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Review Article

India as Hindu Rashtra: myth or reality?

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Abstract

Constitution of India defines India as a sovereign, socialist Secular, democratic republic. The principle of Secularism is a part of basic structure of our Constitution but, today, there is a lot of discussion about the idea of India as Hindu Rashtra.

The word Hindu derives from the word Sindhu. Sindhu in Sanskrit refers to the see as well as the river Indus. The word Hindu is not of Indian origin. It was in early part of medieval period when people of West and Central Asia started calling the inhabitants of Indian subcontinent, particularly those who resided on eastern coast of Sindhu as Hindus. Therefore, the word Hindu was not there in India before the advent of Turks in India. With the passage of time, especially during 19th century, the word was defined in a new and modern way by various social and religious reformers.

Today, it has become a symbol of Hindutva ideology of Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) and sangh parivar. In this paper, we will try to explore various connotations of the word Hindu and Hindu Rashtra. How far the concept of Hindu Rashtra is suitable in modern Indian Democracy. Is it just an imaginary idea or myth to establish Hindu Rashtra in India or it can be turned into a reality? What are the challenges in the realization of Hindu Rashtra in India?

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The word Hindu Rashtra simply means country of Hindus. Hinduism is one of the major religions of world and its followers are called Hindus. The word Rashtra is said to be Hindi translation of the English word Nation. According to Oxford English dictionary, Nation or country stands for a group of people with same language, culture and history, who live in a particular area under one Government. However, in modern times, most of the nations are multi-cultural geographical communities.

Now the question arises who are these Hindus? Are they just the people belonging to a particular sect or they may be referred to as all the people who live in India. The first notion of Hindu as a

sect or religion is somewhat problematic and confusing. Hindus as a religious community are not a homogeneous people. They are a group of people who have different cultures, languages, religious sects, way of worshiping, different caste and Varna and even the people belonging to different racial stocks. The honorable supreme court of India in one of its decisions defined the word Hindu not as a religion in which Islam, Christianity and Buddhism are religion; but as a way of life. Historically speaking, modern Hinduism, which may also be termed as Brahmanism, has been a cultural movement that has tried to assimilate over centuries various faiths, gods and method of worship not only of the indigenous tribes but even those of the

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alien communities. Hence, for centuries, Hinduism has been a binding force in a heterogeneous society that has a vast geographical expansion, cultural diversity, caste difference, language variety and different creeds, but which still shares a unique unity in diversity.

The second connotation of the word Hindu stands for a geographical identity. In the earlier medieval age, the people of west and central Asia used to call the people of Indian subcontinent as Hindus. This expression was based upon the idea that people who reside on eastern coast of the river Indus are sindus. However, as they were unable to pronounce Sindhu, they started calling it Hindu. Perhaps, they were not aware about the linguistic and cultural diversity of India and hence believed that all the people of this part of the world are a single community. Thus, here the word Hindu has a geographical meaning. Quite interestingly, the people of then India who were not looking at themselves as single community became more conscious about their cultural unity when they were attacked by central Asian tribes and they also accepted the word Hindu for themselves.

This geographical meaning of the word Hindu has been by and large accepted not only by present Hindu nationalist ideologues but also by some Muslim social reformers like sir said ahamad khan and iqbal. According to sir khan, Hindus are not a particular religious community. The word Hindu refers to the inhabitants of the area on the east coast of the river, hence, all residents of India including Muslims and other minorities are Hindus. Sir Khan also noticed a lot of religious and cultural affinity between Hindus and Muslims. Similarly, iqbal wrote the famous song "sari Jahan se accha Hindustan hamare". Where he saw all communities of India as a part of single whole that belongs to the same land.

Now the question is, how can India become a Hindu Rashtra? Will it be a Hindu Rashtra in a theocratic sense or it would be a Hindu Rashtra as a geographical community.

It would be quite problematic If India becomes a Hindu Rashtra in theocratic sense, according to Hassan suroor; India must be declared a Hindu Rashtra. It may be like western countries who have been deemed as Christian state but who protect minority rights. In the same manner, India may be declared a Hindu Rashtra with the principle of equality before law and full democratic and civil rights for minorities instead of remaining a hypocritical Secular state. In fact, it is a defacto Hindu state where Muslims have been treated as second class citizens. (Suroor, 2022).

