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The Cultural Identity of Contemporary Indian Nationalism

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Foreword

In the modern world, nationalism is one of the most contentious ideas and concepts. It's been misused and put to use. However, it is important to distinguish between Indian nationalism and other forms of nationalism. While the former is a development of culture and spirituality, the latter could be seen as essentially political and geographical. This monograph entitled "The Cultural Identity of Contemporary Indian Nationalism" offers a pertinent and crucial contribution to the ongoing discussions around the "sense, essence, and conscience" of Indian (Bharatiya) nationalism. Rather than through political or geographical integrations, it emerged primarily through cultural and civilisational origins. This monograph examines the evolution and continuity of nationalism on a local, national, and international scale. The monograph also reexamines the current discussion, both domestically and internationally, concerning India or Bharat, as a state of civilization, a spiritual and cultural entity. Regarding India as the Mother of Democracy, with her political culture advancing democratic values, this is a highly pertinent intervention. My best wishes to Dr. Ravi Rameshchandra for future academic endeavours.

Dr. Ranvijay

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I

Introduction

Conceptualisation and Origin of Nationalism

अयंनिजःपरोवेतिगणनालघुचेतसाम्।
उदारचरितानांतुवसुधैवकुटुम्बकम्॥

(This is mine, that is his, say the small minded,
The wise believe that the entire world is a family.)

(Maha Upnishad: VI. 71-72)

“Inside every thinking Indian there is a Gandhian and a Marxist struggling for supremacy”, says Ramachandra Guha in the opening sentence of his book *Anthropologist Among the Marxists*. Guha’s statement perilously attempts to conclude that, India is home of only ‘Gandhian’ and ‘Marxist’ thinking. Also, it suggests that no other thought or perspective can exist in India. It is far away from the ‘*Bharatiyata*’ an idea and identity cherished by millions. It is an attempt to disconnect India from its ancient past and glorious present which has a full galaxy of great thinkers, philosophers, saints, sages, and social reformers with millions of followers working selflessly for the nation and society. For example, it is not necessary that a follower of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar or Veer Savarkar would be in complete agreement with Gandhian or Marxist line of thoughts. Akin to Guha, several public intellectuals have created and nurtured such narratives that essentially puzzle the people about the real cultural and spiritual identity of Bharat. Attempts are on to conceal or

reject the cultural-spiritual elements that contributed to Indian nationalism (*Bharatiya rashtravaad*).

Contemporary debate across the world traces India as a cultural entity engrossed in its ancient values, philosophy and *dharma* (not religion). Therefore, clear understanding of the grass-root realities of the Indian democracy and cultural nationalism is the objective of the current research. This monograph partially takes premise in Daniel Gabrielsson's approach of 'non-voluntary identity' for a nation to become a great functional democracy. According to Gabrielsson, "Classical nationalists support the approach of the 'accident of origin' and 'cultural markers' as non-voluntary identity, which gives human beings a natural sense of belonging in society and fosters solidarity and trust that lead to better democracy...Homogeneity in belief about what constitutes national belonging eases the dynamics between majority and minority, which benefits democracy." (Gabrielsson: 2021, 504).

India has been a cultural nation with thriving idea of 'rashtra' (nation) from Vedic period onwards. The spirit of nation and nationalism is embedded in its organic union of '*Dharma*' and culture. As 'Dharma' has potential to unite people across the linguistic, geographical and political factors. The attempts to deny or reject this essential source of nationalism have been grossly defeated. Thus, the persistent denial of historical trajectories of India may serve a cause and not the case.

Bharat as a civilisational nation grew upon its cultural and spiritual foundations. It is not resultant of any political union or agreement. As Craig Calhoun in *Public Culture* (2007) argued, "a common national identity helps to bind people, together despite their conflicting beliefs and interests" (Calhoun: 2007, 152). Friedrich Nietzsche in '*Geo-philosophy*'

suggests that 'it can acquire taste and shape according to the mood of the internal and external factors'. However, Indian thinkers maintained an ideological integrity and consistency. It is the backbone of the *Bharatiya rashtravad* or Indian nationalism. They explored the *Bharatiya* conscience and rich knowledge sources to advance the cause of cultural nationalism in India. Traditionally it is driven by the goal of attaining supreme knowledge and self-realisation. Bhushan and Garfield quote K. C. Bhattacharya to bring out the essence of culture and spirituality which is the spine of Indian nationalism:

Krishna Chandra Bhattacharyya's 1928 talk entitled "Svaraj in Ideas," given to students on the practice of philosophy in colonial India. Bhattacharyya discusses svaraj, or self-determination, in politics, with particular emphasis on what he calls 'Svaraj in Ideas wherein one frees himself from cultural subjection. He also notes how Western culture - which means an entire system of ideas and sentiments - has been imposed upon the Indian people, and argues that Indian education has not so far helped its people understand themselves and the significance of their past, the realities of their present, and their mission of the future (Bhushan: 2015, 101-112).

K. C. Bhattacharyya was concerned with the colonial impositions upon Indian knowledge, values, culture, that nurtured the idea and sentiments of nationalism. Here, It is important to understand the fundamental difference between the Indian sense of '*deshbhakti*' and the Western 'patriotism'. The term *deshbhakti* expresses the sense of cultural - spiritual devotion for the land (*matrubhoomi*) and people. Whereas, the

English word 'patriotism'ⁱⁱⁱ is narrow. It can be closely taken as 'deshprem' (love for the country). The basic difference between the *Bharatiya* term 'deshbhakti' and 'deshprem' is that while the former is unconditional and spiritual, the latter can be conditional and reciprocal.

The word '*Rashtra*' is derived from Sanskrit which means territory or nation. All the evidences present a common meaning of *Rashtra* as territory or nation, or political entity. The term '*Rashtravad*' is union of the Sanskrit term '*Rashtra*' and '*vad*' which in simple words mean ideology or philosophy. Therefore, *rashtravad* means the philosophy or ideology that intensifies the significance of the nation or country. The term *Bhartiya rashtravad* or Indian nationalism draws attention to the value of Indian national unity, sovereignty, and advancement.

The concept of 'nationalism' relies on Western and Eastern philosophies. A vast body of literature exists representing different perspectives on the theme. Benedict Anderson termed it as, '*an imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign*' (Anderson: 2006, 6). Clifford Geertz's in his ideas on the 'primordial approach' (1973), shared Shils' perspective to a large extent, arguing that a primordial attachment is based upon social 'given' such as language, religion, or particular social practices. Geertz identified six forms of primordial ties which, when present, convert loose social groups into nations. Geertz referred to Edward Shils 'ineffable ties of blood' (1957), to establish the fact that blood ties play an important role in the creation of 'national identity'. Harold Isaac's seminal work *Idols of the Tribe* supported this view.

On the other hand, Indian thinkers and philosophers nurtured the ideas of Indian nationalism. A limited number of thinkers and their ideas have

been consulted to write this paper. Aurobindo Ghose gave the philosophy of “divine life on earth through spiritual evolution”, Swami Vivekananda suggested “spiritual nationalism rooted in the soul of ancient Indian glory and V. D. Savarkar gave ideas on *pitrabhu*, *punyabhu*” (Fatherland Spiritual Land). Quoting Savarkar Nancy Falk writes, “Savarkar wrote we Hindus are a nation by ourselves because religious, racial, cultural and historical affinities bind us intimately into a homogenous nation”. (Falk: 2008, 220-222). Similarly Deen Dayal Upadhyay gave the idea of 'Antyodaya' (welfare of weakest), Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in his book *Thoughts on Pakistan* (1940) wrote:

...there is a difference between nationality and nationalism. They are two different psychological states of the human mind. Nationality means “consciousness of kind, awareness of the existence of that tie of kinship.” Nationalism means “the desire for a separate national existence for those who are bound by this tie of kinship.” Secondly, it is true that there cannot be nationalism without the feeling of nationality being in existence. But, it is important to bear in mind that the converse is not always true (Ambedkar:1940).

Dr. K. B. Hedgewar's philosophy of 'man-making' on the foundations of *Dharma* and culture has been the source of preparing arguments on nationalism in this paper as no nation can survive and prosper without rich and civilised members. Thus, the idea of Indian nationalism has emerged from its values - based culture, customs, and traditions, which kept India together despite differences in language and other human identities. It is necessary to note that, the foreign distortions and academic

manipulations are often projected in India as a political amalgam of 'sub-nationalities'. Current research is an attempt to reject such thoughts and project the organic roots of Bharat *rashtra*. Cultural and civilizational roots are the lifeblood of Bharat and its strength is articulated in a long-term spiritual conscience.

However, the concept grew throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, finding expression in North America and Europe. It influenced the beginning of contemporary democracies in the Western world, inspired by Enlightenment values of freedom and self-determination. Nationalism in the West focused on shared institutions, culture, and values of a nation, helping to define the identity of nation-states and civic nationalism served as its guiding principle. The Eurocentric nationalism became more widespread after the 'Treaty of Westphalia' (1648AD). In contrast, Indian nationalism grew under colonial control, deriving inspiration from the country's many religious and cultural traditions. As Rabindranath Tagore emphasizes, 'delineating the complex maze of nationalism, its position in the world and its relation to India, there is only one history – the history of man. All national histories are merely chapters' (Tagore, 2022).

Nationalism as a concept in the Western world and Indian subcontinent will be reviewed through the help of existing literature and philosophy. Whereas the western nations and nationalism is a political construct, Indian nationalism is based on its civilization roots. It refers to the cultural bondage, neurological connectivity, and spiritual factors that anchor the feeling of 'being an Indian' despite the enormous linguistic, traditional, ritualistic, and demographic differences. It aptly corroborates

with the Indian perspective and thoughts known and practiced as '*Vasudhaiv Kutumbkam*' (One earth, one family) and -

‘ॐ सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनः । सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः ।
सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु । मा कश्चित् दुःख भागभवेत् ॥
ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः ॥’

(May all sentient beings be at peace, may no one suffer from illness, May all see what is auspicious, may no one suffer. Om peace, peace, peace.)

