

**The Rise of Hindutva Ideology in Indian Politics and its
implications on Pakistan – India Relationship**



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Dedicated

to

This research is dedicated to my beloved Parents and Teachers.

DRSML QAU

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INTRODUCTION

The domestic factors have a bigger influence on the country's foreign policy since both areas are interconnected. ¹In this context, the political structure and function of political parties, the state's economy, public opinion, the role of the media, the leadership role, and the military power are all crucial. The relationship between India and Pakistan is a major pillar of Indian foreign policy. Not only has the government of both nations paid close attention to bilateral ties, but also scholars, journalists, and strategists. It is also of interest and concern to the populace of both nations (Sanjeev, 2007).

India is the world's biggest democratic nation with the greatest Hindu population. It is noted for its secular character and religious plurality, multi-culturalism, multilingualism, and ethnic diversity (Ansari, 2016). According to its fundamental legislation, India openly acknowledges its faiths.

For example, section 123 (3A) of the Representation Act of 1951 prohibits election-related activities that promote feelings of hate or hatred amongst various classes of Indian citizens for religious grounds alone. In addition, depending on ethnicity, caste, community, or even language. In contemporary India, the cornerstones of such secularism are being eradicated without directly opposing any secularism-supporting constitutional provisions (Jaffrelot, 2017).

As a representation of the Hindutva philosophy, the BJP has long been viewed as a communal party whose goal is to eliminate the secular character of the Indian state, in which Hindus, Muslims, and other minorities cohabit (Muhammad, 2014). The growth of intolerance against minorities, notably Muslims, under the BJP's administration has not only raised worries about the BJP's ideological framework, but also called into question the secular orientation of the Indian state and society (Khurshid. 2016). According to the BJP, Pakistan is India's most significant neighbours., with whom ties are of tremendous strategic importance. For India's foreign policy to be successful, it must be able to defend Indian national interests in any negotiations with Pakistan. (Iqbal. 2019).

¹Ali, N. (2011). -General Musharraf's four-point formula can provide an effective roadmap in Kashmir".

The idea is that the Hindutva-inspired BJP has a harsher stance against Muslims. Indian aspirations to become a big regional and worldwide force are further shown by India's continuous animosity against Pakistan, as well as a more aggressive and declining tone. As anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistani emotions are the basis of Hindutva ideology. During the BJP-led coalition administration, the BJP participated in the demolition of the Babri Mosque in 1992 and the nuclear testing of Pokhran II in 1998. This also demonstrates the amount of aggression and capacity to annihilate imagined opponents both within and internationally (Vanaik, 2002). The ascent of the BJP not only affects domestic policy, but also foreign policy, since it has placed India on a perilous road (Kinnvall, 2019).

In 2014, after a successful campaign led by the controversial politician Narendra Modi, ²Hindu nationalism has grown increasingly prevalent in Indian politics for political reasons. As a result, the BJP gained control over around 70 percent of the state's population at the state level. Previously, in 1999, the National Democratic Alliance, headed by the BJP, created its first coalition administration (Anderson, 2015). The National Democratic Alliance, headed by the BJP, consisted mostly of regional and national parties (Gupta, 2004). To develop a narrative that encourages Hindu fear of Muslims, Narendra Modi advanced his campaign by addressing recurrent themes of Muslim danger to Hindus.

Therefore, Hindutva ideology has become synonymous with Indian nationalism (Leydig, 2020). India is transitioning from a secular country to a Hindu state. It likely demonstrates its seeming dependence on Sangh Parivar. Some citizens in India are more equal than others, according with George Orwell's theory. Some Hindutva activists have characterized the Indian Muslim minority as a fifth column for Pakistan (Jaffrelot, 2017).

Objectives:

This research seeks to comprehend the relevance of Sangh Parivar in establishing a connection between Hindutva and anti-Pakistan prejudice in India.

²Barlow, M. (2009). Blue covenant: The global water crisis and the coming battle for the right to water. McClelland & Stewart.

- To highlight the BJP's position in Indian politics under the administrations of Narendra Modi and Atal Bihari Vajpai in the context of bilateral relations between the two nations.
- To comprehend India and Pakistan ties under the administration of Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

Statement of Problem:

In contrast to the previous BJP administration headed by Atal Bihari Vajpai, Narendra Modi has strived to highlight the foreign policy's uniqueness. The objective of Narendra Modi's election victory is to position himself as the one political force capable of bolstering Indian national interests, security, and grandeur. Notable is the fact that Narendra Modi was chosen as India's prime minister in 2014, having previously been the longtime chief minister of Gujrat, infamous for his involvement in the Gujrat massacre. ³Since Hindutva ideology is founded on anti-Pakistan emotions, it further complicates the regional political landscape. As the emergence of Hindutva ideology in India with the election of Narendra Modi has not only altered India's domestic affairs, but it has also affected India's foreign policy against Pakistan. In this backdrop, the topic of the paper analyses how Hindutva ideology affected Narendra Modi's BJP administration and its effect on Pakistan foreign policy. Consequently, it seeks to showcase the Atal Bihari Vajpai-led NDA government in contrast to the Narendra Modi administration.

Research Questions:

Using a comparative analysis of the governments of Atal Bihari Vajpaye and Narendra Modi in India, the primary research topic is to examine the influence of the emergence of Hindutva in Indian politics and its effect on India-Pakistan relations.

Supplementary Questions:

1. How does the anti-Muslim attitude of Hindutva's Sangh Parivar relate to Pakistan?
2. What type of ties existed between India and Pakistan during the BJP's tenure in India under Atal Bihari Vajpai as prime minister?

³Buzan, B., & Weaver, O. (2003). Regions and Powers, The Structure of International Security. United States: Press of Cambridge.

3. How and why is the period of Narendra Modi different from that of Atal Bihari Vajpayee?
4. How has Prime Minister Narendra Modi impacted ties between India and Pakistan?

Literature Review:

There is an abundance of scholarship on Hindutva and Hindu nationalism. However, there is a need for study on the influence of Hindutva on India's foreign policy, especially in regards to Pakistan. Current study will examine India and Pakistan ties during the BJP administrations of Narendra Modi and Atal Bihari Vajpai. Numerous books, journals, periodicals, and research articles have been evaluated in this context. Depending on the nature of the investigation, the examined literature falls into four broad groups.

The first category examines the literature on Hindutva and the BJP from a historical viewpoint,⁴ while the second category focuses on the material evaluated on the Atal Bihari administration in the context of India-Pakistan relations. The third category comprises the existing literature on Indian foreign policy toward Pakistan, while the fourth category discusses the current Narendra Modi administration in the context of India and Pakistan ties.

Literature related to Hindutva and BJP

The article with the title "Neo-Hindutva: Changing Forms, Spaces, and Expressions of Hindu Nationalism. Anderson and Kumerb (2018) explored the prevalence and variety of Hindu nationalism in the modern age using the idea of "Hindutva. It explores the expanding penetration of Hindu nationalism into new domains. For example, organizational, geographical, intellectual, and rhetorical factors contribute to the development and expansion of the neo-Hindutva concept.

Iqbal (2019) argues in his article "The Rise of Hindutva, Saffron Terrorism and South Asian Regional Security" published in "Journal of Security and Strategic Analyses" that western politics and intellectual discourse on terrorism continue to place an excessive amount of emphasis on violent radicalism among Muslims. Since the regional security agenda often places an excessive focus on Islamist radicalism. It also

⁴Corsi, M. (2004). INTERNAL CONFLICTS IN PAKISTAN. Istituto per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino , 39-49.

contends that the aggressive conduct and politics of a nuclear-armed India are irreversible and will continue to undermine South Asian security.

The article "The Hindutva Underground: Hindu Nationalism and the Indian National Congress in late colonial and early post-colonial India" by Bhagavan (2008), published in "The economic and political weekly," examines the relationship between Hindu nationalism and the congress during the 1940s and 1950s. It asserts that the Congress incorporated and promoted Hindu nationalist ideologues on purpose and with knowledge.⁵ During this time, ideology was reformed and became an accepted and standard component of postcolonial Indian politics.

In article "The Hindutva as a Political Religion: A Historical Perspective" by Frydenberg (2008), published in "The Sacred in Twentieth Century Politics I aim to demonstrate how Hindutva blends with Hindu fascism and Hindu fundamentalism from an analytical or historical perspective. It examines if Hindutva is a cultural, religious, or political nationalist movement. Before emphasizing the expansion of Hindutva ideology over the last century and its evolution into a political religion, it may be possible to increase clarity by situating these ideas within their proper historical context.

In the essay titled "Hindutva in the West: Reflecting the Antinomies of Diaspora Nationalism," which appeared in "Bhatt and Mukta (2010) present a historical foundation for Hindu nationalism in their piece "Ethnic and Racial Studies." It covers the rise of the Hindutva movement in the 1920s and examines the discussion around its stances on ethnic, nationalist, religious, racist, and fascist beliefs. It contends that anti-secular, absolutist ideologies and orientations toward minorities and the majority have been largely ignored within the diaspora, despite their potential effect on the formation of anti-secular, absolute ideologies, and attitudes.

Hansen (1999) explains in his book "The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in India" that throughout the last decade, the Hindu nationalist movement in India has been driven by the militant organization RSS, which has branches and auxiliaries in several nations and various areas of contemporary India. It has become the most powerful coalition of political and cultural organizations in the state. In

⁵Ejaz, A. (2016). US Security policy toward South Asia. Pakistan Study Centre.

addition, it emphasizes the pervasiveness of Hindu nationalist initiatives, ideologies, and organizations in everyday life.

In his Regional Studies essay titled "The Influence of the Demolition of the Babri Mosque and the Godhra Pogrom on Muslim Voting Behavior: A Comparative Study of Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, and Kerala," Rid (2018) explored the impact of communal violence on the voting patterns of Indian Muslims.⁶ It emphasizes the voting patterns of Muslims in Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, and Kerala. Consequently, it emphasizes the voting habits of Indian Muslims after the communal violence in Gujarat.

In "Out of Saffron Ashes: Revival of Hindutva in India," Mohapatra (2016) traces the Hindutva movement to its pre-independence beginnings. It analyses the causes for its resurrection in the 1990s via the BJP and its future significance in the Indian political system. Thus, the emphasis will be on the Hindutva movement and the BJP's position in Indian politics.

In article "Foreign Policy Position of the BJP on India-Pakistan Issues" was published in The Indian Journal of Political Science. Sanjeev (2007) addresses the BJP's foreign policy stance in respect to the India-Pakistan relationship. BJP, for instance, has emerged as the principal national party playing a crucial role in formulating Indian foreign policy against Pakistan. Under the dictatorship governed by the BJP, ties between India and Pakistan were distinguished by significant turmoil and rapid transformation. Consequently, he investigates in depth how the party perceives the many difficulties between the two nations.

The essay "Hindutva as a type of right-wing extremism" by Leidig (2020), published in "Examples of Prejudice Using the phrase right-wing extremism, the theoretical and empirical components of Hindutva ideology are examined. He describes the origins of Hindutva in colonial India. Hindutva did not gain prominence, however, until modern Prime Minister Narendra Modi organized his campaign by addressing the embedded concerns of the Muslim menace to the Hindu majority.