But, India as a Hindu Rashtra in religious sense in future would be a problematic and dangerous ideology. Hindu Rashtra in religious sense may mean two possibilities. Firstly, it may pertain to a state which would be based upon the preaching's of Hindu scriptures. That means implementation of the political ideas given in the books like Ramayana, Maha Bharata and Smritis where only upper caste people could enjoy political rights. But that would lead to a state where majority of citizens will be deprived of right to participate in decision making process as they are neither upper caste people nor they believe in Hinduism. Here, we have example of Nepal where only a kshtriy could become the king. Moreover, the reinterpretation of old

scriptures may not be applicable in the modern context. (Patel, 2022).

Secondly, it may lead to formation of an exclusionary state like Pakistan where non-Muslims do not enjoy many rights and are subjected to a lot of discrimination. They may even be disenfranchised. According to some critics, many laws passed since 2019 in India are discriminatory and exclusionary such as law against triple talaq, rules of hijab, making of national population register, law against cow slaughter and so on. (Patel, 2022).

Historically speaking, the germs of the idea of Hindu Rashtra can be found in the works of savarkar and golwalkar. According to their critics, the idea of defining India on the basis of ancient Vedic text is not only flaud, but it also has a fascist over tones. According to his latest book, The Truths and Lies of Nationalism: According to Charvak's narration, Partha Chatterjee contends that no historical culture, regardless of its wealth, is suitable for the concept of nationhood. What this means is that no other civilization can compare to the ancient Indians. A similar case may be made against the Hindu Rashtra proposed by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. (Chatterjee) Cheterjee further argues that in the 6th chapter of his book, golwalkar says that the word Rashtra is a part of Hindu heritage and not borrowed from the West. He argues that word Rashtra is found in rig Veda. But we must keep in mind that Rashtra in Rig Veda never meant a nation. It is not the same as it is used today in English and other Indian languages. In rig Veda, the word Rashtra pertains to a realm, dominion or jurisdiction where the command or the order holds. Inmahabharata, it was used for a kingdom or empire. According to partho chatarji, the meaning of Rashtra similar to vedas can be equated with the system of ancient and medieval empires in India where the emperors used to conquer territory by military force and could collect revenue by commend or order. (Chatterjee, 2022).

Hence, according to the critics of Hindu nationalism, golwalkar's view of Rashtra has no place for a modern democratic state. According to golwalkar, every nation is composed of 5 types of unities such as country, race, religion, culture and language. Among all these "characteristics that make a nation, religion lies at the centre. Cheterji says, "By preceding in this fashion Golwalkar privileges the Vedic faith, its obscurantist beliefs and practices like varnashrama, as constituting the ancient Hindu Rashtra, but without any textual basis. This is the ill-defined Hindu Rashtra, or the lie of the ancient Indian nation." (Chatterjee, 2022).

Further, Golwalkar saw India as a nation of Hindus and did not accept idea of a composite culture of different faiths, cultures and religious communities. According to him, "The foreign races in Hindusthan [India] must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must loose (sic) their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment — not even citizen's rights. There is, at least, should be, no other course for them to adopt. We are an old

nation; let us deal, as old nations ought to and do deal, with the foreign races, which have chosen to live in our country." (Bose, Bharadwaj, Bhattacharya, Guha, (, 2022).

Golwalkar's commentary "Hindu race and culture" on who belongs to Hindu nation does not sees Hinduism as a religion. Rather it sees Hinduism as a culture and Hindus as a race that follows this culture. But, here also there is no place for other minority communities. This idea of Hinduism is not similar to the euro American fascist ideas which are based upon biological purity. But, a sort of cultural purity.

Savarkar, the first supremo of Rastriya Svyam Sevak Sangh (RSS) supports the same view when he says that Hindu is one who regards India as father land and a holy land. Hindus are the people united by a common cultural heritage. So, the word Hindu refers to a common culture rather than a religious community. This definition of Hindu includes the poliform Hindu culture, but Muslims and Christians are not included in this definition. This definition equates Hindu identity and Indian nationalism. That is, all minorities who carry extra territorial loyalty through their religion are not only alien communities but also can be potential traitors. This definition includes some minorities such as Sikhs, budhists, jains and even dalitswithin Hindu fold. They can be redefined as Hindus because santan Dharma that is upper caste Hinduism is a pure form and others are in varying distance from this purity. But, minorities like Muslims and Christians cannot be included in it due to their extra territorial loyalty. (Bose, Bharadwaj, Bhattacharya, Guha, (, 2022).

