy.¹¹

Post-independence, India's foreign policy has been marked strategic duality that manifests the tension between normative ideals and pragmatic interests. At the global level, India often projected an idealist stance, based on the principles such as non-alignment, anti-colonial solidarity, peaceful -coexistence, and support for global justice. These stances were strongly influenced by the Nehruvian world view. However, in its immediate neighborhood within south Asia, this idealism was set aside

⁶ Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (Oxford University Press, 1986), 551–52.

⁷ A. Appadorai, comp., *Select Documents on India's Foreign Policy and Relations, 1947–1972*, vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 1982), 10.

⁸ Rohan Mukherjee and David M. Malone, "Indian Foreign Policy and Contemporary Security Challenges," *International Affairs* 87, no. 1 (2011): 87–104.

⁹ C. Dasgupta, *War and Diplomacy in Kashmir, 1947–48* (Sage Publications, 2002).

¹⁰ Arthur G. Rubinoff, *India's Use of Force in Goa* (Popular Prakashan, 1971).

¹¹ C. V. Ranganathan, *Panchsheel and the Future: Perspectives on India–China Relations* (Sam Kriti, 2007).

in favor of the policy with realist orientation.¹² Since Hindu nationalist *Bhartiya Janata Party* (BJP) came to power with an absolute majority in 2014, it has been trying to transform Indian polity completely and bring change to both domestic and foreign policy. For a long time, Hindu nationalists have opposed Nehruvian world views, considering them alien to Indian soil. They are more inclined toward the ideology of *Hindutva*, and are keen to apply this ideology in both domestic and foreign policy. Therefore, I am going to reflect on Hindutva ideology before examining its implication on foreign policy].

3. Emergence of Hindu Nationalism in Indian Politics

India is a multicultural country, its diversity can be seen in every walk of life, including different languages, religions, races and cultures. Architects of modern India believed in “unity in diversity” therefore they envisioned to construct a pluralistic nation. In contrast, the *Hindu Nationalists* known as *Hindutva* group, envisioned India as a Hindu nation -state in which religious minorities, especially Muslims, would have inferior status].

Since its beginning, the *Hindu nationalist* movement has advocated for an India with ‘one nation, one culture, one people’. In the *Hindutva* worldview, there is no place for equal citizenship. The person who coined the word “*Hindutva*” and is still regarded as the major exponent of this idea was *Vinayak Damodar Savarkar*, born in 1883, *Savarkar* in his booklet, “*Hindutva*”, defined a *Hindu* as “one who has “territorial, political, nationalistic and ancestral connection with motherland India.” He further emphasized belonging to a shared culture or *Sanskrit* and having allegiance only to sacred geography of India. The essential objective of “*Hindutva*” as an ideology was to give *Hindus* a unified identity that had been shattered by the cast system. According to one scholar, the *Hindutva* movement aimed to achieve a common nation (*Rashtra*), a common race (*Jati*) and a common civilization. Therefore, adherents of the four indigenous religions of Indian “*Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism*” are entitled to full citizenship in India.¹³

The Idea of *Hindutva* became more vocal and aggressive, after the foundation of *Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS). Under its chief ideologue *M. S. Golwalkar*, this organization began to disseminate militant *Hindu nationalism* across India. In 1939 *Golwalkar* wrote a book titled “*We, Or Our National Identity Defined*”. In which he presented the idea of nation and nationalism similar to those anchored by Nazis in Germany. Consequently, he viewed India’s minorities, especially- Muslims through same lens that Nazis applied to Jews in Germany. Mr. *Golwalkar* proposal to address

¹² Pratap Bhanu Mehta, “Still under Nehru’s Shadow? The Absence of Foreign Policy Frameworks in India,” *India Review* 8, no. 3 (2009): 209–33.

