Hindutva Doctrine and its Implications for India-Pakistan Relations

During Narendra Modi's Regime

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A thesis submitted to the Department of Humanities and Social Science, Bahria University Islamabad in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Masters in International Relations

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my respected parents, Ammi and Abu.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

South Asia is home to two nuclear-armed states, India and Pakistan. The regional peace and stability in South Asia can be linked with peaceful relations between the two neighbors. However, the tense political relationships between the two rival states intensified with the rise of Narendra Modi into power. Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP), the ruling party, supports the doctrine of Hindutva having a dominant role in the foreign policy formation of India. The growing influence of Hindutva has implicated India-Pakistan relations since 2014. The cross-border skirmishes, abrogation of articles 370 and 35A from the Indian constitution that provided special and autonomous status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir, and Indian military modernization marked the aggressive policy of Modi's regime towards Pakistan. The strained bilateral relations between India and Pakistan further the regional instability and uncertainty. This research aims to give a brief overview of the evolution of Hindutva in Indian politics. It will try to analyze the influence of the Hindutva doctrine over the Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan during Narendra Modi's regime. It concludes that Hindutva is the driving force of Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan.

Keywords: Hindutva, abrogation of articles 370 and 35A, India, Pakistan, Jammu and Kashmir, Narendra Modi Pakist

CHAPTER 01

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The relationship between India and Pakistan has a significant portion of International Relations. The bilateral relations between the two neighbors guarantee regional peace and stability in South Asia. The historical antagonism between India and Pakistan intensified since Narendra Modi, a Hindu nationalist and proponent of Hindutva, became the prime Minster of India. The term Hindutva was coined by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar in 1923.[1] He asserted to consolidate the cultural, historical, and national aspects of Hindu along with religious ones to define the Hindu nation. It aims to combine geographically based religious, cultural, and national identity into one form. This ideology seeks to define Indian culture in terms of Hindu values. It is the main form of Hindu nationalism in India. An unusual rise in militant Hindu nationalism was witnessed during the late 1990s, almost four decades after the partition of the subcontinent in 1947.[2] Even though Hindus have adopted democracy and secularism as prominent ideologies, the communal rift between Muslims and Hindus led to the division of the subcontinent.[3] However, the clashes between Hindus and Muslims perturbed the socio-political environment of India during the partition. The upheavals and violence undermined the

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[1] Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?* (India: Veer Savarkar Parkashan, 1969), pp. 89-92.

[2] Robert Eric Frykenberg, "Hindutva as a Political Religion: An Historical Perspective", In *The Sacred in Twentieth-Century Politics.* (eds) Roger Griffin, Robert Mallett and John Tortorice (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 178-220.

[3] See: Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan* (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1965), pp.12-20.

socio-political stability in India. Hindu Nationalism reached its peak led by fundamentalist organizations such as Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). The Hindutva ideology was gaining momentum and gathering all types of Hindu extremists under its flag. Hindutva has been the guiding philosophical framework for the BJP in Indian politics.

The BJP, the political wing of the RSS, endeavored to exploit religious aspects for political causes. In 1998, BJP came into power and tried to implement the Hindutva agenda, that is, to establish the cultural and political hegemony of Hindus across India. However, in 2014, Narendra Modi, the leader of the BJP and former member of the RSS, became the Prime Minister of India, the world's largest democratic country. Since in office, Modi has revived the Indian foreign policy. The newly adopted Indian foreign policy preferences have unleashed political discontent and security dilemma in the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. There are growing concerns in South Asia about the rise of Hindu fundamentalism in India during Modi's regime because the BJP embodies the doctrine of Hindutva, which poses a grave challenge to the secular edifice of India[4] and aims to revive the Indian foreign policy. Promoting national interest can be the prime objective of a country's foreign policy. Either a single party or a coalition government shapes the foreign policy discourse of the country. BJP was the single party with majority votes dominated India's foreign policy. Nevertheless, Pakistan shared its border with India in the East, and since the partition of the sub-continent the world has witnessed antagonism and hostilities between the two nuclear-armed neighbors. Since Narendra Modi assumed the premier

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[4] See: *BJP Election Manifesto 2014*.

office, the doctrine of Hindutva seems to be the dominant force in influencing Indian foreign policy, particularly toward Pakistan.

The texture of India's foreign policy under Hindutva's influence on Pakistan would not be smooth as their aspiration for Greater India will pose grave challenges to the national sovereignty of Pakistan. The annexation of Kashmir, violation of the water treaty, and interval aggression on the Line of Control can be considered critical factors of Indo-Pak bilateral relations, which Hindutva doctrine will target. The deteriorating approach of the right-wing ideology undermines the bilateral relations of the nuclear-weapon states, India and Pakistan. In response to Indian dominating and hostile gesture toward Pakistan will create an environment where both neighboring nuclear powers will be on the verge of nuclear confrontation.

1.2 Research Gap

There has been comprehensive research on the notion of Hindutva, and different scholars and researchers have discussed the communal violence in India under Modi's regime, the authoritative behavior of right-wing organizations like the RSS, and the rise of Hindu nationalism. The research subject is the increasing influence of Hindutva under the leadership of Narendra Modi. However, no study has explored the influence of Hindutva doctrine on Indian foreign policy during Modi's era. This research has tried to comprehend the doctrine of Hindutva and its influential role on Indian foreign policy formulation towards Pakistan under the BJP government of Narendra Modi. The Hindutva-based foreign policy of India towards Pakistan and its implication for the bilateral relations of both countries has discussed in this research.

1.3 Problem Statement

There is a history of antagonism between India and Pakistan. Although the animosities between these two countries are based on some inherent factors that constitute a feeling of distrust on both sides, these stresses and strains overshadowed their relationship. The hostility between the two countries worsened when Narendra Modi became the prime minister of India in 2014. This study sought to determine whether there is an influence of Hindutva, the core ideology of the BJP on the Indian foreign policy, which aggravated the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan.

1.4 Hypothesis

The aggressive gesture of Narendra Modi's regime toward Pakistan emanates from the growing influence of Hindutva on the Indian foreign policy.

1.5 Research Questions

The study seeks to address the following questions:

1. How did the doctrine of Hindutva develop and evolve?

2. What is the role of Hindutva in the formulation of Indian foreign policy?

3. How does the Hindutva doctrine influence India-Pakistan relations under Modi's government?

1.6 Objectives of the Study

The relations between India and Pakistan have significantly affected the South Asian political arena. Both states are nuclear powers and having unfriendly and hostile relations for years. However, in 2014, when Narendra Modi, a staunch proponent of Hindu

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nationalism, became the prime minister of India, it opened a new chapter in the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan as Modi's regime initiated to revive Indian foreign policy formulation guided by the principles of Hindutva. Therefore, the core objective of this study is to analyze the influence of Hindutva on India-Pakistan relations during the Modi regime. The study seeks to achieve the below-mentioned key goals:

i.   To Examine the historical evolution of Hindutva doctrine and its role in India's political sphere, particularly in the Indian foreign policy process.

ii. To identify the factors, events, or circumstances under which the doctrine of Hindutva shaped Indian foreign policy.

iii. To determine the ideological influence of the Hindutva doctrine on the bilateral relations of India and Pakistan during Modi's regime.

1.7 Significance of the Study

There has been a tense political relationship between India and Pakistan. Since 2014, when Narendra Modi came into power following the trails and tracks of the Hindutva doctrine, aggressive Indian foreign policy positions towards Pakistan have been witnessed. This thesis will critically present a comprehensive study of the right-wing Hindutva ideology influencing the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. The dominant force of Hindutva in India's foreign policy discourse poses a challenging environment to the adverse relations between these two neighboring states. Therefore, analyzing the Indian hegemonic aspiration amid the India-Pakistan strained relations during Modi's regime is imperative.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

The point of issue is the title of Hindutva and its relevance with India-Pakistan relations during Modi's rule. The lack of topic-related sources due to national security situations is also a significant hurdle to conducting the research effectively in Pakistan. Conducting interviews of the BJP's leaders and academicians seems challenging. Therefore, this thesis relied on the research work produced by different scholars and academicians within a limited timeframe. Nevertheless, the available secondary data in the shape of books, journals and documentaries have used to proceed the research effectively. The limited sources in the libraries, both in the public and private sectors, limit the horizon of this study.

CHAPTER 02

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORATICAL FRAMWORK

The notion of Hindutva emerged with the rise of modernism in the colonial period. However, colonialism persuaded Hindus to assimilate their religion with modernism. As a result, they started many religious and socio-political movements. Whole volumes have been written pertaining to Hindu nationalism and Indian nationalism. Christophe Jaffrelot, in his work titled *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India* explores the Hindu nationalist phenomenon, exploring the movement's use of religious symbolism and popular iconography, thereby combining anthropology and political history[5]. Since the last decades of the twentieth century, Hindu-Muslim riots in India manifested the increasing intensity of militant Hinduism. Moreover, the success of the Bhartiya Janata Party in the general election has proven that Indian secular identity faced a grave threat due to Hindu Nationalism.

A study of the relationship between Hindutva and militancy cannot be detached. Robert Eric Frykenberg discusses in his research work titled *Hindutva as a Political Religion: An Historical Perspective* that Hindutva is an admixture of Hindu fascism and Hindu fundamentalism.He explores from a historical and analytical perspective that it is a profoundly religious and even aggressively, political form of militant nationalism. He

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[5] Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement, and Indian Politics 1925 to the 1990s* (New Delhi: Viking-Penguin India, 1996), pp. 15-27.

added that Hindutva has been molded by events and circumstances and gradually led to communalize the concept and its meaning.[6] An intermingling of historical events and contemporary connotation would be identified to understand the term Hindu. He elaborated that there are several sets of constructions that have contributed to the politics of Hindutva.

Ramya Chandrasekaran, in her master's thesis title *Hindutva Movement: Burkean Examination of Violence as Retributive Justice,* explains how the Hindutva movement gained influence in the Indian political sphere. She also adds that how the ideologues of Hindutva, particularly Savarkar and Golwalkar, used various tactics to influence the followers of Hindutva to resort to violence to regain and provide the original means to the Hindu nation.[7] The demolition of the Babri Mosque in 1992, the attack on Christian missionaries, and the Gujrat crisis in 2002 are the radiant examples of violence and intolerance followed by the Hindutva movement.

The growing influence of Hindutva ideology in the Indian pollical sphere has marginalized the minorities in India. Exclusivity, marginalization, and human rights violations threaten Indian democracy. Joseph Tharamangalam in the article titled *Moditva in India: A Threat to Inclusive Growth and Democracy* explained that Modi's regime has an aggressive attitude towards Muslims. The future of democracy and inclusive society in India has been under threat since Modi became the prime minister of India.[8] However, the

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[6] Frykenberg, "Hindutva as a Political Religion: An Historical Perspective", pp.02-08.
[7] Ramya Chandrasekaran, *Hindutva Movement: Burkean Examination of Violence as Retributive Justice*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Communications, North Dakota State University,2012, pp.23-35.
[8] Joseph Thramangalam, "Moditva in India: A Threat to Inclusive Growth and Democracy", *Canadian Journal of Development Studies,* 37:03 (July, 2016), pp.298-310.

study lack any sort of foreign policy explanation to link the domestic environment with foreign relation of India.

Hinduism has been known for tolerance, diversity, and non-violence for years. However, the Hindu nationalist movement has been trying to shape the Hindu principles as the Hindu way of life. Therefore, it motivates Hindus to use violence as the only political option. The political wing of the Hindutva movement is BJP which has been relying on reasons and persuasion, and other social strategies to handle external threats and internal opposition. BJP is also providing a political platform to pursue the goals of the Hindutva movement as the RSS claims itself as an apolitical organization and portrays it as the safeguard of Hindu Culture and Hindu society. Furthermore, the Hindutva movement has opted for both militant and moderate strategies predominantly and effectively to handle the existing situations.

Thomas Blom Hansen in his book *The Saffron wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in India* discussed Indian politics entered the 21st century, dominated by the BJP. The book explains how Hindu nationalism shifts from the peripheries of the state to the center stage. The strategies of the Hindutva movement in the political discourse like the mode of governance and political tactics, made it succeed in organizing the Hindu nation in the transitional phases of today's politics.[9] The Hindu nationalists dream of transforming the Indian society into Hindu society and imposing Hindu culture, which they perceive as the superior. Hansen describes that Hindutva is not an anti-west ideology, but

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[9] Thomas Blom Hansen, *The Saffron wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp.135-142.

it emphasizes the cultural difference and Indian sovereignty not only in the region but across the globe. The motive of Hindutva is to culturize the political arena in India and make it a Hindu-dominated country. Hindutva doctrine has been growing and deepening its roots in the political and cultural spheres of India since the beginning of the 21st century. Hindu nationalist discourses and agendas are instigating in the minds of the public in contemporary India.

Amna Mahmood and Kalimullah in *Role of Hindutva and Pragmatism in Modi's foreign policy towards Pakistan* explain the pragmatic foreign policy of Modi's government with the neighboring countries except Pakistan.[10] The article describes Hindutva as the contributing force of Indian foreign policy influencing the bilateral relations of both countries. The work focuses on Modi's foreign policy from 2014 to 2019. It also analyses how the Modi administration is undermining secularism and violating the rights of minorities in India. Domestic violence not only poses security challenges domestically but has far-reaching impacts on regional peace as well. When the prime minister of India, Narendra Modi came into power in 2014, it reflected Indian hostility and aggression towards Pakistan. The rise of the Hindutva ideology in India has endangered its secular identity enshrined in the Indian constitution. Modi's regime has been supporting Hindu nationalism since in office.