This idea of purity connects this ideology with the ideology of German Nazis. Golwalkar is clearly inspired and convinced by the Nazi experiment of attempting to purge a land of all those who don't fit into a definition of German-Aryan purity. Today, the sangh does not openly admit to follow the ideology of Nazi Germany but could not differentiate its ideology with them. (Bose, Bharadwaj, Bhattacharya, Guha, (, 2022).

The ideology of Hindu nationalism was first articulated by V D savarker. His brother was one of the five co founder of RSS. Even before foundation of RSS, Hindu maha sabha was founded in 1915. Both maha sabha and RSS worked for reviving ancient glorious past of Hindus. They claimed that losing touch from ancient Hindu culture made Hindu an easy prey to foreign invaders such as Muslims and Christians. They said that being Indian means being Hindu. They believed that true freedom for Hindus may be attained only in a Hindu nation. They were very much inspired by fascist regime of Italy and Nazi regime of germoney. "Calling for the Indian subcontinent to be turned into an ethno-state of Hindus - for Hindus, and only for Hindus savarker said "The Hindu people must be "fused and welded into an indivisible whole, till our race gets consolidated and strong sharp as steel." Insisting that "common blood" is the essence of nationality", he wrote: "We, Hindus, are all one and a nation because, chiefly, of our common blood." This idea of racial and national unity based upon common blood was same as it is found in Hitler's mein kampf. (Shrivastav, 2022).

Today golwalkar is viewed as the guru of RSS. Golwalkar believed that Indian nation may thrive only through racial exclusivity. Further all non-Hindus has only two options---either to merge them with national race and adopt its culture or to live

at its mercy so long as the national race allows them to do. Non-Hindus are internal threats. They must give up their foreign mental complection and merge in the common stream. Otherwise, they would be stripped off their citizenship right. The minorities cannot also claim any privilege or special rights, even not the full citizenship rights. He suggested that violence can be the final solution for minorities in India. It may adopt in India against non-Hindu just as it has been adopted against jukes in germoney. (Shrivastav, 2022).

According to the critics of Hindu Nationalism, violence against minorities is at the centre of this Hindu project. Various Government reports have blamed RSS and its associates for promoting communal violence. Jaganmohan commission on ahamdabad riots 1969, madan commission on bhiwandi riots 1970, Justice Vithayathil's report on the Tellicherry riots (1971, Justice Jitendra Narain's Report on the Jamshedpur riots (1979, report of Justice P Venugopal of the Madras High Court, on the riots in Kanyakumari in March 1982 have highlighted role of RSS and its associates for arousing communal feelings that ultimately caused communal riot. Similarly, nobody can deny role of sangh parivarin the demolition of babri mosque in December 1992 or the mass killing of Muslims in godhara riots of 2002 or merath pogrom of 2013. (Bose, Bharadwaj, Bhattacharya, Guha, 2022).

The sangh parivar in this manner wants to suppress minorities and desires to turn them into second class citizens of this country. The Sangh is also responsible for targeted killings of certain people. The Sangh activists' persistent harassment of Christian clergy, including nuns, priests, and evangelists, is a prime example. The Sangh Parivar was accused of fostering ethnic hate towards Christians in a study issued by Human Rights Watch, New York in September 1999. The report focused on violence against Christians in India. (Bose, Bharadwaj, Bhattacharya, Guha, 2022).

Over fifty separate acts of violence against Christian missionaries and their organisations were documented by the mainstream newsmagazine Frontline as part of a coordinated campaign to drive them out of India. The fact that the movement has reached a point where it feels confident enough to undertake such violent campaigns without even the cover of a presumed communal riot makes these targeted attacks against individuals and institutions just as noteworthy as organised mass violence. Last but not least, the Hindutva objective included nathuram godsey's murder of Gandhi. (Bose, Bharadwaj, Bhattacharya, Guha, 2022).

