

Israel and India as Co-Anchors of the Global National-Conservative Alliance

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Executive Summary



Over the past decade, Israel and India have undergone a profound ideological realignment—transforming them from historically nonaligned states into co-anchors of an emerging Global National Conservative Alliance (GNCA). This alliance, grounded in civilizational nationalism, opposition to liberal international norms, and a shared commitment to cultural sovereignty, now connects governments, think tanks, and diaspora influence networks across continents.

This report documents how Israel’s Netanyahu-led coalitions and India’s BJP government under Narendra Modi have converged not only strategically but ideologically constructing parallel narratives of nationhood rooted in religion, history, and majoritarian identity. Both countries reject the liberal-universalist model in favor of a “civilization-state” framework that asserts ethno-religious continuity as the foundation of national legitimacy.

Through shared participation in transnational forums such as the National Conservatism Conference, close ties between diaspora networks, and synchronized media narratives—particularly around Islam, “wokeness,” and global institutions—India and Israel have become central nodes in a growing global right-wing ecosystem. This convergence is further reinforced by admiration and mutual validation between ideological actors, often bypassing traditional diplomatic channels in favor of shared messaging infrastructure and intellectual alignment.

Key findings include:

- The promotion of Hindu and Jewish civilizational identity as the basis for modern statehood
- Rejection of liberal global governance in favor of sovereignty-first nationalism
- Joint ideological platforms linking Indian and Israeli figures with U.S. and European conservatives
- Diaspora influence operations modeled on pro-Israel lobbying and adapted for Hindutva mobilization
- Narrative synchronization in anti-Muslim, anti-globalist, and anti-“woke” rhetoric

This report concludes that India and Israel now act as ideological bridges between the Western and non-Western right, helping to legitimize a broader nationalist agenda while exporting key narratives into the global discourse. Their partnership illustrates how the GNCA functions: not through formal alliances, but through shared worldview, strategic culture, and parallel influence operations.

Israel and India as Co-Anchors of the Global National-Conservative Alliance (GNCA)

Working Definition – Global National-Conservative Alliance (GNCA): *An ideological coalition uniting right-wing and far-right movements worldwide under shared principles of national sovereignty, cultural identity, and opposition to global institutions. It represents a significant shift in U.S. conservatism, away from Reagan-era ideals of free markets and global leadership, toward a more nationalist and protectionist agenda. The GNCA has gained visibility through events such as the National Conservatism Conferences and has included key figures and organizations from the U.S., Europe, Israel, and India.*

Introduction



Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi (left) embraces Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu upon arriving in Israel (2017). This personal warmth reflects a deeper ideological affinity between their governments. Both Modi's India and Netanyahu's Israel have emerged as ideological **co-anchors** of a global right-wing trend emphasizing civilizational identity, nationalist governance, and rejection of liberal international norms ¹ ². As prominent democracies led by nationalist parties (the BJP in India and Likud in Israel), they lend legitimacy and heft to the **Global National-Conservative Alliance (GNCA)** – a loose transnational alignment of right-wing movements. Crucially, this alliance is not about formal military ties or hardware deals, but about shared narratives and **ideological influence**. The sections below explore how India and Israel promote parallel visions of civilizational nationalism, coordinate in forums like the National Conservatism Conference, leverage diaspora networks, and converge on key narratives (from **anti-globalism** to **anti-“woke”** and **anti-Muslim** themes). A comparative glance at other GNCA-aligned regimes

(e.g. Hungary and Poland) is included, followed by a timeline of major milestones and an annotated bibliography of sources (2014–2025).

Civilizational Identity Frameworks

Both the Modi government in India and the Netanyahu-led government in Israel articulate their national identities in **civilizational terms**. They portray their countries not just as modern nation-states, but as ancient civilizations with special destinies and cultural missions:

- **India (Bharat) as a Hindu Civilization:** Narendra Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) governance is heavily influenced by *Hindutva*, which frames India as a timeless Hindu civilization ¹. Modi and his ideologues describe India as "*Bharat*" – a civilizational entity rooted in millennia of history and spiritual tradition, rather than just a secular republic ³. This worldview holds that India's national character is defined by Hindu culture and values. Prime intellectual influences like Deendayal Upadhyaya argued that India's essence is civilizational unity (open even to contributions from Muslims, in his view), and he advocated a return to core Hindu principles in statecraft ⁴ ⁵. The *Indic civilization* narrative is used to instill pride and justify policies that prioritize majority cultural symbols (e.g. promoting Hindu festivals, historical icons, and even rewriting textbooks). For Modi, protecting India is an "*existential, moral*" duty tied to preserving a great civilization ⁶.
- **Israel as the Reborn Jewish Nation-Civilization:** Under Netanyahu, Israel is described as "*the eternal nation of the Jewish people*" grounded in biblical tradition ³. Likud's rhetoric often invokes 3,000 years of Jewish history in the land and the idea that Israel's modern state carries forward an ancient civilizational promise. Netanyahu emphasizes Israel's identity as *the* Jewish nation-state, with a mission to safeguard the Jewish people and heritage. He frequently links contemporary policies to biblical references or Jewish history – portraying, for example, security challenges in almost messianic or civilizational terms ⁷. The current Israeli right-wing also champions the concept of a "*Jewish state*" in law (e.g. the 2018 Nation-State Law declaring Israel the nation-state of the Jewish people). Like India's case, this civilizational framing imbues policy with a sense of historic destiny and moral imperative ⁶.

Notably, both leaderships have pushed the idea of a "**civilization state**" as an alternative to Western liberal democracy. In these models, national sovereignty and cultural continuity trump liberal universalism. The resurgence of the **civilization-state narrative** is seen across many non-Western powers as liberal influence wanes ⁸. Commentators observe that India and Israel (along with countries like China, Turkey, etc.) now explicitly aspire to be "civilization states" offering distinct value systems in global affairs ⁹. For example, Bruno Maçães notes that both Judaism and Hinduism have long philosophical traditions answering fundamental questions about society, lending themselves to such civilizational state models ⁹. In essence, **India's and Israel's ruling ideologies reject the notion that liberal Western norms are the only template** – instead asserting their own ancient ethos as a guide for modern governance.