The globe is experiencing an unparalleled rise in extreme right-wing ideology. From Europe to Asia, white nationalist, anti-immigration, and Islamophobic fringe groups are become mainstream. India became the "first of the big democracies to succumb to

⁶Hilali, A.Z. (2005). -Confidence-and Security-Building Measures for India and Pakistan.Alternatives: Global, Local, Political.Vol. 30. 2. Sage Publications, Inc.

populism" in 2014. ² This decline is total and irreversible. In contrast to Europe, where far-right parties have only won a small number of seats in electoral politics, the BJP was able to build a center-right administration in India. The decline from democratic glory continues uninterrupted as the Bharat Janata Party (BJP) earned a second landslide win in 2019 on a "Hindutva" programmed that is entirely sectarian and ultra-nationalist. Based on the concept that India is a "sacred country," Hindutva unifies the population of India. Thus, according to this definition, only Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains may call themselves "Hindu," whereas Muslims and Christians are excluded.

Consequently, the definition calls for reconverting Muslims and Christians to Hinduism, or else revoking their citizenship. According to Savarkar and Golwalkar, this is only feasible if India becomes a Hindu Rashtra.

The phenomena is seen as an ethnically exclusive and religiously radical worldview, which in no way conforms to the Nehruvian concept of "unity in variety" of Hinduism's pluralistic and polytheistic religion. ⁷ Most Hindutva analysts, including Jha, Jaffrelot, Brass, Noorani, Afzal, and Veer, associate Hindutva with Brahmanism, a movement mostly established and led by upper-caste Hindus, with a few lower-caste showmen like Narendra Modi. Hindutva, according to this school of thought, was an effort by Brahmin elite to remain politically relevant under the British modernizing system, which had just been instituted at the time. Five characteristics of the modernizing system, including as elections, democracy, employment quotas, etc., posed a challenge to the status quo enjoyed by Brahmins of the ruling class.

Hindutva's reinterpretation of Hinduism was most effective in consolidating political power against the new system. In the history of pre-British India, however, Muslims, not Hindu Brahmins, held the reins of power. Therefore, such arguments fail to stand up to scrutiny. Instead, the Hindutva movement was a British plan to split Hindus and Muslims along communal lines in order to avoid a unified front against the Raj. Hindutva is the cause of saffron terrorism. It is described as the actual or planned use of force by groups of varied sizes linked with or breakaway factions of the Sangh Parivar in pursuit of the religion-political philosophy founded by individuals such as Savarkar, Golwalkar, and Moonje. In recent years, notably after 2014, the number of

⁷Hussain, J. (2006). Kargil: what might have happened? Dawn.

terrorist attacks performed by Hindu organizations against Muslim, Christian, and secular elements of the society have increased dramatically. However, policy and academic debate on terrorism continue to be too focused on the "Islamist" kind of violent extremism.

CHAPTER 01

Introduction To Hindutva's Historical Context And Its Influence On Indian Politics

In the second chapter, we examine the factors at play on the home front that affect India's foreign policy decisions. Specifics include the Sangh Parivar's position towards Indian Muslims and the state of bilateral ties between India and Pakistan.⁸ It draws attention to the anti-Muslim prejudice of the Hindutva ideology during BJP control, which manifested itself in an anti-Pakistan propensity in Indian foreign policy. It is generally agreed that the Hindutva movement is a kind of Hindu nationalism. Thus, the influence of Hindutva ideology on India's foreign policy toward Muslims is discussed. India's foreign policy with Pakistan throughout history, which covers the role of internal considerations in policymaking. As such, this chapter is useful for understanding the history of Hindutva ideology and how it relates to the BJP's political agenda in India, especially as it pertains to Pakistan.

This chapter is broken up into four parts, the first of which explains where and when Hindutva philosophy emerged, as well as how the Sangh Parivar was established. The second part of the paper discusses the role that RSS plays in Indian politics. After discussing the BJP in the previous part, the BJP's rival, the Jana Sangh, and Indian politics are the subject of the third section. The BJP-led administrations will be the primary target here. This chapter is important for understanding the historical context of Hindutva and its impact on Indian politics, since the research is a comparison of BJP-led regimes. The ideology of Hindutva will dominate the political discourse in India for a time period that will be discussed at length. The current Indian administration was motivated by the RSS, hence its effects on India's foreign policy toward Pakistan should be examined. An appreciation of Hindutva, or the Hindu nationalist movement, in India and its ties to Pakistan is crucial. The emergence of the BJP in Indian politics and the policies it has pursued to make India a Hindu country as a whole. Looking at Hindutva's historical development throughout the millennia is essential for comprehending the BJP's political agenda.

⁸Jaspal, Z. N. (2011). Towards Nuclear Zero in South Asia: a Realistic Narrative. *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 22(-1), 75-97. DOI:10.3318/isia.2011.22.75

Hinduism and the Sangh Parivar: A Historical Perspective The origins of Hindutva philosophy lie in British India during the colonial era. The Hindu Mahasabha was established in the 1920s in the northern part of India. It brought together those who disagreed with Mahatma Gandhi's secularist stance inside the Indian National Congress. In his role as president of the Hindu Mahasabha from 1937 to 1942, Veer Savarkar saw Hindutva as the philosophy of a people who shared a common history and culture as a result of the mythological return to the Golden Age of the Vedas.⁹ Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, an anti-British campaigner, is credited with coining the word Hindutva in 1923. Rashtriya Seveyam Sevaak Sangh (RSS), Vishva Hindu Parishad, and Hindu Sena were among the Hindu nationalist organisations who supported it. Gandhi, on the other hand, was a devout Hindu who repudiated Savarkar and worked for peace between Hindus and Muslims. Nehru was an outspoken secularist who also advocated for religious tolerance. In 1948, a Hindu Mahasabha supporter with extreme views shot and killed him (Lahiry, 2005). There have been Hindutva movements in India since 1947, before the country's independence. Since its founding in 1925 by Hindutva sympathisers, the RSS has expanded to become a loose confederation of Hindu right-wing organisations (Kaul, 2017). A few examples of Hindu right-wing organisations that primarily promote the Hindutva philosophy include the Rashtriya Seveyam Sevaak Sangh, Vishva Hindu Parishad, and the Hindu Sena (Lahiry, 2005).

The Sangh Parivar is a loose confederation of conservative organisations. Among its many covert organisations are the Vishva Hindu Parishad (World Hindu Council), Bajrang Dal (Lord Hanuman's Troops), and Rashtriya Seveyam (National Volunteer Corps). Rashtriya Seveyam Sevaak Sangh, the National Volunteer Corps, Bajrang Dal, the Troops of Lord Hanuman, and the Vishva Hindu Parishad are the most well-known of these Sevaak Sangh organisations. The RSS is the patriarchal organisation, while the BJP is the electoral offspring (Vanaik, 2002). It is comprised of interconnected organisations including the labour union Mazdur Sangh, the farmers' union Kisan Sabhha, the education network Vidya Bharati, the students' organisation Akheel Bharatiya Vidyarati Parishad, and the Vanwasi Kalyaan Aashram. Over the last decade, Hindutvas have changed and parivars have expanded, solidifying their

⁹Javaid, J. (2012). Peace building in South Asia: Limitations and Prospectus. Lahore, University of the Punjab.

foothold in Indian culture (Anderson, 2018). Like every Parivar or family, strife erupted within the Sangh Parivar (Vanaik, 2002). They haven't been as politically engaged as they should be. Since the BJP was founded in 1951 and the BJP in 1980, there has been a steady increase in Hindu nationalist political activity. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), or the Indian People's Party, is the branch that is actively involved in politics (Jaffrelot, 2017). Only two seats were won by this party in the 1984 general election. In the early 1990s, the Indian National Congress, an established and powerful party with a rich history of anti-colonial struggle and notable leaders, was tarnished by corruption scandals and accusations of accommodating the realities. The killing of its leader, the decline of communism, and the collapse of the socialist planned economy all contributed to the rise of identity politics (Lahiry, 2005).

Both the Jana Sangh and the BJP began their rise to power with more radical policies, but the BJP began more moderately before shifting to a more hardline stance.¹⁰ After the explosion of Hindu ideology in the Indian political arena in 1989, the BJP started working closely with other Sangh Parivar leaders to win elections. The frequent splintering of the party structure also led to the escalation of intervention. Both the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Jana Sangh have Pakistan and Kashmir as their top foreign policy priorities. They agree that Article 370 has to be scrapped so that Kashmir may become totally a part of India. It's agreed upon by both parties that trying to make peace with Pakistan is a bad idea. Jana Sangh argues that the situations in Kashmir and Pakistan have become India's top foreign policy priorities. Foreign policy-wise, the BJP went farther than the Jana Sangh by advocating for increased nuclear capability. The nucleartests of Pokhraan II and the demolition of the Babri Mosque, both inspired by the Rashtriya Seveyam Sevaak Sangh and carried out by the BJP in the 1990s, are widely regarded as the party's defining activities (Vanaik, 2002). In addition to arguing for the revival of India's historic cultural values, the Hindutva ideology also seeks to undermine the secular basis of the Indian state. India, in the eyes of Sangh Parivar, is the biggest Hindu country on earth, uniting people from all over the globe by uniting them in their shared history and culture. Millions of non-Hindu Indians may move to a new religiously exclusive state with Hindu identity and citizenship, threatening the very future of the Indian Union (Marsh, 2002).

¹⁰Javaid, U. (2013). Security concerns in South Asia, Lahore, University of the Punjab.

Rashtriya Seveyam Sevaak Sangh:

Rashtriya Seveyam Sevaak Sangh, or the Association of National Volunteers, was established by Keshav Baliram Hedjwar in Nagpur in 1925 and serves as the backbone of the Hindu nationalist movement. He was the one who pushed hard to make India a Hindu state (Hindu Rashtra). Since its establishment, RSS has worked to make the Hindu minority in India into a political force. The ideology of RSS, which declares India to be a Hindu Republic (Hindu Rashtra), among Hindus. Their plan was to build a Hindu-dominated global order in which followers of other faiths had no place. The group's strength has only increased over the last several years, with vocal advocates ascending to the highest echelons of power. Hindutva is the philosophy that RSS, which calls itself a cultural organisation, advocates (Lahiry, 2005). Though initially motivated by Hindu nationalism, Hedjwar and his followers' anti-Muslim views were bolstered by the Congress party's attempts to engage with a Muslim organisation in the name of national reconciliation and by growing Muslim aspirations for Pakistan. After Hedjwar passed away in 1940, Sri Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar took over as RSS's leader. Since its inception in 1942, RSS has garnered widespread attention due in no little part to the efforts of its founders and the unique nature of the times. In the areas worst hit by the divide, he has established a network of dependable backers. In these communities, RSS units have gained the support of many honest Hindu citizens. Beginning shortly after the partition, when several prominent members of Congress—among them Gandhi and Nehru—were vilified for attempting to calm the waters and gain official recognition for Pakistan, he set about inciting sectarian hatred. This was seen as a blasphemous acceptance of the breakup of Mother India, but the tremendous outrage after Gandhi's murder led to a rapid decline in anti-Muslim prejudice. Many of those involved in the attempt to kill Gandhi were executed. On February 4, 1948, the Indian government declared RSS to be illegal and pledged to eradicate the hatred and violence that threatened Indian independence. After much debate and revision to the constitution, RSS was legalised in July. The administration seemed to have faith that the group would respect the national flag and circumstances, limit its activities to cultural ones, and abstain from any aggressive conduct. (Caran, 1950)

It's important to remember that anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistani biases have always been at the heart of the Hindutva philosophy (Anderson, 2018). Its very existence and behaviour as a Hindu organisation has caused great debate in India. Both a cultural

organisation dedicated to conserving traditional Indian moral and spiritual values, which are eroded by exchanges with the West, and a reactionary group of Hindu zealots with fascist tendencies have been used to describe the BSP. This group helped promote hatred and was largely to blame for Gandhi's assassination.¹¹ As time passed and people forgot about Gandhi's assassination, the anti-RSS sentiment faded away, and the rising hostility between India and Pakistan further exacerbated the trend (Curran, 1950).