¹³ Christophe Jaffrelot, *Hindu Nationalism: A Reader* (Princeton University Press, 2007), 85–96.

what he considered “*Muslim problems*” were reportedly modeled on Nazi’s approach to Jewish people.¹⁴

in the 1980s and 1990s, the grand old party “*Congress*” experienced decline, while the Hindu right witnessed a resurgence in the Indian politics. The *Bhartiya Janata Party* (BJP), which is a political wing of *Hindu* right, has strongly opposed the idea of secularism, and resisted the incorporation of secular principles into the Indian Constitution or polity.¹⁵ The Hindu right in India, perceived secularism as a favor to minorities, especially Muslims at the expense of *Hindu* majority. Despite India being a secular state, the *Hindu* right-wing unequivocally advocates for a Hindu nation- state. As Romila Thapar argues, there is no similarity between *Hinduism* as a pluralistic and spiritual religion and *Hindutva* as a political ideology. She described *Hindutva* not as a religion but as a “Syndicated Hinduism.”¹⁶

While in collation government, the BJP denied pursuing the *Hindutva* agenda. However, after coming to power in 2014 under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the *BJP* abandoned its earlier apologetic stance on *Hindutva*. Although the *BJP* came to power in the name of “inclusive development” it primarily did so to appeal to the Indian urban middle class.¹⁷ In the 2019 general elections, Modi used the plank of *Hindutva* or *Hindu cultural nationalism* to win the election. He succeeded in consolidating a large number of *Hindu* votes in his favor and secured the thumping majority. After coming to power for the second time, BJP made several amendments to the Constitution and enacted new laws that critic argued rendered minorities- especially Muslims, second-class citizen in their own country.¹⁸

The effect of the *Hindutva* ideology is being felt in every aspect of Indian polity, and its ramifications are visible in India’s foreign policy as well. India has abandoned the core ideals of *non-alignment* and *Panchsheel* and is now using cultural nationalism as the framework for its foreign policy. Therefore, it is interesting to examine the shift that has taken place in India’s foreign policy].

¹⁴ Dharendra K. Jha, *Golwalkar: The Myth behind the Man, the Man behind the Machine* (Simon & Schuster, 2024), 39.

¹⁵ Aakar Patel, *Our Hindu Rashtra: What It Is, How We Got Here* (Penguin Random House India, 2022), 119.

¹⁶ Romila Thapar, “Hindutva Calling Itself a Version of Hinduism Is Problematic: Interview,” *Scroll.in*, 2018, <https://scroll.in/article/867440/hindutva-calling-itself-a-version-of-hinduism-is-problematic-historian-romila-thapar>.

¹⁷ Ajay Gudavarthy, “BJP’s Strategy of Pitting Hindutva as an Alternative Agenda to Development Is Unravelling,” *The Wire*, 2018, <https://thewire.in/politics/bjp-strategy-hindutva-alternative-agenda-development-unravelling>.

¹⁸ Human Rights Watch, “*Shoot the Traitors*”: *Discrimination against Muslims under India’s New Citizenship Policy* (2020), <https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/04/10/shoot-traitors/discrimination-against-muslims-under-indias-new-citizenship-policy>.

4. Idea of Hindutva and Shift in India's Foreign Policy

The impact of *Hindu nationalism* on Indian foreign policy has not been debated so widely as it was required. Since *BJP* came in power, it tried its best to transform India's domestic and foreign policy as per their own ideology. Because adherents of *Hindutva* ideology have firm belief that *Hindu* nationalist's political thinking can provide strong foundation for India's domestic and foreign policy compared to ideas of Gandhi and Nehru which have been backbone of India's policy making for long time. Therefore Mr. Modi and his patron organization *RSS* are very keen to project India's foreign policy in *Hindu* nationalist idioms and they are also very inclined to energize and personalize the Indian diplomacy to gain public support, which they can translate them into the votes in the elections.¹⁹

To promote the idea of India as a *Hindu- nation state* and mobilize the majority community in order to gain legitimacy for furthering the *Hindutva ethnonationalism*, it is a prerequisite for Modi government to employ the "*India-first*" agenda and present the *Bharat* to world as magnificent civilizational force. The intention behind this approach is to assert the India's dignity and pride on the global stage and to strive towards building an alternative to western liberal world order.²⁰