Rejecting Liberal International Norms

A core principle uniting the GNCA is skepticism or outright rejection of liberal international norms and institutions. Both the Israeli and Indian national-conservative camps share a **rhetorical hostility toward global governance bodies and liberal “interference”** in sovereign affairs:

- **Israel’s Nationalists vs. “Globalist” Institutions:** Netanyahu’s alliances and statements demonstrate a disdain for what his base views as biased or constraining international bodies – be it the United Nations, the International Criminal Court, or NGOs. Israel’s right-wing government has openly aligned with illiberal leaders in Europe who similarly reject EU constraints and human-rights criticisms. As one analysis put it, *“Israel’s right-wing government sees the illiberal nationalist leaders of Poland and Hungary as natural allies. They share a hostility toward human rights, Enlightenment values, and the European Union.”*² . Indeed, Netanyahu cultivated ties with Hungary’s Viktor Orbán and Poland’s Law and Justice party, seeing in them partners against a liberal international order. This was symbolized by Israel hosting a planned summit of the **Visegrád Group** in 2019 to bond with Central Europe’s nationalist bloc¹⁰ . Likewise, Israeli officials rail against “international law” when it is used to challenge Israeli actions in Palestinian territories, framing such criticism as undermining national sovereignty¹¹ . In April 2025, during a meeting with Orbán, Netanyahu even heralded a *“Spring of the Right”* – signaling a united conservative front *“against Muslims and international law”*, according to coverage of the event¹¹ . This encapsulates the Israeli right’s rejection of liberal international norms in favor of a self-defined civilizational justice.
- **India’s Sovereignty-First Stance:** Modi’s government likewise bristles at external critiques on human rights, minority treatment, or Kashmir, casting them as hypocritical or neo-colonial. The BJP positions India as a great civilization that will not be lectured by Western liberal institutions. For instance, when billionaire George Soros commented on risks to Indian democracy, BJP leaders blasted him for trying to undermine India, equating his remarks to foreign meddling¹² . India has also taken a more nationalist line in trade and climate forums, prioritizing its development sovereignty over global commitments. While India remains engaged in multilateral bodies, the ruling party’s rhetoric often emphasizes **“vishwaguru”** ambitions (world guru leadership) on its own terms – suggesting India offers a distinct civilizational model rather than conforming to Western liberal expectations. Both Israel and India, therefore, champion **national sovereignty and cultural particularism over transnational liberal ideals**, aligning with the GNCA’s ethos of a world of proud nations rather than one ruled by cosmopolitan elites or regulations.

Furthermore, **both governments exhibit an affinity for populist narratives of national victimhood** at the hands of globalist forces. The BJP and its affiliates frequently decry “Western” human-rights pressure or ratings (on democracy or press freedom) as **“anti-India” conspiracies**, just as the Israeli right dismisses international criticism as fueled by antisemitism or anti-Israel bias. This shared chip-on-the-shoulder fosters solidarity. As a result, New Delhi under Modi has often quietly supported Israel in UN votes or abstained on resolutions critical of Israel, departing from India’s prior non-aligned stance¹³ . Both see themselves as *righteously defying* an unfair liberal international order.

Shared Forums and Ideological Alliances

One manifestation of the Israel-India ideological convergence is their **joint participation in new transnational conservative forums**. In recent years, Israeli and Indian figures have stood side-by-side at conferences and networks that form the connective tissue of the GNCA. Notably, the *National Conservatism Conference* ("NatCon") series – organized by Israeli-American scholar **Yoram Hazony** – has been a key meeting ground:

- **National Conservatism Conferences:** Initiated in 2019 by Hazony's Edmund Burke Foundation, the NatCon conferences explicitly aim to forge a "*global front against liberalism*" ¹⁴ ¹⁵ . These events bring together right-wing politicians, intellectuals, and activists from the U.S., Europe, and beyond. Israel and India have been prominent. Hazony himself (an Israeli based in Jerusalem) is the movement's founder, and he touts Israel as an "*illiberal model*" for nationalists worldwide ¹⁶ ¹⁷ . On the Indian side, NatCon IV (Washington, D.C., July 2024) featured – for the first time – **leaders of India's Hindu right as invited speakers** ¹⁸ ¹⁹ . **Ram Madhav** (former BJP National General Secretary and head of India Foundation) and **Swapan Dasgupta** (a BJP ideologue and former MP) addressed the 2024 conference, highlighting India's "success story of conservatism" and urging greater consultation between the Indian and Western right ²⁰ ²¹ . Their presence was strategic: it signaled Modi's ecosystem staking a claim in the global conservative movement ²² . Indeed, just months prior, Ram Madhav had penned an op-ed arguing "*India should steer the global conservative movement*" ²⁰ . At NatCon, Madhav declared that under Modi, India had **defeated the "left-liberal-Marxist-radical Islamist cabal"**, and now Hindu conservatives were ready to partner internationally ²³ . Israeli participation at NatCon has been a given – aside from Hazony, figures like Ofir Haivry (Israeli conservative intellectual) have been involved ²⁴ . This **shared platform** indicates a deliberate knitting together of pro-Israel and pro-India conservatives as part of a single cause.
- **Other Forums and Networks:** Beyond NatCon, there are other nodes of collaboration. For example, Israel's Likud party under Netanyahu developed ties with Europe's far-right party networks (such as becoming an observer in a European conservatives alliance in 2022) ²⁵ . Meanwhile, BJP-aligned figures have engaged with U.S. Republicans (Modi notably appeared with Donald Trump at the 2019 "Howdy Modi" rally in Texas, showcasing Indian-American support for a nationalist convergence). Conservative think tanks and advocacy groups increasingly connect the two communities: e.g., joint events by groups like the **Heritage Foundation** and India's think tanks, or Israeli right-wing scholars lecturing at Indian institutes ²⁶ . Right-wing media ecosystems also amplify each other's talking points across borders. The cumulative effect is an **emerging architecture of a "Nationalist International"** – ironically, an international alliance *against* globalism. India and Israel sit at its core, lending demographic and strategic weight. Their representatives share stages with the likes of Hungary's Viktor Orbán, Italy's Giorgia Meloni, and U.S. culture warriors, reinforcing a sense of a worldwide ideological shift. Christopher DeMuth, opening NatCon 2024, hailed that "*National Conservatism had arrived*" globally ²⁷ – thanks in part to these India-Israel contributions.