Kishori Das Vajpayee (1898- 1981) believed that, “all the Indian languages have a kind of cultural and spiritual unity”.

India that is *Bharatvarsha* or *Jambu Dweep* or *Hindustan* has always existed as a nation with a common cultural cord embedded into its *Sanatan dharma*, also known as Hindu dharma. Though, the civilizational human traits varied from one geographical region to another, it was fostered by different philosophical, spiritual and ritualistic traditions. The Indic perspective towards human life and human institutions evolved with much clarity. Their thoughts were mainly concentrated around the ‘State’ and ‘Dharma’. The state was a result of vertical evolution and the dharma was horizontal expansion of human life. However, the concept of ‘*rashtra*’ and ‘*rashtrabhakti*’ grew as an amalgam of both – state and dharma, which was popularised as ‘*Rajdharmā*’.

Thus the roots of nationalism in India can be traced to spirituality and morality. It is quite different from modern western notion of nationalism, which is essentially political and territorial. Indian nationalism stems from its cultural and civilizational roots. Therefore, it is unique in form

and spirit. It is civilizational as well as spiritual which is incredible in its own way. Western scholars had adopted a different approach than Indian saints, sages, scholars, philosophers, and thinkers. Although, in the post-independence period, there was an attempt to mould *Bharatiya rashtravad* (Indian nationalism) and fit it within Eurocentric nuance of nation, state, culture, civilization, religion, and so on and it was further ably complemented by large number of manipulative scholars who emphasised that modern nationalism is inextricably linked to the anti-colonial movement.

It was an attempt to detach Indian nationalism from its ancient history, from the roots it has evolved from. These scholars were/ are inspired by post-Westphalia (1648) European nationalism which envisioned nationalism as the most powerful political idea, allowing societies to mobilize their people under one government to free themselves from foreign rule. It is coated with the ideas of capitalist liberalism which is the face of internationalisation with Roman Catholic values. It was driven with two major objectives, served through one process. First aim was to control and exploit the economy and resources and second was to spread Christianity. It was shielded under the veils of liberal democracy and liberal mercantile values propagated by Adam Smith in *Wealth of Nations* (1776) and others. The liberals from Abrahamic faith criticized *Bharatiya* culture and way of living as ‘conservative values’. Thus, it was a struggle between ‘liberalism’ and ‘conservatism’ⁱⁱⁱ. They vehemently propagated that, India is fragmented with a number of caste, linguistic and sub-nationalistic tendencies but what they failed to notice is that the linguistic, ethnic, caste conflicts were quite temporary and momentary and was just a single episode in the huge and highlighted history of India and it was in no ways against national unity and integrity.

Indian thinkers considered nation and state to be distinct entities. They perceived nation as an organic entity embedded into the cultural and civilization flows, which takes centuries to evolve. This monograph has aptly explored the concept of Indian nationalism through its values-based spirituality, culture, customs, and traditions. Culture, customs and spirituality are the life blood of Indian civilization which is expressed in its long-term conscience. It is a fact to ponder upon that even the freedom struggle against the tyrannical colonial forces was an expression of organic nationalism embedded in the cultural and civilizational cradle of Hinduism.

Therefore, the essence of national vitality and perfection is not in identity of opinion but is founded upon the identity of aspirations. It is the common aspiration, which works as the blood in the veins. It is this force of aspiration that brought and bound unity in diversity. It is the product of common aspirations that culture and spirituality is considered to be supreme. Nationalist leaders, philosophers, saints and sages made significant contributions in the evolution and development of the nation. The foundation was laid by Chanakya (Kautilya), who was instrumental in creating the Mauryan Empire. Since then there is no looking back, every single person who is blessed with the fortune of taking birth in this holy soil has contributed to enhance the glory of Bharat in his own possible way. The contribution of Adi Sri Shankaracharya needs special mention his devotion towards spiritual unification of India is unparalleled. Sri Sharda Peetham Sringeri narrates his work in following words:

“4 maths in the four quadrants of our country, opening temples,
organizing halls of education, this mighty master left nothing

undone in maintaining what he achieved. Among the four Maths, two of them in the East and West were set up on the sea shore, while the Maths in the North and South were set up in the mountain regions. Sri Sureshwaracharya, who hailed from the north, was placed in charge of the Math in the South, while Totaka from the South was sent to Badri in the North. He made it mandatory that the Nampootiris from Kerala should perform Pooja at Badri, while the Brahmins from Karnataka were assigned for Nepal. Likewise He ordained Maharashtra Brahmins to do Pujas at Rameshwaram. This shows what a broad mind He had when it came to leadership in matters of national interest” (www.sringeri.net).

These spiritual ties are ever relevant. It is an evidence of continuity of Bharat as a nation and the role of Hindu religion as a primary source of nationalism as well as national integration. However, over the period of time, Indian society faced a lot of social and cultural challenges and mainly two reasons could be held responsible behind this. First was rigid caste system and secondly it was entry of Islamic and Christians invaders and missionaries. Both the Islamic and Christian invaders, leaders, reformers and scholars like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dayanand Saraswati, Dadabhai Naoroji, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar raised intellectual and reformative voice against colonial exploitations and social problems, thereby adding to the already existing idea of cultural and spiritual nationalism. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dayanand Saraswati, and many others initiated reforms in society so that it can withstand the challenges of the invaders’ culture. It was further elaborated by Annie Besant and Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak through their writings and speeches.

II

Hindu Roots of Indian Nationalism

"Nationalism is a great force, but what is nationalism? It is the principle of unity and solidarity among a people who have the same language, the same customs, the same traditions, and the same aspirations." -Mahatma Gandhi, *Young India*, 1924.

Nationalism is defined as a movement and political ideology that emphasizes the interest, culture or identity of a nation. The idea of sovereignty of the nation as well as the boundaries of the nation and the welfare of the citizens of the country along with the protection of the traditions is given due importance in this arena. This sense of nationalism is important for instilling unity and pride among the citizens as well as promoting equality with special emphasis on equity. The Hindu cultural roots of Indian nationalism have been consistently rejected by both the Marxist writers as well as Abrahamic scholars. In order to legitimize their argument, they invented the Aryan and Dravidian theory and tried to create a rift between Indians inhabiting in different geographical setups but continuously mingling through religious and cultural strings. The utter over confidence of these scholars about their stance did not give them the opportunity to realise that their hoax ignored that there are even terms like '*Panchamas*' (the fifth one) used for the tribal habitant, who were out of '*Chaturvarna*' fold; which is often critised by these scholars. Here, it is important to take note that the mere existence of the word likes '*Panchamas*' symbolises the inclusive tendency of Indian Civilization.

In order to understand the institutional form of India as a ‘nation-state’, it is necessary to review the ancient institutions of vedic and post-vedic era. It can also be regarded as the ‘*Sanatan*’ era, connoting to the ancient values of Hinduism. The pioneer researcher in the history of Indian republics, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal held the view that ‘republics in India were post-vedic institutions’. According to Dr. Jayaswal:

Hindu Republics are another illustration of the communal self-germinating habits of the post-vedic age...The early vedas know only monarchy. Departure from this normal Constitution was made in post-vedic times, and, as Megasthenes also records, the tradition that ‘Sovereignty’ (Kingship) was dissolved and democratic governments set up in various places (Jayaswal: 2021).

As per *Aitareya Brahman*^{iv} Bharat, that is this country, India, is named after the greatest of the great Indian kings, Emperor Bharat, the son of King Dushyant and Shakuntala.(Vedic Heritage, IGNCA):

All those born in this land before Bharata,
All those born after, are called after this name.
(Mahabharata 1-69-49)

Kalidasa’s most popular drama *Sakuntalam* is about Dushyanta-Shakuntala and their child Bharata. He is known as SarvaDamana – all tamer. Likewise, the great modern Tamil poet Bharathiar mentions that Bharata played with little lion cubs. We are all sons of Bharatavarsha- the country of Bharata (Tamil Veda: Post no. 4142).There are very interesting details about Bharata in the Vedic Brahmana literature. “Sage Dirghatama consecrated King Bharata, son of Dushyanta, who conquered the earth and performed 133 Asvamedha sacrifices.”(Aitareya Brahman)

All these mentions about Bharata depicts that, the nation and nationalism has always been a part of human society with different nomenclature and objectives. In the words of Annie Besant, “If India still survives all who were her contemporaries five thousand years ago; it is because the same spirit lives in her national body as lived in it then.”(Besant: 1919, 167).

Indian nationalism has emanated from the way of life lived by the people on this land. Their day-to-day life with the ultimate goal of ‘spiritual progress’ and ‘salvation’ has been the source and reason behind formation of institutions. These institutions held the emotional and spiritual wellbeing of society. Hence, the feeling of togetherness remained constant throughout the ages, which has strengthened the feeling of oneness. Thus, like Hindu dharma is the way of life, Indian nation is also nothing but expanded expression of Hindu dharma. Hence, it is essentially Hindu nationalism that we can see even today. This positioning finds expression in Herders concept of the ‘spirit of common people’ (*volksgeist*) a term with French origin expresses the ‘collective mentality’ of the masses living in a land. Thus, ‘common national identity’ and ‘common cultural identity’ are the soul of Indian nationalism.

While delivering a judgement in Dr. Ramesh Yeshwant Prabhoo vs. Prabhakar K. Kunte (1996) former justice of the Supreme Court of India, Justice Varma quoted Swami Vivekanand’s views and held that ‘Hinduism is a way of life’. The presence of ancient Indian culture, rituals, festival, traditions, and belief can be seen in the present day society across different faiths. Therefore, Indian nationalism and the Hindu religion are inseparable entities.