Sanjeev Kumar.H.M in *Foreign Policy Position of BJP Towards Issues of India Pakistan Relation* explains the perception of political parties particularly BJP regarding the

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[10] Amna Mahmood, and Kalimullah, "Role of Hindutva and Pragmatism in Modi's Foreign Policy Towards Pakistan", *Journal of Contemporary Studies,* 08:02 (2019), pp.69-82.

issues of India-Pakistan relations.[11] It explains the stance of the BJP on issues of India's foreign policy towards Pakistan. The party believes that India's national interest can be best achieved by creating a friendly and harmonious environment. BJP has many concerns over the unfriendly relations between India and Pakistan. BJP states that we have good relations with all neighbors except hostile Pakistan. Political parties play a crucial role in the democratic political system to determine the contents and goals of the foreign policy of a country. The issues of Pakistan-India relations constitute an important portion of Indian foreign policy.

Religion and caste systems have severe impacts on the socio-political paradigm in India. These two factors seem problematic for the electoral democracy in India. Aniket Nandan in *Revival of Hindu Nationalism: Interplay of Religion and Caste in 21st Century's India* explains the political projection of Hindu nationalism on the ideological foundation of Hindu nation and identity.[12] Hindutva has predominantly occupied the space available for the mobilization of religion in Indian politics.

Chetan Bhatt in his *Hindu Nationalism: origins, ideologies and modern myths* critically analyses the ideological foundation of Hindu nationalism and explains how the intellectual and historical perspective potentially contributed to the rise of Hindutva. The analysis of revivalist movements of Hindu nationalism discusses efficiently and explores the contribution of the Hindu nationalist organization, RSS on the socio-political

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[11] Sanjeev Kumar H.M. "Foreign Policy Position of Bhartiya Janata party towards Issues of India-Pakistan relations", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 68:02 (2007), pp. 275-291.
[12] Aniket Nandan, "Revival of Hindu Nationalism: Interplay of Religion and Caste in 21st Century's India"*, Athens Journal of Social Sciences*, 05: 04 (2018), pp. 441-453.

environment of India.[13] There has been a significant debate about the relationship between the RSS and its Sangh Parivar, and fascism and to analyze whether this organization has such orientation or not. Furthermore, the work elaborates on the Hindutva agendas and the manifesto of BJP during the general election of 1998 in India. The impacts of the BJP regime on the secular image of India and how it endangered the democratic and federal status of India.

In contrast to the government of Vajpayee, there is a firm adherence to the policy of RSS and its affiliates during the Modi regime. The workers of the RSS have been posted in high positions in the Modi's administration. Walter Andersen. and Shridhar D. Damle, have articulated briefly in their work titled *Messengers of the Hindu Nationalism: How the RSS Reshaped India*, that RSS has changed its policymaking choices due to the socio-economic changes in India.[14] The RSS-BJP nexus has compounded the economic development and Hindu culture identity as the agenda of Hindutva. Hindu identity and economic nationalism were the employed strategies in the election campaign. Such a tactical approach reflects the quest for a homogenous Hindu society and more inclusive ideological propagation. The work also explains how RSS influences the domestic and foreign policy of India.

The growing Hindu nationalism has challenged secularism in India. Sumit Ganguly explains in his work titled *Hindu Nationalism and the Foreign Policy of India's Bharatiya Janata Party* that since in office as Prime Minister of India, Modi remained committed to

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[13] Chetan Bhatt, *Hindu Nationalism: Origins, Ideologies and Modern Myths* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
[14]Walter Andersen, and Shridhar D. Damle, *Messengers of Hindu Nationalism: How the RSS Reshaped India* (London: Hurst & Co.2019).

the cultural and political dominance of Hindus in India[15]. Moreover, the ideological affinity of the party leadership with Hindutva has been influencing the foreign policy of India. However, there has not been any comprehensive study on Hindutva's impacts on India-Pakistan relations since Narendra Modi became the prime minister of India, which encompasses its theoretical and practical perspectives.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

To understand and analyze the discourse of international relations, it is pertinent to evaluate the events through the different lens and different perspectives. To make it easy, theorists and scholars of international relations provide different theories to analyze the course of international relations. Realism is one of the important theories of international relations. The Great Debate which took place in late 1930s and early 1940s between Idealists and Realists to emphasis the use of power and competitive nature of politics among nations.[16] The Realists remained victorious of the Great Debate and till today, different policies makers and academician view the international relations with the lens of Realism. The insight provided by Realism emphasized the pursuit of national interests. The doctrine of raison d'état explains that the leader of the state should interact with other states at international stage to preserve the strength, power, and national interest of the state. The pursuit of national interests is one of the essential aspects of Realism.

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[15] Sumit Ganguly, "Hindu Nationalism, and the Foreign Policy of India's Bharatiya Janata Party", *Transatlantic Academy,* No.02. (June,2015).
[16] Brian Schmidt, (ed.), *Where Are We Now In The Debate About The First Great Debate?* (London, UK: Routledge, 2012).

Realism describes state as the principal actor in the anarchic international system. The foremost priority of the state leaders in the anarchic system is to ensure the survival of their respective state. The doctrine raison d'état gives a comprehensive plan to the state leaders to preserve the survival of their respective state.[17] Efficiently formulated foreign policy and deliberate action of the state can avoid any unfavorable situations that undermine the state's survival. A state with more power will have better chances of survival than state with less power. Moreover, power is assumed as the center of debate in Realism. As the work of ancient realists, Thucydides and Machiavelli revealed that international politics is an endless power struggle and all the incentives come from human nature.[18] The lust for power and the desire to dominate others in the fundamental traits of human behavior. This sort of human nature explains why international politics power politics is. However, Kenneth Walt, a proponent of Realism, dissented from the concept proposed by Thucydides that power struggle in international politics is not implied in human nature but international anarchic system drives states into a power struggle.[19] The competition, mistrust, inter-states conflicts and asymmetry among states lead them to pursue more power for achieving their national interests. Moreover, another Realist, Fareed Zakaria, proposed a different perspective to explain Realism that unit-level variables should be considered that how different leaders assume the power and what mechanism leads power exercise by state

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[17] Stephen M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories", *Foreign policy*, 1998, pp.30-42.
[18] , Chris Brown, "Structural Realism, Classical Realism, and Human Nature", *Sage Journals*, 23:2 (2009), pp. 257-270.
[19] Robert Jackson Georg Sorensen*, Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 79-82.

leaders.[20] To comprehend the different variants of Realism -Classical Realism, Structural Realism or Neo-Realism, and Neoclassical Realism- it needs to go in the details of each variant which we are discussing below.

2.2.1 Classical Realism

Classical Realism is a theory of the First Great Debate that defines through the prism of traditionalism at individual level of analysis thar sees all problems of the world caused by the egoistic human nature. As Thucydides asserted the drive for power and to influence others are the fundamental aspects of human behavior. Han J. Morgenthau, a Classical Realist, argues that competition, fear, and war are the natural features of Human behaviors. Both these classical realists concluded that the power struggle is rooted in the biological traits of a human being. This theory boosts the leadership of a state to have inclination towards the pursuit of state power to enhance its national interest. The root cause of war and conflict among states is imperfect human nature. It explains that the developing military might of a state in international political system reflects human selfishness.[21] Such egoistic human nature leads to military conflicts between states. The reason behind such hostility by states is the survival of the states which seems a valid argument.

According to Classical Realism, state is ontologically superior to the system. There is a distinction between the status-quo regimes and the revisionists power which Classical

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[20] Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy", *World Politics*, 51:01 (October, 1998), pp.150-165.
[21] Stephen McGlinchey, Rosie Walters, and Christian Schein flung, *International Relations Theory* (Bristol: E-International Relations, 2017), pp.15-20.

Realists concur. However, they trace it to human nature. Moreover, the intention of the states' leaders plays an essential role in restricting the relationship among states. Stateman plays a vital role while advising a state policy which may be conflictual in each situation.[22]Human psychology plays an influential role in power politics. Nicolo Machiavelli, a Classical Realist explained how the innate human traits influence the political domain. He depicted in his work titled *The Prince* that the primary concern of state leader is to promote the national interest and security of his country.[23] The state leader needs to be calculated each step rationally and evaluate the exiting environment critically. If the survival and security of the state are endangered, then every treaty to which the concern state is a party should be disregarded. The purpose of such a treaty is to enhance the security of the state. The state should reside on violence and hostility to ensure security.

2.2.2 Neo-Realism

Neo-Realism is the most important variant of Realism. It interprets that the power struggle between states at regional and global level is the result of an anarchic international system. The basic assumptions of Realism refer that the international system is anarchic in nature and states inherently possess the trait to enhance their power that may be politically, militarily, and economically in nature. Security competition and increasing conflicts between states occur due to the lack of central authority at the global level.[24] Kenneth waltz presented this theory in 1979 in his book titled *Theory of International Politics* by

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[22] Ibid.
[23] Nicolo Machiavelli, *The Prince* (Microsoft Press,2010), pp.62-73.
[24] Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (London: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 51-55.

explaining the structure of international system is anarchic and decentralized.[25] He added that all states are equally sovereign and the distribution of power among them would not be similar. Such asymmetry in the power distribution leads to a power struggle and uncertainty in the international system. States' position in the international system can be better sustained through relative power. The competition and struggle among states for acquiring more power to ensure their security results from decentralized international system.[26] The increase in power of one state, increase the insecurity of the other states. The vulnerable and insecure states will then strive to increase their power to decrease insecurity. The cycle will continue for a power struggle. The more powerful a state is, the more secure it will be in the international system[27]. It infers that state is a security maximizer rather power maximizer. Waltz used the concept of security maximizer in his sub-variant of Neo-Realism, Defensive Realism explained that state attain military capabilities for security purposes.

Contrary to Kenneth Waltz, another Neo-Realist, John Mearsheimer presented a theory called Offensive Realism which states that states are power maximizers, not security maximizers. It also elaborated that self-help is the prerequisite for the states to survive in the decentralized international system. The uncertainty and mistrust in the international system push the states to accumulate more power at the expense of each other. To sum up, the lack of overarching authority in the international system leads the states to acquire

[25] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California,1979), pp. 104-115.
[26] Kenneth Waltz, `Evaluating Theories', *American Political Science Review,* 91, 1997, pp. 913—18,
[27] Robert O. Keohane, "Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond" In *International Institutions and State Power* (United Kingdom: Routledge 1989), p. 175.

much power for their national interest. It is the decentralized international system that drags states into power competition.

2.2.3 Neo-Classical Realism

As earlier discussed, that the relative power distribution among states explains the behaviors and actions of states at regional and global level. However, some other factors potentially influence the state's behavior in foreign policy formulation. Unit-level analysis like the state-society relationship, the psychological influence of state's leader, and the external environment shape the state's behavior. Gideon Rose and Stephen Walt presented a different strand of Neo-Realism called Neo-Classical Realism,[28] which explains that public pressure, domestic constraints, and the psychological influence of the state's leader can be considered as the intervening variables exist between foreign policy formulation and state's capabilities. Domestic constraints and choices are available to state's leader. To pursue the national interest leaders of the states, employ wisdom to assess the national interests efficiently. Neo-Classical Realists explain that external and internal variables should be consulted pertaining to the state foreign policy formulation. It meaningfully assists the state's leader in configuring state's relative position in the external environment and advises a pragmatic foreign policy.[29] Moreover, Neo-Classical Realism carefully explains what their relative capabilities are, and how the foreign policy goals can be better achieved in the given timeframe. According to Farid Zakaria, a state's internal variables, strategic culture and the pattern of foreign policy formulation can be the determining

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[28], Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy", *World Politics*, 51:1(October 1998), p. 145-169.
[29] Ibid.

factors of a state's efficient foreign policy.[30] Moreover, Neo-Classical Realists deem the influence of anarchy in the international system over the state behavior as explained in Neo-Realism.

This research work has employed mainly the theory of Realism. The concentration of the theory Neo-Realism and Neo-Classical Realism. South Asian regional politics amid Indian hegemonic aspiration can be explained through the lens of Neo-Realism. South Asia is home to two nuclear powers, Pakistan and India, and the relationship between these two countries has become unfriendly since Narendra Modi assumed the office of the prime minister of India. Since the partition of the sub-continent, history has witnessed three wars and several hostilities between India and Pakistan. The rivalry between these two powers in the politico-economic, and military spheres can be analyzed through Neo-Realism. The most preferred theory would be Neo-Realism to investigate, conceptualize and evaluate the key motives in the regional politics in South Asia and the responses of both powers, India, and Pakistan, to counter each other in the regional context in general and in the mentioned domains particularly.

Moreover, the domestic political pressure in India especially towards Pakistan, has comprehended through the postulations of Neo-Classical Realism, which stresses on the psychological influence of state's leaders and domestic factors of a state. The foreign policy choices of Modi's regime towards Pakistan reflect inspiration from the guiding principles of the Hindutva doctrine. The regional and global politics and their parameters lead Modi to opt for a Realistic approach for the promotion of national interest. In addition,

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[30] Fareed Zakaria, "Realism and Domestic Politics," *International Security*,17 (Summer, 1992), pp. 177-92.

the Neo-Classical Realists argue the psychological influence of state's leader to assess national interests in the external stimuli. Modi's charismatic personality traits seem to reflect Hindutva.