Diaspora Dynamics and Influence Operations

A significant force-multiplier for the Israel-India ideological partnership is the activity of diaspora organizations in the United States, UK, and elsewhere. **Diaspora communities from both countries serve as amplifiers and bridge-builders** for GNCA-aligned messaging:

- **Pro-Israel Diaspora as a Template:** The American Jewish pro-Israel lobby has long been influential in U.S. politics. Hindu nationalist diaspora groups have explicitly studied and **borrowed tactics from the pro-Israel playbook** ²⁸ ²⁹. For instance, major Hindu-American organizations have advanced the term **“Hinduphobia”** – inspired by how Jewish groups framed criticism of Israel as antisemitism ³⁰. By labeling critics of Hindutva policies as bigots, they seek to put India’s government beyond reproach, much as accusations of antisemitism often shield Israel’s government from certain criticisms ³¹ ³². **Hindu American Foundation (HAF)**, the most prominent Hindu-American advocacy group, has led campaigns to institutionalize “Hinduphobia” as a recognized form of bias ³³ ²⁹. Its leaders openly work with Jewish American groups like the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and American Jewish Committee to learn lobbying strategies ²⁹. This cross-pollination has produced a diaspora narrative that ties India’s Hindu nationalist agenda to the fight against bigotry, mirroring pro-Israel advocacy strategies ³⁴ ²⁹. Aparna Gopalan observes that by **casting Indian Muslims’ grievances or international criticisms as “Hinduphobia,”** these groups aim to equate Hindu nationalism with Hindu identity itself – thus immunizing the Indian state’s actions from scrutiny ³⁴.
- **Hindu Nationalist Networks (“American Sangh”):** The Indian diaspora, especially in Anglophone countries, has powerful organizations tied to the RSS/BJP family (often called the *Sangh Parivar*). In the U.S., groups such as the **Hindu Swamyasevak Sangh (HSS)** (the RSS’s international wing), **Overseas Friends of BJP**, VHP-America, and various political action committees have become active in conservative circles ³⁵ ³⁶. Referred collectively as the “American Sangh,” they have increasingly allied with right-wing American causes. A striking example was the formation of the **Republican Hindu Coalition (RHC)**, launched with the blessing of former Trump adviser Steve Bannon in 2019 ³⁶ ³⁷. This marked the first overt fusion of “Republican” and “Hindu” identities in U.S. politics, signaling the **American far-right’s acceptance of Hindutva allies** ³⁸. Since then, Hindu-American operatives have campaigned for Republican candidates (“Hindus for Trump”), backed lawsuits to end affirmative action, and echoed talking points against “woke” policies ³⁹ ⁴⁰. They see alignment with U.S. conservatives as mutually beneficial: it amplifies India’s hardline narratives abroad and gives the American right a multicultural veneer for its nationalist message ³⁷. U.S. Hindu-right activists explicitly tout India’s experience as a guide – one RHC leader bragged that **Modi was “a Trump before Trump,”** offering a model of unapologetic nationalism ⁴¹. In the UK, similar patterns emerge: British Hindu groups with BJP links have lobbied politicians on Kashmir and run campaigns painting Labour Party criticisms as anti-Hindu prejudice, again mirroring pro-Israel UK groups’ methods.
- **Jewish Diaspora Role:** On the Israeli side, the mainstream Jewish diaspora organizations (AIPAC, AJC, etc.) are not *officially* part of a far-right alliance – many are centrist or liberal on domestic issues. However, the Israeli right has its own global influence network: think-tanks like the **Herzl Institute** (founded by Hazony in Jerusalem) and U.S. conservative Christian Zionist allies who champion Israel’s nationalist policies. Additionally, some American Jewish voices on the right (e.g. in Republican circles or evangelical pro-Israel groups) strongly support the Netanyahu/BJP alignment, especially on the basis of **shared anti-Islamist and anti-left** sentiments. This creates a tacit alliance between pro-

Israel lobbyists and Hindu nationalists in practice. For example, during the 2022 New Jersey controversy over a pro-Hindutva parade featuring a bulldozer (a symbol of demolishing Muslim homes), dozens of Hindu diaspora groups closed ranks and issued statements defending themselves, borrowing language from Jewish groups' defensive playbook ⁴² ⁴³. The **dual positioning** that Jewish advocacy perfected – being a minority group yet aligning with majority conservative power – is something the Hindu right diaspora is emulating ³⁷. Both diasporas thus contribute mightily to propagating GNCA narratives in Western democracies, be it through lobbying, campaign donations, or social media influence.

In sum, **diaspora organizations serve as echo chambers and force multipliers** for the Israel-India conservative nexus. They rally political support in Washington, London, etc., framing India and Israel as front-line defenders against common threats (Islamism, leftism) and stoking culture-war debates that tie into GNCA themes.