As Bhai Parmanand points out in his pamphlet called “The Hindu National Movement”:—”In history the Hindus revere the memory of Prithvi Raj, Partap, Shivaji and, Beragi Bir, who fought for the honour and freedom of this land (against the Muslims), while the Mahomedans look upon the invaders of India, like Muhammad Bin Qasim and rulers like Aurangzeb as their national heroes”. In the religious field, the Hindus draw their inspiration from the Ramayan, the Mahabharat, and the Geeta. (Ambedkar: 1940).

Many scholars and political leaders are critical of the concept of ‘*Hindu Rashtra*’ and put it against Islam and other faiths, but the fact is that this stance lacks validity and is far away from reality. Such kind of ideas originated during the British era and is also the product of the atrocities inflicted by Islamic rules of medieval India. The term Hindu is quite broad and inclusive, anyone born in this land and adopted the cultural values of India is a Hindu. According to Girilal Jain:

The Hindu fight was not with Muslims, the fight was between Hindus anxious to renew themselves, in the spirit of their Civilization and the state and the intellectual class trapped in the debris the British managed to bury us under before they left. The proponents of the western ideology are using Muslims as auxiliaries and it is a pity Muslim leaders are allowing themselves to be so used. (Jain: 1994, vi).

Hence, it is about unbound devotion towards this holy land which is much more important than the narrow boundaries of any particular faith. Parsis and Sikhs are the best example of distinct communities with unquestionable loyalty to India as their land. They regard India as both their '*punyabhumi*' (holi land) and '*matrabhoomi*' (mother land). For example, Christians and Muslims do not accept India as their '*punyabhoomi*', however, they do accept it as their '*janmabhoomi*'. They accept India as their motherland but assign their religious and spiritual loyalty to Vatican and Mecca, respectively.

Republics and Kingdoms Nurtured Hindu nationalism

In the Vedic and epic periods, the *Videh* as of Mithila, had a monarchical form of government but during the Buddhist period they adopted Republican form of government. Originally, the *Yaudhey*, the *Ambast*, the *Sivis* and the *Madras* had monarchical form of government but in later history they changed into republics. Similarly, in the earlier history of the country the *Kurus* and *Panchals* were under the monarchical form. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* mentions them among the republics along with *Lichchhvis*, *Vrijjikas*, *Mallakas* and *Madakas* etc. Similar form of republican governments existed in Greek and Roman societies.

Therefore, the accounts of Dr. Jayaswal, R. P. Shamasastri, Dr. R.C. Majumdar, Zimmer, MacDonnell and Keith have strengthened the arguments that 'there existed non-monarchical form of government as well'. Despite variations in the form of government, every ruler, republics and the people had one very strong emotion in common, that was of being a part of '*Sanatan*' dharma and '*Bharatvarsha*'. Zimmer mentioned oligarchy as a form of state during Vedic times, Dr. Shamasastri mentioned kings as '*rajanah*' meaning assemble together to

administer. It proves that there was more than one person who was responsible for governing the people. According to Shamasastri, “The word *rajanah* corresponds to the Roman term ‘rex’ which seems to have originally signified a ‘chief’ or ‘noble’ but not a ‘hereditary’ monarch.”

Similar views are resonated in *Mahabharata*. In the *Shanti Parva* of the *Mahabharata* there is a saying, “No one should live in a non-monarchical state” which means every tribe should have its ‘chief’. This view is also supported by K.P. Jayaswal. It was further expanded by P.C. Roy while explaining the ideas of Swami Vivekanand on Indian nationalism. He said, in 1892, he met father of Indian unrest, Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak on a Poona-bound train. Five years later, he was very famous icon of Indian culture and Hindu religion from the Himalayas to the Bharat Mahasagar. His message of nationalism came as a tonic to the depressed and demoralised Hindu mind” (S.L. Karandikar, 1960, 253 – 256). Vivekanand’s association with the Brahmo Samaj enlightened him about the social issues pertaining in India. Hence, it remained a part of his philosophy of nationalism. He devoted himself to the cause of regeneration of Hinduism. He played a decisive role as a philosopher of the Hindu nationalist movement. He located the cultural mosaic of the world by travelling to different parts of Asia, Europe and America.

India venerates the principle of unity in diversity which has been practiced since ancient times. Hence, it opened up her arms and embraced every single faith and identity that sought a shelter and refuge in this sacred land due to their history of religious, cultural or political persecution from their own place of origin. The notable community who came to India were the Shaka or the Indo-Scythians who invaded the north-western region of India in the first century BC. Huns, Greeks,

Mongols, Muslims from central Asia, Christians, Jews and Parsi (Zoroastrians) followed after them and made this place their homeland. Jawaharlal Nehru and Rabindranath Tagore often described Indian culture with metaphors such as ‘mosaic’ ‘bouquet’ and ‘rainbow’. From these metaphors it is clear that Indian culture retains its distinctive characteristics, even though each element is a part of a larger whole. Each piece keeps its shape and colour and contributes to the broader design as a whole. The philosophy and values of Hinduism hold all other values like a stem which is a strong distinction or unique feature of Indian Nationalism. Thus, modern Indian nationalism is reflected in its ancient culture which has inherited the tradition of historical civilization.

It is very important to understand the fact that Indian nationalism has not emerged as a reaction to any political, economic or cultural events in the history. It is not reactionary nationalism rather it is assimilatory^v in nature. Indian civilisation never allowed *acculturation*^{vi}. Even after the wave of globalisation in 21st century, it did not react to the opportunities and challenges posed to it. The philosophy of *vasudhaiv kutumbkam* (the earth is but one family) remained a constant variable of Indian culture to perceive the world. Kumar Srikrishna Prasanna Sen founded the Bharatvarsha Dharma Pracharini Sabha in 1875. This organisation published a periodical called *Dharma Pracharak*. It contained the thoughts on liberating India as a Hindu nation. Thus, the growth of different progressive ideas led to regeneration of Hindu nationalism or Indian nationalism that braved the brutal past of Islamic invasions and British imperialism.

Explaining the contributions of Annie Besant towards cultural nationalism of India, Dr. Bijendra Pandey writes (for) “Besant, the nation

is an individual and a spiritual entity. Like Hegel and Aurobindo and Pal, Besant also regards the nation as the unfoldment of the supreme divine. National religion, according to her, can be a factor for the survival of the nation even when it has its own government and territory destroyed, as happened in the case of the Hebrews. A nation becomes a state when a fixed territory and government are added to it.” (Pandey:2021,5).

Besant did not believe that India had to learn to be a nation, from the West. India was and is a nation. Indian nationalism is unique and has ancient roots. After Partition in 1947, Pakistan was created for Muslims by the inhuman and violent division of *Bharatavarsha* and the dark reality is that it is still struggling to mould itself as stable democracy and nation. On the other hand, Hinduism played a very significant role in re-uniting the Indian nation after Independence. It should also be taken into that at the time of Independence the British left India politically crushed and divided in many sub-nationalities in as many as 584 princely states in 1947. The situation was such that the entire world was sceptical of India’s ability of surviving as one unified nation for long. Today, India as one united nation is a reality only for the sake of the strong cultural and spiritual affinity amongst Indians that prevented Balkanization of this nation.

In every era, India was hurdled by a lot of political, religious and cultural forces at work to divide and destroy it, but every such wicked effort was in vain. It was due to Hindu culture and religion that kept people together in all difficult times. Under the larger umbrella of Hindu religion and culture, people were able to undermine the linguistic, ritualistic, ethnic, political, economic and other considerations and came under the umbrella of one nation. Hence, ancient values of Hinduism helped India to stand

as a modern nation today. It is noteworthy that, the temples, shrines, maths and spiritual leaders were and are playing important role in protection and nourishment of cultural nationalism in India. Therefore, Indian nationalism is essentially an organic idea rooted into ancient Hindu philosophy of nationhood.

Role of Socio- Religious Movement

The socio-religious movements during 18th to 20th century can be perceived as a strong resistance against the process of westernisation of Hindu nationalism. European scholars (largely under the influence of Christianity) tried to adulterate the purity of Hindu society by imposing the ideas such as Kipling's 'white men's burden' theory and many more. They also created artificial divisions in Hindu society by invoking caste and untouchability beyond rational proportion. The existence and adverse effect of caste system is not denied here but it is equally important to observe that it was over exaggerated by the invaders to divide the society so that they could easily conquer and loot it. On the pretext of social reformation they were actually preparing ground to drain the glory India from every way possible.

Adding fuel to the fire, as a part of this divisive agenda, Max Muller (1823–1900), translated the *Rigveda* in a demeaning style without even having any qualified knowledge of classical Sanskrit or Indian philosophies. A letter to his wife and mother written on 9 December 1867 reveals this very fact. Other letters written on 25 August 1856, 26 February 1867 and 16 December 1868 reveal that he was desperate to bring Christianity into India so that the ultimate motive of the British could be realised.

The letter of 9 December 1867 very categorically explains the British conspiracy. “It is (Veda) the root of their religion and to show them what that root is, I feel sure, the only way of uprooting all that has sprung from it during the last 3000 years’ (ibid, 269). Other letter that he wrote to Chevalier Bunsen, from Oxford on 25 August 1856, reads: “India is much riper for Christianity than Rome were at the time of St. Paul. The rotten tree has for some time had artificial supports... for the good of this struggle, I should like to lay down my life or at least lend my hand to bring about this struggle...” (Prakashanand, Saraswati: 2006, 268- 270).

It is quite ironical that Max Muller translated Vedic texts without having any qualified knowledge of the classical Sanskrit texts or languages. Also he never visited or stayed in India. It is a testimony of ‘Western ill-will’ towards India. The narratives were developed from Oxford against Hindu culture and scriptures. It was intellectual conspiracy of Europeans towards Indian values and philosophy that was expressed by Max Muller who termed Vedas as, “songs and poems of paddy cultivators in north India.”^{vii} Similarly, J.S. Mill also supported the British crown and missionaries by criticizing the Indian culture and political institutions. It can be said that every possible effort was made by the British and western intellectuals to attack the ancient Hindu roots of Indian civilization but every such motive failed due to unbounded faith and devotion of India’s indigenous people towards their motherland. In fact B.G. Tilak and M.G. Ranade played a key role in revival of cultural nationalism with Hindu values in it.