According to RSS ideology, only Hindus hold the birth right to be Indian citizen. India is already a Hindu Rashtra. But officially, since it has been declared a Secular state, so, there is a need of legislative and judicial measures to turn India into a real Hindu Rashtra. During 1st modi regime RSS exercised some restraint regarding Hindutva agenda. But, after its victory in general election of 2019, BJP is moving on to implement its Hindutva agenda. In continuation to this policy, sangh parivar is constantly targeting Muslims and even other minorities. When CAA was adopted in December 2019, it was vehemently opposed by minority community and they demanded its repeal. NRC was also opposed in the same manner. It led to targeted violence

against Muslims throughout India. The police brutalized protesters. Evwen United Nations warned against the violence done against Muslims and Christians by Hindu extremists which is based upon the idea of ultra nationalism and which exploits religious sentiments of the people. In 2017, journalist gauri lankesh was killed by a Hindu nationalist. She categorically said, "We are living in such times that Modi [devotees] and the Hindutva brigade welcome the killings [...] and celebrate the deaths [...] of those who oppose their ideology, their political party and their supreme leader Narendra Modi. [...] Let me assure you, they are keen to somehow shut me up too." (Bose, Bharadwaj, Bhattacharya, Guha, 2022).

Another problem with the concept of a Hindu Rashtra based upon Hindu religion is that it would be counterproductive for our foreign policy which believes in peaceful coexistence. The RSS the parent organization of sangh parivar is talking about akhand bharat for long. Their vision of akhand bharat includes the area stretching from Afghanistan in North West upt Myanmar in the east. It includes all south Asian countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka etc. it even includes Tibet in its manufactured history. (Singh, 2022).

PM Modi in one of his interviews in 2012 also endorsed this idea. His vision of akhand bharat meant the cultural unity of south Asia. Recently, RSS chief mohan bhagat declared that India will become akhand bharat in next 10 to 15 years. (Singh, 2022)

The idea of akhand bharat is the core of Hindutva ideology. This idea is taught in all RSS run schools with its own maps and nomenclature all over the country. It is believed by sangh parivar that akhand bharat will be achieved after India's remaking as a Hindu Rashtra even India remains a Constitutional republic. (Singh, 2022).

But this ideology does not suit either India's Secular and democratic polity or its balanced foreign policy. It may destroy India's multi ethnic cultural fabric. It may trigger arms race and mutual suspicion among the countries of south Asia. It may weaken India's position against china in the region. (Singh, 2022).

The idea of akhand bharat initially believed to be the unbroken India before the partition in 1947. But today it highlights the geographical expansion of a kingdom of ancient India which was in existence 2000 years ago. The policy of present Government reflects same vision of a broader India when it introduced in 2019 citizenship amendment act. The act extends citizenship to religious minorities of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh and excludes the Muslims from the same. Then, this criterion was linked to national register of citizens which raised concerns in the minds of Muslims that they might be denied the right to citizenship in India in future. The same year, modi Government abolished special status of J and K and brought it under direct rule of the centre. All this shows that Hinduism goes beyond the current Indian borders. The idea of akhand bharat is also visible in the foreign policy of the present Government. PM Modi and Hindu ideologues often call India vishva guru. Modi had paid visits to important temples in Nepal and Bangladesh to show that these countries fall within a broader Hindu umbrella. Similarly in 2015, Nepal was subjected to economic blockade when it wanted to introduce a new Secular Constitution in its territory. India also raised objection against ill treatment of Hindus in other countries through diplomatic channels. It fast tracked visas for Sikhs when Taliban took over Afghanistan in 2021. (Singh, 2022).

Akhand bharat campaign may further be counterproductive to India's neighborhood foreign policy against china that has been successful in reducing India's influence in the countries such as Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. (Singh, 2022)

It is very clear from the above discussion that making India a Hindu Rashtra on the basis of religion is a difficult and problematic task. It will not only harm our national unity but also would weaken India's position at the international level. Moreover, it is neither compatible with our composite culture nor it follows the basic principles enshrined in our Constitution.

How can India become a Hindu Rashtra?

The critics of Hindu Rashtra and Hindutva ideology cannot accept the concept of Hindu Rashtra. However, there are some arguments in favor of Hindu Rashtra. This Hindu Rashtra will not be a theocratic state giving special status to Hindus, but a nation based upon a broad meaning of Hindu Rashtra that would encompass all communities living in this part of the world.