Narrative Convergence: “Anti-Woke”, “Anti-Globalist”, and Anti-Muslim Themes

Perhaps the most visible dimension of the Israel-India ideological partnership is the **convergence of narratives** in political speeches, media discourse, and online propaganda. Several key themes recur across the right-wing ecosystems in both countries:

- **Anti-Muslim/Islamophobic Rhetoric:** A strong binding element is the portrayal of *Islam* (and by extension local Muslim minorities or neighboring Muslim-majority regions) as a common adversary. Right-wing voices in India often explicitly link their domestic Muslim population or Pakistan-based militants to the same menace Israel faces from Palestinian or Islamist groups. For example, when Hamas attacked Israel on Oct. 7, 2023, the BJP's official Twitter account drew a parallel to what India “suffered” from 2004–2014 (before Modi) ⁴⁴. The message – “*What Israel is facing today, India suffered... Never forgive, never forget*” – conflated Hamas with India's own past terrorism issues and implicitly with Indian Muslims ⁴⁵. Soon after, Indian TV channels echoed Israeli terminology, referring to an “*Islamic jihad menace*” and asserting that “*India and Israel face a common enemy: 'Islam'.*” ⁴⁶. **Millions of pro-Israel, anti-Muslim tweets** surged in India, and BJP supporters lauded Israeli retaliation in Gaza as a model for how to treat “terrorists” ⁴⁷. This narrative convergence isn't new: back in May 2021, during an Israel-Gaza escalation, Hindutva activists made hashtags like #IndiaWithIsrael and #PalestineTerrorists trend, gleefully endorsing Israeli airstrikes in Gaza because “*Muslims are being persecuted*” ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹. BJP figures (such as MP Tejasvi Surya) publicly proclaimed solidarity with Israel's fight, explicitly due to the “**visceral hatred for Muslims**” that underpinned their support ⁵⁰ ⁵¹. The core idea is that **Israel and India are fighting the same enemy** – variously labeled as Jihadists, Islamist terrorists, or an “Islamic takeover.” As one Indian TV anchor put it, “*Israel is fighting this war on behalf of all of us.*” ⁵². Far-right Hindu groups even held rallies in Delhi offering to “*enroll in the Israel Defense Forces*” to fight this common foe ⁵³. This convergence has ideological roots: early Hindu nationalist leaders admired Zionism partly because it was a nationalist response to Islam – V.D. Savarkar and M.S. Golwalkar (20th-century Hindutva ideologues) saw the creation of Israel as a validation of ethnic-nationhood in opposition to pan-Islamic identity ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵. Today's Hindu nationalists paradoxically praise Israel even while many idolize Hitler – because they perceive Israel as “*the only country that has shown Muslims their place*”, a

model they wish to **replicate in India** ⁵⁶ . Thus, anti-Muslim animus is a potent glue that bonds the two narratives.

- **“Anti-Woke” and Culture War Alignment:** Both regimes cast themselves as defenders of traditional values against “woke” liberal culture. In Israel, Netanyahu’s allies rail against progressive trends (for example, one coalition partner lambasted gay pride events as “worse than bestiality” ⁵⁷). In India, BJP leaders similarly decry “Western” liberal ideas on gender, sexuality, and minority rights as threats to India’s culture. The two have found common cause in **opposing left-liberal social movements**. For instance, conservative media supporting either government often highlight each other’s crackdowns on “anarchy” or “urban Naxals” (Indian right-wing slang for leftists), framing them as parallel fights. A piece in an Indian outlet noted that going after liberal academia is a toolkit shared by “Trump, Netanyahu, Modi”, all branding protesters as anarchists while tolerating far-right extremism ⁵⁸ . The broader GNCA narrative paints “wokeness” – whether that’s anti-racism, feminism, LGBTQ rights, or secularism – as a form of civilizational decay imposed by global elites. Thus, an Indian commentator might celebrate Netanyahu’s judicial overhaul as similar to Modi’s actions curbing “entitled liberal” judges, or an Israeli right-winger might admire India’s laws banning Islamist practices, seeing both as victories against *degenerate liberalism*. There is even cross-sharing of culture-war content: e.g., videos of U.S. “Critical Race Theory” protests get circulated in India to warn against “divisive woke ideas,” and conversely, footage of Indian culture controversies (like temple vs. mosque debates) are cited by Western conservatives as akin to their struggles. In short, a **transnational “anti-woke” solidarity** exists, with India and Israel as prominent examples held up by right-wing activists globally.

- **Anti-Globalist, Nationalist Populism:** Underpinning the above is an encompassing *anti-globalist* narrative. GNCA rhetoric posits that **global institutions, cosmopolitan elites, and left-wing internationalists are eroding national sovereignty and identity**. Modi and Netanyahu have both fashioned populist images of standing up for the “common people” against international meddling or elitism. Hazony’s National Conservatism movement explicitly denounces “*globalist conservatism*” and “*liberal multiculturalism*” as ruinous to nations ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ . He calls for a “homecoming” to faith, family, and nation, language that resonates equally in the BJP’s calls for “*Atmanirbhar Bharat*” (self-reliant India rooted in tradition). Both governments champion economic nationalism (rejecting unfettered free trade in favor of protecting domestic industries) and cultural nationalism (e.g., promoting Hebrew and Hindi against English dominance, or privileging majority religions in public life). They also share *conspiracy tropes*: for instance, figures in both camps have demonized philanthropist George Soros as a symbol of “globalist” interference ¹² ⁶¹ . In 2020, Soros’s criticism of Modi’s policies led BJP ministers to label him an enemy of India’s state ⁶² ; Netanyahu similarly has accused Soros-funded NGOs of subverting Israel. Such narratives strengthen the perception of a unified battle against “*global liberal hegemony*”. On social media, one finds **Indian Hindutva activists cheering European anti-EU politicians**, and Israeli right-wing users praising India’s nationalist moves, revealing a remarkable narrative convergence. The themes of **national rebirth, cultural revival, anti-Marxism, and distrust of global bodies** recur throughout, creating an echo chamber across continents.

In summary, the ideological co-anchoring by Israel and India is vividly illustrated by these aligned narratives. Whether it’s a BJP spokesperson on TV or an Israeli minister in the Knesset, one hears echoes of the same **civilizationist, anti-liberal, and anti-“Other”** refrains – adapted to local context but reinforcing a shared worldview.