Thus, it is clear that spiritual and cultural nationalism in India was forcibly suppressed by the invaders during the medieval era and the modern British era. The two cruel goals of Islamic and European powers

were vehemently served in terms of drain of India's wealth and the spread of Islam and Christianity. Islamic invaders used power and sword to suppress Hindus and their national identity. By misuse of power, wealth, conspiracies, manipulation of historical sources they presented a wrong historical approach to divide the Indian society and popularised it throughout the world to tarnish the image and reputation of India in international arena. People were forcefully distracted from spiritual and cultural nationalism in the name of caste, language, and regional identities. Europeans played a key role in misleading people. They made people fight against each other in the name of diversity.

During one of his lectures delivered at Colombo titled 'The future of India' Swami Vivekanand said:

The unity in religion therefore is absolutely necessary as the first condition of the future of India. There must be the recognition of one religion; throughout the length and breadth of this land...We see how in Asia and especially in India race difficulties, linguistic difficulties all melt away before the unifying power of religion. The spirituality is life blood of Indian nationalism; hence it must be kept pure, as contaminated blood destroys the whole body. Everything will be cured, if the blood is pure. India's doom was sealed the very day they invented the word, 'Mlechchha' and stopped from communion with others. (C.W. Vol. 5, p. 40).

During this period, there were two kinds of reform movements contributing to the ideas of nationalism in India. First were the reformist movements like the Brahmo Samaj led by Raja Rammohun Roy, the

Prarthana Samaj founded by Atmaram Pandurang Tarkhadkar, the Aligarh Movement led by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Satya Shodhak Movement led by Mahatma Phule. Second type of movements contributing to reawakening of Hindu values were regarded as revivalist movements like Arya Samaj founded by Dayanand Saraswati, Ramkrishna Mission founded by Vivekanand and Rashtriya Swyamsevak Sangh (RSS) founded by Dr. K.B. Hedgewar which made a deep reference to ancient values and Indian culture.

In his famous work, *Beyond the People and Fatherland* Gary Shaprio emphasises the role of ‘geo-philosophy’ in shaping of human relations. He says, “Thought, whether philosophical or pre-philosophical, involves a process of ‘territorialisation’, ‘de-territorialisation’ and ‘re-territorialisation’^{viii} (emphasis mine) through which it takes up a variety of positions in relationship to the plane of immense, understood in its most immediate and familiar manifestation as the earth, the ground of life and thought.” (Shaprio:2008, 10).

The impact of ‘Indian Geo-philosophy’ is evident in the culture and spirituality in India. Revival of Indian nationalism has gone through the process of ‘territorialisation’ as an ancient civilisation. But it has also suffered ‘de-territorialisation’ during the Islamic invasions and was worst hit by British imperial manipulations of Indian culture and civilizational facts. The reform movements led by the saints, sages, reformers, and leaders during the modern era were an effort of ‘re-territorialisation’ and was also a sigh of relief. It was an effort towards the revival of cultural heritage and spiritual glory of the nation. Noteworthy fact is that, during the time of Nietzsche, the impact of renaissance was seen on entire Europe to challenge the religious orthodoxy and papal authorities under

‘reformation’. European powers which were indulged in colonial-nationalism crushed the territorial and cultural identity of many Asian, African and Latin American nations. India has been the worst victim of colonial nationalism, as it colonised its territory as well as thought process. Europeans under the influence of Roman Christian authorities used the culture and identity as a tool to appropriate the popular support for their imperialist and evangelical activities.

III

Non-Indic Interventions

Along with Indian perspective to understand cultural and spiritual nationalism, it is important to review some of the leading ideas suggested by various western thinkers. Hegel conceptualized the nation-state as the highest form of political organization. According to Hegel, the nation-state represents the culmination of historical development where individuals find their true freedom and self-realization in a cohesive political community.

Hegel agreed that civil society and the State were more or less the same thing and, and like Rousseau, rarely made distinction between them. For Hegel, the State is an ethical entity with a unique identity of its own, not just an artificial legal arrangement made by individuals striving to protect their own interests (Robinson & Groves: 2003, 98).

These ideas influenced and contributed to the emerging autonomous nation-state and the movement towards it. Hegel was a great admirer of *Bhagvad Gita*. He termed it as “the greatest wisdom of mankind”. Hegel’s state is not a product of contractual negotiations but the organic and inevitable consequence of how human beings are. It is therefore the destiny of human beings to develop within States. The State has an ethical dimension beyond the self-interest of its individual members (Robinson & Groves: 2003, 101). However, the growing extremism and violence during and after the French revolution shocked Hegel and other political conservatives like Edmund Burk (1729–97). Burk believed that the “state

is an evolving historical phenomenon, similar to complex living organism. Its complexity is held by a mixture of written and unwritten customs, adhered to usually unthinkingly, by its citizens". (Robinson & Groves: 2003, 110).

Thus, the prejudice principle suggested by Burk is applicable in the case of organic evolution of Indian nationalism accompanied with differential identities but with the distinctive feature of cultural assimilation. As Indians have always valued virtues over moral or political ideals, this has contributed to the cohesiveness of Indian society. Hence, both the left-liberalism and capitalist liberalism failed to understand the spiritual, cultural, civilizational aspects of Indian nation, which led them to reject traditional political and social institutions , thereby favouring some abstract utopian alternatives founded on vague concepts like 'natural rights'.(Ibid).

Moreover, as a nation-state India also evolved in an organic way. Indian nationalism is inspired by its organic ideology of Hinduism or *Sanatam dharma*. Any comparison of Indian nationalism with those of the West is misleading as they have totally different context. Just as "each flower in a bouquet retains its distinct persona (colour and smell) while sharing the space and smell with other flowers, Indian culture is like a rainbow of colours, though diverse, it has a fundamental unity" (Srivastava, 2005).

The unique cultural nationalism of India resonates in the concept of *Volk* (the idea of national spirit) coined by Johann Gottfried Herder which refers to a unique cultural community bound by shared language customs and history. The cultural nationalism in India grew as a nation with unity in diversity. This monograph emphasises upon, what Herder fostered as a sense of unity among the people and helped in fostering the cultural

identity. His idea of keeping the cultural identity alive by valuing it, matches the Indian sentiment as an ancient culture which exists as a living and ever-growing entity. Andus Gerdmar supports it through the ideas of Herder through one of the quotes from Tilgner's famous work in German entitled "*Volsnomostheologie und Schopfungsglaube*" page 21 -22:

The word VOLK (people), which referred to the geographical circumstances as well as inner characteristics of a people, become an ideologically loaded concept. Herder believed that this national spirit was given by god during creation and that it was a great crime to rob a nation of its national character, language and peculiarity of spirit. (Gerdmar: 2008, 52)

Another important German thinker Friedrich Nietzsche coined the term 'Geophilosophy'. He established the role of territory and earth in defining the culture and relationship between people. Gary Shaprio, while citing Deleuze and Guattari's "*What is Philosophy*" page 85, writes: "As far Geophilosophy is concerned, Geophilosophy, say Deleuze and Guattari recognizes that thinking goes on not between subject and object but, rather takes place in the earth". The concept of territorialisation as discussed earlier exists as the only common idea between the European and Indian nationalism. Taking Nietzsche into account it is essential to understand the impact of geophilosophy and demography in contributing towards a strong cultural nationalism in India, which could sustain and survive the time and many invasions.

Spiritual leaders like Swami Vivekanand, Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Prakashanand Saraswati, Lokmanya Tilak, Annie Besant and many more emphasised upon strengthening the spiritual roots in Indian nationalism

so that the crushed 'will' of Bharat could be revived through spiritual power more efficiently than physical or financial power. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's concept of the 'general will' can be cited as a western idea complementing India's spiritual power as its will power. A community and its collective will and general will represent their interests form the basis of national sovereignty. Rousseau's ideas are very important to understand a political system created by the participation of the masses.

The collective will of a community constructs the basis of national sovereignty. The spiritual will had been helpful during the time of fight against Islamic invaders as well as against the British Empire. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, Maharana Pratap, Guru Govind Singh, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Rani of Jhansi Laxmibai etc. are the epitomes of India's spiritual and political will against foreign invasion of one's motherland. The spiritual will of ancient past added spiritual power to our freedom struggle. It was the great will and faith of Veer Savarkar that prepared him to jump into the sea for the motherland. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose could raise an army and fought against the mighty British with the help of this 'will'. Martyrs like Chandrashekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Rajguru, Ram Prasad Bismil laid their lives as a symbol of impeccable will. The mantras (chants) and slogans like '*Har Har Mahadev*', '*Bharat Mata ki Jai*', '*Vande Matram*' '*Jai Bhawani, Jai Shivaji*' etc. were some of the popular words chanted by every Indian to awaken the feeling of spiritual nationalism, that prepared them to undergo enormous hardships or sacrifice their life. Hence, Indian nationalism thinks from a universal point of view like a cosmopolitan thinks globally.

Emmanuel Kant also drew inspirations from the ideas of ancient Indian philosophy of '*Vasudhaiva Kutumbkam*' and '*vishwa-bandhutva*' (universal brotherhood). Johann Gottlieb Fichte looked at the nation in terms of ethics and emphasized the moral dimension of the nation (Randle: 1970, 54). Kant saw nation as a community bound by shared values and aspirations. He thought that education was very important because education helped to develop national consciousness and fostered a sense of collective identity. However, Pauline in his article titled "Kantian Patriotism" has critiqued Kant and disassociated cosmopolitanism from patriotism. "As a moral theory, Kantianism is committed to the cosmopolitan view that all human beings qua rational beings are members of a single moral community." (Pauline: 2000, 314). However, Indian '*deshbhakti*' (nation worship) is totally different from Kantian 'patriotism' which is often taken as love for the motherland or place of birth. While former has a sense of spiritual belonging, later is an emotional bonding, which holds a strong sense of affinity.

