



RESEARCH ARTICLE

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## INTERNATIONAL REALISM: THE INDIAN STATE IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE THOUGHTS OF MS GOLWALKAR

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### ARTICLE INFO

#### Article History:

Received 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2019  
Received in revised form  
26<sup>th</sup> June, 2019  
Accepted 19<sup>th</sup> July, 2019  
Published online 30<sup>th</sup> August, 2019

#### Key Words:

International realism, Golwalkar,  
China Kashmir, Pakistan.

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### ABSTRACT

The article at length talks about the element of realism, which has become a cornerstone of Indian national and international politics in dealing with its neighbours. In the recent five years, the Indian state is heading on to correct its past mistakes, or one could say, wiping out the scars given by its neighbours to it. The understanding of Golwalkar has been translated to action by the Prime minister of India in action. The Systematic abrogation of Article 370 and barring china for taking any offensive action at its long borders. The whole nation is feeling a sense of pride today.

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Citation: Vipin Malhotra, 2019. "International Realism: the Indian State in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century With special Reference to the thoughts of MS Golwalkar", *International Journal of Development Research*, 09, (08), 29491-29494.

### INTRODUCTION

The First quarter of the the 21<sup>st</sup> century would be known for the realist and pragmatic politics in the international arena. Congress, which is known for being a centrist party under the soft leadership, took certain decisions which will be remembered as pragmatic. The civil nuclear deal with the USA, Foreign Direct Investment, food guarantee for its citizens, right to free education, right to information and continuing the strengthening of the Indian economy at large. The BJP under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi altogether changed the gears of the Indian way of thinking and altogether converted the Indian state to a Western-like State. The soft character of Indian State has been put to oblivion. The ideology of Savarkar and Golwalkar is well colouring the functioning of Modian Mode. This style is not very new to Indian thinkers. Golwalkar, who time and again referred to the spiritual mode of Indian nationalism and propagated for certain ideals, was well conscious of 'realism', a necessary feature of international politics. While analysing India's relationship with its neighbours, Golwalkar's ideas were influenced by *Kautilian* guidelines for achieving supremacy in the international arena. Chapters 22-26 exclusively talk of Golwalkar's views about India's role in the international power structure. Here he had presented a comprehensive critique of India's policy towards its neighbours

and superpowers, led by the communist Soviet Union and capitalist block by the USA. Golwalkar was also handy to the policy of non-alignment championed by Jawaharlal Nehru. He had a pragmatic vision of the international relations, guided by Machiavellian instinct explained in historical processes. The continuous quest for establishing domination in the international arena is a typical phenomenon of international politics. In his words, in earlier days, it was imperialism in its unabashed naked form trying to spread its political tentacles over others. Today, the spirit of domination has taken on many more garbs, more alluring and more dangerous. They are sometimes economic and sometimes ideological. However, the spirit of world domination is there strong as ever. When one nation wants to dominate over another, conflict is inevitable. Thus, we find in this wide world that there is never any real peace. It is always in a state of intermittent strife. And peace is only an interval between two wars. Conflict is in the very nature of mankind as it is constituted today.<sup>1</sup> These views of Golwalkar are in line with Hobbes' views about a man who is at constant war with each other. Further emphasising the fact more vocally, he says, "Whatever the strategy, the basic rule of relations between nations is the law of the jungle – the strong feeding upon the weak and getting stronger. It is one of *jeevo jeevasya jeevanam, of matsya nyaya*, the big fish devouring the

<sup>1</sup>M.S. Golwalkar, Bunch of Thoughts, 1966, p.339.

small fish and becoming bigger at the cost of the smaller.”<sup>2</sup> Referring to the fluidity of international relations, Golwalkar pragmatically cited some examples. America, which at one time stood up against the imperialistic tyranny of Britain, overthrew its domination and established its independence. The same America, in the name of containing the rising danger of communism, is now trying to bring a large number of countries under its wing by giving them economic aid and sometimes military aid too. “But as we know, *arthasya purusho dasah*.—wherever economic aid comes, some mental enslavement also follows.”<sup>3</sup> After having understood the international framework in its reality, Golwalkar defined guidelines for India about its relations with its neighbours and other international Super Powers which are proving true to the benefit of the nation. He well contemplated the ever-changing nature of international alliances as a natural process. Can we depend upon the friendship and partnership of other nations? Here too the lesson of world history affords us no streak of hope. Friendship or hostility between any two nations has never been a permanent feature. Nations change their friends and foes as it suits their self-interest.