The *BJP* conceives of international relations purely "as a transactional deal" and tries to achieve a multipolar world in which India as civilizational state would have a role to play vis -a- vis other competing civilizations. India's current foreign minister, Dr. Subrahmanyam Jaishankar has outlined a possible future world order in his book, "*The Indian Way*". Jaishankar envisages a world order in which national interest would be prioritized due to the rise of nationalism. This would represent the triumph of nationalism. Because, the alliance-based international order is losing its significance, and instead more pragmatic realist view of international relations is emerging that is solely based on national interest.²¹

Obvious example of this, is India-Israel relations, from the 1950s to 1990s, in which *Indian National Congress* (Congress party) has been in government in India, India avoided to establish diplomatic relations with Israel officially, because of Gandhi and Nehru's anti colonial legacy, successive Indian governments perceived Israel as a colonial settler project. After end of Soviet era and changing circumstances of geopolitics across the world Congress abandoned the principle of *non- alignment* in foreign policy, and formed the diplomatic relations with Israel. But radical shift took place in India-Israel relations after the rise of the *BJP*, from 1998 onwards, the reason

¹⁹ Saroj Aryal and Simant Bharti, *Impact of Hindu Nationalism in India's Foreign Policy Conduct* (SADF Focus, 2022), <https://www.sadf.online/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Focus.83-1.pdf>.

²⁰ Christophe Jaffrelot, *Modi's India: Hindu Nationalism and the Rise of Ethnic Democracy* (Princeton University Press, 2021), 28–30.

²¹ S. Jaishankar, *The Indian Way: Strategies for an Uncertain World* (HarperCollins, 2020).

behind *BJP* government's close affinity with Israel is shared ideology with the Jewish state, because *BJP* also believe in ethno-religious nationalism and wants to make India an ethno-religious state, relation reached at its zenith when Mr. Modi visited Israel in 2017 as the first Indian Prime minister.²²

Since the beginning I have argued that the *BJP* government's foreign policy is largely inspired by *Hindutva* ideology. After coming to power, *BJP* enhanced India's soft power, but the method it used to pursue, this reflected *Hindu Right's* agenda- that India should play the role of a *world guru* by enlightening others through its cultural heritage.²³ The intention was to use India's rich cultural heritage as a means of pragmatic diplomatic leverage when required. In 2016, Modi explained India's "strategic plan that is based on civilizational values of "*yatharadaad* (realism), *sah-astitva* (co-existence) *sahyog* (cooperation), and *sahbhagita* (partnership)."²⁴ The ruling party under Modi's leadership paid special attention to religious diplomacy as a strategic instrument to achieve several objectives. Employing Buddhist diplomacy on different occasions as a tool to keep the issue of the Dalai Lama alive, maintaining the bilateral relations with Southeast Asia, forage ties with China when necessary.²⁵ In the same manner, the Kartarpur agreement related to Sikhism should also be seen as a form of religious diplomacy, which is helpful to a limited extent in maintaining relations with Pakistan.²⁶ As Manjari Chatterjee Miller and Kate Sullivan de Estrada have rightly argued "the Modi government's policies were clearly constrained by both ideology and institutionalized ideas', for all its pragmatism in some areas of implementation."²⁷

Hindutva oriented policymakers are trying to reshape India's foreign policy, which is largely inherited from the Nehruvian legacy, they aim to re-conceptualize Indian foreign policy by using *Hindu* idioms and vocabulary. Since *Hindutva* intellectual

²² Radhika Iyengar, "How India's Relationship with Israel Has Been a Diplomatic See-Saw since 1948," *The Indian Express*, 2017, <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/how-indias-relationship-with-israel-has-been-a-diplomatic-see-saw-since-1948/>.

²³ Anshu Meghe, "Strategic Pragmatism and Hindutva: Decoding a Decade of Modi's Foreign Policy," *Foreign Analysis*, 2024, <https://foreignanalysis.com/strategic-pragmatism-and-hindutva-decoding-a-decade-of-modis-foreign-policy/>.