On the other hand, Arthur Schopenhauer strongly criticized the concept of nation. He called the nation only an illusion and opined that it gives rise to conflict. He is seen not only thinking about the nation but going beyond the national boundaries and presenting his thoughts. But he was essentially a Universalist. Jakob Norberg of Duke University writes, "According to Karl Gutzkow 'Schopenhauer had conspicuous lack of patriotism'". It is worth mentioning what Nietzsche said about him. "Schopenhauer cultivated lifelong interest in Buddhism and Hinduism. He pointed out three major sources of inspiration for his thought, Kant, Plato and '*Upanishads*'." (Nietzsche: 1999, 408). Thus the universal values of *Upanishads* influenced him to a great extent.

For Marxists, the state is a tool of oppression in the hands of rich bourgeoisie. Karl Marx regarded that the tool used by the ruling class to divide the working class is nationalism. He saw nationalism as a mere distraction from class struggle, arguing that the capitalist class creates and exploits national sentiment to maintain its power. Joginder Singh Saklani put it, as “Nationalism and Marxism are ‘philosophically incompatible’”.

India is an assimilatory society that believed in equality and empowerment of mankind in material as well as spiritual sense which is the primary reason why Marxism and Communism have failed in India in every way. It is a failed political and electoral ideology for Indian voters and society nowadays. It is a mere intellectual romanticism for the armchair revolutionaries who seldom confront ground realities. Also, it has inflicted disastrous violence and atrocities against the tribal and poor in the form of Naxalism. Therefore, it would be completely correct to call cultural nationalism as the popular and natural sentiment of India since ages.

Haithcox, quoting Eric Hoffer (85) from his work *The True believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movement* on the intricacies of tactical communism to hide behind nationalism can be understood. In the words of Eric Hoffer, “In modern, times, nationalism is the most copious and durable course of mass enthusiasm and... nationalism fervour must be tapped if the drastic changes projected and initiated by revolutionary enthusiasms ate to be consummated.” (Haithcox: 1965, 473). It was the part of a larger Marxist conspiracy to defeat nationalism by hijacking and camouflaging the nationalist agenda. However, Indian masses gave them enough opportunity to prove their worthiness and suitability to Indian

society based on culture and diversity, but they failed disastrously and were routed in West Bengal and Tripura and are declining in Kerala. Indian society is not suitable for class based vertical division. It is heterogeneous, hence, the economic conditions cannot be the sole criteria for their association and endorsement to certain ideology. Rather, Indian culture imbibes people with frugality and charity through its ethos of '*athithi devo bhavah*' (guest is god). Out of the eighteen *Puranic* texts, only two of Maharshi Vyas's philosophy is considered authentic; they state that "अष्टादशपुराणानां सारं व्यासेन कीर्तितम् | परोपकारः पुण्याय पापाय परपीडनम्" (doing good deeds to others leads to merit and doing bad deeds leads to sin). The Indian way of thinking emphasises upon doing good to all, harm to anyone is considered as sin. Such philosophical lineages have helped India's cultural and spiritual identity to prevail over Eurocentric and Marxist versions on nationalism.

There are many more Western political thinkers who made active intervention in the theory and philosophy of nationalism. Hannah Arendt saw the importance of political action within nations and the nation as a space for civic participation and collective decision-making. Hannah Arendt says that the identity created by active participation in public affairs is a national identity. Emphasizing the interrelationship between national identity and individual existence, Martin Heidegger invented the concept of '*Dasein*', arguing that the general public or individual derives meaning and belonging from their participation in the historical and cultural life of their nation, so historical and cultural identification with the nation is equally important to the individual. Carl Schmitt developed a political theory highlighting the distinction and role of friends and enemies in the formation of national identity. Michel Foucault has criticized nationalism as merely a form of governmentality. He has

expressed his views on the role of power relations in shaping national identity.

Benedict Anderson's theory of imagined communities is highly influential in understanding nationalism. Anderson argues that the state breaks down into socially constructed institutions that are imagined because citizens of a nation never personally know or interact with other citizens of the same nation. (Tamir: 1995, 420). Nevertheless, they develop the feeling that we are all citizens of one nation, and behind this feeling, he highlights the role of print capitalism. He says that the advent of the printing press and the widespread circulation of printed materials have created a general sense of belonging and collective identity among individuals who consider themselves part of a single nation.

Ernest Geller's theory of nationalism posits that nationalism arose due to modernization and the rise of industrial society. According to him, a large society is a very complex society and the concept of nationalist is formed out of the need to understand the social as one. The transition from an agrarian society to an industrial society manifested itself in traditional social structures that led to the formation of national identity as a means of creating a cohesive sense of belonging and identity and the rise of nationalism. This goes with Eric Hobsbawm's theory of 'invented tradition' which explores how a nation constructs its identity by inventing and reinventing customs, symbols, and rituals. According to him, national identity is not rooted in ancient traditions but is deliberately created to foster a sense of shared history and culture. Invented traditions play an important role in building a nation's consciousness and strengthening its unity. As far ethnic considerations are concerned, Anthony D. Smith's theory of ethno-symbolism emphasizes the

importance of various cultural symbols, myths and memories in the formation of national identity. According to Smith, nation is not only a political entity but also includes ethno-cultural dimensions. Shared cultural symbols play a central role in creating and sustaining a sense of belonging and collective identity in many historical narratives and traditions.

Max Weber's theory of the state as a monopoly of legitimate violence can be studied in relation to the state and national identity. Weber states that the state has a monopoly on the legitimate use of force within a defined relevant territory. National identity is intertwined with the support and authority of the state because the state plays a crucial role in creating and consolidating a shared national identity. Emile Durkheim's concept of organic solidarity is important in understanding nationalism. It highlights the role of shared value beliefs and norms in creating social cohesion among nations. Durkheim suggests that in modern society individuals are interdependent and bound together by a collective consciousness based on shared moral beliefs and it is very important for building and maintaining national unity.

The link between nationalism, colonialism, and power dynamics is examined in Edward Said's theory of orientalism. According to Said, in order to establish a sense of "otherness" and support its policies of superiority and imperialism, the colonial power distorted the East's image. This makes nationalism a response to both the return of cultural identity and sovereignty and colonial control. Valuable theories presented by other scholars such as Benedict Anderson, Ernst Gellner, Rogers Brubaker, Chantal Mouffe provide us with a lens to understand the complex concept of nationalism by analysing how nationalism

becomes a social identity. They explain the multifaceted nature and picture of nationalism that seems to include socio-cultural political and historical implications as well as the contributions of all these scholars to understanding its underlying mechanisms and various outcomes in different contexts. While studying non-European or Indian nationalism, we find the views of these scholars extremely useful.

IV

Nationalism in the Era of Globalisation

Globalization played a major role in enhancing connectivity between different economies, trade, people, societies and cultures around the world. The world is interdependent in terms of shared fortunes and futures. We are living in the era of a seamless world. The concept of nationalism is also adopting the changes and influences of globalisation. Though the borders are becoming irrelevant, but they have not disappeared. The forces of nationalism will keep the borders intact for it is an expression of popular sovereignty. On the one hand the Eurocentric nationalism has declined, on the other hand the Indian nationalism embedded into its culture and spirituality emerging as alternative to Eurocentric nationalism. Indian faith in universal brotherhood makes its concept of nationalism universal. The era of globalisation has posed serious challenges before indigenous societies and cultures, including Indian culture.

The forces of globalisation made it inevitable to open Indian market and society to the rest of the world. Indian culture and its spiritual life also expanded through various media, including TV, Internet etc. This exposure to global fusion presented a serious challenge before the 'culture identity' of India. Therefore, the distinction between modernisation, westernisation and globalisation were reinterpreted. However, Indian conscience makes it possible draw a clear line between westernisation and modernisation. A close analysis of Indian nationalism

and globalization suggests a strong tie between the globalisation and nation state. These ties affected the cultural, economic, political and social landscape of India.

However, the era of globalisation encourages a large number of illegal migrations of people from one country to another. The idea of nationalism is often found defensive due to arrival of people from different cultures, who insist upon retaining their previous cultural and social life and symbols. Thus globalization has created additional challenges for national sovereignty. The protest against the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) and National Register of Citizens (NRC) etc. are the examples where process of assimilation is defeated by identity.

Control of Nation –state over global forces is another serious challenge. The expansion of multinational companies around the world questions the ability of the nation-states to control and regulate these companies. In order to attract investment for economic development, the nation-states cannot put under tough regulation against multinational companies (MNCs). But in some regions these MNCs become so strong that they start manipulating local culture and interfering with the government business through agents. In terms of ideological impact, globalisation dilutes ideology based political powers. In order to maximize the positive effects of globalization and minimize the negative effects, India should integrate itself with the global economy, while maintain its cultural and spiritual identity intact.

Nationalism and globalisation, both are inclusive idea, without much rigidity. Both are accommodative and contain some universal

characteristics. They converge on the issues of human rights, environment, gender, poverty alleviation, health issues etc. Ernst B. Hass, in his review of four theorists on nationalism, explores four different approaches to nationalism. Dudley Seers also defines nationalism from economic policy point of view. Benedict Anderson refers to the term nationalist as a kind of manufactured linguistic identity. Anthony Smith called nationalism a specific ideology of unity based on pre-industrial roots. (Dikshit: 2022). India has a great cultural and civilisational background of anti-colonial struggles and the development of India's democratic political system, which inspired Indian continuity of ancient nationalism.