According to him, the story of the permutations and combinations of relationship between nations of Europe in the last few centuries makes interesting reading. England and France were bitter enemies for centuries. When France, under Napoleon, posed a challenge to England, the latter developed friendly ties with Germany and crushed France. Later, when Germany became too powerful, England and France came together in both the world wars and crushed Germany. At the beginning of the Second World War, Russia remained neutral but later joined Germany to get a share in the loot. However, still, later, England manoeuvred to wean away Russia from Germany and Russia joined the camp of America, England and France. America, too, during her struggle for independence, was hostile to England but friendly to France. The picture changed after a few years, and again, England became its friend. Such has been the history of ‘mutual friendship’ between nations on the face of the earth. According to Golwalkar, “Under these circumstances empowering ourselves is the best strategy to survive in the international power structure and to seek permanent security in the form of friendship with other nations would be just a delusion.”<sup>4</sup> Today’s BJP led government has well accepted these sermons. Coming closer to Western powers has bred good results. Putting an end to an age-old Kashmiri ordeal has been approved by the western powers without any resistance. In having a vivid understanding of the calculus of international power politics, Golwalkar was aware of the fact that to remain weak is to extend an invitation to aggression and depredation by stronger foreign powers. It is the weak, who are responsible for the disturbance of peace in the world. Churchill called the Second World War an ‘unnecessary war’. As England and France could easily have held Germany in check in the initial stages and avoided war if only they had displayed the nerve and strength to do it, but they remained unprepared and weak and thus indirectly fanned the German war-spirit. To be strong is the real path to peace.<sup>5</sup> Modi could well understand this historical blunder which various countries had experimented

with. That is why the Prime Minister did not think twice in surgical engineering strike on terrorist camps in Pak Occupied Kashmir twice without ifs and buts. Golwalkar time and again stressed the point; The world worships only the strong. Before the last war when England was powerful, our people tried to imitate and eulogise the English, but when during the war it appeared for a time that Germany would win, they began to adore Hitler and even Nazism. The fascination communism holds for many people today is mainly due to the show of brute strength by the votaries of Communism—Russia and China. That is the way of the world. Nobody cares a bit for the voice of the weak.<sup>6</sup> To further elaborate the strategy for acquiring power by the process of elimination, Golwalkar Our wise forbears have declared *agni-shesha*, *roga-shesha*, *runa-shesha* and *shatru-shesha* (residues of fire, disease, debt and enemy) should not be allowed to persist. Even their smallest traces will have to be eliminated. Otherwise, the residual spark may well develop over time into an all-consuming fire. It is because many of our heroic commanders of freedom struggle in the past did not heed this wise warning as they had fallen prey to wrong notions of Kshatriya-dharma and let off the captured enemy kings and commanders. History tells us that these enemies recouped themselves, attacked our men once again and destroyed them.<sup>7</sup> These historical facts, create a pragmatic vision for the policymaker today who wish to eliminate all the misdeeds of our past. Indian State badly needed this kind of resurgence if it wants to survive as an integral nation. Various policies which were adopted by the Indian state were proving detrimental. This led to a continuous attack on Indian State for more than a decade.