²⁴ Abhijnan Rej and Rahul Sagar, *The BJP and Indian Grand Strategy* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2019), 90, https://carnege-production-assets.s3.amazonaws.com/static/files/BJP_In_Power_final.pdf.

²⁵ Shantanu Kishwar, *The Rising Role of Buddhism in India's Soft Power Strategy* (Observer Research Foundation, 2018), <https://www.orfonline.org/public/uploads/posts/pdf/20230820020737.pdf>.

²⁶ Tejpaal Singh Bainiwal, "Religious and Political Dimensions of the Kartarpur Corridor: Exploring the Global Politics behind the Lost Heritage of the Darbar Sahib," *Religions* 11, no. 11 (2020): 560, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11110560>.

²⁷ Manjari Chatterjee Miller and Kate Sullivan de Estrada, "Pragmatism in Indian Foreign Policy: How Ideas Constrain Modi," *International Affairs* 93, no. 1 (2017): 27–49.

resources are limited in numbers, there are only a few key texts such as *Savarkar's Hindutva*, *Golwalkar's Bunch of Thoughts*, and *Upadhyaya's Integral Humanism*.²⁸ While these texts address a wide range of issues, they are still insufficient to provide clear guidance to policymakers as far India's foreign policy is concerned. Moreover, there are several flaws within these texts].

5. Conclusion

For long time, India's foreign policy has largely been crafted around keeping national interest, security and regional dominance in views. Indian foreign policy and strategic thought carried a dual approach by encompassing both idealist and realist traditions within the framework of international relations. Indian foreign policy took a shift since *BJP* came in power in 2014, after capturing power, they started to employ *Hindutva ideology*. In policy circles, a common perception has emerged that *Hindutva*-oriented political class shows little regard for institutionalized politics. They make effort to transform the rules and norms of the institution and bring new political order into place, so that they can shape governing system according to *Hindutva* approach by employing the idea of *Raja dharma*].

Essentially, this effort reflects the limitations of Hindu nationalist political imagination, which has weakened the institutions of foreign and security policymaking in contemporary India. The use of Hindu nationalist political thoughts as a foundation for policy making, reveals serious problems that India is facing today. it is difficult to say how long *BJP* will be able to carry the foreign policy that is based on *Hindutva* oriented worldview. Because this so-called soil rooted idea is not compatible with modern statecraft. Although *Hindutva* inclined policy makers have realization, without building capabilities and forming alliances, it is difficult to achieve foreign policy goal, mere emphasizing on self-reliance and self-pride will get India nowhere].

Bibliography

- Appadorai, A., comp. *Select Documents on India's Foreign Policy and Relations, 1947–1972*. Vol. 1. Oxford University Press, 1982. [Scholar]
- Aryal, Saroj, and Simant Bharti. *Impact of Hindu Nationalism in India's Foreign Policy Conduct*. SADF Focus 83. South Asia Democratic Forum, July 7, 2022. <https://www.sadf.online/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Focus.83-1.pdf>. [Scholar]
- Bainiwal, Tejpaal Singh. "Religious and Political Dimensions of the Kartarpur Corridor: Exploring the Global Politics behind the Lost Heritage of the Darbar Sahib." *Religions* 11, no. 11 (2020): 560. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11110560>. [Scholar]

²⁸ Ian Hall, *Modi and the Reinvention of Indian Foreign Policy* (Bristol University Press, 2019), 154.