The mutual relationship between Modi and Hindutva ideology should be addressed while examining India's foreign policies towards Pakistan under Modi's regime. The hegemonic aspiration of India has aggravated its relationship with neighboring countries, especially with Pakistan. India has adopted a policy of rhetoric, diplomacy, economic and strategic partnership pertaining to its hegemonic aspiration in the region. India has engaged in regional politics by signing multiple military agreements with major powers and establishing economic ties with economic giants. The motives behind such major steps seem to increase India's influence on the global front and emerge as the regional power in South Asia. Military power places at high position in the hierarchy of realism. It either has a defensive strategy for survival or offensive strategy for power maximization. India has a nuanced understanding of militarism to handle its relations with a rival neighbor.

CHAPTER 03

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology is the entire process of research study, from theoretical underpinning to data collection and analysis to develop knowledge by answering the research questions. It emphasizes on the consistency among research questions, methodological and theoretical approaches. Research methodology provides an insight of the entire research process.

3.2 Research Philosophy

Research philosophy is a framework that provides the guiding principles for conducting research. It deals with the knowledge and nature of the study. It paves the pathways that how to develop and interpret research.[31] In social sciences research, philosophy is significant to reach the research outcomes by applying different research methods and strategies. The assumptions made by the researchers about an existing reality can be meaningfully analyzed and interpreted by philosophical principles.[32] Generally, there are different kinds of research philosophy in various disciplines. However, four variants of research philosophy namely Positivism, Pragmatism, Realism and Interpretivism, are usually adopted in social sciences research. The research philosophy

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[31] M. Crotty, *The Foundation of the Social Research: Meaning and Perspectives in the Research Process* (London: Sage, 2000), pp.10-12.
[32] Saunders, Mark and Lewis, and Thornhill, "Understanding Research Philosophies and Approaches", *Research Methods for Business Students*, 04:01 (2009), pp.132.128.

adopted in this study would be one of these variants. In general, research philosophy has implication on the research strategy used in the study.

3.2.1 Pragmatism

Pragmatism is a research philosophy proposed that methodological or philosophical or method should be used to investigate a research problem. It focuses on the outcomes of the research and research questions. Multiple paradigms may be used regarding the nature of the research questions. It considers one or combination of multiple paradigms that would address the research questions.[33] Pragmatism explains that reality can be encountered through human experiences in an existing environment. All sorts of realities formed separately from human experiences. The truth and reality need empirical inquiries. The knowledge about reality is based on perceptions and beliefs that are socially constructed. However, one's experience of such social construction has a different version than the others. The pragmatists argue that reality is accepted which works and has a satisfactory association with one's experience[34]. Nevertheless, it does not imply that if it does not work, it is incompatible with our experience. They consider the contextual understanding of the problem to be investigated to reach the conclusion. The choice made by the researchers of one version of reality will be accepted if it results in the desirable outcomes of the research study. Pragmatism can be considered a method of inquiry for the research study.[35] The orientation of pragmatism as a research philosophy is more inclined towards problem

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[33] Alston, Margaret, and Wendy Bowles, *Research for Social Workers: An Introduction to The Methods* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).

[34] David. L Morgan, 2014. 'Pragmatism as a paradigm for social research', *Qualitative Inquiry. Sage Journals*, pp.1045-54.

[35] James, William. 'What Pragmatism means. In Pragmatism and Classical American Philosophy: Essential Readings and Interpretive Essay', 2nd ed. Edited by John J. Stuhr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 193-202,

solving. The research questions identify the core research problems and Pragmatists are contending over the assumptions and methodology to address the research questions sufficiently.[36] Besides the epistemological approach to enquire the research problems, pragmatists also try to concentrate on the methodology to integrate our beliefs based on experience to reach the research outcomes.

Positivistic School assume objective knowledge through an empirical basis rather constructivists acquire knowledge as a subjective and relative. However, Pragmatists oppose these two poles, either objectivity or subjectivity, and assert that acquiring knowledge is a continue process that relies on the foundation of inquiry. Therefore, Constructivists emphasize on qualitative methods and inductive reasoning and Postpositivist consider quantitative approaches and deductive reasoning.[37] However, by offering flexible approaches to research projects, Pragmatists opted for abductive reasoning which is associated with a moderate way between deduction and induction. Basically, the abductive reasoning accepts both the principles of deduction and induction and borrows from both modes of reasoning[38]. In such a manner, Pragmatism helps the researchers to adopt a methodology that efficiently addresses the research questions. Furthermore, Pragmatism considers mostly mixed methods research. In general, pragmatism provides a base to social science research and favors mixed method research.

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[36] David. L. Morgan, "Paradigms Lost, and Pragmatism Regained: Methodological Implications of Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Methods", *Journal of Mixed Methods Research,* pp. 42-68.
[37] Lanham, Chong Ho Yu, *Philosophical Foundations of Qualitative Research Methodology.* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2006), pp.20-27.
[38] David L. Morgan, *Integrating Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: A Pragmatic Approach* (California: Sage Publication Limited, .2014), p.45-50.

3.3 Research Epistemology

Research epistemology is a branch of philosophy which deals with the study of knowledge. It describes what knowledge entails. It provides an understanding of the nature of the knowledge. Basically, epistemology emphasizes how to acquire knowledge and communicate effectively about the methods pertaining to the research assumptions. The scope and methods of acquiring knowledge can be easily understood through epistemological approach. It has significance in the research work as it assists researchers and scholars to structure their research and produce knowledge from new perspectives. Some sorts of epistemological positions exist for instance, Positivism, Interpretivism, Realism etc.

This study adopted Interpretivism as an epistemological position. Interpretivism elucidates that one can know the reality of the world and nature of the knowledge through interpretation and perception of the surrounding. Acquiring knowledge about the world has a foundation of understanding that emerges from the reflection of different incidents. Understanding and exploring the social context of the people produces knowledge. The perception built about a phenomenon and its interpretation will potentially contribute to know the reality from a certain perspective. In each socio-political context, the meaning and perception of a phenomenon will be different. It infers that the interpretation of a reality or a phenomenon to be investigated is varying depending on different ways of standpoint and perspective opted by researchers. Social research aims to explore reality. The nature research in social sciences is subjective rather objective as it relies on the perceptions and interpretations of a phenomenon to reach a contextual meaning of reality. The evolving nature of Hindutva in the socio-political spheres in India influence the foreign policy

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formulation of India towards Pakistan particularly during Narendra Modi's regime. The shift in India foreign policy has gravely impacted the bilateral relationship of these states. The interpretation of such a major shift in policy formulation and its implications on the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan will have different connotations due to different opinions of scholars living across and beyond the borders. A different interpretation of the scholars and its relevance with influence of Hindutva on the bilateral relationships between the two states has evaluated using Interpretivist position that can be helpful in linking the variables relevant to this study.

To sum up, Interpretivism as an epistemological position has adopted in this study that asserting a close association between the researcher and the social world. The knowledge about the world should better comprehend from the reflections and interpretation of incidents and events occurred in the world. The aim of the social research is exploratory in rather than the discovery of reality. The subjective orientation of social scientists tries to comprehend and explain the reality on different interpretations and viewpoints of people associated with the social context.

3.4 Ontology

Ontology is the branch of philosophy which deals with the study of being. It also explains what reality is, and how we know about the nature of reality and existence. It can be referred to as an individual's assumption about the nature of reality. Ontology explains that how the social entities in society will be perceived as objective or subjective. It also explains the question that a social reality exists independent of human experience, that is interpreted or related to human experiences. Therefore, ontology can be comprehended

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through human perception about the nature of reality in the social world.[39] There are two variants of ontology in research methodology: Objectivism and Subjectivism or Constructionism. The ontological approach employed in this study is Constructionism.

Constructionism believes that reality is subjective in nature, and it can be analyzed through interpretation and social construction. The phenomenon is the social world, and its evaluation can be possible through human perception.[40] The influence of Hindutva on India-Pakistan relations is the phenomenon analyzed through human perception. This research presented the perspectives of academicians available in the form of books, interviews, and research articles to know the reality of the phenomenon under study. After knowing about reality, the nature of the reality will be understandable.

3.5 Research Approach

Mixed methods research refers to a research approach that considers qualitative and quantitative data within a single study. Mixed methods research is a combination of qualitative and quantitative research to answer the research questions. It is used in social sciences' research and multidisciplinary complex research. Mixed methods research is effective if qualitative or quantitative data is insufficient to answer the research questions.[41]The combination of both kinds of data seems helpful to derive a conclusion to

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[39] Hashil Al-Saadi, "Demystifying Ontology and Epistemology in Research Methods" University of Sheffield,2014.https://www.researchgate.net/publication/260244813_Demystifying_Ontology_and_Epistemology_in_ResearchMethods. Last accessed 13 August 2022.
[40] Abdelhamid Ahmed, "Ontological, Epistemological, and Methodological Assumptions: Qualitative Vs Quantitative" (London: SELL University,2008). pp.3-6
[41] Martyn Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide: For Small Scale Research Projects* (New York: Open University Press,2014), p.138.

answer the questions.[42] If a quantitative method is employed, that will lead to include the experiences of participants. However, the incorporation of qualitative methods proves immensely helpful in deriving quantitative results. Furthermore, it expands the horizon for the researchers to explore the diverse perspectives of the study to comprehend and answer the research questions.[43] The integration of data from different perspectives and viewpoints gives the researchers a panoramic view of their research. Mixed methods can be helpful for a better understanding of the comparative analysis of qualitative and quantitative data. It also facilitates the researchers to discover an innovative way of exploration to get evidence to answer the research questions. Pragmatism as research philosophy that prefers abductive approach, a moderate way between deduction and induction. Furthermore, Abductive Approach accepts both the principles of deduction and induction and borrow from both modes of reasoning.[44] In such a manner, Pragmatism helps the researchers to adopt the methodology that efficiently address the research questions. Pragmatism considers mostly mixed methods research. Moreover, Pragmatism provides a base for social sciences' research and favors mixed methods research particularly. Therefore, mixed methods as research approach following abduction reasoning highlight the significance of Pragmatism. Mixed methods and Pragmatism both are considered as philosophical

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[42] Saraswati Dawadi, Sagun Shrestha, and Ram A. Giri, "Mixed-Methods Research: A Discussion on its Types, Challenges, and Criticisms", *Journal of Practical Studies in Education*, 2:2 (2021), pp. 25-36. https://doi.org/10.46809/jpse.v2i2.20. Last accessed 12 September, 2022.
[43] Jennifer C. Greene, Valerie J. Caracelli, Wendy F. Graham, 'Toward a Conceptual Framework for Mixed Method Evaluation Designs' *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis,* 11:3(Fall,1989), pp. 255-274. https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737011003255. Last accessed August12, 2022.
[44] Claudia Arrighi and Roberta Ferrario, "Abductive Reasoning, Interpretation and Collaborative Process", *Foundations of Science,* 13:01(March, 2008), pp.75-87.

partners. Pragmatism supports the use abductive reasoning to produce knowledge that severs as a rationale to answer the research questions.

3.6 Research Strategy

Research Strategy refers to a plan that directs the research process. It provides a systematic guideline for the researchers to conduct their research. It also helps the researchers how to collect the data. It focuses on whether the data collected should be suitable and feasible for the research study.[45] Case study is the suitable and feasible research strategy employed in this study.

3.6.1 Case Study

Case study can be defined as the investigation of a social phenomenon in its actual context following the empirical data.[46] It explains that a research problem will be solved by analyzing and comprehending the available literature while linking the historical events and experiments with the contemporary perspectives.[47] Case study is an essential strategy in social sciences' research. It helps the researchers to crystalize the complexity of a phenomenon which is difficult to be contextualized. In case study, the researchers rely on both primary and secondary sources to provide a solution to the research problem.[48] This research work relied on explanatory and descriptive case studies to investigate the research questions. These case studies are helpful in answering the question starting with 'How' and 'What'. The questions stating with 'How' are explanatory and employ explanatory

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[45]   Paul Johannesson and Erik Perjons, *An Introduction to Design Science* (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2014), pp. 39.

[46] Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide: For Small Scale Research Projects,* p.55.

[47]Charles Schell, "The Value of the Case Study as a Research Strategy" *Manchester Business School* 1992.

[48] Ibid.

case studies that rely on a historical perspective of the phenomenon. While the questions

starting with 'What' are descriptive and rely on archival research data.[49] This study tried

to answer the questions that "How the doctrine of Hindutva impacts the bilateral relations

between India and Pakistan" that demands a historical understanding of the phenomenon.

Therefore, a case study has enormous importance as it enables the investigation of the

contemporary events and historical perspective also added to this study.

3.7 Data Collection and Data Analysis

Data collection is the process of collecting and evaluating the sources relevant to

the research study. It is considered the essential element of the research to expand the scope

of the study by authenticating the data collected. The data collection aims to make the

research effective by obtaining reliable and valid sources. The reliability of the data will

make the researcher to answer the research questions efficiently.[50] Essentially, data

collection procedure validates that the data obtained and enable the researcher not only to

initiate the research but also provide an assistance to improve the quality of the research.[51]

The content analysis refers to analyze the meaning and its relationship with the themes and

concepts used in the research. The analysis of the data collection describes the origin and

sources of the data. The sources of the data include books, journals, speeches, news

contents and reliable internet data.

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[49]Zaidah Zainal, "Case Study as a Research Method", *Jurnal Kemanusiaan* , June 2007, pp. 02-4.
[50] Syed Muhammad Kabir, *Basic Guidelines for Research: An Introductory Approach for All Disciplines* (Chittagong: Book Zone Publication, 2016), pp.201-220.
[51]Walliam G. Axinn and Lisa D. Pearce, *Mixed Method Data Collection Strategies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.54-59.