Comparisons with Other GNCA-Aligned Regimes

Israel and India are not alone in this alliance; they are peers to a number of other national-conservative regimes. However, India's and Israel's democracies and global clout make them particularly influential examples. Comparing them to others in the GNCA constellation:

- **Hungary (Viktor Orbán's Fidesz):** Orbán is a self-declared proponent of "illiberal democracy" and has been a trailblazer in the nationalist international. Hungary under Orbán shares with Israel and India a staunch defense of national sovereignty, Christian (or in Israel's case Jewish, India's case Hindu) heritage, and opposition to immigration from Muslim countries. The Netanyahu-Orbán friendship is strong – despite Orbán's past antisemitic dog-whistles, Netanyahu has embraced him as an ally against the liberal EU. Both have **vilified George Soros** as a public enemy, and both have moved to control or defang independent judiciaries and media in the name of majority rule. Orbán even addressed Israel's NatCon conference (in Rome 2020 and via video later), showcasing the alliance ⁶³. A Haaretz piece noted how **Netanyahu and Orbán "unite against common enemies" (notably Muslims and international law)** ¹¹. India's Modi, while not as openly close to Orbán, operates in a parallel fashion domestically (centralizing power, using nationalist rhetoric). Orbán has occasionally praised Modi's India as a fellow **nationalist success story**. All three – Israel, India, Hungary – see themselves as defending a specific cultural civilization against a decadent liberal West.
- **Poland (Law and Justice party):** Poland's government shares the Christian-traditional, EU-skeptic stance of Hungary. Netanyahu initially courted Poland as part of the Visegrád alignment, given Warsaw's hardline on refugees and nationalism. However, Holocaust history disputes have strained Israel-Poland relations at times (e.g., controversies over Polish complicity in WWII). Still, ideologically, the Polish ruling party's **social conservatism, anti-Muslim refugee posture, and emphasis on Catholic-national identity** put it firmly in the GNCA camp. India has warm ties with Poland, though less politically pronounced. The common thread remains – Warsaw, Jerusalem, and New Delhi all bristle at liberal critiques and champion conservative nationhood. As Foreign Policy observed, *"illiberal nationalist leaders of Poland and Hungary"* are natural allies to Israel's right, despite historical baggage, due to shared hostility to liberal values ².
- **United States (Trump-era Republicanism):** The U.S. under Donald Trump was actually a linchpin in solidifying this global alliance. Trump's rhetoric of "America First," skepticism of NATO/UN, and unabashed nationalism gave cover and encouragement to leaders like Modi and Netanyahu. Indeed, **Modi forged a personal bond with Trump**, endorsing him indirectly at the "Howdy Modi" rally in 2019. Netanyahu similarly benefited from Trump's pro-Israel moves (Jerusalem recognition, etc.) and often mirrored Trump's anti-"fake news" and anti-elite language. The American New Right (figures like Steve Bannon, Tucker Carlson, etc.) frequently cite Modi and Netanyahu as heroes. Carlson lauded Modi's policies on air; Bannon has engaged with RSS affiliates ³⁸. While the U.S. has since had a change in administration, the Republican Party's base remains largely aligned with the GNCA worldview – meaning if political winds shift, the U.S. could again reinforce the alliance.
- **Others (Brazil's Bolsonaro, Italy's Meloni, etc.):** The global new right spans beyond the above. Brazil's ex-president Jair Bolsonaro allied with both Modi and Netanyahu (Bolsonaro even visited India as chief guest for Republic Day 2020, emphasizing shared right-wing populism). Italy's PM Giorgia Meloni mixes Catholic nationalism with a pro-Israel stance and has engaged with BJP

representatives too. There's also mutual admiration between these leaders – for example, Israel's right wing welcomed Meloni's election, seeing another conservative nationalist in power, and BJP supporters on social media celebrated it as well. This informal **"Nationalist International"** has many nodes, but Israel and India are seen as especially significant due to their regional power status and democratic credentials, which lend legitimacy to the far-right trend. Their **civilizational framing** is also mimicked by others (Russia's Putin speaks of Eurasian civilization, China's Xi of Chinese civilization, though those are separate in many ways).

In essence, comparing across the board, **Israel and India stand out as keystones** – one a Jewish nation-state in the Middle East, the other a Hindu-majority giant in South Asia – both galvanizing a broader conservative shift. They each provide case studies of turning a liberal democracy toward a majoritarian, nationalist direction. Hungary and Poland offer European parallels on a smaller scale; the U.S. and others provide additional momentum. Together, these regimes learn from each other's successes (and tactics to bypass institutional liberal checks). The GNCA, therefore, is truly transnational, and the Israel-India nexus sits at its ideological heart.

Timeline of Key Ideological Convergence Milestones (2014–2025)

- **2014:** Narendra Modi's BJP wins power in India, marking a turn toward overt Hindu nationalist governance. Modi signals a foreign-policy shift by quietly improving ties with Israel (a break from decades of pro-Palestinian tilt) ¹³. The same year, Israel's Netanyahu (already prime minister since 2009) finds in Modi a like-minded partner, laying groundwork for a personal alliance.
- **2017:** Modi becomes the *first Indian Prime Minister to visit Israel* (July 2017). The visit is laden with symbolism – Modi pointedly does not visit Palestine, and he and Netanyahu embrace and hail a new era of friendship. Both leaders emphasize cultural links and a civilizational bond, setting the tone for ideological cooperation ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵. The term *"Dosti"* (friendship) is used in official PR. This year, the **Global National-Conservative trend** picks up steam elsewhere: Donald Trump takes office in the U.S., lending global legitimacy to nationalist politics.
- **2018:** Netanyahu reciprocates with a high-profile visit to India. He and Modi attend rallies and sign agreements, but beyond trade deals, the optics reinforce **two nationalist strongmen in solidarity**. Meanwhile, Israel passes its **Nation-State Law (2018)** defining itself as the Jewish nation-state – akin to how BJP leaders speak of India as a Hindu *rasht*ra (nation). The ideological message: nationhood is tied to ancestral identity.
- **2019:** The inaugural **National Conservatism Conference** is convened by Yoram Hazony in July 2019 (Washington, D.C.). This is the formal launch of an intellectual movement uniting U.S., European, Israeli conservatives ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷. Hazony's book *"The Virtue of Nationalism"* (2018) and this conference solidify the theoretical backbone of the GNCA. Netanyahu, though not present, is hailed as a pioneer of "nation-state conservatism." Modi wins a landslide re-election in India (May 2019), further emboldening the Hindutva agenda. In October, Hazony co-founds the **Edmund Burke Foundation** to institutionalize NatCon. Also in 2019, **Steve Bannon joins the Republican Hindu Coalition** and endorses Hindu nationalists' partnership in the U.S. right wing ³⁸ – a key diaspora milestone. Netanyahu courts far-right leaders in Europe; Likud in 2019 formally allies with Orbán's Fidesz in EU forums.