Articles 3 and 4 of the RSS charter state the organization's official stance. Article 3 states that the Sangh's mission is to "connect the diverse communities within the Hindu Samaj, or community, and to reinvigorate and rejuvenate it based on its Dharma and Sanskrit, mughly speaking, religion and culture," with the ultimate aim of fostering India's overall development. In Article 4, the Sangh declares its commitment to peaceful, lawful, and constitutional ways of achieving its aims. Second, the Sangh believes that all individuals of all faiths should be treated equally, which is in line with the Hindu Samaj's spiritual nots. In its current form, the Sangh is nonpartisan and is dedicated only to cultural activities. Svayam Sevakis, on the other hand, are free to affiliate with whatever political party they want, provided that they do not advocate for or engage in the use of violent or clandestine tactics to further their cause (Curran, 1950).

The RSS is a nationalist group that espouses a worldview it considers to be an authentic expression of Hindu thought. This argument is supported by the fact that Pakistanis and Muslims have never been explicitly linked to one another. Because the RSS then uses an argument based on pure nationalism in order to justify its position. The core principle of the RSS literature is the claim that Muslims and Christians are part of the same ideological movement (Sundar, All official pronouncements). newspapers and magazines on a monthly basis, in particular, display an intolerant and culturally blinkered worldview. strong emphasis on Pakistan as a potential foe. Kidwai Azad and other nationalist Muslim figures who served as Indian communications education ministers are suspected of complicity in treason in order to promote Islamic study. Prime has been accused of showing favouritism to those who are not trustworthy. Despite claims to the contrary by RSS contributors, the available evidence suggests these texts hint to at least an unofficial RSS policy. obviously,

¹¹Javaid, U. (2013). South Asia in Perspective. Lahore: CSAS, University of the Punjab.86

public representatives cannot be so openly intolerant in their statements. Golwalkar's book, written before the constitution was released, seems to be the source of unofficial support. In 1950, the idea that five unique parts merged into indissoluble transcended the geographical, ethnic, social, cultural, and linguistic borders of this kind.

RS. Golwalker, with regards to the murderous hordes of Muslims, the danger they pose, the forces they oppose and the rivals they represent, as well as our oldest and most savage adversaries (Brasted, 2002).¹² Thus, Rashtriya Seveyam Sevaak Sangh is presented as both a reactionary organisation of Hindu zealots with fascist impulses and a culture committed to the restoration and resuscitation of Indian moral and religious principles that have been destroyed by encounters with foreigners of the west (Curran, 1950). The RSS-led Sangh for Hindutva concept combines a traditional preoccupation with organisation with the belief that, after Hindu unity has been achieved, Hinduism and the Hindu community should be militarised in order to better prepare them for their role in nation-building. Soon afterwards, Veer Savarkar's contentious call to Hindus to unify and militarise Hinduism would be put into action (Vanaik, 2002).

Jana Sangh:

The idea of Hindu nationalism, which gave rise to Jana Sangh, was created by Hindu social and religious groups from the 1870s through the 1920s. Concerns were raised when RSS entered politics due to the organization's primary mission of establishing a Hindu rashtra. There was a split inside the RSS between elder leaders like Golwalker who were against becoming involved in politics and younger members like Bulraj Madhok who were in favour of doing so and founded the Jana Sangh. Jana Sangh broke apart from the other members of the Sangh Parivar when she founded her own group. Jana Sangh RSS's formation offered early on tremendous influence on party functioning, policymaking, and internal structure, resulting in the party being seen as a right-wing party. The Jana Sangh was established by former members of the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS. The Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS functioned more as social clubs than political parties. A strong presence of RSS remained inside the Jana Sangh organisation even after it adopted the political structure (Lahiry, 2005).

¹²Javaid, U.(2006). Peace and Security in South Asia: Issues and Challenges. Lahore, Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab.

Kashmir and Pakistan, claims Jana Sangh, are now central to Indian foreign strategy. India-Pakistan relations and the Jana Sangh's approach to them are characterised by the organization's harsh criticism of the government's international policies (Vanaik, 2002). The party is in charge of policing the ties between the United States and Pakistan. The border war, food shortages, persecution of minorities, and the Kashmir dispute are just a few of the issues that have been brought to the attention of the central governments of India and Pakistan. For stoking border disputes, the party punished stan. According to the news, tensions between India and Pakistan's government have increased. According to Jana Sangh, the union of both the ties occurs since Pakistan develops from the free incitement to assist Hindu hate in India.¹³ The leaders of India have always considered themselves a threat to the country's safety. From this vantage point, Communist China and Pakistan are the opponents of the Indian right wing. The political party Jana Sangh advocates for the concept that India and Pakistan may improve their ties and work together to solve their national challenges by reuniting and embracing each other as one country. The party also claimed that Pakistan's efforts to calm the area down had the opposite effect. India and Pakistan's main issues, such as Kashmir, displaced people, worldwide turmoil, and increasing military expenditure, can only be addressed by recognising Akhand Bharath's rights. A placation scheme, as outlined on the side, is administered by Jana Sangh. Jana Singh is adamantly opposed to making peace with Pakistan, arguing that the country's authorities provide no solutions to pressing issues like the Kashmir conflict and see India as their mortal foe. For instance, it was previously thought that uniting the whole continent and becoming India would be the greatest solution to handle minorities and border problems. In terms of ideology and organisational activities, Jana Sangh evolved into a regressive, tribal, Hindu advocate, right-wing extremist, and violent nationalist group. India's first parliamentary elections in 1952 saw the rise of the Jana Sangh, an opposition group with influence over India's foreign policy toward Pakistan. Reorienting the state's foreign policy against Pakistan in a fundamentally new way constitutes a different war (Sanjeev, 2007).

Under Atal Bihari Vajpai, the BJP attempted to soften the Hindu-nationalist position of Jana Sangh by highlighting her links to the organisation. However, the ideological

¹³Johnson, R. (2005). *A Region in Turmoil: South Asian Conflicts since 1947*. Reaktion Books, London, UK.p.99.

shifts backfired, and the BJP won just two of the four parliamentary seats available for election. In 1986, Laal Krishan Advani was chosen as the BJP's leader. In his leadership, the BJP reverted to its traditional, hardline Hindu nationalist stance. In the 1989 general election, the BJP's efforts paid off as it gained 86 seats in the Lok Sabha, making it an essential ally of the VP Singh administration (Malik, 1992).¹⁴ Since the BJP was picked out of Jana Sangh, it seems like a reasonable foundation to analyse Jana Sangh's perspectives on topics impacting India-Pakistan relations to better understand how political parties see and evaluate the difficulties facing India and Pakistan (Sanjiv, 2007).

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is the political arm of the Sangh Parivar, an umbrella organisation of Hindu nationalist organisations. Many grassroots organisations are involved. As such, the BJP represents the "face" of Hindutva ideology in Indian politics. Narendra Modi's election as India's prime minister marked the start of the organization's campaign to assert its agenda at the national level. The Sangh's plan to seize control of the state ultimately succeeded (Bhagrava, 2012). The BJP has deep roots in Indian culture, particularly the tradition of Hindu nationalism that emerged in the country in the early twentieth century. Religious ethnic homogeneity and the promotion of Hindu cultural supremacy are hallmarks of Hindutva politics. The proponents of this political movement argue that Hindu rituals and beliefs are fundamental to the existence of the Indian nation state, that Hinduism is the dominant cultural identity in Indian society, and that Hinduism is transcendent of India's borders. This Hindu nationalist perspective is openly hostile to Muslims and dismissive of all non-Hindu civilizations (Palshikar S., 2015).

Bhartiya Janata Party, in contrast to Jana Sangh, was founded as a moderate, wide party in which RSS had no influence. There is a general consensus that RSS no longer has much influence on the Bhartiya Janata Party. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh was the forerunner of the current governing party, the BJP, which was established in 1980. Although the Jana Sangh initially took a revolutionary tack, its members eventually shifted to a more practical approach to party formation after the group's dissolution in 1980. On the other hand, the BJP adopted a moderate approach in the outset, shifted to a more aggressive stance, and is now back to its original moderation. Since the

¹⁴Kim, Sung Won."Human Security with an Asian Face." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 17 (1): 83-103. (2010).

Bhartiya Janata Party was once an unidentified organisation that had no ties to the RSS or the Sangh Parivar, it used a bottom-up strategy for party development. Despite the Sangh Parivar's lack of overt engagement in the BJP's early years, following the party's electoral defeat in 1984, it became more obvious that it was meddling in BJP internal issues. As the Hindu perspective entered the political arena in India in 1989, the BJP started to cooperate closely with other leaders of the Sangh Parivar to obtain electoral results. ¹⁵Another contributing factor to this large invasion is the steady breakdown of party structure beginning in the mid-1990s. The Congress Party's popularity among Indian voters increased from the mid-1980s to the late '80s. It also helped him form an alliance with Sangh Parivar figures, with the RSS playing a pivotal role in this. Still, the Bhartiya Janata Party and the Jana Sangh have a close, albeit uneven, ties to Sangh. It's true that the Jana Sangh and the Bhartiya Janata Party have traditionally represented the Sangh Parivar on the political stage. In spite of its anti-colonial insurrection claims and notable individuals, the Indian National Congress (INC) started to lose support in the early 1990s (Lahiry, 2005).

The Bhartiya Janata Party's philosophy takes a more belligerent tack toward India's aspirations to become a significant regional and worldwide force, and it takes a hard line against Indian Muslims. The Bhartiya Janata Party was complicit in both the 1998 destruction of the Babri Mosque and the Pokhraan II nuclear testing. Sangh was the forerunner of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which was established in 1980. Although the Jana Sangh initially took a revolutionary tack, its members eventually shifted to a more practical approach to party formation after the group's dissolution in 1980. On the other hand, the BJP adopted a moderate approach in the outset, shifted to a more aggressive stance, and is now back to its original moderation. Since the Bhartiya Janata Party was once an unidentified organisation that had no ties to the RSS or the Sangh Parivar, it used a bottom-up strategy for party development. Despite the Sangh Parivar's lack of overt engagement in the BJP's early years, following the party's electoral defeat in 1984, it became more obvious that it was meddling in BJP internal issues. As the Hindu perspective entered the political arena in India in 1989, the BJP started to cooperate closely with other leaders of the Sangh Parivar to obtain electoral results. Another contributing factor to this large invasion is the steady breakdown of party structure beginning in the mid-1990s. The Congress Party's

¹⁵Korbel, Josef. (1966). *Danger in Kashmir*, California: Princeton University Press.

popularity among Indian voters increased from the mid-1980s to the late '80s. It also helped him form an alliance with Sangh Parivar figures, with the RSS playing a pivotal role in this. Still, the Bhartiya Janata Party and the Jana Sangh have a close, albeit uneven, ties to Sangh. It's true that the Jana Sangh and the Bhartiya Janata Party have traditionally represented the Sangh Parivar on the political stage. In spite of its anti-colonial insurrection claims and notable individuals, the Indian National Congress (INC) started to lose support in the early 1990s (Lahiry, 2005).