3.8 Research Ethics

Research Ethics refers to the conduct that differentiates an acceptable and unacceptable attitude in the research study. It describes the rules and regulations to be followed by the researchers in their research. It focuses on the discipline to follow in the research.

CHAPTER 04:

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HINDUTVA

The doctrine of Hindutva emphasizes to consolidate the historical, political, cultural, and national aspects of Hindus along with the religious one to define the Hindu nation. The ideology seeks to define Indian culture in terms of Hindu values. It also aims to combine geographically based religious, cultural, and national identity of Hindus into one form. The term Hindutva was coined by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar in his book *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?* in 1923. [52] The second edition came up with the title of *Essentials of Hindutva* in 1928. He explained in this book, that there are three essentials of Hindutva namely *Rashtriya, Jati* and *Sanskriti* that could be translated into a common nation, race, and culture respectively. He also argued that *Hindu* means "a person who believes Hindustan his fatherland and Holy land". The Hindus are tied together by bonds of a common father, blood, culture and civilization, heroes, history, and the will to remain united as a nation. He added that Hindutva is not a word but a history. He further conceived that Hindutva is the inherent quality of the Hindu race and should not be associated with Hinduism. Savarkar, further, elaborated Hinduism is the derivative of any part of Hindutva. Hinduism is a subset of political ideas and would also achieve the consolidation of Hindus from a political perspective. Hindutva encompasses all departments and thoughts of the whole Hindu race.

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[52] Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, *Essential of Hindutva* (Bombay: Veer Savarkar Prakashan, 1923).

4.1.1. Formation of the RSS

The followers of Hindutva needed a platform where they could perform their activities in an organized manner. A staunch proponent of Hindutva and follower of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Keshav Baliram Hedgewar laid the foundation of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) in 1925.[53] In the beginning, it was a socio-cultural and non-political organization. The organization aimed to train its members who will be actively committed to the cause of Hindu nationalism in India. Savarkar convinced Hedgewar that when the British left, Hindus would subdue Muslims, which eventually inculcated the anti-Muslim sentiments in his mind. RSS and its leaders did not have religious interests instead, they focused on the promotion of Hindu culture.[54] Moreover, they emphasized the unity among different Hindu castes and used to show respect towards Hindu symbols[55]. They joined and initiated different movements across the country. They tried to influence the people to accept the Hindutva ideology to tackle future challenges when the British left. Eventually, in 1929, Congress launched a movement in the name of Purna Swaraj to gain independence from British. Hedgewar restrained its followers from joining the movement and raising their own Saffron flags.

Following the demise of Hedgewar in 1940, Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar succeeded as the new head of RSS. He was a devoted student of Savarkar and Hedgewar and a strong supporter of Hindutva. He used all his energy to introduce the people to Hindutva ideology

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[53] Ratan Sharda, *RSS, Evolution from an Organization to a Movement* (India: Rupa Publications,2020), pp. 01-09.
[54] Ibid, pp.35-38.
[55] Christophe Jaffrelot, *Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics1925 to 1990s.* pp.66-69.

and make them strong supporters of Hindu Nationalism. He kept the organization away from political activities. He added that a nation could not be built if there is an increased influence of foreign elements within it. In his manuscript *We or Our Nationhood Defined* and the anthology of his articles, *Bunch of Thoughts* Golwalkar explained that India was the holy land of Hindus. He added that Hindustan is the land that belongs to Hindus, and they have the right to flourish here alone.[56] The national regeneration of Hindus is crucial and stressed it over his three-decades-long tenure as the head of RSS.[57] The work of Vaibhav Purandare reflects that Golwalkar was a strong Hindu revivalist than Savarkar and states that Savarkar was more social reformer than Hindu revivalist. Golwalkar took Hindutva in the fundamentalist direction. He rejected the idea of territorial nationalism and asserted that territory is not a nation; people make a nation. In the context of India, he assumes Hindus are the people who will constitute a Hindu nation. He explained that culture plays a vital role in making a nation and passionately advocates cultural nationalism. In his work *We or Our Nationhood Defined* he described Hindutva as a cultural identity and Hinduism as a portion of national Hindu culture. However, Savarkar assumed culture is the product of our religion. Hindutva was then seen as an ideology that emphasized the hegemony of Hindu values and the Hindu way of life in the political environment of India. It principally aims to define Indian culture in terms of Hindu culture and norms. The efforts of the RSS were intensified as Golwalkar became the head of the organization. He sent the RSS volunteers to different parts in India to expand its network. The relationship between Hindus and Muslims deteriorated in 1946 which paved the way

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[56] M.S Golwalkar, *We or Our Nationhood Defined* (Nagpur: Bharat Prakashan, 1945).
[57] Golwalkar, *Bunch of Thoughts* (Bangalore: Vikrama Prakashan, 1968).

for achieving the aim of the Muslim League to Indian sun-continent. Following the partition of the subcontinent in 1947, Golwalkar mourned the incident and blamed Gandhi for his effort to bring Hindu-Muslim unity. The RSS participated in the cause of Hindu refugees in the post-partition turmoil. The socio-political dynamics were aggravated when one of the RSS sympathizers, Nathuram Godse, assassinated Mahatma Gandhi on 30 January 1948[58]. In retaliation, the Indian government banned the RSS and alleged it for communal orientation. Golwalkar, the head of the RSS and other organization's leaders were arrested. The Congress government forced the RSS to reorient its organizational structure that clearly defines the hierarchy of the organization. The RSS leadership accepted all the conditions and agreed to adopt a socio-culture outlook. It also agreed to show allegiance to the Indian constitution. Eventually, the Indian government lifted the ban on the RSS by August 1948 and the detainees were released.[59] The organization learnt a bitter lesson from its experiences during the ban. The detention and harsh treatment by the Indian government impacted the RSS's overall thought process.

4.1.2. Bhartiya Jana Sangh (BJS) and Political Representation

Following the experiences during the period of proscription, the RSS emerged with a feeling of political representation. They had no assistance provided by the political forces during the hard times. They felt the need for active political representation in India that would support it in future during hard times. Moreover, the Hindu Mahasabha had lost its credibility, which cooperated with the Indian National Congress for advancing the agendas

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[58] Andersen and Damle, *The Brotherhood in Saffron*: *The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism* (Delhi: Vistaar publications, 1987), p.50.
[59] *Ibid.*, pp.51-52

of the Hindus community.[60] It failed to emerge as an influential Hindu political force in India. The RSS believed that for its survival, active political participation and representation are essential. Its leadership decided to develop a political party to participate affectively in Indian politics. Thus, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, on 21 October 1951, with the support of RSS, established Bhartiya Jana Sangh (BJS).[61] It was considered a major development of Hindutva and the RSS members were introduced to politics for the integration of Hindus. However, some dissimilarities were observed at the initial time within the newly established political party. The non-RSS members of BJS assumed that it was an opposition to Congress, while the RSS members considered it a way for promoting Hindu nationalism. Later on, after demise of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, in 1953, the RSS got an opportunity to lead the BJS. The BJS followed the philosophy of the RSS and struggled for the Hindu nationalism in the mainstream politics of India. Initially, it was a major challenge for the party to promote Hindu nationalism in a secular state.[62] The BJS concentrated on its ideology and avoid any coalition with other political parties. Moreover, as a newly established political party, BJS was not able to compete the Indian National Congress. In general elections of 1951-52, BJS got only three seats in the Lok Sabha and thirty-five seats in state assemblies.[63] This was an insignificant achievement and Mookerjee strived to influence the members in the opposition. He made a bloc comprises

[60] Gorden, *Hindu Mahasabha, and the Indian National Congress*, pp.145.202.
[61] B.D Graham, *Hindu Nationalism, and Indian Politics: The Origin and Development of Bharatiya Janata Party* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1990), pp. 8-35
[62] Craig Baxter, *The Jana Sangh: Biography of an Indian Political Party* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969), pp. 46-48.
[63] Working Committee, *BJS: Party Documents,* July 1953. Vol.03, p.24

of thirty-two members called National Democratic Party under his leadership. It was the third largest group in Lok Sabha after Congress and Communists parties.

During the general elections in 1957, BJS still sticked to its strategy of exclusivism and Hindu nationalism to build a sense of equality in the Hindu society. However, this time it focused on the promotion of the Hindu culture in the non-Hindus. The party won only four seats in Lok Sabha and forty-six seats in state assemblies.[64] Later on, in the 1962 general elections, it got fourteen seats in Lok Sabha and one hundred and sixteen seats in state assemblies.[65] Due to such unfavorable situation, BJS realized that it should revisit its exclusive strategy. Eventually, for the up-coming by-elections in 1963, BJS made an alliance with Socialist Party and the Swatantra Party against Indian National Congress. Nevertheless, BJS agenda was more socio-economic than Hindu nationalism. It had also a divergent view on the socialist perspective of public ownership and favored the private owner on contrary. This alliance was also carrying on, in 1967 general elections BJS got thirty-five seats in Lok Sabha and 268 seats in state assemblies.

The political workers of the BJS were concerned about the core ideology of the party,Hindu nationalism as the party was in alliance with other parties based on socio-economic agendas. Under the leadership of Upadhyaya, BJS emerged as the third largest party in Lok Sabha. On 11 February 1968, Upadhyaya was assassinated in a night train. After Upadhyaya, Atal Bihar Vajpayee became the new president of BJS. In the 1971-72 general elections, BJS along with coalition parties defeated by Congress. However, BJS

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[64] James R. Roach, *"India's1957 Elections" Far Eastern Survey,* Institute of Pacific Relations, 26:05, (1957), pp. 65-78.
[65] N.C.B Ray and Chaudhury, "India's Third General Election" *The Political Quarterly*, 33:3 (1962), pp. 294-304.

won twenty-two seats in Lok Sabha. Due to failure in electoral politics it resided to have an influence through agitation. Jayaprakash Narayan (JP) launched a movement called JP movement against the Congress rule. The social agenda of BJS was compatible with the philosophy of Jayaprakash Narayan. In addition, BJS also found a leader who has the potential to integrate it to counter the Congress in the political sphere in India. The new President of the BJS, Lal Krishna Advani assumed that the JP movement as an opportunity to widen the scope of the party at mass level. The JP movement announced a total revolution against Indira Gandhi's government which resulted in emergency rule. However, the imposition of emergency in 1975 by the Indian government spoil the BJS's strategy to deepen its roots in the mainstream politics of India. The aim of the emergency was to hinder the rising influence of the JP movement. As a result, the RSS leaders along with the BJS and other opposition parties were arrested.

4.1.3. Janata Party

The close association of BJS and other parties in the JP movement further increase their bonds. It created bonhomie when elections were announced in 1977 and the emergency was lifted. BJS, Socialist Party, Bharatiya Lok Dal and Congress(O) merged and formed Janata Party.[66] It was considered the most possible opposition unity to compete Indian National Congress in the upcoming general elections. The Janata Party secured an immense mandate and dreadfully defeated the India National Congress. It got 298 seats in the Lok Sabha. In the contrast, Congress managed 154 seats in the Lok Sabha. For the first time a non-Congress central government was formed in India. It was a significant

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[66]Sanjay Ruparelia, *Divided We Govern: Coalition Politics in Modern India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 67-68.

achievement for the BJS among the founding parties of Janata Party. BJS was criticized by intra-party leadership for its links with the RSS organization and for actively participating in communal rhetoric. They asserted that no dual membership would be permitted for the Janata Party membership. It was the BJS's strategy to merge and form Janata party due to its ambition of a mainstream party. However, the internal conflict among party leadership led the collapse of the Janata Party and the non-Congress central government ended. In 1980, general elections were announced and BJS contested elections and won thirty-one seats in Lok Sabha.

The need for a new political outfit was crucial to the experiences of BJS in JP's movement, during the emergency period, its merger in Janata party and its interaction with Janata party leadership. All these experiences reflected the BJS's strategies devised in the socio-political environment to preserve its Hindu nationalist identity. Many times, the party leadership show flexibility to compromise on its ideological stance to emerge as a mainstream party in the Indian politics. The coalition parties only had a legitimate approach to the BJS's agenda in the time of necessity. On contrary, the Janata Party took a divergent position in dealing with the BJS. The dual membership controversy and the hostile approach of the Janata Party led the BJS and its devoted workers to take an alternative position for their ideology. They realized the need for a broader vote bank and an independent political party for the cause and representation of Hindu nationalism in India.

Moreover, the national political environment in India showed a decline in the secular notion, and the Congress was trying to use Hindu communal symbols to promote their

ideology. Essentially, the Congress retained its socialist nature but adopted the strategy of economic liberalism for political purposes. Thus, Hindu nationalists assumed the 1980s political environment favorable to utilize the newly adopted policy of Hindu nationalism. Eventually, on 05 April 1980, the BJS emerged as a Hindu nationalist party called Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).[67] The newly formed party announced that it was the continuation of the Janata tradition, which was popular among the public. It perceived the policy to sustain the party as a mainstream in the pollical environment of India. BJP also denounced its link with the RSS, removed the word Sangh from the name of the newly established party and announced that it was the continuation of the Janata party.