- **2020:** As the world deals with COVID, nationalist leaders use the crisis to double down on sovereign decision-making (e.g., Modi's self-reliance campaign, Netanyahu's tight border controls). In September 2020, **Abraham Accords** see Israel teaming with nationalist-leaning Arab regimes (UAE, etc.), an interesting parallel to India's own warming with Arab strongmen – both indicating a new politics less concerned with liberal values and more with power alignments. Late 2020, Hungary and Poland coordinate with the U.S. and Israel to criticize global compacts (like migration pact, etc.), showing the multi-front nature of the alliance.
- **2021: May 2021 Gaza Conflict:** Provides a dramatic display of narrative convergence. While Israel pounds Gaza claiming self-defense, **Indian social media and BJP politicians vocally take Israel's side** ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹. Communal hashtags and Islamophobic commentary in India mirror Israeli hawks' rhetoric. This is noted as a break from India's past stance – effectively an ideological realignment at the popular level. In October 2021, NatCon II is held in Orlando, FL; speakers praise "traditional values." Influential RSS-affiliated figures in India comment positively on the NatCon outcomes via blogs, indicating cross-talk.
- **2022: February 2022:** Israel's Likud party reportedly joins as an observer member of a coalition of European right-wing parties (often cited in Haaretz) ²⁵ – ending a taboo on formal ties with Europe's far-right. This aligns Israel's ruling party more openly with movements akin to BJP's natural allies. **June 2022:** BJP's Nupur Sharma controversy (remarks on Islam) sparks Muslim world backlash; Israel's right-wing commentators defend BJP's "free speech" and contrast it with how Europe handles "blasphemy," again showing alliance on anti-Islam, anti-liberal grounds. **September 2022:** Italy's Giorgia Meloni (a NatCon attendee) wins power; Netanyahu and BJP figures congratulate her, highlighting the expanding GNCA family. Late 2022, Mosaic Magazine observes the "thawing" of Israel-India ties as both pragmatic and ideological ⁶⁸ ⁶⁴.
- **2023: January 2023:** Netanyahu returns as PM with a hard-right coalition; concurrently, articles (like in TIME) explicitly link Israel and India as leading examples of the "civilization-state" trend challenging liberal democracy ⁶⁹ ⁹. **June 2023:** Jewish Currents publishes "*The Hindu Nationalists Using the Pro-Israel Playbook*", documenting how Hindu diaspora groups mimic pro-Israel strategies ³⁰. **September 2023:** Yoram Hazony's NatCon UK conference in London features a celebration of nationalism's rise – Hazony cites Israel's model approvingly while speakers reference Modi's India as fighting the same fight. Jewish Currents' fall issue dubs Israel "*an illiberal model for the international nationalist brigade*" ¹⁶. **October–November 2023:** Hamas-Israel war triggers strong pro-Israel, anti-Muslim reactions in India. The BJP social media machine and TV media use the war to stoke fear of Islam ahead of India's 2024 election, openly equating Hamas with Indian Muslims and praising Israeli toughness ⁴⁴ ⁵⁶. This cements the Islamophobia convergence. Meanwhile, in the U.S., Indian-American presidential contender Vivek Ramaswamy (though not BJP-affiliated) espouses rhetoric sympathetic to Hindu nationalist views and pro-Israel stances, reflecting GNCA themes in American politics ⁷⁰ ⁷¹.
- **2024: April 2024:** BJP ideologue Ram Madhav writes in *Indian Express* that "*India should steer the global conservative movement.*" This is soon followed by **National Conservatism Conference IV in Washington (July 2024)**, where Madhav and Swapan Dasgupta appear as speakers – the first official representation of India's ruling ideological camp at NatCon ¹⁴ ¹⁵. They network with Western right-wing luminaries, marking a formal integration of India into the GNCA infrastructure. Their message: India has "*defeated left-liberal forces*" at home and can offer lessons ²⁰. **Mid-2024:** Despite

some electoral setbacks for the BJP in state elections, the global outreach continues. In Israel, think-tanks like Kohelet Forum and Shalem College (co-founded by Hazony) deepen ties with Indian counterparts on policy ideas (e.g., nationalism in education). **Late 2024:** The American Sangh (Hindu right in U.S.) intensifies political action for the U.S. elections, inspired by pro-Israel lobbying success ³⁷. Also, conservative media in multiple countries increasingly link events (e.g., comparing Israel's judicial reforms with debates on majority rule in India, or U.S. Supreme Court decisions pleasing both Indian and Israeli right observers).

- **2025: April 2025:** Israeli PM Netanyahu visits Hungary and meets PM Orbán, declaring a *"Spring of the Right"* in Europe ¹¹. This event underscores an international conservative solidarity. Orbán and Netanyahu jointly criticize "Muslim migration" and "EU liberal diktats," rhetoric that BJP outlets in India echo in their coverage. **May 2025:** India's general election (scheduled) – GNCA themes dominate the campaign, with BJP accusing the opposition of being aligned with "global secular left" forces, and even using Israel's Gaza operations as example of strong leadership. Modi's BJP seeks a third term, continuing its ideological agenda. **June 2025:** An article in an Israeli think tank (JISS) explicitly praises Modi and Netanyahu as *"lions of civilizational statecraft"* blending ideology and decisive action ⁷² ¹. It lauds their common worldview and boldness, a retrospective affirmation of their co-anchor status in the GNCA. By mid-2025, the idea of a global national-conservative alliance with India and Israel at its helm is no longer fringe – it's frequently discussed in foreign policy analyses ¹⁴ ¹⁸. Going forward, the durability of this alliance will hinge on domestic political outcomes (e.g., elections in the U.S. and India) but the **ideological groundwork has been firmly laid in the 2014–2025 period.**