The Principles of Panchsheel and Non-Alignment which were eulogised in the third world countries, did long run damage to Indian cause of a prosperous state. Apart from seeing India as a powerful country of the world, Golwalkar was sceptical of Nehru’s policy of *Panchsheel* and non-alignment in the cold-war political scenario. According to him, Non-alignment’, ‘dynamic neutrality’, etc. as if they are our life-saving principles. However, will they help the weak? In the event of an attack by an aggressive power, how are we going to save ourselves? Shall we not have to throw ourselves into the arms of one or the other power-bloc for our protection? Moreover, in the event of a wider conflict, the bigger powers will care, who hoots for the neutrality of the weak.<sup>8</sup> Quoting Dr. J.C. Kumarappa, a great disciple of Gandhiji and an economist of repute, Golwalkar writes that after his visit to Russia and China Kumarappa categorically warned that ‘In their eyes the treaty of *Panchsheel* was not worth the paper on which it was written, but our leaders continued to roam in their own dreamland, shutting their eyes to the glaring signs of the all-enveloping danger of Communist China.’<sup>9</sup> He got more critical of India’s foreign policy, when, he sensed India’s tilt towards Communist Bloc and its antagonism with Western countries. Denouncing the concepts of Non-alignment, peace or *Panchsheel*, Golwalkar advised the policy formulators not to take the words in its simplicity. According to him, “We take the words and diplomatic moves of the world powers at their face value and begin to flatter ourselves that we occupy a great position in the councils of the world.”<sup>10</sup> Spelling about the complexities of international relations, Golwalkar sermonises

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p.340 article 370 which was an eye sore for India for a long time has acted as a balm for several conscientious political lords irrespective of their party affiliations.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p.342.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p.343.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p.345.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p.356-357.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p.447.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p.347

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p.352.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p.354

that the various high-sounding concepts that we have taken up as the sheet-anchor of our national prestige and progress have no value in this world of hard reality. However, in spite of burning our fingers repeatedly, we are not able to overcome the infatuation for wishful thinking. This has been a curse on our people not merely now but for several centuries past.<sup>11</sup> Golwalkar was even uncomfortable with some of the Vedic principles like world unity '*Vasudhaiv Kutumbhakam*'.<sup>12</sup> However, he wishes that the international environment should be governed through spiritual principles and environment of righteousness. "We are to test every act, apparently good or bad, on this touchstone of the ultimate victory of the forces of *dharma*... to achieve ultimate victory in the path of *dharmasthapana*, i.e., establishing righteousness all over the world, which has been our national life-mission since ages."<sup>13</sup>

### Sino-India Relations

Golwalkar considered China as one of the biggest threats for India. In his words, "For the past eight years we of the *Sangh*, too, had been unambiguously warning that China had aggressed into our territory at various strategic points. Then nobody was prepared to believe us. The editor of leading English daily even said that we were talking like madmen. And now our leaders say that they were taken by surprise!"<sup>14</sup> Showing pragmatic postures, Golwalkar cited the opinion of various persons. "Over one hundred and fifty years ago, Napoleon had forewarned not to rouse that yellow giant lest he should prove a grave peril to humanity. Seventy years ago Swami Vivekananda had specifically warned that China would invade *Bharat* soon after the Britishers quit."<sup>15</sup> The aggressive designs of China became clear when "The Communists in our country distributed copies of a new map of China showing therein portions of all Himalayan territories – Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and NEFA (indicating the five fingers of the aggressive fist of China protruding from Tibet) and of Burma. Our Government did not even confiscate these maps."<sup>16</sup>

However, Golwalkar wanted to take full advantage of the Chinese attack on India and its defeat in the hands of powerful China:

We often hear that it has been a blessing in disguise. It is a fact that foreign aggression affords a golden opportunity for the nation to purge itself of corrodng tendencies like selfishness, internecine feuds, separatist pulls, etc., and to recast itself into single unified and purified entity... to rise above all other petty feelings, to merge their interests in the supreme national good and stand as living limbs of a colossal national personality. But all this can be achieved and made enduring only if we have the will, the wisdom to grasp the great chance offered to us and the capacity to profit from it. Without that preparation on our part, even the blessing may prove to be a mere shock and waste and nothing more.<sup>17</sup>The incidence of Doklam in July 2018 clearly one's again proves that International realism is the only way to understand and protect the country. High flown ideas of ideals more often deceive the national interest. The way India took a stand on Doklam Issue, itself speaks for

the will power which the Modi government is willing to go ahead with power politics as one of its main principles. Adopting the principle of 'expand or disband' Golwalkar wanted the Hindu-Rashtra of his dreams to take offensive measures. covertly he accepted the imperialist policy as one of the natural principles of international politics:

Let the defence of our sacred motherland be the first criterion of all our policies--internal and external. For that, if it becomes necessary to cross our frontiers, let us do it without the least hesitation. Today the Dalai Lama is in our midst. Tibetans are still offering stiff resistance to Chinese forces in their country. This is a factor in our favour for the liberation of Tibet... But our Prime Minister says that such a step would be 'manifest nonsense' we cannot understand why he should be opposed to such a noble cause... Our late revered President Dr Rajendra Prasad had said that we cannot hope to protect our frontiers unless we carry the war into the enemy's territory and for that liberation of Tibet is the first military step.<sup>18</sup>

### Indo-Pak Relations

The Indian people at large had always been uncomfortable with the partition of India. In Golwalkar's perception, "Pakistan was an artificial political creation foisted upon us by foreign masters."<sup>19</sup>Pakistan, which was created on religious lines, too, proved to be a myth for national reconstruction. In Golwalkar's words, Ayub Khan is tyrannising over his own co-religionists, especially in NWFP, Baluchistan and East Bengal, and has reduced them to second-class citizens. The people of NWFP and their leader Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan have always been with Bharat. They were forced to join Pakistan much against their will. The Bengali Muslims in East Bengal, groaning under the heels of Punjabi Muslims who dominate the entire State machinery in Pakistan, are already in revolt.<sup>20</sup> Golwalkar, who once was deadly against the Muslims to be given equal status with that of Hindus, is now ready to seek reunification of India crossing the barriers of religion. According to him, the reunification of those parts with Bharat would therefore be a welcome development and an act of liberation for them. They may well be Muslims by religion but they can live happily as honourable citizens just as the other Muslims here who are enjoying all the rights and privileges due to citizens, in the single, democratic and unified Bharat. History bears testimony to the fact that Bharat, the cradle-land of religious generosity, has always welcomed and assured all religious groups a free, honourable and secure life. Even in the Vijaynagar and Maratha empires, which rose to defend our national freedom from Muslim onslaughts, Muslims were stationed in some of the highest positions of trust and responsibility.<sup>21</sup> This was a clear-cut departure of right-wing ideologues, who always suspected the credibility of non-Hindu people participating in the national processes. Golwalkar was aware of the fact that the uneasy relationships with Pakistan are bound to keep India weak. Pakistan, which was a creation of hatred with Hindus, is likely to have its uneasy relations with India. According to him, When we are in a difficult situation, Pakistan is likely to bully us. The past history of those elements tells us... They attacked Kashmir. To please them we gave one-third of Kashmir. We also gave them

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p.355

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p.350

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p.379.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p.381

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p.381

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p.353.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p.411

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p.397

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p.447-48

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p.421

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp.421-22

the waters of canals built at our cost. Over and above it, we gave them nearly eighty-five crores of rupees. But in return, what have they given us? Under the terms of Partition, they had to give compensation for the immovable property that the Hindus had left behind. The property amounted to hundreds of crores of rupees. But so far we have not received even a single pie. We have been giving everything they demand. But have we ever succeeded in getting anything from them? If we ask them to keep quiet by giving them more and more, will they stop? If now we give Kashmir, then they may ask for Assam and then for Bengal. The more we give, the more their appetite gets whetted. So this one-way traffic must stop... If we begin to appease them, there will be no end.<sup>22</sup> Golwalkar, though bitter on several issues with Pakistan, was visionary enough to consider its healthy relationship with Pakistan as a necessary corollary for acquiring supremacy in the region and to establish its hegemony. Kashmir, which had been an uneasy source of Indo-Pak relations since their inception, Golwalkar wanted to resolve the Kashmir problem once for all. In his view, "Not only the Maharaja but the entire people through their representative body had unequivocally declared their wish to join *Bharat*. So, viewed from whatever aspect, Kashmir's integration with *Bharat* is irrevocable and no longer negotiable."<sup>23</sup> India is currently moving in this direction. It is not only raising the issue of POK but also has eyes on the rebellious attitude of Bloch people.