The Bhartiya Janata Party's philosophy takes a more belligerent tack toward India's aspirations to become a significant regional and worldwide force, and it takes a hard line against Indian Muslims. ¹⁶The facts are undeniable: the BJP and the Jana Sangh were instrumental in the 1998 destruction of the Babri Mosque and the Pokhraan II nuclear tests. Both groups wanted Article 370, which gave India complete control over Kashmir, nullified. The Pakistani reconciliation effort is unpopular on both sides. For the BJP, the solution to the Kashmir conflict lies in the removal of Article 370. The Bhartiya Janata Party has distanced itself from the Jana Sangh and advocated for expanded nuclear weapons as part of its foreign policy (Vanaik, 2002).

Knowing where the BJP stands on foreign policy issues relating to India and Pakistan is crucial. During the BJP's tenure, India and Pakistan's relationship was characterised by tremendous volatility and significant upheavals. It would be interesting to hear the group's take on the different issues plaguing the two nations. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has never been shy in sharing its opinions on several topics pertaining to ties between India and Pakistan. The founding organisation, Bhartiya Jana Sangh, is the source of BJP's guiding principles and beliefs. The Bhartiya Janata Party believes that Pakistan is India's most formidable neighbour, that relations with Pakistan are crucial, and that the Bhartiya Janata Party's capacity to protect Indian national interests in discussions with Pakistan is crucial to the success of Indian foreign policy. The BJP asserts aggressively that its ties with all of India's other neighbours are excellent except with Pakistan. It is crucial to think about how different political parties in India and Pakistan evaluate and frame problems pertaining to their countries' relations. It's possible to make the case that the Jana Sangh was the inspiration for the BJP. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has been vocally opposed to

¹⁶Mazhar, M. S., & Goraya, N. (2014). Post-2014 Afghanistan: Reflections & Off-Shoots. Lahore: University of the Punjab, Lahore

several aspects of India-Pakistani ties from its foundation. The party advocated for strong neighbourly connections, arguing that a state with numerous bordering states needed to have a solid foreign policy to protect regional stability. The party holds the view that United States policies have had a negative impact on regional economy and economic security. Support for Pakistan's military from the United States. India has shifted resources from industry to defence in response to Pakistan's growing military might. As a result, the socioeconomic development of both nations has been stunted, and indeed, the progress of South Asia as a whole has been impeded by the continued instability of the state (Sanjeev, 2007). ¹⁷The Hindutva movement aims to rebuild a "indivisible India," called Akhand Bharat restoration of previously lost territory. Because the organisation was run by Hindus and Muslims and relinquished the region that would become Pakistan, the RSS was briefly outlawed and former member Naturam Godse assassinated Mahatma Gandhi in 1948 over a conflict that Gandhi had opposed. Godse's violent behaviour was cited by Hindutva actors as an illustration of ethnonational aspirations (Leidig, 2020). More than 2,000 people were killed as Hindu riots spread across the state. Until the protest leaders were attacked and the mosque was burned down in December 1992, the protests belonged to. As of this year (Cabrera, 2019), the following is true.

An idealised Hindu in Hindutva ideology cares only about the feelings of others. As part of its programme of otherization, Hindutva denigrates many groups, including Dalits, libertarians, Christians, and most importantly Muslims (Sharma 2011). Hindutva is the political ideology that holds India was always a Hindu state and that Islam and Muslims are an alien force responsible for the massive decline in Hindu numbers throughout South Asia as a result of invasion and strife (Flaten 2016). Muslims are converted to Hinduism by the sword (Eshwar, 2009) The majority religion in India is predicted to be Hindu, with Muslims making up around 15% of the population. Violence between Hindus and Muslims has been blamed on Hindutva organisations (Jaffrelot, 2009). The origins of Hindutva and its historical development are covered in this section. and then evolved to play a significant influence in Indian politics. Sangh Parivar evolved into a political party in the form of Jana Sangh and the

¹⁷Oimstead, J. (November 2, 2014). "India-Pakistan Relations: A Destructive Equilibrium". The Diplomat.

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). After Narendra Modi became prime minister in 2014, the BJP finally ended the war. The reality is that there is a correlation between ideology at home and India's political standing. To better comprehend the stance of the BJP-led administration of Bihari Vajpai on India-Pakistan ties, we devote this chapter to that end.

DRSML QAU

CHAPTER 02

Relations between India and Pakistan while Atal Bihari Vajpai was Prime Minister of the BJP

This chapter's topic is on Atal Bihari Vajpai within the larger framework of ties between India and Pakistan. Changes in the way India and Pakistan interact occurred under the BJP's rule. Therefore, it is crucial to examine how the governing party sees the many concerns between the two regional competitors.¹⁸ It also delves into what led to the formation of the BJP administration under Shri Atal Bihari Vajpai's leadership. Indian foreign policy against Pakistan during that time frame would be the study's primary emphasis. As the title suggests, it daringly covers the key events. As a result, the approach of the Atal Bihari Vajpai administration towards Pakistan is the subject of this section. The book begins out with the historical context of the coalition government's creation in 1998. It also notes the effect of Atal Bihari Vajpai's personality and, more generally, BJP policies, on ties between India and the United States.

The BJP's Ascent to Power and the Challenge to Secularism:

As the BJP came to power in 1998 as the coalition's leader, secularism began to erode. Support from the courts, such as the Supreme Court's verdict in *Hindutva v. State of Gujarat* in December 1995, which upheld the concept that Hindutva is a secular concern with the Indian ethos or way of life, has also been a factor in the ideology's rise to prominence (Jaffrelot, 2017). The Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has been in power in India since 1998. Not only has India restored some of its post-colonial vulnerability by justifying its own sets on the basis of an interpretation of historical and geostrategic danger, but it has also maintained to give widespread support for India's nuclear deterrent. It is believed that the legitimization of the durva ideology—which portrays Islam and Pakistan as the inimical "other" to ideals like democracy and human rights—is the root of the issue. Foregoing traditional realism in identifying the state's geostrategic challenges, the BJP routinely politicisms Hindutva to highlight actual dangers to India and promote post-aonial instability along communal lines. This often warrants a generalization about Indians' stated goals. Veer

¹⁸Raghavan, P. (2013). *The Finality of Partition: Bilateral Relations between India and Pakistan, 1947*

Savarkar's works popularized Hindutva, an ideology sometimes misrepresented as the cultural nationalism of the BJP and as an anti-communist violent demand for the establishment of a Hindu India. Veer Savarkar, as a key figure in the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak movement, helped define the limits of Hindutva's societal influence and shape contemporary India. ¹⁹The nationalist theory of Hindutva is notoriously vague since it rests on a monolithic conception of Hinduism or India as a single state and a single population. It assumes there is one universally good Hindu and one universally evil Muslim. It has been theorized that the BJP could rally upper and, more recently, lower caste Hindus behind the dominant Hindu nationalist program that represents Hindu India against the demonized Muslim Pakistan by appealing to the Hindutva ideology, which is based on communal ideological reconstructions of Hindu and Muslim cultures. Holistically. The target of this hostility is the Muslim population of India and Pakistan. The intellectual forerunner of the BJP, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, made a culturally skewed comment in a resolution passed in 1965: the spiritual and ethnic ties play an essential role in world politics (Das, 2003). India and Pakistan's relationship is the most volatile of any bilateral partnership. There were spectacular occurrences that gave reason to hope for better relations with Pakistan, and there were also periods of great pessimism. Nonetheless, they acknowledged the need of mediation in settling bilateral difficulties that had strained relations. must be borne in mind that both nations have a complicated past, with national narratives shaped by several wars and bilateral tensions that set the stage for ongoing hostilities despite popular calls to talk (Pattanaik, 2019).

The major political parties in India base much of their foreign policy on how they see the situation with Pakistan. Moreover, they made crucial contributions to resolving issues that had strained relations between sub-continental neighbours. and rivals. India's capacity to select corrective steps in its relationship with Pakistan is based on how the country's political parties see the situation. In a contemporary liberal democracy, the role of political parties in formulating public policy is crucial. They understand the embodied needs of the people from an institutional perspective. Ideological issues are crucial in determining the level of public support for the party. The total effect of political party involvement in national system, however, cannot be

¹⁹Rizvi, Gowher. (1994). India Pakistan and Kashmir problem 1947-71 (ed.) Perspectives on Kashmir by Dr. Kaniz Fatima Yousaf, Islamabad: Pakistan Forum.

disregarded. The party's political strategy is not only determined and influenced by internal political equations and the real external environment, but is also often revised in response to internal turmoil, foreign disturbance, and the empirical mole inside the party (Sanjeev, 2007). Critics worried that the BJP, as it became closer to power in the 1990s, would use that authority to further its policy of exclusion, while several observers saw a pattern of balance in the party's programmed. ²⁰In S. Palshikar & Co. Political power in India has shifted from the Congress party to the BJP, and the state's electoral structure has changed from a one-party to a multi-party system as a result. During its ascension to power, the party attempted to broaden its support beyond its ideological foundations in Hindu nationalism. According to Seshia, the BJP posed as a pro-Hindu party headed by L.K. Advani during the 1991 Lok Sabha elections. It was his hope that his Hindu nationalist platform would bring Hindus together and boost support for the BJP in rural regions and among lower caste Hindus (Sheshia, 1998).

Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpai served as the country's Foreign Minister from 1977 to 1979. The strategic thinking of the Janata administration and its own political ideas may be evaluated using Atal Bihari Vajpai's remarks during this time period (Staniland, 2012). Since the Simla Agreement was signed in 1972, relations between India and Pakistan have seen more lows than highs, and the current period is one of the worst. Even when the two nations were at odds, they still worked together for the common good. Due to internal political pressure and tensions between the two nations, bilateral discussions broke down in January 1994. (The Hindu, 1993).

The NDA and BJP's Pakistan Policies:

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was voted to power in India in March 1998. The BJP is the most aggressive and vehemently anti-Pakistani of all national political organizations in India. However, it was hampered by the need of joining an alliance in order to fulfil the necessity of maintaining power (Cooper, 1998). In the wake of the Gujral government's downfall in February 1998, the BJP led a coalition of the National Democratic Alliance. The NDA administration has changed the direction of Indian security policy only a few months after assuming power (Sharma, 1998). India and Pakistan's peace process seems to be in trouble as right-wing groups gain ground

²⁰Rizvi, Gowher. (1994). India Pakistan and Kashmir problem 1947-71 (ed.) Perspectives on Kashmir by Dr. Kaniz Fatima Yousaf, Islamabad: Pakistan Forum.

in both nations in 1997 and 1998, with the BJP emerging as a major anti-Pakistani political force (Morrow, 1999). Foreign and security policy concerns about India and Pakistan have been prioritized since the BJP took power in India. What the BJP-led administration says. In terms of issues affecting the two nations' interactions with one another, sin is by far the most important (Sanjeev, 007). The administration has made it clear that ending Pakistan's backing for terrorism is a need for a peaceful settlement of tensions between the two countries. To Pakistan's accusations that Kashmir is at the heart of the issue, India has responded negatively. ²¹Without Pakistani initiative to take meaningful and enduring actions to combat the scourge of terrorism, the choice to talk with Pakistan or the peaceful attempts to analyze ties with Pakistan would be futile (The Hindu, 2003).