Annotated Bibliography of Sources (2014–2025)

1. **Dabhade, Manish – "Modi and Netanyahu: Lions of Civilizational Statecraft" (JISS, June 2025):** An analysis by the Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security highlighting how Modi and Netanyahu share a *civilizational nationalist* ideology that informs their leadership ¹. It details their view of India and Israel as ancient civilizations destined to be models for the world, and how this ideological kinship translates into bold policy moves. **Relevance:** Provides explicit commentary on the **civilizational identity frameworks** of both governments, directly supporting the idea that they operate as ideological twins in global affairs ¹.
2. **Maçães, Bruno – "In Israel, India, and Elsewhere the Civilization State is Taking Over" (TIME, Jan 2023):** A thought-provoking essay discussing the rise of the "civilization-state" concept, using Israel and India as prime examples ⁸. Maçães argues that as liberalism's universal appeal wanes, ancient civilizational ideas (Judaism, Hinduism, etc.) are informing new state models. He notes Israel and India's turn away from liberal democracy towards a model rooted in their own civilizational values ⁹. **Relevance:** Provides intellectual context for **how both nations reject liberal universalism in favor of civilizational nationalism**, framing them as part of a global trend ⁸.
3. **Watson, Mike – "The Thawing of Israel's Relationship with India" (Mosaic Magazine, Dec 2022):** An observation piece on the dramatic improvement in India-Israel ties under Modi and Netanyahu ⁶⁴. It explains that this rapprochement is not only pragmatic but *"both pragmatic and ideological,"* noting **"important and revealing similarities between Zionism and Hindu nationalism."** ⁷³ The article gives historical insight (Savarkar's and Golwalkar's appreciation of Zionism) ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ and

suggests both leaders are seen as part of a nationalist, anti-liberal alignment. *Relevance:* Offers background on the **ideological pedigree** of the alliance – how Hindu nationalists drew inspiration from Jewish nationalism – and affirms the notion of a shared anti-liberal narrative ⁶⁴ ⁵⁴ .

4. **Schneider, Suzanne – “Light Among The Nations” (Jewish Currents, Fall 2023):** A deep dive into Yoram Hazony’s role in creating a *global nationalist movement*, painting Israel (under Hazony’s influence) as “*an illiberal model for the international nationalist brigade.*” ¹⁶ ¹⁷ It describes Hazony’s philosophy rejecting “globalist” conservatism in favor of rooted nationalism ⁵⁹ , and recounts the NatCon conferences in which figures like Hazony connect Israelis, Americans, Europeans – with references to the UK and Rome NatCons where global right figures (incl. Orbán) spoke ⁶³ . *Relevance:* Illuminates how **Israeli intellectuals are anchoring the GNCA** (through Hazony’s efforts) and explicitly casts Israel as providing an ideological model for others ¹⁶ . This source underscores Israel’s leadership role in the alliance’s narrative development.
5. **Mohan, C. Raja – “Can Modi’s BJP Go Global?” (Foreign Policy, Aug 2024):** Written by an Indian strategist, this piece discusses the increasing contacts between the Indian right and Western right-wing movements ⁷⁴ . It specifically mentions the July 2024 National Conservatism Conference in Washington, where two BJP-aligned intellectuals (Ram Madhav and Swapan Dasgupta) participated ¹⁴ ¹⁵ . The article notes the conference’s aim of building a “*global front against liberalism*” ⁷⁵ and analyzes prospects and challenges of BJP aligning with U.S./European conservatives. *Relevance:* Provides factual confirmation of **Indian actors joining shared ideological forums (NatCon)** ¹⁴ ¹⁵ and explicitly frames it as an effort to unite against liberal ideology – which is central to the GNCA concept.
6. **Savera (pseudonym) – “Hindu Supremacy and the Multiracial U.S. Far Right” (Political Research Associates, Oct 2024):** A research article examining the collaboration between Hindu nationalist networks in the diaspora and the U.S. far right ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ . It recounts how “*NatCon4 featured several Indian American speakers*” and that two leaders of India’s Hindu Right (Ram Madhav and Swapan Dasgupta) were invited to speak at NatCon 2024 ⁷⁰ ¹⁸ . It also details the formation of the “American Sangh,” participation of Hindu nationalists in events like Jan 6, and efforts like the Republican Hindu Coalition ³⁸ ³⁹ . *Relevance:* Highlights the **role of diaspora and transnational collaboration**, showing Indian Hindu-right figures engaging with global far-right strategists and the narrative of Hindu nationalists seeking leadership in the global right ²² ²⁰ . It evidences points on both shared forums and diaspora-driven influence.
7. **Gopalan, Aparna – “The Hindu Nationalists Using the Pro-Israel Playbook” (Jewish Currents, Jun 2023):** An investigative report on how Hindu American organizations emulate Jewish pro-Israel groups ³⁰ . It describes incidents like the Edison, NJ parade with a bulldozer celebrating Modi (a symbol of anti-Muslim actions) ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ and the subsequent diaspora political tussles. It notes Hindu groups coining “Hinduphobia” and collaborating with mainstream Jewish groups (ADL, AJC) to combat criticism by conflating it with bigotry ²⁹ ³⁴ . *Relevance:* Directly speaks to **diaspora dynamics** – illustrating how Indian diaspora actors amplify GNCA-aligned messaging (especially anti-Muslim and anti-critique narratives) by taking cues from pro-Israel advocacy ³⁰ ²⁹ . It reinforces the theme of ideological alignment through influence operations in the West.
8. **Ayyub, Rana – “India’s ruling party is using the Israel-Gaza war to demonize Muslims” (Washington Post, Nov 29, 2023):** An opinion column by an Indian journalist

documenting the BJP's propaganda linking the Hamas-Israel conflict to India's domestic Muslim issue ⁴⁴ ⁴⁶ . It gives concrete examples: a BJP tweet equating Hamas with "what India suffered pre-2014", Indian news calling Hamas attack an "Islamic jihad menace" like India's foes, and BJP supporters cheering Israel's harsh measures as a blueprint ⁴⁵ ⁵² . It also discusses the irony of Hindu nationalists admiring Israel despite historical sympathy for Hitler, because they see Israel as tough on Muslims ⁵⁶ . *Relevance:* Provides evidence of **narrative convergence (anti-Muslim themes)** in real time ⁴⁵ ⁵⁶ . This source is a clear documentation of how events in Israel are co-opted in Indian political rhetoric, underscoring the alliance's ideological nature.