The BJP assumed the commonality between Gandhian economic policy and Upadhyaya's Integral Humanism. Thus, co-opted the Gandhian Socialism to decentralize the economy. It opposed the secularism presented by Congress and emphasized positive secularism, where minorities will not be exploited for political achievements. It also recognized the diversity in Indian society. Moreover, certain principles were adopted as the foundation of national consensus, known as "Our Five commitments". These commitments include nationalism and national integration, democracy, positive secularism, Gandhian Socialism, and values-based politics.[68] The BJP also emphasized broadening its vote bank in the political sphere of India. It tried to attract people from other sections of Indian society who were not supporters of the BJP, like government servants, minorities, and all others from major portions of India. BJP instrumentalized Hindu

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[67] Thomas Blom Hansen, *The Saffron Wave, Democracy and Nationalism in Modern India* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press,1999), pp. 65-80.
[68] Partha S. Ghosh, *BJP, and the Evolution of Hindu Nationalism: From Periphery to Centre* (Delhi: Manohar, 1999), pp. 43-60.

nationalism for mass mobilization to gain power. However, there was a dissent among the BJP's leadership to interpret the policy of mass mobilization to achieve its goals. Atal Bihar Vajpayee and Lal Krishna Advani were representing different groups. The former was a liberal Hindu nationalist in his approach, while the later was pragmatic Hindu nationalist. The liberal group asserted that hostile and aggressive approach would not extend the influence of BJP in the political domain and would push the party to the periphery instead of the core politics of India. It also advocated a democratic process for the peaceful transformation of the society. Furthermore, it also introduced the concept of Gandhian Socialism into the political ideology of the BJP to accommodate the minorities in the party owing to their apprehension about Hindu nationalism. However, with the defeat in the general elections of 1984-1985, the liberal approach lost its hold in the party and the pragmatic nationalists led the BJP. In 1986 Lal Krishna Advani became the new president of the party.

The pragmatic nationalist group led by Lal Krishna Advani has different political and electoral strategies from the liberal Hindu nationalists. It perceived that the concept of Gandhian Socialism diverted the focus of the RSS members from the BJP and eventually led to the poor performance of the party in the 1984-85 general elections. This group aimed to project BJP as an alternative to the Congress and term the Congress secularism as 'minorityism'. It also criticized Congress for the exploitation of the minorities for political purposes and added that minorities had been distance from mainstream politics in India. Moreover, this group presented the concept of 'positive secularism' against the Congress

policy of minorityism.[69] The concept of positive secularism explained that essentially Hinduism is a secular religion. Therefore, it adopted a policy that no religious community woulb be treated based on their respective culture and religious identity. Moreover, the party's leadership had a clear stance on the doctrine of Hindutva to restore the moral basis of Hindu nationalism. The BJP's application of uniform civil code and the abrogation of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir enshrined in the Indian constitution under articles 370 and 35A. These were the strategies of the BJP for electoral gain in the upcoming general elections. The BJP also started working with the Hindu militant organization Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and tied its links with RSS to integrate the Hindu nation. The purpose of the close association of the Hindu organization was to create a massive vote bank to achieve victory in the general elections.

4.1.4. Ram Temple Issue

Following the 1984-85 general election, the construction of a Ram Temple at Ayodhya was the rising issue in the socio-political environment of India. The VHP started a fundraising campaign to construct the temple. The Sangh Parivar started a direct Hindu mobilization consisted of BJP, RSS and VHP.[70] It was the strategy of the BJP to join the direct Hindu mobilization for expanding its social and political influence. Under the leadership of Advani, the BJP aimed to preserve its Hindu nationalist identity and supported the construction of the Ram Temple at Ayodhya. The party leadership also participated in the Ram Shila movement, specifically for fundraising to construct the Ram temple. Moreover, BJP also raised the socio-economic issues of the people in rural areas.

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[69] Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement, and the Indian Politics 1925 to the 1990s* (London: Hurst & Company). pp.358-64
[70] Ibid.

These were the electoral strategies of the BJP for the upcoming general elections in 1989. The division between the Hindu and Muslim communities sharpened due to the Hindu nationalist strategy of direct mobilization. The Ram Shila movement intensified the riots and furthered the hatred between the two Indian communities. BJP exploited the antagonism and eventually won 87 seats in the1989 elections. BJP join the coalition government of Vishwanath Pratap Singh. However, the coalition did not sustain, and resulted in the BJP's disengagement from the government due to disagreement on the Ram temple and Mandal commission issues. BJP then decided to contest the next election in an independent position.

The Ram temple issue was at the top of the preferential list of the BJP and employed the strategy of direct mobilization. Advani led the demonstration of Hindu nationalists for the Ram Temple. It gained an immense popularity among the masses and eventually expanded the BJP's vote base. BJP won 120 seats in Lok Sabha in the 1991 elections and emerged as the second largest party in the parliament.[71] The position of the BJP strengthened politically and became an alternative to Congress. The change in its status from an opposition party at the periphery to one at the center aimed to replace the Congress required that the BJP should act responsibly to avoid any sort of agitation and communal violence. However, the highly mobilized Hindu nationalists especially the RSS members, the Bajrang Dal youth and the VHP's activists were less interested in understanding the compulsion of BJP in Indian politics. They were gathered in the vicinity of Babri Masjid.

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[71] Muhammad Mujeeb Afzal, *Bharatiya Janata Party, and the Indian Muslims* (Karachi: Oxford University Press,2014), p. 245.

The BJP leadership indulged in mass mobilization. On December 06, 1992, the highly mobilized Hindu nationalist mob attacked and demolished the Babri Mosque.[72]

After this incident, the socio-political situation worsened, and the government arrested the Hindu nationalist leaders and overthrew all the BJP governments in different states of the country. The demolition of the Babri Mosque undermined the political narrative of the BJP. The Ramjanambhoomi, Ram Temple construction, was used by the BJP as a tool for the upcoming election campaign. Some of the party leaders and workers did not support the demolition of the Mosque. They were against the communal violence. To re-engage the despaired leadership and supporters of the party, BJP went on to employ the policy of agitation and demanded mid-term elections in the states. The Indian government forced the BJP to revisit its policy of agitation and violence. Therefore, BJP revisited its policy of agitation due to the aggressive response of the government.[73] It decided to limit the activities of the aggressive groups like Bajrang Dal and VHP, and to maintain the party discipline. For regaining the lost image of the party, BJP tried to relieve the apprehensions of Indian Muslims about Hindu nationalism. The party leadership invited Indian Muslims to join their party which was secular in its essence. Thus, in the mid-term elections the new strategy of the BJP was effective and established government in some states with the support of the Muslim voters.[74]

Following the 1993 elections BJP designed new policies for expanding its electoral base. It promised economic nationalism and raised voices for economic challenges of a

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[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Raj Chengappa, 'Dangerous Dimensions', *India Today*, 15 February ,1993.

common man. It was perceived as a strategy to attract the poor class of Indian society.[75]

Moreover, BJP also demanded for rights of Scheduled castes in government jobs. In the

1995 elections, the BJP strategy was helpful to gain more seats in the states' assemblies.

Furthermore, on December 11, 1995, the Indian Supreme Court gave a verdict confirming

the legitimacy of the Hindutva doctrine and described that it should not be assumed merely

a religion but a culture and heritage of India.[76] It was the authenticity of the Hindutva

definition. BJP, then, expressed confidently its Hindu nationalist agenda and announced its

manifesto for the 1996 general elections. It also promised the construction of the Ram

Temple at Ayodhya. The manifesto included the implementation of uniform civil code,

abrogation of article 370, and banning the illegal Muslims Bengali migration.[77]

The BJP was expecting its victory in 1996 general elections. The campaign was

peaceful and there was no communal rhetoric. Provision of good governance and economic

reforms were the main themes in the election campaign. The leadership tried to convince

Muslims and presented them with a comprehensive plan to solve their issues. In the 1996

elections, the BJP secured 161 seats and became the largest party in Lok Sabha. Atal Bihari

Vajpayee formed the government based on to ensure majority in the Lok Sabha. However,

it was a setback for the BJP when the regional parties and Left Front joined hands to form

government to keep Atal Bihari Vajpayee out of government.

[75] Afzal, *Bharatiya Janata Party, and the Indian Muslims*, pp.252-53.
[76] R.P. Ram, "A Way of Life", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 02, March 1996. p.519.
[77]Bharatiya Janata Party, "BJP Election manifesto 1996".
http://lib.bjplibrary.org/jspui/handle/123456789/261. Last accessed 05 September 2022.

4.1.5. BJP during Vajpayee's era

After the failure in the1996 elections, BJP revisited its policy to reached out the masses. It emphasized the issues faced by the public than to resort to Hindu nationalism. During the 1998 election campaign, BJP tried to reach out the Indian Muslims due to its electoral compulsion. The party also endeavored to realize on Indian Muslims as a better option than Congress. However, some of Indian Muslims leaders presented their reservations on the issue of Babri Mosque. BJP's response seemed vague on these reservations. In the 1998 general elections, BJP won 180 seats and emerged as the national party in Indian politics. BJP with coalition with thirteen other parties announced Atal Bihari Vajpayee as candidate for prime minister. As a result, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Hindu nationalist leader, secured 274 votes in the parliament and became the prime minister of India.

The rise of BJP into power aimed to transform the composite and secular political structure through the guiding principles of Hindutva. It was a major challenge for the BJP to alter the constitution of India because it was in coalition with other political parties based on political expediency. In such coalition BJP made compromise on its Hindutva ideology. The prime minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee belonged to the liberal and moderate Hindu nationalist faction and favored the policy of soft-Hindutva. This policy aimed that a moderated approach would help BJP to be in the coalition government. The politics of compromise resulted in the public acknowledgement of Hindu narratives. The Sangh Parivar asserted to implement the Hindu nationalist agenda based on the notion of Hindutva. It was anxious that the policy of political expediency would undermine the Hindu nationalist agenda like the implementation of uniform civil code, the abrogation of

article 370 of the Indian constitution about the status of Jammu and Kashmir and the construction of Ram temple. However, the soft-Hindutva policy of moderate faction of the BJP rewarded the members of the Sangh Parivar. They were appointed on the key positions in the state's institutions. Therefore, they adopted the policy of soft-Hindutva and avoided the Hindu nationalist's themes.

The disagreement of the coalition parties with the BJP particularly on the issues of minorities put the leading party in trouble and consequently led to end the government at the center. The Congress in opposition failed to form government. Therefore, the BJP with its coalition managed the caretaker government to preside the elections to Lok Sabha. The BJP employed the strategy for the projection of Hindutva agenda in the constituencies, where it was not in strong positions.

Atal Bihar Vajpayee was portrayed as the appropriate person for the office of prime minister. The charismatic personality of Atal Bihari Vajpayee in the Indian polity provided favorable environment to attract a stable and diverse coalition, comprised of twenty-three parties named the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). The NDA announced a joint election manifesto with emphasis on economic liberalization and to encourage foreign direct investments. It did not mention any Hindu nationalist agenda like the construction of the Ram temple, implementation of uniform civil code and the revoking of the article 370.[78] It also helped the BJP to reach out the Indian Muslim community through its allies. The incompetence of the Congress to make alliance, gave the BJP a leverage to perform

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[78] Bharatiya Janata Party, "BJP Election Manifesto 1999". http://lib.bjplibrary.org/jspui/handle/123456789/242. Last accessed 05 September 2022.

effectively in the elections. Consequently, BJP was successful in achieving 182 seats in Lok Sabha in the 1999 elections.[79]

The BJP performance in the elections proved its emergence of BJP in the national politics. This time the BJP was the dominant party in the NDA with Atal Bihari Vajpayee as the prime minister of India. He was in a better position to run the government with its allies. The soft-Hindutva politics of the BJP was acceptable to the allies in NDA and acknowledged Vajpayee as the only moderate leader of Hindu nationalism. Hindutva was legitimized in the public sectors of India during Vajpayee regime. However, there were reservations among the stake holders over the implementation of the hard-core Hindutva agenda. The allies in NDA perceived that BJP had a hidden Hindutva based agenda and strongly objected over the issue that seemed incompatible with NDA policies. To relieve the apprehensions of the allies in NDA, BJP declared commitment to the NDA's agenda.

The reiteration of the BJP with NDA's agenda was a temporary adjustment till BJP acquired majority to form exclusive government. The strategy of political expediency with other parties perceived by Sangh Parivar like the experience it had with Janata Party. Therefore, to preserve the Hindu Identity, VHP raised the issue of Ram Temple construction and asserted that BJP and NDA alliance as a hurdle to implement its Hindutva agenda. However, the failure of BJP in the state assemblies' elections, frustrated the Sangh Parivar as the ethno-religious rhetoric did gain any popular support to win the elections. The BJP advised the Sangh Parivar to wait for the general elections in 2004.[80] This was the

[79] Rashi Mathur, "History Revisited: How Political Parties Fared in 1999 Lok Sabha election", *Zee News,* 14, May,2019.
[80] A.G. Noorani, "A Party in Panic", *Frontline,* 23 June,2001.

time when the assumption of ethno-religious rhetoric had reached it limit and could not had any effective role to attract people to gain victory in elections. Thus, the policy of soft-Hindutva was the only option available to BJP to follow in the future.

For the general elections in 2004, BJP employed the strategy to highlight weakness of the previous Indian governments and projected the effectiveness and successful tenure of Vajpayee's government. The NDA election manifesto for 2004 Lok Sabha elections emphasized on rights of Indian Muslims regarding education, employment, and economic well-being. BJP incorporated its Hindutva agenda of the Ram Temple issue, uniform civil code, and the abrogation of article 370 from the Indian constitution in its 'Vision Documents' but in the NDA election manifesto, BJP remained silent over its Hindutva agenda. The results of the 2004 elections to Lok Sabha was astonishing. Congress led alliance UPA secures 219 seats in Lok Sabha while BJP led NDA managed 185 seats in the Indian parliament.[81] The poor performance of BJP in the 2004 elections was the result of alliance strategy to depend on other parties for electoral politics.