Scholars like Baldev Raj Nayar believe that growing influence of economic forces shall weaken the forces of nationalism. According to him, “The recent wave of economic policy reform in the developing world has been seen as a necessary consequence of a changed world economic system. Though the key feature of the changed world economy is the element of the heightened economic globalisation, it has not led to weakening of economic nationalism.” Nevertheless, the world witnesses a different trend today. It a complex phenomenon of rise in economy led, technology driven globalisation as well as strengthening of cultural and nationalist forces across the continents. Nations like India are able to maintain a balance between the both; however, there are nations like Pakistan suffering on both the frontiers.

While writing a review of Hobsbawm's book '*Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*' Jerkins diagnosed the problem of nationalism. The rise of nations and nationalisms is a relentless characteristic of global political

development over the last two hundred years, and Marxists have always found the phenomenon particularly problematic. Indeed, according to Tom Nairn, the theory of nationalism is Marxism's "great historical failure" (Jenkins: 1992, 102). In the light of above, it is a policy challenge before a nation like India, which is indeed of economic development as well as preservation of cultural heritage of India. It is aspiring to become global power through its 'soft – power' and strong nationalism.

The actors, factors and dynamics of globalization increased the pressure on India's policy of protectionism as well as self-sufficiency. However, since nationalism has been a corner stone of our freedom movement as well as process of nation- building in post-Independent India, its impact can be seen over the economic policies as well. The mixed economic policy model was a response to the then global forces eying upon the sovereign existence of de- colonised nation – states. However, the Nehruvian government was inclined towards the socialist pattern of economy deriving from USSR.

India's cultural identity has also suffered a lot. The demand for economic and political integration ultimately leads to an opportunity for lifestyle, individual needs, language and culture. This integration leads to the universalization of social issues, now recognized for the first time as issues common to the entire human race, such as gender equality, human rights, environmental disasters, etc. Globalization is extremely difficult to escape in the sense that all problems definitely affect the common people. (Malesevic: 1999). Due to the expansion of internet international media, Indian people have been exposed to new cultural trends, beginning the debate on the effects of post-culture on India. India has

started using its rich cultural past as a tool of soft power and many scholars argue that India is aiming to establish itself as a major global cultural power. An analysis of globalization and Indian nationalism is necessary to understand how India is responding to the opportunities and challenges brought about by the process of globalization. In the modern world, the sovereignty of a nation and the interdependence of one country on another have become so complex that it needs to be understood.

V

Cultural and Nationalism in Era of LPG

Globalization is a process of integration of people, culture, economy, ideas, and value spheres in the modern world. It is led by liberal economic forces and driven by political powers. Hence, the borders of the nation-state are becoming irrelevant, if not disappearing. Global commons like human rights, ecology, gender justice, democracy, and individualism are flagship issues that motivate nation-states to engage with the rest of the world. However, the modern day's globalisation is focused on commodity, economy and digitisation much more than human welfare. It is totally different from the cultural and spiritual nationalism adhered by India since ancient period, which is reflected through the values of '*Vasudhaiv Kutumbkum*'.

The concepts of nation-state and nationalism have drastically changed since the end of the Cold War. The triumph of western liberal capitalism, primarily led by America, was declared by theories such as Fancies Fukuyama's "End of History" and Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilization." On the other hand, countries like India chose non-alignment in order to preserve their international neutrality. "Eurocentric" nationalism began to impose European ideals and economic interests over the rest of the world during the colonial era, particularly on the developing nations of Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

According to philosopher Gary Shapiro, "Nietzsche argues that geography takes precedence over history in contextualizing human action

and puts in perspective the Eurocentrism of globalization theory.” (Shapiro: 2008,10). India embraced globalisation and opened its economy for the world. As a successful democracy, it has supported the third world countries not because of any vested political interest but due to the inherent values and philosophy of ‘*Vasudhaiv Kutumbkam*’. Many nations lost their cultural and civilizational identities under the influence of globalisation. But, India maintained a beautiful balance between modernisation and Indian values and culture.

Globalization is also an attempt to facilitate the flow of capital, labour and knowledge across the world. It is a horizontal integration of society, culture and economy. Thomas Friedman in his book *The World is Flat – 3.0* gives a perspective to think about beginning of globalisation. In the preface of the book he writes: “The western world feels the beginning of globalisation when Christopher Columbus set sails 1492 to find India. But he never did find it, rather he reached America and called them red – Indians. In his report to King and Queen he said ‘the world is round.’” It is also referred to in the *Hitopadesha* (beneficial Advice) and other literary works of India. Hence, the idea of Indian nationalism and globalisation is older and organic than those of west.

अयंनिजःपरोवेतिगणनालघुचेतसाम्।

उदारचरितानांतुवसुधैवकुटुम्बकम्॥

**(This is mine, that is his, say the small minded,
The wise believe that the entire world is a family.)**

(MahaUpnishad: VI. 71-72)

Western authors give different opinions about it, but the word “globalization” came to be used only after the Cold War. In the second half of the 20th century, the technological revolution gained momentum and with it the development of globalization. (Hughes, 2004). Meanwhile, the nature of nation-state also changed from ‘value and ideology’ to ‘economy, democracy and security’. Scholars in various disciplines have defined globalization as well as given detailed opinions on it. The dynamics and ideas of nationalism have also changed drastically. The western nationalism which journeyed from territoriality (political) to liberal market economy (economic) to environmental and personal rights (Civil) of the citizens. In West all three, i.e. Political, Economic and Civil issues, have never been complementary to each other because of the fact that their thought and decision making process is deeply influenced and driven by material and law. Nationalism born and grew under this thought process lead to making it expansionism, jingoism and fascism. It perpetuated war, violence and wicked politics amongst the people and nations.

The Indian case is different as it believed in complete harmony of body (material), mind (thoughts) and soul (spirituality). This fine balance among them has been guided by the rich philosophies and scriptures of *Sanatan Dharma* i.e. *Vedas*, *Upanishads*, *Bhagvad Gita*, *Ramayana*, *Mahabhart*, *Arthashastra*, *Nitisara* etc. They have been the source of guidance and continuity for India as a nation. The purity of polity and administration, statecraft and duties of different sections are the leading voices.

Indian cultural identity relies upon the divine expression which is closely connected with the soul and spirit of individual. Therefore, nationalism is the worship of that 'divine spirit' manifested in the form of *Bharatvarsh*. This has defined the relation between the individual and nation. The dynamics of history, religion and science helps to understand and believe in a nation. Annie Besant's explanation defines the organic roots of Indian nationalism in *Sanatan* culture in a border sense. According to Besant:

During the early life of a Nation, religion is essential for the binding the individuals together who make the Nation. India was born, as it were, in the womb of Hinduism, and her body was far long shaped by that religion. Religion is a binding force, and India has had a longer binding together by religion than any other nation in the world, as she is the oldest of the living Nations. (Besant: 1925, 38).

A theoretical framework that compares both globalization and Indian nationalism together is the concept of glocalization. The term "glocalization" was first coined by sociologist, Roland Robertson in which the fusion of global and local cultures leads to the formation of a new system which he named as "glocalization". (Shamsuddoha, 2009). It is equally important to understand the institutions of Indian nationalism as globalization has directly or indirectly affected the special principles of Indian nationalism such as Indian languages and world languages, Indian cultural traditions and global cultural traditions, Indian music, dance, drama and various forms of entertainment is noticeable in most of the prominent cultures. Globalization seems to be influencing India's

nationalism as a whole. Also, the influence of Indian customs, traditions and culture can be seen in various parts of the world.

George Ritzer (1993) is an American sociologist who coined the term “McDonaldization” which refers to the process by which fast food restaurants are growing rapidly in America and similar fast-food restaurants are growing in other countries of the world due to the influence of America. Through this, he has tried to explain how food culture spreads from America or one country to different countries around the world and how globalization is expanding it. On the similar lines, we can see the spread of Indian cuisines across the world.

The basic difference between McDonaldization and Indianisation is that, American McDonald is a symbol of economic and non-state domination over the food culture of other nations, whereas Indian cuisines acquired their position on world map overages. The spices of India have been a source of attraction for the rest of world since the time immemorial. Although the dominance of multinational corporations and an opportunism of popular culture as well as the spread of Western consumerism occur through globalization. On the other hand, some benefits of globalization can also be seen which can strengthen the feeling and ideology of the Indian nationalists. It reflects India’s cultural nationalism in the contemporary world. It is generating a sense of unity and solidarity based on common history, culture, language or old customs and traditions. For nationalism, a common government, integration of territory and generating a strong national identity becomes the first priority. There are some important factors like social, economic and national integration that are also responsible for fighting against poverty and inequalities to preserve the feeling of national unity. It is the supreme

moral and cultural duty of every member of a nation to promote their nationalistic principles. Apart from this, a conscious inclusion of democratic government and decision-making process is also essential for nations. Scholars like Lokmanya Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai were influenced by Mazzini and Garibaldi. Like Edmund Burke and Mazzini, Tilak also regarded nationalism as essentially a spiritual and cultural concept. Many objective and subjective factors like a common history and tradition, common territory and language, common heroes and memories - all these factors went into the formation of nationhood.

Several prominent scholars have proposed a theoretical framework of globalization which has attempted to provide valuable insights into the multifaceted nature of the global phenomenon and its implications. Different theories of globalization explain the processes of globalization in various fields with special emphasis its dynamics and implications. David Harvey's theory of neoliberal globalization emphasizes the role of capitalist economic systems and neoliberal policies in shaping global processes. According to him, globalization is driven only by the ever-expanding expansion of capitalist markets and their pursuit of profit leading to an increase in economic trade and interaction, as well as an increase in inequality and uneven development. Anthony Giddens's theory of globalization explains that modernity has a transformative effect on societies all over the world. According to Anthony Giddens, they emphasize the emergence of new forms of global institutions, multicultural exchanges and social relations that destroy traditional structures and restructure social, economic, and political dynamics.