- Chatterjee Miller, Manjari, and Kate Sullivan de Estrada. "Pragmatism in Indian Foreign Policy: How Ideas Constrain Modi." *International Affairs* 93, no. 1 (2017): 27–49. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iw001>. [Scholar]
- Dasgupta, C. *War and Diplomacy in Kashmir, 1947–48*. Sage Publications, 2002. [Scholar]
- Gopal, S., ed. *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*. 2nd ser., vol. 1. Oxford University Press, 1972. [Scholar]
- Gudavarthy, Ajay. "BJP's Strategy of Pitting Hindutva as an Alternative Agenda to Development Is Unravelling." *The Wire*, 2018. <https://thewire.in/politics/bjp-strategy-hindutva-alternative-agenda-development-unravelling>. [Scholar]
- Hall, Ian. *Modi and the Reinvention of Indian Foreign Policy*. Bristol University Press, 2019. [Scholar]
- Human Rights Watch. "Shoot the Traitors": Discrimination against Muslims under India's New Citizenship Policy. 2020. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/04/10/shoot-traitors/discrimination-against-muslims-under-indias-new-citizenship-policy>. [Scholar]
- Iyengar, Radhika. "How India's Relationship with Israel Has Been a Diplomatic See-Saw since 1948." *The Indian Express*, 2017. <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/how-indias-relationship-with-israel-has-been-a-diplomatic-see-saw-since-1948/>. [Scholar]
- Jaffrelot, Christophe. *Hindu Nationalism: A Reader*. Princeton University Press, 2007. [Scholar]
- Jaffrelot, Christophe. *Modi's India: Hindu Nationalism and the Rise of Ethnic Democracy*. Princeton University Press, 2021. [Scholar]
- Jaishankar, S. *The Indian Way: Strategies for an Uncertain World*. HarperCollins, 2020. [Scholar]
- Jha, Dharendra K. *Golwalkar: The Myth behind the Man, the Man behind the Machine*. Simon & Schuster, 2024. [Scholar]
- Kishwar, Shantanu. *The Rising Role of Buddhism in India's Soft Power Strategy*. Observer Research Foundation, 2018. <https://www.orfonline.org/public/uploads/posts/pdf/20230820020737.pdf>. [Scholar]
- Meghe, Anshu. "Strategic Pragmatism and Hindutva: Decoding a Decade of Modi's Foreign Policy." *Foreign Analysis*, 2024. <https://foreignanalysis.com/strategic-pragmatism-and-hindutva-decoding-a-decade-of-modis-foreign-policy/>. [Scholar]
- Mehta, Pratap Bhanu. "Still under Nehru's Shadow? The Absence of Foreign Policy Frameworks in India." *India Review* 8, no. 3 (2009): 209–33. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14736480903116750>. [Scholar]
- Mukherjee, Rohan, and David M. Malone. "Indian Foreign Policy and Contemporary Security Challenges." *International Affairs* 87, no. 1 (2011): 87–104. [Scholar]
- Muni, S. D. "India and the Post-Cold War World: Opportunities and Challenges." *Asian Survey* 31, no. 9 (1991): 862–874. [Scholar]
- Narayanan, K. R. "Nehru's Vision of India and the World—Then and Now." Nehru Memorial Lecture, 1997. [Scholar]

- Nehru, Jawaharlal. *India's Foreign Policy: Selected Speeches, 1946–1961*. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1961. [Scholar]
- Nehru, Jawaharlal. *The Discovery of India*. Oxford University Press, 1986. [Scholar]
- Nehru, Jawaharlal. *Jawaharlal Nehru on International Co-operation*. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1996. [Scholar]
- Patel, Aakar. *Our Hindu Rashtra: What It Is, How We Got Here*. Penguin Random House India, 2022. [Scholar]
- Ranganathan, C. V. *Panchsheel and the Future: Perspectives on India–China Relations*. Sam Kriti, 2007. [Scholar]
- Rej, Abhijnan, and Rahul Sagar. “The BJP and Indian Grand Strategy.” In *The BJP in Power: Indian Democracy and Religious Nationalism*, edited by Milan Vaishnav, 73–82. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2019. https://carnegie-production-assets.s3.amazonaws.com/static/files/BJP_In_Power_final.pdf. [Scholar]
- Rubinoff, Arthur G. *India's Use of Force in Goa*. Popular Prakashan, 1971. [Scholar]
- SarDesai, D. R. *Indian Foreign Policy in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, 1947–1964*. University of California Press, 1968. [Scholar]
- Thapar, Romila. “Hindutva Calling Itself a Version of Hinduism Is Problematic: Interview.” *Scroll.in*, 2018. <https://scroll.in/article/867440/hindutva-calling-itself-a-version-of-hinduism-is-problematic-historian-romila-thapar>. [Scholar]