4.2. Hindutva Doctrine and its implications on India-Pakistan relations

Every political party has an ideology that guides it to perform in the polity. In the contemporary era, all the governments are party based, domestic, and foreign affairs being influenced by the ruling party. The domestic politics and foreign relations reinforce each other. The members of the ruling party devise the policies that manifest the influence of

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[81] Shubhodeep Chakravarty, "INKredible India: The story of 2004 Lok Sabha Election-All you need to know", *Zee News*, May 18, 2019.

the party's ideology. However, opposition parties and pressure groups also have a significant role in determining government policy either domestic policy or foreign policy.

The relationship between India and Pakistan considers an important subject in the Indian foreign policy discourse. However, the tense bilateral relations between the two rivals have hindered the solutions to their disputes. The doctrine of Hindutva explains the aspiration for Akhand Bharat, that is, Greater India and opposed the partition of the sub-continent. The prevailing hatred and violence against Muslims in India by the Sangh Parivar reflect the growing influence of Hindutva doctrine in the country. The Hindu nationalists view Indian Muslims as the enemy of India and labelled them as collaborators of Pakistan. Furthermore, they added that Pakistan came into being due to Muslims' hostility toward Hindus. The BJP announced Narendra Modi as a candidate for prime minister for the general elections in 2014. Such a polarized environment amid the dominant position of Hindu nationalists in the shape of Sangh Parivar led Narendra Modi to the power corridor of India. Narendra Modi ascended to power and became the prime minister of India in 2014. The BJP government under Narendra Modi devised a new foreign policy approach to its neighborhood. The foreign policy of Modi's regime seems unique, unlike the previous Indian governments. Modi aimed to utilize his foreign policy towards its neighboring countries to increase domestic economic growth and attract foreign direct investment. However, the tense political and military standoffs between India and Pakistan undermined India's regional aspiration for cooperation and stability. There has been a significant shift in Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan since Modi became the premier of India.

4.2.1. An Overview of India-Pakistan Relations Since 2014

Since the partition of the subcontinent, there has been antagonism between India and Pakistan. The animosity between the neighbors worsened following four wars in 1948,1965, 1971 and 1999. Both the states reoriented their policies by acquiring nuclear weapons in 1990s. Peace and stability in South Asia would be linked with a peaceful relationship between the two bordering nuclear powers. There has been a series of disputes between India and Pakistan, for instance, the Kashmir dispute, Siachen issue, and the Water issue. The suspended issues significantly caused fraction between the two states. In 2014, the rise of Narendra Modi, a Hindu nationalist and leader of the BJP, as the prime minister of India opened a chapter in India-Pakistan relationships. The dynamics of the relations between India and Pakistan adversely changed. The project of Narendra Modi deemed to convert secular India into Hindu dominant country. The doctrine of Hindutva emphasized transforming India by Hindu majority like Israel. The Modi's ambition to transform India into a Hindu nation will be accelerated by the notion of patriotism brought by confrontation with Pakistan.

In the 2014 election manifesto, BJP embodied Hindutva ideology in the foreign policy trajectories. Regarding defense, BJP wanted to reenergize the Indian arms industry and to upgrade the Indian nuclear doctrine to the challenges of the contemporary time. On the national security front, BJP showed zero tolerance for terrorism and dealt with any incursion with iron hand. It also promised to make Jammu and Kashmir as integral part of India.[82]

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[82] Bharatiya Janata Party, "BJP Election Manifesto 2014".
http://lib.bjplibrary.org/jspui/handle/123456789/252. Last accessed 10 September 2022.

Narendra Modi a staunch proponent of Hindutva doctrine aimed to revise the Indian foreign policy process particularly towards Pakistan. The 2014 elections manifesto stated that the principles of Hindutva doctrine would guide the Indian foreign policy. by All the assertions in the election manifesto inferred anti-Pakistan sentiments and emanated an aggressive attitude towards India's traditional rival. In an interview with Indian Express held on 23 April 2014, Modi said that I am confident, my Hindutva face will be an asset to deal with other nations. He structured his foreign policy based on the Hindutva agenda. Back in the 2002 election campaign, Modi used anti-Pakistan narratives that voting against him would be considered to support Pakistan.[83] India has been boldly portraying Pakistan as a terrorist country. In 2014 election campaign, Hindu nationalists again employed the strategy to utilize anti-Pakistan rhetoric by saying that voting against Modi would be equivalent voting for Pakistan and favoring terrorism. The RSS utilized its organizational energy to support Modi's election campaign in 2014. The RSS cadre expected the implementation of the Hindutva agenda when Modi was raised to power. Following Modi's victory in the elections, they assumed to adopt a hardcore Hindutva policy towards Pakistan and to abrogate the articles 370 and 35A of the Indian constitution to annex occupied Jammu and Kashmir. The increasing influence of the RSS in the Indian political sphere and dominance of the Hindutva doctrine deepened since Modi assumed the prime minister office. The landslide victory of Narendra Modi revealed the acceptability of Hindutva agenda in the Indian body politic. The relationship between India and Pakistan has been

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[83] Manoj Joshi, "In His Attempt to Win Elections, Narendra Modi Does not Seem Bound by Propriety – or even dignity" *Scroll.in*, December 12,2017. https://scroll.in/article/861137/narendra-modis-mention-of-pakistan-to-marginalise-muslims-is-not-a-good-sign-for-india.
Last accessed 10 September 2022.

influenced by the growing domination of Hindutva over the Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan during Narendra Modi's regime. The foreign policy perspectives will explain the various level of analysis of the bilateral relations between the two neighbors. The political relationship between India and Pakistan during Modi's regime experienced diplomatic efforts amid escalations along the Line of Control. However, Narendra Modi invited the then prime minister Nawaz Sharif to the oath-taking ceremony. It was a channel used by Modi as a goodwill gesture. There were hopes that the new government of India would pursue peaceful negotiations with Pakistan. On the contrary, soon after, the scheduled foreign minister talk was called off by India. The Pakistan High Commissioner's meeting with Kashmir Hurriyat leaders in New Delhi was the India's alibi to cancel the meeting. There has been a series of openings of relations between the two nuclear-armed rivals throughout 2015. The openings included the meeting at the sideline of a conference in Paris and the surprise visit of Narendra Modi to Lahore to meet the prime minister of Pakistan. After more than a decade, it was the first visit of an Indian leader. However, the relations deteriorated when India accused Pakistan of the Pathankot airbase incident in January 2016, consequently led to the annulment of the dialogue between the rivals.[84] In September 2016, the Uri military base was attacked near the Line of Control on the Indian side claimed several deaths of the Indian military personnel. India reacted by conducting surgical strikes near the Line of Control on the Pakistan side.[85] The military standoff

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[84] Ankit Panda, "Post-Pathankot Attack, Pakistani Investigative Team Arrives in India", March 2016. https://thediplomat.com/2016/03/post-pathankot-attack-pakistani-investigative-team-arrives-in-india/. Last accessed 09 September 2022.
[85] Arka Biswas, "Surgical Strikes and Deterrence-Stability in South Asia", *Observer Research Foundation*, June, 2017. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/317401391_Surgical_Strikes_and_Deterrence-Stability_in_South_Asia. Last accessed 09 September 2022.

sabotaged the resumption of the bilateral talks. The attacks on the Indian paramilitary camp near Srinagar in October 2017 and on the Indian military base in Jammu in February 2018, resulted in hundreds of fatalities and casualties of military personnel and civilians. Anti-India demonstrations started in Kashmir, and eventually there, in May 2018, India and Pakistan agreed on ceasefire along the disputed Kashmir border.[86] The bilateral relations were spoiled when on 05 August 2019, Narendra Modi announced the abrogation of articles 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution and illegally annexed the state of Jammu and Kashmir to India. These articles provided a special and autonomous status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The revocation of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir exacerbated the tense relation between India and Pakistan. Both nuclear-armed states were at the brink of nuclear confrontation and a state of anxiety and insecurity prevailed throughout in South Asia particularly and in the world generally. The above illustration was an overview of Hindutva influence over the India and Pakistan relations during Narendra Modi. The growing influence of the Hindutva doctrine over the Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan will be discussed in detail in the next section of the study.

4.2.2 Hindutva and the rise of Narendra Modi

Since 2014, the advent of Narendra Modi into the power corridor increased insecurity in the Indian Muslims community. The doctrine of Hindutva, a guide to Indian domestic and foreign policy projects an aggressive policy posture. The shift in the domestic sphere in India hit the socio-political fabric of Indian society. The Indian diversity and

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[86] Pranav Asoori, "A Look into the Conflict Between India and Pakistan over Kashmir". October 2020. https://www.e-ir.info/2020/10/07/a-look-into-the-conflict-between-india-and-pakistan-over-kashmir/. Last accessed 10 September 2022.

multicultural identity gradually transformed into Hindu nationalism and cultural identity. The rift between Hindus and non-Hindus widened in the wake of growing domination of the RSS in the socio-political spheres. Communal violence and ethno-nationalism have been at the top of the priority list of the Hindu nationalist agenda. The mutual relationship between Hindutva and Narendra Modi has been resonating with the socio-political spheres in India. Since in power, Modi has been trying to mainstream the Hindutva ideology in the political sphere in India. The pursuit of the Hindutva agenda like implementing of uniform civil code, abrogation of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir and constructing Ram Temple by demolishing the Babri Mosque. Furthermore, the regional hegemonic aspiration of Modi's regime by making military agreements with global powers. Such initiatives reflect the Savarkar's imprints in the Indian security policy under Modi's rule. The concept of material and muscular strength has led Modi's regime to enter into military agreements with global powers like the USA, Russia, Israel, Australia, and Japan. Such agreements make the regional security vulnerable. The military deals of India with global powers would create power asymmetry with Pakistan at the conventional level. The imbalance would perturb the peace and stability in South Asia. The revisiting of nuclear policy under Modi's administration would be aggravated the strategic stability in the region and affect Pakistan's sovereignty. The policy of military modernization and reviving nuclear doctrine, lead to a nuclear confrontation between India and Pakistan. The shift in India under Modi is irretrievably alarming because it creates a dynamic which would be threatened all the regional state particularly Pakistan, the arch enemy of India.

4.2.3 The Kashmir Dispute

The state of Jammu and Kashmir is the most contested and disputed region in the world. The decolonization of the two states, India and Pakistan, followed the partition of the sub-continent in 1947, the status of Jammu and Kashmir remained disputed. For many centuries, Jammu and Kashmir is a Muslim majority state and according to the partition plan it had to be acceded to Pakistan.[87] The British partition plan of the subcontinent into Muslim and non-Muslim regions demanded the Kashmir should be joined with Pakistan. However, the Maharaja acceded Kashmir to India. Pakistan disagreed with the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India.[88] It has been a national security issue for both states. It has been a highly militarized zone and a flashpoint between two nuclear-armed rivals. The Kashmir dispute had been the central point of three wars of 1947, 1965 and 1999, battled between India and Pakistan, prompting the United Nations Security Resolutions that demand the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir. It isa matter of fact that the Kashmir dispute has been the influential factor framing the foreign policies of the nuclear-armed rivals in South Asia.

The accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir led to the uprising by the Kashmiris against the Maharaja, Hari Singh. He received military assistance from India when the tribal non-state actors reached to support the Kashmiris. Consequently, the involvement of military troops from both counties resulted in the escalation of war between India and Pakistan in 1947. Through United Nations brokering armistice was signed on 01

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[87] Ijaz Hussain, Kashmir Dispute: An International Law Perspective (Islamabad: Quaid-i Azam Chair, National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i- Azam University, Islamabad, 1998)
[88] Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990* (Karachi: Oxford University Press 2017). pp. 2-3.

January 1949. A ceasefire line eventually marked the Western part known as Azad Kashmir, and Northern region as Gilgit-Baltistan administered by Pakistan and the state of Jammu and Kashmir came under Indian control.

In 1952, Kashmir was given a special status by introducing Article 370 in the Indian Constitution and exempted the region from the provision of Indian Constitution and restricted the Indian power in the realm of communication, defense, and foreign affairs. In 1954, Article 35A was introduced through a Presidential order which provided special rights and privileges to the people of Kashmir. It also provided discretionary power to the state of Jammu and Kashmir to define the permanent resident of the state. Over the years, in 1965 the prevailing turbulence in the region consequently, broke a second war over the status of Jammu and Kashmir between India and Pakistan. The status of the ceasefire line was maintained, and no major development was made by either party to the war. However, during 1971 war between India and Pakistan, some territory of the Kashmir region was seized by India. The Simla Agreement was signed on July 02, 1972, between the warring states. The agreement prescribed that both countries would settle their disputes through a peaceful and bilateral negotiations or other peaceful means and restricted party from unilaterally altering the situation. In addition, the principles of the United Nations shall govern the relations between them. Furthermore, the ceasefire line became the Line of Control – a de facto border between the two countries over the Kashmir region.[89] A series of the transborder terrorism and skirmishes between the two neighbors aggravated the tense

[89] Prabhash K Ditta, "Kashmir: How the Line of Control has Changed in 70 years", August 9,2019. https://www.indiatoday.in/news-analysis/story/kashmir-how-line-of-control-has-changed-in-70-years-1579118-2019-08-09. Last accessed 10 September 2022.

situation. The Kargil conflict in 1999 was erupted over Kashmir issue in the aftermath of tension existed since 1998. Both states had maintained a fragile cease-fire since 2003. There has been exchange of firing across the border from both sides. However, when Narendra Modi acceded the Indian premier office, it escalated violence and atrocity by scrapping the special status of Kashmir in the disguise of development and prosperity of the Indian nation.