Arjun Appadorai proposed a theory of global cultural flows that centres on the movement of ideas, images and people across borders. According

to him globalization is not only the destruction of culture but also the formation of international communities and the circulation of cultural goods, identity, belonging and cultural hybridity. Ulrich Beck proposed the theory of reflexive modernization to examine the challenges and threats posed by globalization. Beck seems to emphasize the need to tackle global problems such as climate change and economic instability through technological progress, collective-action, and international cooperation.

Manfred Steger developed the theory of global imaginaries to explore the role of stories, ideas and imaginaries in shaping globalization. According to him, globalization is not only a political or economic process but also a cultural and ideological process that involves and is driven by shared values, beliefs and aspirations that transcend national boundaries. In his book *The World is Flat*, Thomas Friedman proposed the Flattening World theory, which focuses on the transformative impact of information technology and globalization. He says that the advancement of technology has created a communication playing field that makes it possible for businesses or individuals to connect and compete and collaborate on a global scale.

Through his theory of world-system analysis, Immanuel Wallerstein examines globalization from the point of view of the global capitalist imperial system, according to which the world system is characterized by an uneven distribution of power and resources in which core and large countries dominate the periphery. Through globalization, their hegemony and power is maintained and strengthened, and it creates global inequality. Above are the views of various scholars regarding globalization. Various theories that help us understand the creation of

globalization, its political, cultural, socio-economic effects, and its impact on society, individuals, and the global system, guide us how to generally understand a complex concept like globalization, and critically analyse globalization and the changes it brings about. Discussions and policies aimed at shaping a more inclusive and sustainable global future is also considered in this regard.

In the twentieth century, nationalism played an important role in various philosophical movements, including phenomenology and existentialism. Some existentialist thinkers like Jean Paul Sartre said that the concept of nationalism is very important to resist individual independent and tying forces. Nationalist movements emerged in Germany in the 1930s and 40s. Thinkers like Martin Heidegger said that nationalism was an important concept at that time. The relationship between Western philosophy and nationalism appears to be complex and multifaceted. Some philosophies argue that nationalism fosters a sense of belongingness and helps preserve a strong cultural identity, while other thinkers argue that nationalism is extremely dangerous and leads to an increase in conflict and violence. The events happening in the society and the views of the people in the society are seen to change with time in the concept of nationalism.

Liberal thinkers are generally seen as strong critics of nationalists because they place more importance on the protection of individual liberties and human rights than the concept of the nation-state. For example, J.S. Mill said that the power of the nation-state system should be limited and ordinary persons should have the right freely to pursue their own interests without interfering in the lives of individuals. Isaiah Berlin says that nationalism is a dangerous form of collectivism that can

threaten individual liberty. Marxist scholars and thinkers are seen to have mixed positive and negative views on the concept of nationalism.

According to Rosa Luxemburg, nationalism is a distraction that distracts from workers' struggle and their rights, according to which national identity should not be greater than class unity. Lenin saw nationalism as a tool through which he believed that a revolution and a socialist state could be created. Postmodern philosophers are seen to critically analyse nationalism. They raise the question of how it is possible for a state to have a particular identity or culture. According to postmodernism, nationalism is a form of politics that reinforces existing power structures. According to Jean-Francois Lyotard, nationalism is simply a way of excluding marginalized groups, keeping them out and maintaining the dominance of national identity.

Primordialism emphasizes the very deep-rooted and innate nature of Indian nationalism. Indian nationalism is linked to the notion of a shared civilizational history and a distinctly Indian identity, attributed to a long-standing language, culture and religion. It can be seen that the concept of instrumentalism was used in the movements of Indian independence to develop nationalism. Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose brought people together to gain independence from the British empire and created a sense of unity against the British. Constructivism emphasizes upon the socially constructed nature of India. According to constructivism collective beliefs, symbols, stories are important to bind people together. Indian nationalism can be understood as a historical event that led to the struggle against colonialism and the idea of a united India.

Civic nationalism emphasizes the importance of civic values such as democracy, equality, governance, citizenship. Civic nationalism understands that Indian nationalism is based on a pluralist and all-inclusive nation-state model that transcends caste, religious, linguistic distinctions. Post-colonial nationalism arose after India rejected colonial rule. In this, India struggles to achieve self-determination without accepting the sovereignty of anyone else, cultural revival takes place and the concept of democratic sovereignty in India develops. Ethnicism highlights the role of ethnic and religious identities in shaping Indian nationalism. An everyday and often overlooked expression of nationalism in everyday life is banal nationalism in the context of India. The display of the country's national symbols, participation in and celebration of cultural festivals are some of the ways of expressing it. Indian banal nationalism is the widespread acceptance and adoption of popular cultural national narratives and symbols which gives rise to nationalistic feelings among Indians in their everyday life.

Perennialism underlines the concept of an enduring Indian identity over a long period of time, the continuity of historical consciousness and cultural heritage of Indian civilization, and the impact of these on shaping nationalism discourse. Supra-nationalism observes Indian nationalism in relation to regional and global integration. It highlights how India forges relationships with global institutions like the United Nations and how it fulfils its role in regional organizations like SAARC. Focus on cultural elements with sentimentality regarding the nation honouring its rich heritage in the arts, literature, customs, and traditions remembering good things from the past that worked well in the present to cultivate one's spiritual and cultural life. Romantic nationalism is the term used to describe such sentiments toward India.

In recent times, the relationship between Western philosophy and nationalism seems to be in need of renewal as the nationalist movements in many Western countries have grown in political influence. Concerns have been expressed and warnings have been raised that this could alter democratic norms and erode them. According to some, nationalism is a very important concept that creates a sense of belongingness and the citizens of a nation feel emotionally attached to each other.

Through the integration of emotions and feelings, people are strongly associated with national symbols, historical glory, and cultural heritage that is indispensable for the preservation of national identity. It can be seen that, on the one hand, nationalism succeeds in promoting the identity of the nation, while on the other hand; if nationalism is not handled carefully it becomes a strong reason for conflicts between various groups.

Nationalism promotes the nation's rich history, cultures and traditional values generating a feeling of attachment and so people get emotionally attached to their nations. There are a number of ethical epics that help in fostering the feeling of nationalism. These epics glorify its rich cultural and traditional history and unite its citizens. These historical books are often regarded as storehouses which present a picture of cultures and their moral values. These are respected across the nation. After 1990s the words 'secularism', 'socialism' and Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) become irrelevant, if not redundant. In the words of Girilal Jain:

The Political – economic order that Jawaharlal Nehru had fashioned was as much in the theories of death as its progenitor, the Marxist, Leninist-Stalinist order. Two major planks of this order, 'secularism' and 'socialism'

has lost much of their old glitter while the third non-alignment has become redundant. (Jain: 1994, 7).

Further he clarifies the terminological aspects of 'Hindu Rashtra'. According to Girilal Jain, "the proper English translation of 'Hindu Rashtra' would be 'Hindu polity', not 'Hindu nation'". (Jain: 1994, 7).

Communitarian Approach

In fact, in today's world the nation-state is in trouble because of the narrow political attitude towards humanity. Russia and Ukraine war is an apt example of arrogant and selfish geo-politics. Such brutal incidents are evident because of lack of universal values -what Indian nationalism always preaches as '*Vishwa Bandhutva*'. On one hand, communitarians critique political nationalism by citing it as a divisive force of world humanity, but at the same time they want the individual to be politically united and assertive. It is possible only in a frame of 'cultural nationalism'. India's model of cultural nationalism is the most appropriate framework for today's world. It gives space to both the individual and the state. It foresees the mutual coexistence and complementary relationship between the nation and the individuals.

The most important aspect of cultural nationalism is that it glorifies one's culture as soft power.^{ix} Today, India has emerged as a strong credible nation in the world. It is because of its ancient values and cultural glory. The world is lacking and looking at India to find peace, health and hard workers. People from across the world are attracted to India for Yoga, *Ayurveda*, spirituality, progress in information and communication technologies (ICT) and business potentials. India is the fifth largest economy in the world, home to a whopping 140 million people and a

thriving democracy with a multi-party political system. What a herculean task to undertake! Its neighbour China is the second largest economy in the world with a similar population, but is neither a democracy nor an open society. While India is growing with its people, China is growing at the expense of its people's democracy and rights.

Tamir (2019) takes a positive view of nationalism, saying that the concept of nationalists provided some great moments in the 20th century and nationalism is the key to solving the problems of 21st century. She argues that democracy cannot be implemented as a purely utilitarian project but requires a national identity that provides meaning and reason for mutual care and responsibility. Gustavsson and Miller (2020), argue that nationalism is crucial to the functioning of contemporary liberal democracy. Nationalism is essential to the achievement of social justice. Nationalism emphasizes social trust and social cohesion.

Nationalism can strengthen the bonds of society along with promoting collective spirit that can replace self-centred individualism. Although nationalism has some negative aspects, nationalism is a sentiment that creates a unified view of the nation. The power and potential of nationalism to promote individual rights, equality, democratic values and free will is very important. Nationalism is a complex and multifaceted concept with different scholars presenting their views on Nationalism in different ways. Karl Deutsch's (1953) theory of communication emphasizes the importance of communication and the role of communication in building national identity. Michael Hechter's (1975) concept of internal colonialism states that nationalism is necessary to respond to economic exploitation. Tom Nairn (1981) in his idea of

Uneven Expansion of Capitalism states that nationalism emerges from uneven development.

Ernest Geller (1983) linked nationalism with industrialization in his theory of cultural homogeneity. Eric Hobsbawm (1983; 1992) gave the concept of Invented Tradition and Benedict Anderson (1983; 2006) gave the concept of Imagine Communities. According to him, cultural structure means nationalism. Paul Brass (1979) provided an instrumental theory that sees nationalism as a tool for political mobilization. John Breuilly (1993) conceptualized nationalism as a form of politics. Among the few other scholars who have contributed to the study of nationalism is Anthony D. Smith, who emphasizes the importance of ethnicity and culture in the formation of a nation. Walker Connor focused on the role of myths and symbols in creating national identity. Rogers Brubaker has explored the relationship between citizenship politics and nationalism.