India must become a Hindu Rashtra; not with a narrow theocratic approach but with a broad national view. This narrative of nationalism talks about cultural nationalism, national security, proactive foreign policy, removal of the politics of appeasement and getting predominant community its due place in this country. it desires to rejuvenate great culture of India by promoting the Indian traditions of Yoga, Auyurveda and above all the concept of Dharma.

Along with this cultural rejuvenation and national awakening, this Hindu Rashtra will cherish the values like respect for all faiths, tolerance, national brotherhood and unity in diversity. In other words, it would follow the age old Indian tradition of assimilation and composite culture. It will work on the principle of vasudhaiv kutumbh kambh. In this way, it will make India the vishva guru.

Moreover, the future Hindu Rashtra would be a project of a strong and powerful India. Country that would no longer be a soft state, that would persue a proactive foreign policy and that would not compromise its national interest in the name of pseudo-Secularism and world peace. Country that will be a major military and economic power in future. Country that would use its hard and soft power to assert itself at international level. There is no doubt that making such a nation would require the rejuvenation of national culture and national pride.

According to RSS supremo Mohan Bhagavat, "Hindu Rashtra does not mean that it will have no place for Muslims Hindutva is the essence of Indian cultural values and is aimed at fostering brotherhood among people of different faiths and views." (Times, 2022).

This view has also been indorsed by other great leaders and social reformers. For centuries, Hinduism has lived with contradictions and essentially pluralistic. The idea was supported by Gandhi and Vivekananda. Others find cultural, geographical and racial unity among inhabitants of India which may be seen as national identity as Hindu Rashtra. For radha krishanan,

Hinduism is a way of life. Golwalkar saw Hindus as a national race in India while savarker said that all those who see the land of bhart versh from Indus to the see as their father land and holly land are Hindus. (Jagannathan, 2022).

The critics of Hindu Rashtra often criticize leaders like Savarkar and Golwalkar for spreading Hindu fundamentalism in India on fascist lines. But, we must contextualized ideas of these great thinkers in colonial period and then prevailing politics of communally oriented two Nations theory. Their writings should be understood, not on the basis of their words but in their spirit. Thus, A broad definition of Hindu as given by savarker holds that all Muslims and Christians who do not hold extra territorial religious loyalty are Hindus. Yet another view of Hindu Rashtra believes in a sacred geography which is mentioned in all vedas and which is seen in India in the form of 4 pilgrimages. (Swarajya, 2022).

From the above said definitions of Hindu Rashtra, three things emerge. Firstly, Hindu Rashtra of future will not be a theocratic state like Pakistan. Secondly, it would involve an exclusive geographical loyalty which has developed for the last 5 thousand years and thirdly, it may allow and prescribe certain religious practices for its citizens. (Swarajya, 2022).

The definition given by savarker means that India could become a Hindu Rashtra with a place for Muslims and Christians provided they will not be getting any special privileges. They may run their institutions for propagating their culture and can receive state financial aid for that but only in proportion to their contribution to public exchequer. In the Hindu Rashtra, there will be provisions to prevent inflow of foreign money for funding conversion. The borders will be controlled to stop illegal migration from countries like Pakistan. On the other hand, Hindus living outside India will be allowed to come back to mother land. (Swarajya, 2022).

For the last seven decades, we have seen how our national interest as well as national pride has been compromised in the name of pseudo secularism and tolerance. The politics of vote bank has done a lot of harm to our national interest. The time has come for getting rid of all these menaces.

Yet Hindu nation does not mean nation for only Hindus. In fact, Hindu nation will be an ideal society or a heavenly society that would be based upon the concept of Dharma and which will lead to spiritual evolution of all living beings. Dharma does not mean any religious sect. rather; it pertains to once duty and obligation for society that every person has to do. Such a Rashtra would be a nation where the rulers will adopt a righteous path. The present Secular nation is a corrupt, selfish, unpatriotic and castist nation. (Hindu Janjagriti Samiti, 2022).

These ideals of Dharma and spiritual awakening can be attained in India by imparting moral education to the citizens and by adopting the model of Good Governance in public domain.