4.2.4. Hindutva doctrine and Kashmir Dispute

The mutual relationship between Hindus and Muslim in India has been marked by communal violence. Muslims have been marginalized in every sphere of life in India. The anti-Muslims rhetoric by the Hindu nationalists led to the polarization in India. The state of Jammu and Kashmir manifested a meaningful example of the Hindu-Muslim riots. The violence intensified when BJP, Hindu nationalist party following the Hindutva doctrine to pursue under the premiership of Narendra Modi in 2014. The growing influence of the Hindutva ideology in the Indian politics shrinking space for the Indian Muslim community since Narendra Modi assumed the premier office of India. The BJP manifesto for the 2019 elections incorporated the Hindutva agenda regarding the deletion of Article 370 provided a special status to Kashmir in Indian Union. Modi's regime devised Indian foreign policies based on the principles of Hindutva doctrine. BJP has expressed aggressive views on the Kashmir issue. Moreover, the nature of the Kashmir issue has two dimensions for India. one is the domestic perspective traced back to the historical legacy of the Hindu-Muslim riots inspired by the Hindutva ideology and on the external front it has linked with the antagonism between India and Pakistan. The muscular stance of the BJP government towards Pakistan has associated with leadership quality of Narendra Modi borrowed from

the Hindutva ideology. It declared that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and added that Pakistan has sponsoring terrorism in Kashmir which is a blatant interference in the internal affairs of India.

On August 05, 2019, Modi's administration announced the revocation of the articles 370 and 35A from the Indian constitution which provided a special and autonomous status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Consequently, Jammu and Kashmir was annexed to India.[90] It was the key portion of Hindutva agenda since decades to integrate Jammu and Kashmir into Indian union. The RSS aspiration of the notion of Akand Bharat which emphasized on the unification of India including Pakistan, Bangladesh, Kashmir, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Bhutan. The move was considered as a glory of Hindu nationalism by Sangh Parivar and an initiative to purse the Hindutva agenda. It was a Hindu nationalists' project which was in pipeline since 1954 and was completed by advent of Hindutva in the Indian polity. Apparently, Modi's regime stated that the special status of Jammu and Kashmir is a hindrance in the integration of the state to India and has halted the development and prosperity of India. However, it manifests the Hindutva agenda of Hindus settlement in the state to alter the demography by increasing Hindu population. The environment in Jammu and Kashmir has been marked by curfew, violence, atrocities, and Human rights abuses since the partition of the subcontinent. After the abrogation of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir, the turmoil intensified by deployment of thousands of Indian troops in a densely militarized zone. The people of Kashmir have been under perpetual curfew and

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[90] Jeffrey Gettleman, "India Revokes Kashmir's Special Status, Raising Fears of Unrest", *The New York Times.* (New Delhi, India), August 05, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/05/world/asia/india-pakistan-kashmir-jammu.html. Last accessed 10, September 2022.

suppression, and their basic human rights has been infringed by the Indian troops. It has been reported that the people in Kashmir have suffering from mental health issue amid the deprivation of internet facilities and other channels of communication to connect with the rest of the world.[91]

Furthermore, the United Nations Security Council has passed several resolutions on Kashmir disputes and call for free and fair plebiscite in Kashmir to determine the future of Kashmiri people. The Article 1, of the United Nations Charter protects the right of self-determination of people and seeks international peace and security and the article I of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights also speaks for the right to self-determination. India is party to the international covenants. However, the Modi's government boldly violating the United Nations Security council resolutions and suppressing their legitimate rights of self-determination by torturing, killing, and abusing the oppressed people of Kashmir. The Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Act 2019 passed by the Modi's government following the scraping of Article 35A of the Indian Constitution derives the intention for the demographic changes through settlement of the non-Kashmiri in Kashmir.[92] Under the new domicile law, the Indian Hindus have granted new domiciles of Kashmir. The Hindu settlement in Kashmir is the strategy of Hindu nationalists to concert Muslims majority into minority to facilitate the future plebiscite on the Hindutva agenda. It will discredit the voices of Kashmiri for their right of self-

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[91] Sameer Yasir and Atul Loke, "Kashmir, Under Siege and Lockdown, Faces a Mental Health Crisis. *The New York Times.* 26 April 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/26/world/asia/kasmir-india-mental-health-coronavirus.html. Last accessed 10 September 2022.

[92] 'Article 370: What Happened with Kashmir and Why It Matters'. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-49234708. Last accessed 11 September 2022.

determination. Moreover, the Indian uniliteral move to alter the status of Jammu and Kashmir is the radiant example of violation of United Nations Security Council resolutions and Simla agreement that demands the settlement of disputes through peaceful negotiation through the consent of both states.

Pakistan strongly condemned and rejected the scrapping of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir and internationalized the India's aggressive picture across the globe. Pakistan raised the issue on various international fora to expose Modi's belligerent quest and violations of United National Security Council resolutions on Kashmir and Human Rights abuses. Pakistan endeavored to internationalize the Kashmir issue in the United Nations general assembly to reveal the Modi's atrocity and resolve the dispute as per United Nations Security Council resolution.[93] However, Modi bluntly responded it that raising the Kashmir issue in United Nations will not resolve it. Pakistan released an update political map of the country to identify the State of Jammu and Kashmir including Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan. Pakistan emphasizes the solution to Kashmir dispute as per the United Nations Security resolutions and per aspiration of the people of Kashmir. The updated Pakistan's map reflects that Pakistan respects and validates the United Nations Security Resolutions. The stance of Pakistan's government revealed the disputed status of Kashmir and unveiled Indian violation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions on Kashmir issue.[94]Pakistan's government reiterated that we cannot normalize our

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[93]Kamran Yousaf, "Pakistan takes India's IIOJK move to UNSC". https://tribune.com.pk/story/2305665/pakistan-takes-indias-iiojk-move-to-unsc. Last accessed 12 September 2022.
[94] On UN Day, PM Imran calls for implementation of Security Council resolutions on Kashmir', *Daily Dawn*.https://www.dawn.com/news/1586781/on-un-day-pm-imran-calls-for-implementation-of-security-council-resolutions-on-kashmir. Last accessed 12 September 2022.

relationship with India unless Indian retracts its unliteral act of revocation of the Kashmir special status. The lack of normal and stable relations between India and Pakistan is due to the unresolved Kashmir issue which is fueling by the growing influence of Hindutva in the Indian polity. Pakistan assertion to go to any length to support Kashmiri seems the alarming because both are arch enemies laced with nuclear weapons. The nuclear confrontation will pose severe security threat to regional peace and security that would be transcended across the globe.

4.2.5. Transborder terrorism and Insurgency

Terrorism and insurgency can be considered the most dominant factor in the relationship between India and Pakistan having domestic and international ramifications for the two rivals. It has adversely derailed the bilateral negotiation between the two states. Terrorist activities across the border have challenged the foreign policies of both countries to resume the peace process. India's hegemonic aspiration to destabilize Pakistan, deeply rooted in the Hindutva ideology fueled the mistrust and animosity between the two neighbors. The growing influence of RSS in Modi's decision making creates a security dilemma for India and Pakistan with regional and global ramifications. The security issue between the two rivals resulted in border skirmishes claiming the lives of innocent citizens across the border. The RSS dream for the notion of greater India presented by Hindu revivalists in the past, reinforces to destabilize Pakistan. Hindu nationalist perceived Pakistan as a great challenge to raise India as regional hegemon.[95] They asserted that destabilization could be a useful tool to transform our dream into reality. The arrest and

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[95]Ian Hall and Sumit Ganguly, "Introduction: Narendra Modi and India's Foreign Policy", *International Politics,* 59 (October 2021), pp. 1-8.

detainment of an Indian spy, Kulbhushan Jadhav, in Baluchistan, a province of Pakistan, and his confession of involvement in terrorist activities in Pakistan is the radiant example of India's interference to destabilize its rival.[96] Indian interference in Pakistan followed by bellicose demonstration fuel uncertainty and distrust between the two countries. Modi's administration has adopted a policy of zero-tolerance on terrorism and blamed Pakistan for supporting and funding terrorist outfits in Kashmir. Modi has constantly revealed that militants from Afghanistan penetrated Kashmir using Pakistan's soil.[97] The Indian surgical strikes in 2019 following the Pulwama attack intensified the strained relations between India and Pakistan. Moreover, with the constant violation of the Line of Control and working boundary, Indian army incites the armed conflict between the two rival states. The Indian military posture pushes the region into a security dilemma. The tensions across the border have sabotaged any planned progress between them. The dialogue and peaceful negotiations will be unproductive if the border skirmishes and friction exist between the states.

4.2.6. Modi and Indian military modernization

India's hegemonic aspiration, coupled with the dominant role of Hindutva doctrine in the Indian foreign policy towards the regional state implicate the South Asian security dynamics. South Asia is home to two nuclear power, India, and Pakistan, having a history of strained relations since the partition of the Subcontinent. The trial of a nuclear standoff

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[96] Transcription of RAW agent Kulbhushan's confessional statement, *Dawn,* March 30,2016. https://www.dawn.com/news/1248786. Last accessed 11 September 2022.
[97]Anjana Pasricha "India's PM Says Pakistan's Support of Terror Is Destabilizing Asia" *VOA*. September 24,2016.https://www.voanews.com/a/indian-prime-minister-says-pakistan-support-terror-destabilizing-asia/3523638.html. Last accessed 11 September 2022.

in 1999 and the growing military power of India amid the rise of Narendra Modi into the power corridor complicate the bilateral relations between the two nuclear-armed neighbors.[98] It is evident from Modi's statements that he has a tough stance on dealing with Pakistan contrary to his predecessors who had a soft stance.[99] The Indian Military modernization and its international military agreement with United States of America, Russia, Australia, Israel, and Japan revealed the manifestation of Hindutva ideology presented by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. Modi's policy of military modernization can be considered as the reinforcement of Savarkar's concept to make India a military power.[100] The RSS worldview guides Indian military modernization to project India as a regional power with massive military power. The Indian military commitments fueled instability and insecurity in South Asia. India's increasing military power has intensified Pakistan's susceptibility to India's attack on its sovereignty. India military modernization policy threatens Pakistan's conventional deterrence. In response, Pakistan resorts to acquire tactical nuclear weapons, new nuclear weapons with low-yield warheads to counter Indian military upgradation. India's acquisition of military capabilities through international agreements creates conventional military disparity that leads to reduce strategic stability in South Asia.[101] The growing arms race between the two rivals would result in lowering the

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[98] Harsh V. Pant and Kriti M. Shah, "South Asia's Changing Geopolitical Landscape", *Observer Research Foundation.* January 18,201. https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/south-asias-changing-geopolitical-landscape-47458/. Last accessed 11September 2022.

[99] Hasan Suroor, 'How Modi's Hardline on Pakistan Unravelled'. *The Express Tribune.* https://tribune.com.pk/story/1020354/how-modis-hard-line-on-pakistan-unravelled. Last accessed 11 September 2022.

[100] Mangesh Joshi, 'Savarkar's Hindu Militarization Drive: Myths and Facts'. February 11,2020. https://indiafacts.org/savarkars-hindu-militarisation-drive-myths-and-facts/. Last accessed 11 September 2022.

[101]Walter C. Ladwig III, "Indian Military Modernization and Conventional Deterrence in South Asia", *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, 38:5 (2015), pp. 729-772. http://www.walterladwig.com/Articles/Conventional%20Deterrence%20in%20South%20Asia.

nuclear threshold. Moreover, the Indian increasing military expenditure will sabotage Pakistan's conventional deterrence. Consequently, Pakistan will rely on nuclear weapons. *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute,* a well-reputed institute on military and defence analysis, has ranked India as the world's largest arms importer.[102] It is evident that India has exponentially increased its defence expenditure to enhance its military capability since Modi acceded to power. Thus, it could be argued that the Hindu nationalists' worldview has a dominant role to reshape the political and security foreign policy as per the guidance and conceptualization of the Hindutva ideologues in the past.[103]

4.2.7. India's revisited nuclear policy under Modi's regime

The ambition of India to transform it nuclear doctrine from No First Use to First Use seems quite alarming. The statement of Indian Defense minister, Rajnath Singh revealed that India has pledged to its No first Use nuclear policy, but it may be changed depending on circumstances in future.[104] It will create a sense of ambiguity in the national security doctrine of both nuclear powers. The alarming statement by Indian Defence minister amid the Kashmir crisis reflects the Indian belligerent quest in the region. Moreover, the shift from 'No First Use' to 'First Use' policy owing to external security dynamics will have far reaching implication on the strained relations between the two

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[102]Pieter D. Wezeman, Alexandra, and Semon, "Trends in International Arms Transfers", *SIPRI Fact Sheet,* March 2022. https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2022-03/fs_2203_at_2021.pdf.

[103] 'Sehar Kamran, "India's Defense Modernization and Strategic Stability in South Asia", *Hilal,* June 15, 2020. https://www.hilal.gov.pk/eng-article/detail/MzczNg==.html. Last accessed 12 September 2022.