### Relations with Nepal

Golwalkar was aware of the buffer zone of Nepal as an important defence mechanism on Indian frontiers. Its importance is increased in view of the Chinese expansionist policies. According to Golwalkar, There is an important link on our Northern frontier which we must strengthen. And that is Nepal. From times immemorial Nepal has been identified with our national way of life. It is a sovereign State, and we are happy over this fact. It is small in size, and it is our duty to see that it is not crushed out of existence. Under pressure from a much bigger power, China, Nepal has accepted in its moments of weakness the proposal for the Lhasa - Kathmandu Road. It is our duty to see that the independence and sovereignty of Nepal are preserved.<sup>24</sup> Here it is worth noting that Golwalkar, setting aside the religious unity which is too sacrosanct for the realisation of the Hindu-Rashtra, respects the sovereignty of Nepal, an only Hindu state in the world.

### Tilt towards Western Countries

After having analysed Golwalkar's views about India's relations with its neighbours, I'll now give an account of his preference for democratic countries than their counterpart Communist Bloc. Here also Golwalkar was sceptical of India's foreign policy as a policy of proximity with Communist countries. In his views, There is nothing wrong with the policy of non-alignment as such. On the contrary, our folly has been that we were not strictly non-aligned but were oriented more towards the Communist bloc. When England and France attacked Egypt over the Suez affair, we were the first to denounce them in the strongest possible terms. But when China butchered Tibet, we did not utter a word of protest. And when Russian tanks rolled into Hungary and crushed its

freedom revolt, we even tried to justify that act. Had we remained truly non-aligned and pointed out our common devotion to democracy, the West would have looked upon us as a dependable friend. After all, when we were in trouble, we looked to them, and they rushed to our help. Russia, in spite of all its protestations of friendship for us, sent us the four MIG planes scheduled to be sent earlier, several months after the critical hour had passed. Stranger still, the planes were sent by ship and not by air! So far we have not heard about their having been flown at all. We do not know whether the Government calls these developments as alignment or non-alignment.<sup>25</sup> He further spells out the opportunism as an integral part of international politics and calls upon the foreign policymakers to seek help from wherever possible:

Let us hope the Government will take an objective view of the problem and not allow high-sounding slogans and shibboleths to come in the way of arming our nation to the teeth. We must get arms from wherever we can have them. If Germany could buy guns in England on the eve of the First World War and France could sell tanks to Germany on the eve of the Second World War and all the countries opposed to Germany including Russia could receive American military aid during that war, why should we fight shy of taking arms aid from willing countries, whichever they maybe?<sup>26</sup> Golwalkar, after having sermonised the practical approach towards international relations, wanted to achieve consonance between individual actions and international glory of the Hindu-Rashtra of his dreams. According to him, "It is absolutely essential that the eternal and inspiring call of devotion to our holy motherland and our national ideals is engraved in the heart of every son of this soil."<sup>27</sup> To conclude the theme, he says with unequivocal terms, "All our valiant freedom fighters in the past and in modern times were inspired with the living vision of the Hindu-Rashtra. That was the only effective rallying cry to rouse our masses to action from one corner of the country to the other."<sup>28</sup> After having analysed Golwalkar's views in detail, it would not be wrong to say that Golwalkar's theme of 'one nation, one people and one culture' is all comprehensive. Especially his concept of 'one culture' is all-embracing and silently, it transforms itself into the political domain, where Golwalkar asserts the Hindu identity more vocally. His views about the national and international life are clearly objectified, whereas the concept of 'Hindu geo-culture' is enunciated to establish the Hindu-Rashtra and its domination in the international arena. Golwalkar, whose theoretical inconsistencies are so visible sometimes, are evident of the fact that he is bent upon to achieve Hindu supremacy in the internal as well as external national life. Golwalkar, who always presented an ideal vision of his Hindu-Rashtra, becomes all the more treacherous and brutal while expressing his views about minority problem and international relations. But in no unequivocal term, this could be well said that his thoughts have been the source of ideological moorings for the current wave of Hindu political revival than any other thinker of this stream, without undermining the importance of others.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p.395-96

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p.396

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp.403-4

Whatever, may be the criticism, The nation is ahead towards its journey as a strong Rashtra. Be the issue of Kashmir, doklam or buying arms from USA, Isreal, France or Russia, India has not hesitated to go ahead despite, several international words of caution.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p.404

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p.395

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p.421

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp.396-97