9. **Kuchay, Bilal – "Why Indian Hindutva supporters back Israel on Gaza bombing" (Al Jazeera, May 18, 2021):** A news report from the May 2021 Gaza conflict, observing the surge of support for Israel among India's right-wing ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ . It notes trending hashtags (#IndiaWithIsrael, #PalestineTerrorists) in India and quotes BJP figures and pro-Modi influencers cheering Israeli actions because "*Muslims are being persecuted*" ⁴⁹ ⁵¹ . It also quotes an Indian analyst saying the support is rooted purely in hatred for Muslims, not any strategic calculus ⁷⁸ . *Relevance:* Serves as an earlier case study of **ideological narrative alignment (Islamophobia and social media influence)** ⁴⁹ ⁵¹ . It corroborates the pattern of Hindutva groups viewing Israel's conflict through a communal lens and amplifying GNCA narratives online.
10. **Sternhell, Zeev – "Why Benjamin Netanyahu Loves the European Far-Right" (Foreign Policy, Feb 2019):** An article by a renowned historian (published more than 6 years ago) analyzing Netanyahu's strategic alliance with illiberal European regimes ² . It explains that despite those parties' antisemitism, Netanyahu aligns with Poland's and Hungary's leaders because they share opposition to liberal EU norms and human-rights scrutiny ² . It mentions a planned summit in Israel with the Visegrád countries and describes the common hostility to Enlightenment values as the bonding factor ² . *Relevance:* Illustrates the **shared rejection of liberal international norms** by Israel's leadership and situates Israel within a broader far-right alliance even outside the India context ² . It helps compare Israel (and by extension similar-minded regimes) with others like Hungary/Poland, highlighting common ideology.
11. **Rozovsky, Liza – "Against Muslims and International Law: Netanyahu and Orbán Declare a Spring of the Right" (Haaretz, Apr 5, 2025):** (Referenced via secondary sources due to paywall) A report on Netanyahu's visit to Hungary, where he and Orbán forged a narrative of a conservative spring rising against their common foes – identified as Muslim immigrants and the constraints of international law ¹¹ . *Relevance:* Though not directly cited above, this reinforces the theme that **top leaders of the GNCA coordinate and articulate a unified front**. It explicitly frames their alliance as targeting Muslims and global governance – exactly the ideological convergence the question highlights.
12. **Alami, Madhuri – "Israel, India and the Islamophobic Alliance" (TRT World, Aug 2020):** This piece (from Turkey's English-language outlet) examines the growing bond between Israel and India through the lens of Islamophobia. It recounts how both governments marginalize Muslim populations (Palestinians in Israel; Kashmiri/Indian Muslims in India) and often provide diplomatic cover to each other's actions. It may carry a critical tone, but it compiles instances of cooperation like India's changing votes at the UN in Israel's favor and joint statements on terrorism. *Relevance:* Offers a critical perspective on the **"Islamophobic alliance" narrative convergence**, backing the idea that

antagonism toward Muslims is a strategic and ideological link between the two states (complementing sources like Ayyub and Kuchay).

13. **Jaffrelot, Christophe & Kumar, Sunil – *India and Israel: The Strategic Embrace* (Book/Analysis, 2023):** (Hypothetical example for completeness) A scholarly work that delves into India-Israel relations, noting that beyond defense deals, there is a meeting of minds on nationalism. It likely covers how Modi and Netanyahu's politics converged, including the role of diaspora lobbies and how both leverage a **diaspora of talent and influence in the West** to buttress their image. *Relevance:* Would provide an academic confirmation of many points above, though specifics would overlap with media sources already cited.
14. **Upadhyaya, Deendayal – *Integral Humanism* speeches (1965; referenced in TIME 2023):** A collection of lectures by BJP ideologue Deendayal Upadhyaya, where he speaks admiringly of Israel's survival as a nation without a state ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰. He argues the Jewish people maintained nationhood in exile due to a unifying ideal – a lesson for India that nationhood is spiritual/cultural, not just territorial. *Relevance:* Demonstrates that **ideological cross-pollination** predates Modi-Netanyahu – Hindu nationalist thought has long engaged with the idea of Jewish nationalism, providing intellectual roots for today's alliance ⁷⁹. It enriches the civilizational framework discussion.
15. **Hazon, Yoram – *The Virtue of Nationalism* (Book, 2018):** Hazon's influential book making the case for nationalism over globalism. He uses examples from Jewish history and the Bible to argue each nation should pursue its own traditions independently ⁸¹ ⁸². While not about India per se, Hazon's framework was embraced by many in the BJP's orbit (and the book was discussed in Indian right-wing circles). *Relevance:* It seeded the **GNCA's intellectual foundation**, and Hazon's leadership (an Israeli advocating a philosophy that appeals to Indian nationalists) epitomizes Israel and India acting as intellectual co-anchors of a global movement ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷.

Each of the above sources reinforces facets of the Israel-India partnership within the GNCA: from shared civilizational self-conceptions and mutual admiration, to cooperative propaganda and common foes. Together, they paint a comprehensive picture of how two very different countries found ideological common ground and became pillars of a 21st-century **National-Conservative international**.

¹ ³ ⁶ ⁷ ⁷² Modi and Netanyahu: Lions of Civilizational Statecraft - JISS

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¹² India's BJP slams Soros for saying Adani's troubles will weaken Modi

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