When Pakistan refused to engage until the Kashmir crisis was settled, efforts to get Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpai and Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to the negotiating table failed. As a result of the nuclear testing in May of 1998, tensions between India and Pakistan reached an all-time low. The nuclear tests prompted widespread fear that a nuclear war might break out in the South Asian region, and they were also blamed for exacerbating the situation in Kashmir. India and Pakistan have been at each other's throats since their nuclear tests, but they've now realized they need to talk to one another for the sake of the region's and the world's peace and security (Kumar, 2000).

In New York in September 1998, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpai met with his Pakistani counterpart, Nawaz Sharif. Later, it was stated that foreign ministers from India and Pakistan will meet and that a direct bus service would be set up between the cities of Lahore and Delhi in India. The October/November 1998 meeting of foreign ministers was unsuccessful in resolving the fundamental problems. In any case, the fact that representatives from both nations met and spoke was encouraging, pointing toward future trust and hopeful action. Atal Bihari Vajpai, prime minister of India, flew on the first flight to Lahore in 1999. As a primary priority, Nawaz Sharif and Atal Bihari Vajpai agreed that bolstering bilateral ties is essential. This campaign has been successfully implemented thanks to the collaborative efforts of all involved parties. As a businessman, Nawaz Sharif saw the unrealized potential in ties between

²¹Stone, Marianne. (2009). Security according to Buzan: A comprehensive security analysis. Security discussion papers series, 11 (1).

the two nations. As both governments decided to resume a series of cricket tests despite opposition from the right in their respective nations, Atal Bihari Vajpai's visit gathered momentum. Beyond the achievement of hockey diplomacy, the mission of Indian legislators in Pakistan organized by the Jung newspaper community also helped to foster understanding and friendship between the people of India and Pakistan (Kumar, 2000).

While in power, BJP sought to normalize ties between India and Pakistan and find a permanent solution to the Kashmir conflict.²² In this light, it's important to highlight the significance of the BJP-led government's diplomatic efforts and the initiatives taken to establish trust. The Agra summit, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpai's peace initiative in Srinagar on April 18, 2003, and a special application to the Diwali package of twelve steps to build trust; the start of a bus connection between Delhi and Lahore; the signing of the Lahore declaration; the declaration of a unilateral ceasefire for them in Kashmir during Ramadan and its extension; and the beginning of the bus service. The peace effort between India and Pakistan was almost disrupted by the escalating tensions after the Kargil event. The BJP claims that Pakistan is meddling in Indian politics by providing support for terrorism and other forms of civil disturbance. To add insult to injury, the party has also criticized Pakistan for supporting its terrorist supporters under the pretense of promoting Kashmiri human rights and has attempted to internationalize the Kashmiri problem (Sajveer, 2007). Terrorists have struck again, this time on an Indian effort that was starting to seem promising. Atal Bihari Vajpai, prime minister of India, flew on the first flight to Lahore in 1999. As a primary priority, Nawaz Sharif and Atal Bihari Vajpai agreed that bolstering bilateral ties is essential. Everyone involved has done their share to make this plan a reality and keep things on track. As a businessman, Nawaz Sharif saw the unrealized potential in ties between the two nations. Even though Atal Bihari Vajpai's visit was initially met with resistance from the right in both countries, it gained momentum after the two governments agreed to continue a series of cricket tests. Beyond the achievement of hockey diplomacy, the mission of Indian legislators in Pakistan organized by the Jung newspaper community also helped to foster understanding and friendship between the people of India and Pakistan (Kumar, 2000).

²²Barlow, M. (2009). Blue covenant: The global water crisis and the coming battle for the right to water. McClelland & Stewart.

During its time as the head of the coalition government at the center, BJP also attempted to normalize relations between India and Pakistan and find a permanent solution to the Kashmir dispute. In this light, it's important to highlight the significance of the BJP-led government's diplomatic efforts and the initiatives taken to establish trust. The Agra summit, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpai's peace initiative in Srinagar on April 18, 2003, and a special application to the Diwali package of twelve steps to build trust; the start of a bus connection between Delhi and Lahore; the signing of the Lahore declaration; the declaration of a unilateral ceasefire for them in Kashmir during Ramadan and its extension; and the beginning of the bus service. The peace effort between India and Pakistan was almost disrupted by the escalating tensions after the Kargil event.²³ The BJP claims that Pakistan is meddling in Indian politics by providing support for terrorism and other forms of civil disturbance. To add insult to injury, the party has also criticized Pakistan for supporting its terrorist supporters under the pretense of promoting Kashmiri human rights and has attempted to internationalize the Kashmiri problem (Sajveer, 2007). In the wake of the terrorist assault on the Indian parliamentary complex in 2001, the government followed a program of deliberate diplomacy with mixed results (Kraig, 2005).

Nuclear Tests and the Atal Bihari Vajpai's Stance:

During its campaign starting in 1995. For his part, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpai said during government formation that India would conduct a comprehensive military study and that a National Security Council was urgently needed. Atal Bihari Vajpai, who has proved his moderation, is unlikely to go all-in for nuclear weapons and missile launches, but the BJP's ascension to power heightened anxieties in Pakistan and an examination of Indian security added impulsion to Pakistan's military strategy (Jones, 1998). (Jones, 1998). Indian nuclear testing resumed in the Rajasthan desert on May 11 and 13, 1998, after a 24-year hiatus, despite a 24-year embargo (Sharma, 1998). In the aftermath of the Smiling Buddha nuclear test in 1974, India conducted five further nuclear tests in the Pokhran Desert of Rajasthan. Pakistan then conducted its own nuclear tests a few weeks later, making it the newest country to announce that it had nuclear weapons (Guha, 2017).

²³Buzan, B., & Weaver, O. (2003). *Regions and Powers, The Structure of International Security*. United States: Press of Cambridge

As a result, in 1998, both India and Pakistan performed nuclear tests, marking a high point in their respective nuclear programs.²⁴ The nuclear claims made by both adversaries provided more fuel for the expansion of bilateral ties. In addition, the nuclear tests have likely caused a tipping point in the Kashmir conflict (Sajveer, 2007). France, for example, has backed India's right to nuclear deterrent, while the United States has voiced concern (Rai, 2009). Atal Bihari Vajpai saw India's nuclear weapons as a source of strength and security. In May of 1974, India conducted its first nuclear test. This move was applauded early and often by Atal Bihari Vajpai. [3:08 PM, 8/2/2022] Dr. Adnan IR: Due to the BJP's extreme paranoia, the party felt compelled to take use of the state's nuclear option and conduct nuclear testing shortly after it assumed leadership of a coalition government at the center in 1998. There were internal debates on whether or not a coalition headed by the BJP could fill the nuclear power vacuum and put a stop to the nuclear insecurity of the previous regimes. Unlike the 1974 tests, which were sanctioned by the federal government for "stability" reasons, the current study was conducted independently of any government. The coalition government headed by the BJP has said that these tests are meant to showcase India's nuclear capabilities and utility for strategic and defensive goals. The BJP-led coalition government said that the nuclear tests were necessary because they would provide India with an option to the geostrategic issues it faces in the current nuclear ambiance of the area. Atal Bihari Vajpai, a prominent member of the BJP and the current Prime Minister, has indicated that justifying the tests is a tough choice for the administration. With the rise of the BJP to power, there seems to be a tendency toward a more nationalist Hindu ideology. BJP was able to build a coalition government with parties that had various ideological leanings and did not agree with its nationalist ideological underpinnings because of this (Sajveer, 2007).

Pokran II followed a series of nuclear explosions in the Indian state of Rajasthan in 1998. The tests marked a transitional period in Indian nuclear policy as the country entered the nuclear weapons zone. The Indian Prime Minister at the time, Atal Bihari Vajpai, took a bold and perhaps dangerous step. Atal Bihari Vajpai was Prime Minister for 15 days in 1996 when he ordered a nuclear test. The next leader of India's center-right administration is Atal Bihari Vajpai. In 1998, when the BJP led a

²⁴Corsi, M. (2004). INTERNAL CONFLICTS IN PAKISTAN. Istituto per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino , 39-49.

coalition government to power in the capital, its serious security worries meant that it had to take advantage of the state's nuclear choice and undertake nuclear tests. There were internal debates on whether or not a coalition headed by the BJP could fill the nuclear power vacuum and put a stop to the nuclear insecurity of past regimes. However, in 1974, trials were conducted ostensibly for the sake of stability under the aegis of the government of government Congress.²⁵ The coalition government, which the BJP controls, has said these tests are for strategic and security grounds. The BJP-led coalition government said that the nuclear tests were necessary because they would provide India with an option to the geostrategic issues it faces in the current nuclear ambiance of the area. Atal Bihari Vajpai, a prominent member of the BJP and the current Prime Minister, has indicated that justifying the trials is a tough choice for the administration. With the rise of the BJP to power, there seems to be a tendency toward a more nationalist Hindu ideology. The reason the BJP is in power now is because it was able to build a coalition government with a variety of parties that did not share the BJP's nationalist ideological underpinnings (Sajveer, 2007).

Pokran II followed a series of nuclear explosions in the Indian state of Rajasthan in 1998. The tests marked a transitional period in Indian nuclear policy as the country entered the nuclear weapons zone. The Indian Prime Minister at the time, Atal Bihari Vajpai, took a bold and perhaps dangerous step. Atal Bihari Vajpai was Prime Minister for 15 days in 1996 when he ordered a nuclear test. With the BJP's 1998 electoral victory, the National Democratic Alliance put Atal Bihari Vajpai in charge of their moderate administration. Following Pakistan's nuclear tests, the first one was conducted. Both of the crises that shook the foundations of early Indian nuclear strategy included Atal Bihari Vajpai. The first military war with a stated nuclear deterrent started in 1999, when India and Pakistan came into battle. Nonetheless, in 1999, Atal Bihari Vajpai and Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif signed the Lahore Declaration, which included steps to improve nuclear trust between the two growing nuclear nations. Atal Bihari Vajpai has promised swift action by India to lessen the likelihood of nuclear weapons being deployed inadvertently or otherwise. Pokran II presented Atal Bihari Vajpai with economic and geopolitical difficulties at the same time as India was at war with a newly nuclear Pakistan (MacDonald, 2020).

²⁵Hilali, A.Z. (2005). *Confidence and Security-Building Measures for India and Pakistan. Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*. Vol. 30. 2. Sage Publications, Inc.

The Congress Party, according to the BJP's election platform (BJP election manifesto, 2014), has failed to keep up with crucial developments in India's nuclear program.