Postcolonial scholars, Homi Bhabha (1990) and Partha Chatterjee argue that national identity is neither homogeneous nor uniform, but fragmented and hybridized. Universalists challenge the idea of a Europe-centric nationalism and instead adapt nationalisms in Africa and Asia to their own cultures, economies, histories or political systems. So, they claim it to be unique nationalism. Chatterjee (1993) divides nationalism into two domains, an internal spiritual domain dominated by Asian and African nationalist elites, and an external material domain controlled by the West and the colonial state. According to him, cultural nationalism had developed before the emergence of anti-colonial political movements in the hinterland and cultural nationalism was an important focus of anti-colonial resistance. That is, the elite nationalism of Asia and Africa as a whole did not simply copy European nationalism but adapted it to the

specific context of Asia or Africa. For the inner domain they developed their own modern and non-western ideas like family, gender relations, literature, religion which he called the inner domain.

Kymlicka's framework is rooted in liberal universalism which seeks to establish rights and principles that are universally applicable to all individuals regardless of their cultural background. Parekh, on the other hand, criticizes this, saying that instead of using universalism, a particularistic approach should be used that respects different cultures and gives importance to different identities and values. As the Indian example shows, nationalism can sometimes have a different culture and a different identity. (Fernandez & Kymlicka: 1997).

Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory is considered to be an important work by Bhiku Parekh. In this book he commented on multiculturalism and its impact on political theory. They explore the challenges in managing cultural diversity in society and respect diverse cultural identities. He talks about how to go about multiculturalism while keeping cultural identity alive. Will Kymlicka and Joseph Raz tried to address the proper consideration and resolution of cultural groups in a broad definition of liberalism but on the other hand, Bhiku Parekh argued that all kinds of liberal arguments are inadequate. He says that liberals must get over the misconception that the liberal way is superior to all others and that it is a certain way of life. As opposed to monism, Parekh suggests a multicultural society in which communication and interpersonal relationships are highly valued. (Morgan:2002).

The interrelationships between nationalism and globalization are complex and often debated. It challenges nationalistic sentiments by spreading cultural integration beyond national borders and eroding traditional boundaries. A nation's self-identity is conveyed and as the international affairs unfold, the nation acquires a new identity known as international identity. As different nations become more interconnected, the emphasis will be on protecting one's own nation's interests and connections and preserving one's own culture and heritage. Globalization can also create a sense of threat or competition that can lead to a national ideology as a means of defending and defining a new national identity that can embolden nationalists. Nationalism can be seen as a response to perceived inequality, cultural imperialism and economic exploitation associated with globalization.

VI

Conclusion

Therefore, the goal of Western nationalism has constantly changed to meet the needs of religious, racial, linguistic, cultural, economic or philosophical phenomena. This was used as a trigger to add to the aforementioned agenda of identity-based claims. Therefore, Western nationalism appeared in the form of war, conquest, civil unrest, ethnic clashes, political revolutions and scientific-philosophical revolutions in the form of status quo maintained by political and religious bodies. While nationalism in the West was a product of modern state building and enlightenment, in India nationalism evolved beyond the mere pursuit of political power to dance to the rhythms of spirituality. It is a plea to rediscover and cultivate a national spirit that recognizes the interdependence of all life and the cosmic dance of creation.

On the contrary, going through the pages of history, we learn about the incredible tenacity and distinctiveness of Indian nationalism, which is firmly rooted in its historical cultural and spiritual characteristics. Indian nationalism, unlike its western counterparts, is strengthened by a wealth of traditions, intellectual ideas and a strong bond with the land that has stood the test of time. Indian nationalism has weathered many storms throughout history, fending off waves of foreign invasions and cultural influences. This persistence is a sign of a deep bond and common identity that transcends barriers of language, religion and ethnicity.

So we can say that Indian nationalism is deeply rooted in its civilization and is not just a modern invention. The history of Indian nationalism is a rich collection of shared cultural memories and aspirations, from the ancient Vedas that extolled the sanctity of the land to the Bhakti and Sufi movements that advocated inclusive love. Despite its huge and highlighted history, Indian nationalism resonates with millions around the world who seek solace in its wisdom and all-encompassing appeal. We understand this when we appreciate the historical basis of Indian nationalism. India's spiritual nationalism with its deep knowledge and ancient songs can be a beacon to the whole world, transcending cultural and geographical barriers. The Sanskrit verse from *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* verse 1.4:

ॐ सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनः । सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः ।

सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु । मा कश्चित् दुःख भाग्भवेत् ॥

ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः ॥ (*Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* verse 1.4)

The verse of "*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*," which is referenced in the *Mahaupanishad* (VI.72), translates to "the world is one family" and captures the fundamental idea of universal connectivity and togetherness. Indian spiritual nationalism inspires us to see beyond our distinct national identities and to embrace our one humanity. By adopting this attitude, we may create international bridges of compassion, understanding, and cooperation while encouraging a feeling of shared accountability for the well-being of the entire globe.

India's spiritual and cultural nationalism provides a handbook for humanity worldwide, interweaving these deep values and sacred mantras. It promotes the development of an empathetic and compassionate society where all people live in peace and harmony among themselves.

Addressing global problems such as poverty, injustice and climate change requires coordinated action. We can envision a day when love, peace and understanding are the pillars of our relations, bridging the divides and creating a better and more peaceful world for future generations through the prism of Indian spiritual nationalism.

"Nationalism is a language that loves to dress up in words with meanings that are both persuasive and elusive." - Michael Billig, "Banal Nationalism" (1995)

Endnotes:

ⁱ It refers to upholding something 'righteous' 'virtues' and significant in the moral, spiritual, social and legal aspects of once life. When it comes to 'rajadharma' it connoted to the 'duty' of the rulers and the ruled. Hence, Indian concept of 'dharma' cannot be simply translated as western concept of 'religion'.

ⁱⁱ The word patriotism is first recorded in the early 1700 AD. Interestingly, by the 1770 AD, the word patriot could refer to "a member of a resistance movement, a freedom fighter," specifically those who fought against the British in the war for independence-associations that persist today. Patriotism is based on patriot, which is recorded in the 1500s. This word ultimately derives from Greek patriōtēs, "fellow-countryman or lineage member." The root of this word, in turn, means "fatherland." Paternal, patriarchy, and even English's own father are related (Dictionary.Com: 2022).

ⁱⁱⁱ A political philosophy based on tradition and social stability, stressing established institutions, and preferring gradual development to abrupt change specifically : such a philosophy calling for lower taxes, limited government regulation of business and investing, a strong national defence, and individual financial responsibility for personal needs (such as retirement income or health-care coverage)

^{iv} Aitareya Brahmana belongs to Shakala Shakha of the Rigveda. This work is ascribed to Mahidasa Aitareya and dates variously from 1000 BCE to 500 BCE. It is divided into eight Panchikas and each of the Panchikas is divided into eight adhyayas (chapters). Totally it has forty chapters.

^v Assimilation refers to the process through which individuals and groups of differing heritages acquire the basic habits, attitudes, and mode of life of an embracing culture.

^{vi} Acculturation is often tied to political conquest or expansion, and is applied to the process of change in beliefs or traditional practices that occurs when the cultural system of one group displaces that of another.

^{vii}Max Muller signed a contract with East India Company on 15th April, 1847 to work on Indian knowledge system. He wrote a letter to his wife Georgia on 15th December, 1866. Reading this letter exposes the British conspiracy to destroy the original Vedic knowledge system and present it in a distorted manner to get a translation of their own choice.

^{viii}Territorialization is the process of gaining territory, occupying a territory, claiming territory, and becoming familiar with the territory. Deterritorialization is the process of moving away from your comfort zone. It is deliberately de-constructing your so-called facts so that you can be able to absorb a new field of new facts. Reterritorialization is when people within a place start to produce an aspect of popular culture themselves, doing so in the context of their local culture and making it their own.

^{ix} In the 1980s, political scientist Joseph Nye Jr. coined the term soft power, defining it as a country's ability to influence others without resorting to coercive pressure. In practice, that process entails countries projecting their values, ideals, and culture across borders to foster goodwill and strengthen partnerships. Soft power usually originates outside government in places like schools, religious institutions, and charitable groups. It's also formed through music, sports, media, and major industries like Silicon Valley and Hollywood. But that doesn't mean governments are absent from cultivating and wielding soft power.

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About the Author

Dr. Ravi Rameshchandra Shukla possesses a wealth of experience spanning over 15 years in the realm of political science and political theory. His pedagogical expertise encompasses theories of International Relations, Ancient Indian Thoughts, and Soft Power Diplomacy. Presently serving as an Associate Professor in Comparative Politics and Political Theory at the esteemed School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, Dr. Shukla has previously contributed his academic prowess to R. D. & S. H. National College in Bandra, Mumbai, Maharashtra.



Demonstrating a commitment to academic and literary pursuits, Dr. Shukla has held membership in the Maharashtra State Hindi Sahitya Academy under the aegis of the Ministry of Culture and Youth Affairs, Government of Maharashtra (2018 -2021). His scholarly engagements extend to being an Associate Fellow at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study (IIAS), Shimla, where he served twice from 2012-2014 and later from 2018 to 2021. Dr. Shukla earned his Ph.D. in Identity Politics from the University of Mumbai in 2014, substantiating his academic acumen.

His academic journey is marked by a multifaceted educational background, encompassing MA in Politics, MA in Criminology & Police Administration, PG Diploma in Human Rights, PG Diploma in Journalism, and LLB. Dr. Shukla has made significant contributions to the academic landscape with his authored book, 'Dalit Politics in Uttar Pradesh: A Study of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)' (2017), alongside more than 15 research papers and 15 chapters in edited books.