[104] "No first Use Nuclear Policy may Change in Future", says Rajnath Singh on India's Defence Strategy, *India Today*, August 16, 2019. https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/india-no-first-use-nuclear-policy-may-change-rajnath-singh-1581403-2019-08-16. Last accessed 14 September 2022.

nuclear powers.[105] The India's National Command Authority, NCA, the institute to authorize the Indian nuclear weapon, has under the chairmanship of Narendra Modi. The control of nuclear authority by a Hindu nationalist and a hard liner of Hindutva threatens the regional strategic stability. The important aspect to ponder is the nuclear threats by Modi to call Pakistan's nuclear buff and warned that he would be reluctant to use the nuclear weapon referring to unfavorable circumstance.[106] The India's intention to first-strike option will push both neighbors into nuclear confrontation. Keeping in view that India has declared nuclear weapons and No First Use policy as political tool for deterrence and symbolize India's nuclear morality. However, the assertions of the governmental high officials show their intention to shift the moral narrative of No First Use nuclear policy into realistic First Use policy. It is difficult to confirm whether the statement about nuclear policy reflects their own intentions or internal policy outlook.[107] As Vipin Narang, political scientist analyzed that India's preemptive strike would be the preemptive nuclear use. That is why India will be the first one to launch nuclear weapons in South Asia if Pakistan crosses the nuclear threshold. Furthermore, the 'Nuclear Compellence Strategy'[108] pursued by Modi's regime against Pakistan aimed to persuade the rival state to carry the favorable action by using the nuclear threats. The Indian surgical strike was the tactic used to provoke

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[105]Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, "India's Nuclear Weapons in the Control of Hindu Supremacist", *Hilal Publications,* April 2020. https://www.hilal.gov.pk/eng-article/detail/MzY1NQ==.html. Last accessed 13 September 2022,

[106] Huma Yusuf, "Modi's threat", *Dawn,* May 06, 2019. https://www.dawn.com/news/1480580/modis-threat. Last accessed 14 September 2022.

[107] Sitakanta Mishra, "Revision of India's Nuclear Doctrine", *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs* (WINTER 2019), Last accessed 14 September 2022.

[108] Nicholas D. Anderson, Alexandre Debs, and Nuno P. Monteiro, "General Nuclear Compellence: The State, Allies, and Adversaries", *Strategic Studies Quarterly*. FALL 2019. https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/SSQ/documents/Volume-13_Issue-3/Monteiro.pdf.Last accessed 14 September 2022.

Pakistan to retaliate that could lead to nuclear confrontation. However, Pakistan reiterated that the nuclear war will be a catastrophic for the region. Imran Khan the, then prime minister of Pakistan asserted that the world must seriously consider the safety and security of India's nuclear arsenal in the control of the fascist, and Hindu nationalist government. Furthermore, the revision of Indian nuclear strategy will have long lasting repercussions on the strategic stability in South Asia. The opaque nuclear strategy of Pakistan and Indian aggressive posture will cause both states to escalate nuclear war.[109] The Hindutva driven Indian hegemonic aspiration followed the strategy of nuclear compellence has severe implications on the strategic stability of South Asia. In a tense nuclearized environment, the strategy of nuclear compellence will create a favorable condition for a nuclear war between the India and Pakistan.

Conclusion

The rise of Narendra Modi revealed the acceptability of the Hindutva agenda in the Indian body politic. The relationship between India and Pakistan considers an essential subject in the Indian foreign policy discourse. The tense bilateral relationship between the two rivals has hindered the solutions to their disputes. The BJP government under Narendra Modi devised a new foreign policy approach to its neighborhood. The foreign policy of Modi's regime seems unique, unlike the previous Indian governments. Modi aimed to utilize his foreign policy toward neighboring countries to increase domestic economic growth and attract foreign direct investment. However, the tense political and military standoffs between India and Pakistan undermined India's regional aspiration for

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[109] Mishra, 'Revision of India's Nuclear Doctrine' *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs,* (Winter 2019), p.101.

cooperation and stability. The Kashmir issue is an important factor defining the nature relationship between India and Pakistan. Both states have been claiming the region since the partition. However, Modi's administration announced the revocation of articles 370 and 35A from the Indian constitution, which provided a special and autonomous status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It was the manifestation of Hindutva's domination of Indian politics.

Consequently, the state of Jammu and Kashmir was annexed to India. For decades, it was the key portion of the Hindutva agenda to integrate Jammu and Kashmir into the Indian union. The Indian unilateral move to alter the status of Jammu and Kashmir is a radiant example of the violation of United Nations Security Council resolutions and the Shimla agreement that demands the settlement of disputes through peaceful negotiation through the consent of both states. Pakistan strongly condemned and rejected the scrapping of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir and internationalized India's aggressive picture across the globe. The security issue between the two rivals resulted in border skirmishes claiming the lives of innocent citizens across the border. Hindu revivalists presented the dream of "Greater India" to destabilize Pakistan. Hindu nationalists perceived Pakistan as a significant challenge to raise India as a regional hegemon. Modi's policy of military modernization can be considered as the reinforcement of Savarkar's concept to make India a military power. The Indian military commitments and growing asymmetry between India and Pakistan fueled instability and insecurity in South Asia. The control of nuclear authority by Narendra Modi, a Hindu nationalist and a hardliner of Hindutva, threatens the regional strategic stability. The shift from 'No First Use' to 'First Use' policy owing to external security dynamics has a far-reaching implication on the strained relations between

the two nuclear. The Indian surgical strike provoked Pakistan to retaliate, which could lead to a nuclear confrontation. However, Pakistan reiterated that the nuclear war would be catastrophic for the region. The Hindutva-driven Indian hegemonic aspiration, followed by the revisiting of nuclear doctrine and military modernization, has severe implications for the strategic stability of South Asia. It can be argued that the doctrine of Hindutva has a dominant role in reshaping the political and security foreign policy as per the guidance and conceptualization of the Hindutva ideologues in the past.

CHAPTER 05

CONCLUSIONS

The historical antagonism between India and Pakistan intensified since Narendra Modi, a Hindu nationalist and proponent of Hindutva, became the prime Minster of India. The increasing influence of the Hindutva doctrine has implicated the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. This study aimed to conclude the research's purpose and objectives. The foremost objective of this research focused on the historical development of Hindutva doctrine and its political evolution in the Indian polity. It includes the events and factors that shaped the environment for Hindutva to flourish. The emergence of Hindutva and the role of RSS in India's domestic and foreign policy framework. The shift in India's political discourse consequently influences its relations with regional states and global powers. The tense political relations between two nuclear-armed countries, India, and Pakistan, in South Asia, created uncertainty in the region. However, the advent of Narendra Modi into India's power corridor adversely affected both India's domestic and foreign policy. The newly adopted foreign policy preferences by Modi's government have unleashed political discontent and security dilemma in the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. The adaptation of discriminative policy against minorities, especially Indian Muslims, and increasing communal violence reflects the dominant role of Hindutva doctrine coupled with the rise of the RSS domination in the decision-making process of Modi's regime.

The political development of Hindutva in the body politics of India has been explained in the research work. The conception of Hindutva proposed by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar laid the foundation of Hindu Rashtriya. The teachings of Savarkar greatly influence the Hindus across India. The formation of the RSS strengthened the process of Hindu consolidation by focusing on the Hindu culture. They emphasized the unity among different Hindu castes and used to show respect towards Hindu symbols. They joined and initiated different movements across the country. They tried to influence the people to accept the Hindutva ideology to tackle future challenges when the British left. However, the assassination of Gandhi in 1948 and the RSS's experiences in detention and imposition of the ban on the RSS activities led to the need for political representation to avoid any favorable circumstances in future. The emergence of Bharatiya Jana Sangh gave political support to Hindu nationalism, and in some parts of India, Hindu representation was manifested through the electoral policies of the BJS. However, the Hindutva agenda was not enforced due to the existing political context where BJS was in opposition. The close association of BJS and other parties in the JP movement further increase their bonds. Eventually, BJS Socialist Party, Bharatiya Lok Dal, and Congress(O) merged and formed Janata Party. It was considered the possible opposition unity to combat Indian National Congress in the upcoming general elections.

The Janata Party received a huge mandate and badly defeated the India National Congress. However, on many occasions, the party leadership show flexibility to compromise on its ideological stance to emerge as a mainstream party in the body politics of India. The coalition parties only had a legitimate approach to the BJS agenda in a time of necessity. On the other hand, the Janata Party took a divergent position in dealing with

BJS. The dual membership controversy and the hostile approach of the Janata Party led the BJS and its devoted workers to take an alternative position for their ideology. Eventually, the BJS was moulded in the shape of the new party, the Bharatiya Janata Party. It was a Hindu nationalist party. The newly formed party announced that it was the continuation of the Janata tradition, which was popular among the public. It perceived the policy to sustain the party as mainstream in the pollical environment of India. The BJP aimed to broaden its vote bank in the political sphere of India. It tried to attract people from other sections of society who were not supporters of the BJP, like government servants, minorities, and all others from major portions of India. BJP instrumentalized Hindu nationalism for mass mobilization to gain power. However, there was dissent among the BJP leadership to interpret the policy of mass mobilization to achieve its goals.   The electoral strategy of the BJP effectively led it into power, and as a result, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, a Hindu nationalist ideologue, became the prime minister of India. The primary aim of Vajpayee's regime was to transform the composite and secular political structure through the guiding principles of Hindutva. It was a challenging project because the BJP was not in a strong position to reorient the constitutional structure. It was in coalition with other political parties based on political expediency. The Sangh Parivar asserted to implement their Hindu nationalist agenda based on the notion of Hindutva. They were anxious that the policy of political expediency would undermine their Hindu nationalist agenda, like the implementation of a uniform civil code, abrogation of article 370 about the status of Jammu and Kashmir and the construction of the Ram temple. However, the results of the 2004 election to Lok Sabha were astonishing. Congress led alliance UPA secured 219 seats in Lok Sabha while BJP led NDA managed 185 seats in the Indian parliament.

In 2014, the rise of Narendra Modi to power encouraged the Sangh Parivar to implement the Hindutva agenda. The BJP government under Narendra Modi devised a new foreign policy approach to its neighborhood. The foreign policy of Modi's regime seems unique, unlike the previous Indian governments. Modi aimed to utilize his foreign policy towards its neighboring countries to increase domestic economic growth and attract foreign direct investment. However, the tense political and military standoffs between India and Pakistan undermined India's regional aspiration for cooperation and stability. There has been a significant shift in Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan since Modi became the premier of India.

Modi's regime devised Indian foreign policies based on the principles of the Hindutva doctrine. BJP has expressed aggressive views on the Kashmir issue. The muscular stance of the BJP government towards Pakistan has been associated with the leadership quality of Narendra Modi, borrowed from the Hindutva ideology. On August 05, 2019, Modi's administration announced the revocation of articles 370 and 35A from the Indian constitution, which provided a special and autonomous status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Consequently, Jammu and Kashmir was annexed to India. For decades, it was the key portion of the Hindutva agenda to integrate Jammu and Kashmir into the Indian union. The RSS aspiration of the notion of Akand Bharat.

The growing influence of RSS in Modi's decision-making creates a security dilemma for India and Pakistan with regional and global ramifications. The security issue between the two rivals resulted in border skirmishes claiming the lives of innocent citizens across the border. The RSS dream for the notion of greater India presented by Hindu revivalists in the

past reinforces destabilized Pakistan. Hindu nationalists perceived Pakistan as a great challenge to raise India as a regional hegemon. The arrest and detainment of an Indian spy, Kulbhushan Jadhav, in Baluchistan, a province of Pakistan, and his confession of involvement in terrorist activities in Pakistan is the radiant example of India's interference to destabilize its rival. Indian interference in Pakistan, followed by a bellicose demonstration, fueled uncertainty and distrust between the two countries.

The Indian Military modernization and its international military agreement with the United States of America, Russia, Australia, Israel, and Japan revealed the Hindutva ideology presented by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. Modi's policy of military modernization can be considered as the reinforcement of Savarkar's concept to make India a military power. The RSS worldview guides Indian military modernization to project India as a regional power with massive military power. The Indian military commitments and growing asymmetry between India and Pakistan fueled instability and insecurity in South Asia.

India's National Command Authority, NCA, the institute to authorize the Indian nuclear weapon, has under the chairmanship of Narendra Modi. The control of nuclear authority by a Hindu nationalist and a hardliner of Hindutva threatens regional strategic stability. The critical aspect to ponder is the nuclear threats by Modi to call Pakistan's nuclear bluff and warned that he would be reluctant to use the nuclear weapon referring to unfavorable circumstances. India has declared nuclear weapons and the No First Use policy as a political tool for deterrence, symbolising India's nuclear morality. However, the assertions of the high governmental officials show their intention to shift the moral

narrative of the No First Use nuclear policy into a realistic First Use policy. It is difficult to confirm whether the statement about nuclear policy reflects their intentions or internal policy outlook. Furthermore, the 'Nuclear Compellence Strategy' pursued by Modi's regime against Pakistan aimed to persuade the rival state to carry the favorable action by using nuclear threats. The Hindutva-driven Indian hegemonic aspiration followed the strategy of nuclear compellence has severe implications on the strategic stability of South Asia.

Findings of the Research

Following are the main findings of this research**.**

1. This study revealed that the Hindutva doctrine has been evolved and developed over the period in the political sphere in India.

2. It also found that Hindutva doctrine has an influential role in the foreign policy formation of India.

3. It found that the Hindutva has impacted the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan since Modi became the prime minister of India.

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