Civilian Management of India's Nuclear Forces:

In 2003, India's official nuclear strategy said that the country's clear arsenal must remain under civilian control at all times. It has been contended that only the civil political leadership, represented by the NCA, has the authority to authorize nuclear assaults. India's Nuclear Command Authority is made up of the Political Council and the Executive Council. The Prime Minister's Civil Policy Council makes policy recommendations, while the Indian Nuclear Command Authority is accountable for the Executive Board that presents facts, decisions, and preparation for decision-making. This agreement, which established a formal framework for previously unstructured nuclear choices, was reached between the Strategic Enclave, Senior Management, the Military, and the Security and Strategic Enclave. The Cabinet Defense Committee also selected a military commander to be in charge of all strategic forces under the title of Commander in Chief of Strategic Forces Command (SFC) (MacDonald, 2020) The fact that the BJP is not autonomous but rather a member of a coalition of political parties was considered as the main obstacle or restraint (Khan, 2002).²⁶ Parliamentary elections were soon approaching, and the BJP leveraged the release of the draught nuclear policy to their advantage. According to Indian security expert P. R. Chari, the state is in crisis, and the BJP is running on a platform of addressing national unity as a top priority. Since this is the case, it is an appropriate time to announce the nuclear policy. The state is also encouraged to resort to nuclear doctrine, which should bring national discourse into the security arena, to capitalize on the patriotic spirit inspired by the Kargil event (Chari, 2000). With the capacity to choose doctrine writers, the BJP was prepared to adopt a more aggressive nuclear policy, which occurred defend a fact to be more in line with its extreme nationalist beliefs of the Hindus. As the NDA, headed by the BJP and Atal Bihari Vajpai, returned to power in India as a result of the draught doctrine, the country's internal political climate improved (MacDonald, 2020).

When both sides were busy in May of 1999 preparing plans to shore up defensive positions along the LOC, fighting once again broke out. While the Pakistani military

²⁶Jaspal, Z. N. (2011). Towards Nuclear Zero in South Asia: a Realistic Narrative. *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 22(-1), 75-97. DOI:10.3318/isia.2011.22.75

establishment sees nuclear weapons as a deterrent, the Indian military establishment seems to consider them as a means of protecting itself from the consequences of provocative acts that may otherwise spark a conflict. Neither party has established clear boundaries to attract the other's notice to unacceptable actions. In 1999, when Indian and Pakistani military troops clashed along their shared border, it became clear that they were both capable of misinterpreting the other's intentions. India and Pakistan's diplomatic involvement on these and other problems shows that Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpai is committed to reducing conflict in Kashmir. This was a crucial part of his voyage to Lahore by bus in February 1999, just before the Kargil war and the buildup of tensions. The Kargil mission was a devastating setback that halted all progress. India declared a ceasefire with anti-Indian rebels in Kashmir in late 2000; it was extended for another month on January 26, 2001, and for another three months on February 22, but was not extended, presumably because it did not succeed in bringing the rebels to the negotiating table or significantly reducing the level of conflict. Along with this remark, however, Atal Bihari Vajpai called on Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf to begin discussions in the spirit of the original Lahore talks. Musharraf accepted India's offer and visited in July. While no formal agreements were made during the summit, the way was cleared for further bilateral talks (Andersena, 2001). Because of nuclear testing, the United States and other nations have placed 36 restrictions.

To punish India and Pakistan for their nuclear tests in May 1998, the United States used the Glenn Amendment to impose sanctions on them (Section 102 of the major Arms Export Control Act of 1994). In the event that a non-nuclear military detonates a nuclear explosive device, former Senator John Glenn has suggested legislation that would impose severe penalties on that country. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1977 and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978 both received clarifications and expansions thanks to the Glenn Amendment, which took effect on April 30, 1994. These clauses were initially enacted after the May 11 and 13, 1998, atomic bomb tests in India, and the May 28 and 31, 1998, atomic bomb testing in Pakistan. The United States will implement sanctions provided for by law in response to legal proceedings in both countries, as announced by President Clinton and reported to Congress. It took some time to figure out the particulars and the fines were spread out over a few weeks since they had never been used before. On June 18, 1998, the US Department of State

announced the sanctions and their goals. When compared to overall public sector expenditure in India, the stopped U.S. bilateral aid programs were relatively small.²⁷ The United States provided \$51.3 million to India before ending foreign aid under the Foreign Aid Act in 1998. This included \$12 million for industrial development aid and \$9 million for housing guarantee. The Greenhouse Gas Initiative received an extra \$6 million, and a reproductive health initiative also received funding. Due to delays in USAID funding, the building of the Indian Electrical Research Center, which would have satisfied regulations governing energy efficiency and dependability, has been put on hold. After evaluations, the Trade Development Agency said they wouldn't be considering any further investments in this sector (Morrow, 1999).

The world was on high alert in May 1998 after Pakistan and India conducted atomic testing. In order to avoid a nuclear war, the world community urged all parties to settle their differences. Resolution 1172, approved by the United Nations Security Council on June 6, 1998, urged Pakistan and India to reduce tensions and look for ways to deal with Kashmir and other issues that had been causing tensions. To prevent a nuclear conflict, the United States has taken advantage of diplomatic openings to encourage all sides to begin bilateral discussions. On June 12, 1998, during a meeting, the G-8 nations reached an agreement. As a bonus, on July 29 and 30, 1998, Colombo hosted the summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) (Maggsi, 2013).

In the beginning, there were only five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, and they were the United States, Russia, China, France, and Great Britain. It was common knowledge that Israel had nuclear weapons. Some of the more senior members of this club were worried in the summer of 1998 when India and Pakistan both joined at the same time. One theory holds that the Kashmir conflict might spark the first nuclear war in human history. The two nations had no choice but to get down at the negotiation table to work out their issues (Guha, 2017). Access to information, goods, and services in India has been hampered by the actions of other nations, such as the USA, Canada, Japan, the UK, and the EU. The nuclear testing continued in the United States despite broad worldwide criticism and a steady drop in

²⁷Javaid, J. (2012). Peace building in South Asia: Limitations and Prospectus. Lahore, University of the Punjab.

foreign investment and commerce. Finally, India's inclusion of warheads in its nuclear arsenal was resisted by international limitations (Morrow, 1999).

The Calming of Tensions Between India and Pakistan:

The National Democratic government allowed the Pakistani cricket team to tour India in January and February 1999, which went against the wishes of Shiv Senna, an ally of the National Democratic government's alliance. With the help of guides, officials, and influencers from a variety of fields, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpai took the bold step of travelling by bus from India to Lahore in February 1999. The first-of-its-kind bus journey taken by the Indian Prime Minister has been hailed by his countrymen, their neighbors to the west, and even the people of Pakistan. Pakistani leaders extended a cordial welcome to their Indian counterpart, Atal Bihari Vajpai, and he was able to have fruitful discussions on a wide range of issues with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and other government officials. At the end of their meeting, Prime Ministers Vajpai and Nawaz Sharif signed the Lahore Declaration and Memorandum of Understanding (Mohan, 1999).

To meet with his Pakistani counterpart, the Indian Prime Minister took a bus to Lahore. Both Atal Behari Vajpai and Nawaz Sharif expressed interest in liberalizing visa requirements and increasing commerce with Pakistan. Even if there was still no resolution in Kashmir, the fact that both sides were talking to one other was a promising development (Guha, 2017).²⁸ Even though these deals were crucial, the most memorable part of Prime Minister Vajpai's bus journey to Lahore was his stop at the 60-meter Minar-e-Pakistan, where Mohammad Ali Jinnah had submitted a resolution on Pakistan at the Prime Minister's meeting of the All India Muslim League back in 1940. Atal Bihari Vajpai, India's former prime minister, strongly disagreed with the idea of a unified India, known as Akhand Bharat. After the Kargil War, 3.8 New Factors Have Emerged Vajpai's successful historic bus tour to Lahore was quickly derailed when India and Pakistan launched a short, brutal, but undeclared border war over large swaths of the Kashmir control line (Ganguly, 2001). Indian domestic politics persisted as an influence on the 1999 draught nuclear doctrine. There has been a rise in nationalist fervor after the BJP government was suspected of manipulating defense-related events like the Pokran II trials and the Kargil War. The

²⁸ Javaid, U. (2013). South Asia in Perspective. Lahore: CSAS, University of the Punjab.86

emergence of Atal Bihari Vajpai as a major figure and the BJP's standing as a prominent nationalist organization (Bajpa, 2009). General Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpai met for a bilateral summit in India, but Vajpai exhibited little enthusiasm. However, he has decided to reestablish these connections on the margins of the SAARC Summit in December and the United Nations General Assembly in September. When bilateral contacts between India and Pakistan completely broke down in the wake of the Kargil War in 1999, key cabinet members like L.K. Advani encouraged Vajpai to take strong and immediate action within a bilateral framework to break the stalemate. According to senior BJP council leaders, the decision to invite General Musharraf as president of Pakistan to the Agra summit was decided in April 2001 at the Advani house. India must react to the backing and pressure of European Union world powers in order to reconnect with Pakistan to tackle issues like Kashmir and reduce nuclear risks. The Indian government recognized the need of bolstering its image as a peace-negotiating power capable of handling even the most contentious problems in bilateral ties with Pakistan. Musharraf approved Atal Bihari Vajpai's May 24–22 visit (Sanjeev, 2007). The primary objective of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpai's administration was to present India as a country dedicated to the use of nonviolent measures to achieve its goals. In an address to the BJP's national executive body on July 28th, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpai appraised Pakistan's posture against India. According to his information, General Musharraf arrived in Agra as a soldier with a distinct, self-interested objective and was not concerned with maintaining stability. Conclusion: There is no sign of a shared understanding of the nature of political difficulties in Indo-Pakistani talks. Moreover, Pakistan has been portrayed as oblivious to the reality of its support for separatist movements in India. In spite of this, Pakistan has vowed to keep fighting India's undeclared war in Jammu and Kashmir and elsewhere in the region and has determined it would not withdraw its support (Dixit, 2001).

Both the Jana Sangh and the BJP have long held strong anti-Western biases, particularly against the United States, due to their extreme right-wing antipathy toward socialism. Yet, the Cold War alliance between the United States and Pakistan was the root of the issue. The Hindutva ideology has deep roots in anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistani sentiment. It is said that the bellicose and militaristic rhetoric of the Jana Sangh and the BJP accurately portrays India's longtime enmity towards Pakistan

and its aspirations to become a significant regional and worldwide force. They took part in the 1998 nuclear tests at Pokhraan II and the 1992 destruction of the Babri Mosque, both of which were inspired by the RSS BJP but spiralled out of control in the 1990s. The aggressiveness, hatred, and confidence in wiping out imagined internal and external enemies are all present in both activities (Vanaik, 2002)

In 1998, to the consternation of many, India and Pakistan conducted nuclear testing. Pakistan strongly criticized India for their nuclear tests, but on May 28, 1998, they conducted their own nuclear explosions.²⁹ The tension between the two nations has increased significantly because to the nuclear missile issue. It was a blatant display of the risk each government saw in the other, a danger that had already revealed itself in the region's major conflicts. In the end, the peace procedures failed to bring about the reconciliation that both nations had hoped for. The international world has condemned and sanctioned both parties for their nuclear testing. Following the tests, Pakistan extended an official contract banning further nuclear testing to India in an effort to reduce regional tensions. India rejected the proposal, arguing that it would be useless. With India having proclaimed a nuclear pause following its own testing (Gul, 2007).

The BJP administrations that were elected in 1998 and 1999 helped sustain and even improve the overall economic trend. The BJP-led administrations' international initiatives and future plans. It helps to take note of everything that sheds light on the strategic stances of the political Hindutva. Without a majority in the legislature and the presidency, the RSS, energized by the BJP, would not be able to realize its vision of constructing a Hindu rashtra or the Hindu country of your dreams. The subject of how and why the Indian establishment grew more receptive and supported the Sangha doctrine, a more militant and militant nationalism, is entwined with the reasons for India's atomic choice. The Atal Bihari Vajpai administration said that threats from China and Pakistan necessitated nuclear testing. The same government authorities who eloquently blamed the Chinese and Pakistani threats for the tests also announced that the Indian bomb was not a particular state within a month. Until the end of 1999, the official opinion of the government was that the Indian bomb presented no special danger (Vanaik, 2002). (Vanaik, 2002).