Making the view of Hindu Rashtra more clear, (RSS), says, "there is no need to create Hindu Rashtra. We are already a Hindu Rashtra. Hindu Rashtra is based upon concept of Dharma. The word Dharma cannot be compared with western concept of religion. Hindu means a society with different cultural and civilizational character in the Indian context, Dharma forms the. Very basis of everyday life. It is about ethics, values and social

norms. The debate since independence about religion, faith and Secularism has been done without taking into account their meaning in the Indian context. We must keep in mind that the word Dharma is not the synonym of religion and there is no equivalent of the word Secularism in Indian culture. Both Hindu and Rashtra are multi dimensional and have historical roots. The idea of nationalism has to be explained in the context of Indian freedom struggle and various streams. Its capacity to adjust, accommodate, assimilate made Hindutva responsive to growth and modernity, dynamic yet rooted in tradition. We flourished as a civilization for centuries without a uniform political structure to govern, and without having to resort to crusades or jihad. It is this capacity to make room for a multiplicity of perspectives that lies at the heart of the philosophy of ekatma vishwa darshan (literally, an 'integrated world view'." The word Secular was not there in the original Constitution. It was added to that through 42nd amendment in 1976. Practically speaking, India has always been a Secular polity. It has never been a theocratic state. The trust gap between individuals of various religious persuasions must be bridged, since many religions have devolved into simply identification markers rather than genuine alternatives for personal growth. (Chari, 2022).

Today, there is much emphasis on principle of Secularism. However, it is concept of Dharma that is most desired. Dharma sansthapna would lead to Rashtra rachna. People remember ram rajya because it was based upon the concept of Dharma. Secularism on the other hand leads to unrighteousness. It is causing sorrow and poverty everywhere. It is leading to instability through terrorism and naxalism. Secularism means supremacy of English language over Sanskrit based languages. Since Hindus get no formal education in Dharma, they blindly follow western culture. Hence, establishing a government on the principle of Dharma is the need of the hour. Hindu Rashtra on the principle of Dharma would be established with the help of Indian concept of Dharma. Only then there will be peace all over the world. (Hindu Janjagriti Samiti, 2022).

The principle of vasudhaiv kutambham kambh as a part of Indian culture is the basic tanet of a Hindu Rashtra. This principle was highlighted by present RSS chief mohan bhagvat on the occasion of a book release "RSS road maps for 21st century". For RSS leaders, Hindu rashtgra is not similar to any theocratic state which is there in most of Muslim country these days. This is because Hindus are not a sectarian class and Hinduism embraces the universally accepted values in the name of Dharma. The world recognizes this aspect of Hindu Rashtra. We may see the Indian history where no state was a theocratic state governed by a religious authority. Hindu Rashtra means a nation based upon the principle of unity in diversity. In Hinduism, we see the peaceful coexistence of dynamic social political structures. India has a long history of economic, social and political relations with other parts of the world. for RSS Hindu includes every shade of faith, method of worship, caste, community, and creed. (Chari, 2019).

Conclusion

It is a fact that in today's globalized world with a cosmopolitan society a sectarian nation based upon narrow religious and

cultural identity is neither feasible nor possible. We may see socio-economic and political conditions of our neighboring countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan in this regard. Their narrow approach in various spheres of life made them undemocratic and under developed. We want future India to become a prosperous and powerful country which is possible only by adoption of a liberal democratic polity.

But, on the other hand, there is no doubt that no nation on earth can become really strong and powerful without a strong culture and national pride. Here, we may quote the example of countries such as Germany, Japan, England and Russia who take pride in their language, culture and history which has inculcated real nationalism in them and which has made them most powerful nations in the world. Nationalism does not exist in vacuumed. It is always based upon pride in once own culture, language and history. The concept of Hindu Rashtra will create such national pride among the citizens of this country.

Hence, India must become a Hindu Rashtra; not with a narrow sectarian approach but with a broad national view. The present Government programme of atma nirbhar bharat can be a step in this direction. This narrative of nationalism has two sides---the political side and the economic side. The political aspect of this new nationalism talks about cultural nationalism, national security, proactive foreign policy, removal of the politics of appeasement and getting predominant community its due place in this country. The economic aspect of this nationalism emphasizes upon the policy of self reliance in a new way. Such a clear and strong policy may strengthen India in future. It

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would make India a Hindu Rashtra in a real sense.

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