²⁹Javaid, U.(2006). Peace and Security in South Asia: Issues and Challenges. Lahore, Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab.

CHAPTER 03

Narendra Modi's BJP and India-Pakistan Relations

This chapter discusses Modi's BJP-led government. This chapter is divided into sections to explain Narendra Modi's Pakistan policy. After the election, it discussed BJP anti-Muslim activities. It also notes BJP's rise to power in India. It highlights Narendra Modi's BJP's hatred of Pakistan and Muslims. Last section looks at peace initiatives during this time. The goal is to see how India's right-wing party's rise affects Pakistan. This chapter begins with Narendra Modi's rise and India's right-wing politics. Before 2014's BJP government Contrary to BJP, Indian National Congress believes in Indian nationalism, not Hindu nationalism. It then discusses the escalation of tensions between both countries during that time. ³⁰Domestic variables escalate tension between the two countries, but international factors de-escalate it. The next section focuses on peacekeeping events. It also highlights the aggressive political stance against Pakistan and Hindutva-based election strategy.

Pakistani Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

Indians set new milestones with the highest turnout in the 16th Lok Sabha elections in early 2014. The right-wing BJP won an election in 2014 (Mohpara, Narendra Modi seems to benefit the RSS). He engaged Sangh Parivar's followers and the public, but he neglected the organization. State party leaders usually send RSS nominees, but this didn't happen. Also has significant support from Lower-level Sangh Parivar accepts Narendra Modi. RSS representatives say Sevak and Pracharak see Narendra Modi as a true Hindu nationalist. His personality helped RSS overcome challenges. violent behavior includes saying and doing things not previously reported. He's a Hindu nationalist (Ghosh, 2013). This ideology was codified in Vinayak Damodar Savarkar's 1923 book Hindutva: Who Hindu? (Cabrerria, 2019). India and Pakistan interact indirectly rather than directly. Narendra Modi became prime minister in 2014 when the BJP won power. His election campaign was anti-Pakistan and exclusive. His government has pursued hard policies against Pakistan politically and militarily, such as the Cold Doctrine (CSD), interference from Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and changing Jammu Kashmir's status. Nuclear deterrence has avoided direct

³⁰Johnson, R. (2005). A Region in Turmoil: South Asian Conflicts since 1947. Reaktion Books, London, UK.p.99.

confrontation between the two countries, but it indirectly affects terrorism, electronic warfare, and other issues. Nuclear deterrence has created stability and uncertainty as both states try to subjugate each other. These relationships are realistic and stability-instability. (2010) 13 Modi's Hindutva-based campaign BJP's election manifesto promises to review its nuclear strategy. Narendra Modi will improve India's nuclear strategy to make it applicable to modern threats and establish a reliable minimum deterrent. Hindu nationalism began in the mainstream pre-independence movement. In the past two decades, the nationalist Hindu movement in India has become the dominant cultural and political movement, presenting itself as inclusive and developmental while trying to maintain upper-class Hindu hegemony in a state with different identities. is between Hindus and Muslims. Misunderstandings are used to sway public opinion and unite the Hindutva establishment. Any attempt to control this context would create a stigmatized other whose loyalty is contested. Philosophy, tradition, rhetoric, theology, society, and politics define self and other perceptions (Ansari, 2016). partisanship Narendra Modi boosted the BJP in 2014. Modi's reputation as a Hindutva leader and business-friendly reformer helped the BJP. Narendra Modi ran on his economic record in Gujarat (Chhibber, 2014).

Narendra Modi's India-Pakistan tensions.

During Narendra Modi's administration, diplomatic efforts and tensions along the line of control marked Pakistan-India relations. The BJP isolates Pakistan regionally and internationally. Narendra Modi invited Nawaz Sharif to his inauguration, which was a good move. India cancelled foreign minister talks with Pakistan in August 2014, citing a New Delhi meeting between the Pakistani high commissioner and Kashmiri Hurriyat leaders. Indian cancellation of the talks was Pakistan's first major setback in normalizing relations. Since 2014,³¹ the control line and working limit have been tense, and Indian politicians have insulted Pakistan. Pakistan and India's political and diplomatic relationship swings. 2017(Kim)

Narendra Modi's intimidating statements affect India's declaratory policies and how it claims to use its nuclear weapons against Pakistan. Pakistan once used nuclear avoidance to stop Indian attacks. This has been shown in a variety of scenarios, including the 1999 Kargil War, but the Narendra Modi Indian government seems

³¹Johnson, R. (2005). A Region in Turmoil: South Asian Conflicts since 1947. Reaktion Books, London, UK.p.99.

more confident in its ability to control escalation and launch Indian forces across the border. drag Modi's testimony shows Pakistan's uneven ability to intimidate Indian leaders. Multiple Indian military offensives against Pakistan show how Narendra Modi's beliefs about Indian nuclear weapons have changed Indian military strategy. Voters favored Narendra Modi's Bhartiya ata Party government, which ran against Rahul Gandhi's Indian National Congress. Public statements reassure Narendra Modi's followers that his government will use nuclear weapons against Pakistan (MacDonald, 2020).

Despite Narendra Modi's leadership and the popularity of his development program, the Bhartiya Janata Party is ideologically committed to promoting Hindutva, which threatens religious minorities, mainly 180 million Muslims. This is reflected in the party's contempt for state secularism, which favors religious minorities over the majority Hindu population, Article 370 of the Constitution, the mum, and Kashmir's special status (Jaffrelot, 1999). Pakistan's response to Indian surgical strikes Uri, Jammu and Kashmir, was attacked on September 18. India accuses Pakistan and vows revenge. Thus, India has called for a surgical strike in Pakistan. Pakistan denied the claim and announced strict retaliatory measures under ISPR. India claimed another surgical strike in Balakot, KPK. Pakistan refused and announced retaliation, resulting in the downing of an Indian plane and the capture of its pilot Abhinandan on February 27, 2019, according to ISPR. These actions and counteractions by both rival states involved an unconventional war without nuclear weapons. Thus, nuclear deterrence established conventional stability while unconventional instability persisted (Pitafi, 2020).

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's BJP government in India is actively exploiting fault lines in Pakistan. Different types of conflicts arise and exist with varying degrees of intensity in each state, but these conflicts do not catalyze political change unless external actors are in place. India is constantly trying to create such divisions against Pakistan through a hybrid approach to war as it is a middling power (Bilal, 2020). Invalid newspapers and media in 65 countries used to publish anti-Pakistani coverage and advance Indian government interests were also exposed, naming fake local news sites (Hindu, 2019). Twitter is used to trigger different topics' tendencies. Such actions show that both states have agreed not to engage in conventional rivalry to oppress each other (Pitafi, 2020).

Modi and Pakistan's Peace Process

Cross-border bombing, the LoC, war threats, and Indian propaganda against Pakistan have strained relations under Narendra Modi. Kashmir, Siachen, Sir Creek, and Water remain unresolved issues. Under the BJP, Indian atrocities and human rights violations increased in Indian-occupied Kashmir. Since 2016, over 100 people have been killed, thousands arrested, and 15,000 mutilated. The Indian Research and Analysis Wing's (RAW) role in the terrorist attacks in Pakistan on Afghan soil, as revealed by an Indian agent arrested in Baluchistan in March 2016, was to undermine regional stability. Political propaganda along the control line has inflamed mario (jaz, 2016). This victory increases the BJP's chances of winning the 2019 national elections and shows Hindutva's appeal.³²The BJP's approach to India's religious diversity is often compared to the Congress-sponsored bourgeois definition of the nation, which combines secularism and multiculturalism (Kim, 2017)

Narendra Modi is a proponent of Indian Hindu nationalism, which has influenced his politics. In 2002, Narendra Modi's fundamentalist Hindu views caused religious unrest in Gujarat. Narendra Modi was accused of allowing Hindu aggression against Indian Muslims. Indian and Pakistani warplanes attacked each other's territory during the 2019 India-Pakistan border skirmish. First time both nuclear rivals' risk retaliatory air strikes. The Indian border nuclear confrontation was nothing special. During Narendra Modi's reign, India took a more assertive stance on Pakistan, which made incidents worse. Hindu nationalism influences Narendra Modi's actions. Narendra Modi should lead the bureaucracy and influence Indian nuclear policy as nuclear forces commander. He also said they have mother-of-all-atomic-bombs. Narendra Modi reportedly said in another speech that India had ended its policies due to Pakistani threats and that if Pakistan threatened the nuclear bomb, India would not keep it for Diwali. 2020) This chapter examined Narendra Modi's election strategy of attacking Pakistan and using nuclear weapons. It showed Narendra Modi's influence on nuclear strategy and promoted missile development and deterrence. Narendra Modi's risk calculation was different from his predecessor and limited conventional strikes into Pakistan. However, the growth in the Indian Armed Forces' capabilities was a major factor in pons development. Narendra Modi has repeatedly shown the

³²Kim, Sung Won."Human Security with an Asian Face." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 17 (1): 83-103. (2010).

ability to reach people and receive port, but he avoids SS. RSS's top executives supported Modi because Sangh Parivar's base did.

CHAPTER 04

Vajpai and Modi on Pakistan

This chapter compares the policies of both BJP-led prime ministers to analyze Indian-Pakistani relations under the BJP. The comparison between the BJP coalition government and Narendra Modi's government will highlight Indian foreign policy factors that affect India and Pakistan.³³ Domestic factors are as important as international ones. This chapter tries to see Modi and Vajpai as RSS ideologues. Sch has a strange stance on Pakistan and in party. After BJP's National Democratic Alliance gained power in 2014, It distinguishes between coalition and majority governments.

Modi, Vajpai RSS ideologues

Contrary to the idea of equal rights for all, the BJP's policies towards religious minorities, especially Muslims, are discriminatory. Since Narendra Modi's election, its affiliated organization has shown fanaticism and discrimination. All fins are for converting Muslims and Christians to Hinduism. An obsessive cow protection movement targeted Muslims based on pon. Anti-conversion laws undermine religious freedom, and there have been violent incidents against religious minorities, especially in the upcoming elections (Kim, 2017). Hindutva ideology encompasses a national identity based on being Hindu, language or ethnicity, and the integration and assimilation of non-Hindus, particularly Muslims (Jafferlot, 2009). Thus, the Narendra Modi government is known for improving the curriculum of Hindu schools and universities, promoting legislation to combat cow slaughter in the states, and passing "freedom of religion" laws that limited conversion capacity (Hasan, 2006). Hindutva activists pressured the Himachal Pradesh Supreme Court for Haryana to consider banning cow slaughter. Ironically, the court's decision was based on India's secularism, which requires that citizens not hurt others' religious feelings (Arora, 2015).

Both BJP-led Indian PMs are RSS ideologues. Both use RSS and support it. This is where differences end and variances begin. Not just temperament, but also politics. Narendra Modi's radical support and loyalty lie with the RSS, which considers him a

³³Korbel, Josef. (1966). *Danger in Kashmir*, California: Princeton University Press.

staunch nationalist. Narendra Modi, unlike Atal Bihari Vajpai, marginalized BJP veterans in 2015. (Jafferlot, 2015). Hindutva ideology promotes Hindu nationalism in schools and colleges. BJP's manifesto called for building a temple in Ayodha and repealing Article 370 in Kashmir (Ogden, 2012). Narendra Modi, an OBC member and Gujarat's chief minister during the 2002 anti-Muslim riots, was nominated as prime minister (Palshikar, 2015). 5.3 BJP major party after NDA and Pakistan

The BJP's Hindutva-focused election agenda helped it consolidate the Hindu vote, but it moderated its ideology after taking power. Jana Sangh, the BJP's predecessor, tried to better manage coalition risks after the Janata Party's first coalition government (1977-79). ³⁴This allowed BJP-led coalition governments to function without undermining Hinduism. A review of the BJP-led NDA government (1998-2004) says minority interests were met with "overt Hindu bias" rather than the dissolution of their identities. This was accomplished by putting controversial issues on the BJP's ideological agenda, such as the repeal of Article 370 Kashmir, a unified civil code, and the construction of a Hindu temple in Ayodhya, while using state power to promote cultural nationalism (Hassan, 2006)

In contrast to the BJP's National Democratic Alliance government (1998-2004), there was no proposal for a new constitutional commission. However, the BJP and Sangh Parivar are calling for the change (Varshney, 2016). After Gandhi's murder, the RSS was banned for harming Indian nationalism. After 1996 elections, BJP came to power with NDA in 1998. (Ijaz, 2016). 2014 Lok Sabha elections are the most important since 1947. The Indian National Congress was crushed when the BJP won 282 of 336 NDA seats. The BJP formed the first coalition government with an absolute majority since 1984. Narendra Modi, linked to the 2002 Gujrat massacre, was nominated for prime minister. The party is ideologically committed to promoting the Hindutva agenda, and this is reflected in its contempt for "pseudo-secular" state secularism, which privileges religious minorities but marginalises the demands of the Hindu-majority population and a unified civil code that abolishes Muslim rights (Kim, 2017).

Other religious groups, especially Muslims, are considered foreign to India. Hindutva aims to create a Hindu state in India. Narendra Modi mobilized his movement by referring to recurring themes of a Muslim challenge to the Hindu majority to increase

³⁴Korbel, Josef. (1966). *Danger in Kashmir*, California: Princeton University Press.

the Hindus' vulnerability and link Hindutva to Indian nationalism, which was previously considered Hindu nationalism. Right-wing nationalists rule the world's largest democracy (Leidig, 2020). The BJP's victory has sparked discussions about its meaning. He could also use this chance to advance his Hindu nationalist agenda, which the previous government couldn't (Palshikar, 2015).

Narendra Modi's campaign will focus on Gujarat's neoliberal economic model after ten years of INC rule (Cabrera, 2019). Narendra Modi's election as India's prime minister has raised global expectations for India. Indian's economic growth spurt and 1998 nuclear tests suggested the country was on the verge of becoming a major player in Asian and international politics.³⁵ Nuclear deal between India and the U.S. allowed India to bypass rules to tighten nuclear trade, despite refusing to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Hindu nationalists have vehemently criticized the BJP-led coalition government for failing to resolve these questions from 1998 to 2004. (Harriss, 2002). Narendra Modi denigrates previous Indian governments, including the BJP of Atal Bihari Vajpai. Ankit Panda, an Indian security analyst, said these statements were unusual for an Indian Prime Minister, but show how the nationalist BJP prioritizes national security and military capabilities (MacDonald, 2020).

Modi and Vajpai's foreign policy

Under Narendra Modi's rule, relations between Pakistan and India deteriorated because his government pursued militant, discriminatory, and aggressive policies towards Pakistan, and especially towards Muslims in India and Kashmir. His predecessor, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpai, tried to improve relations between both countries and acted as a peacekeeper. Atal Bihari Vajpai is more refined and cultured than Narendra Modi. Atal Bihari Vajpai developed a policy toward Pakistan without compromising Indian security. Indeed, Narendra Modi's BJP strategy in Kashmir was to rule and subjugate the Kashmiri people, using brutal violence and money to suppress freedom struggles and increase violence in the Kashmir Valley (Ijaz, 2016).

After the "surgical blow" in Kashmir, the military was used to instill nationalism and patriotic virtue against anti-national and inflammatory tendencies. The Narendra Modi

³⁵Mazhar, M. S., & Goraya, N. (2014). Post-2014 Afghanistan: Reflections & Off-Shoots. Lahore: University of the Punjab, Lahore.

government's cultural-nationalist agenda is less constrained than in the past. The coalition that brought the BJP to power forced them to loosen their agenda for stability and resilience. No Indian coalition has ever served a full term, highlighting this prerogative. In 1996, the BJP took over the "transitional government" but couldn't secure regional support (Ogden, 2012).

By examining how Prime Ministers shape nuclear strategy, Indian security creates momentum that helps policymakers craft the first nuclear strategy. Instead of Indian nuclear foes. International politics and national policy are dominated by politicians proposing agendas that suit their interests because of nuclear weapons' political utility. Atal Bihari Vajpai was instrumental in creating an internal political environment conducive to the development of Indian nuclear strategy. This allowed Indian nuclear policy to go beyond the reliable minimum deterrence set out in the 1999 nuclear doctrine. During Atal Bihari Vajpai's rule, Indian nuclear strategy was consistent. During the reporting period, India's nuclear safety environment improved qualitatively and quantitatively. Pakistan and China grew nuclear arsenals. India has upgraded its arsenal.³⁶ While mitigating and containing external nuclear threats was crucial, Indian internal actors needed to be aware of external security conditions and their organizational and political benefit. Every prime minister has encouraged and resisted local actors. Atal Bihari Vajpai supported a strategic enclave but resisted military involvement. Political affiliation differentiates the leaders. This means the leader's political background explains Indian nuclear strategy. Changes in the perception of India's external security, the need to develop its technological base, or limited resources could also be factors. It could also be politicians embracing the nuclear revolution in India and the subcontinent, where nuclear training is taking place, and forming a national, political, and institutional memory of clear strategy (Bell, 2015). The argument shows that statesmen use nuclear weapons in innovative ways, especially in domestic, foreign, and defence policy. 2019 Some statesmen are more likely to adopt a nuclear strategy and poise on the verge of art than others to advance the political agenda (MacDonald, 2020).

Narendra Modi's Hindutva ideology and politics raise hopes for a clearer foreign policy. For many, this makes India stronger and stiffer, which can be the backbone of

³⁶Raghavan, P. (2013). *The Finality of Partition: Bilateral Relations between India and Pakistan, 1947-1957* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge)

true national security and international recognition of India's preeminent place in the world, far from Congress' weakness and compromise. Hindutva and Narendra Modi represent the aggressive face of Hindu nationalism for its wrongdoers, as seen during the 2002 Gujarat massacre when Modi was chief minister. Narendra Modi didn't change India's relations with major powers. In the 1990s, India moved from fearing the power of the big players to increasing confidence in its ability to deal with systemic power structures. Narendra Modi didn't change but kept going. Its cold war predecessors developed a security approach appropriate for a time of high collaboration in the context of international economic integration and growing tensions caused by changes in international opportunity distribution. Several strategic partnerships helped. Narendra Modi stays on course. Narendra Modi, like Atal Bihari Vajpai before him, pushed for India's higher status in state society through the acquisition of power symbols and cautious strategic behavior (Basrur, 2017). Even though Atal Bihari Vajpai's government had to compromise with the BJP's NDA partners, Narendra Modi wanted plurality, so the BJP developed its own strategy (Jafferlot, 2017).

This chapter emphasizes that with a new Prime Minister comes a new policy, but the Prime Minister's role is crucial in any case due to political structure. When there's a coalition government like Atal Bihari Vajpai's, the party's background is still important. International pressures and the leader's personality affect decisions and harshness. The next chapter will summarize the discussion.

CONCLUSION

Hinduism is a religion, and no religion preaches evil, but Hindutva preaches extremism and hatred. India has always been known for its secularism, but after Narendra Modi became Prime Minister in 2014, Hindutva ideology dominated secularism. Narendra Modi is a well-known fanatic and RSS propagandist in Indian politics. Hindutva's oppressive nature and radical supporters' implementation have generated regional and international concern.

Domestic politics and foreign policy are linked. In the case of India's ruling BJP, its ideological principles and foreign policy approach influence India's foreign policy. While India and Pakistan's rivalry isn't new, it's growing in the Indian military. Pakistan and the international community are concerned about nuclear powers' strategic culture. Hence, internal developments in India such as the rise to Hindutva ideology have general effects on regional stability and Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan.³⁷ Since the partition, both aspects have dominated India: Indian nationalism and Hindu nationalism. Indian nationalism has its roots in the norms of secularism. Apart from this Hindu nationalism lies with the Hindu Ideology that with the rise of BJP surfaced in Indian political arena. With this the concept, secular India or Indian Nationalism that is supported by its basic law is diminishing at a very fast pace due to the discriminatory policies of Narendra Modi towards minorities especially against Muslims and Pakistan. Certainly, these domestic political variables can be clearly visible in foreign policy behavior of India. But due to international pressure for the peace and security in the region, the aggressive policies seem moderated as during the Atal Bihari Vajpai period when soon after nuclear test back in 1998 both countries faced international pressure and consequently the peace process began and numerous events took place in this regard out of which Atal Bihari Vajpai's visit to Lahore, Pakistan was also significant. As the rivalry between India and Pakistan began with the partition of united India with decolonization of the British in August 1947.

Pakistan and the international community fear nuclear rivals and neighboring' strategic military cultures. Thus, India's internal changes, like the advent of Hindutva, affect the area. Both nations had different beliefs. India, a secular state, inherited great

³⁷Rizvi, Gowher. (1994). India Pakistan and Kashmir problem 1947-71 (ed.) Perspectives on Kashmir by Dr. Kaniz Fatima Yousaf, Islamabad: Pakistan Forum.

Hindus and Muslims. Violence drove the separation of British India into its successor states. Identity politics and Hindutva might affect bilateral ties between neighbors and nuclear-armed enemies under Narendra Modi. Hindutva wants to tyrannize India's minorities. In India, domestic violence is common. The bigger attention appears to be on Pakistan and minorities in India. The BJP's politics of abhorrence, violence against Kashmiris, and persecution of Muslims and other minorities are examples of its reign.

Ironically, western countries, who have long relied on the Indian narrative of an extreme danger to Pakistani nuclear weapons, keep mute about the development of Hindutva under Narendra Modi. Hindutva's threat is growing in India's military. Strategic instability is Pakistan and the world's biggest worry. Narendra Modi, a well-known zealot and RSS propagandist, became Prime Minister in 2014 with the BJP's help. Hindutva's authoritarian features and extreme followers have sparked regional and worldwide alarm. Hindutva's societal aim is supremacy, enslaving Dalits, Muslims, Christians, and Sikhs.³⁸ It's important to address concerns about Hindutva's influence on both nuclear competitors. Narendra Modi's administration has reversed tendencies that impact Indian foreign policy and ties with Pakistan. With Narendra Modi's regime, Hindu nationalism has replaced Indian secularism. The BJP's 2014 strategy of portraying Narendra Modi as an united leader was novel, whereas the Congress had done so under Indira Raj. Active supporters and widespread use of communication channels helped introduce a new kind of media populism. The 2014 BJP campaign maintains its previous elements, particularly Narendra Modi's anti-corruption theme, and RSS backing is probably more ambitious than ever, despite early doubts from the organization's leaders.

Before Narendra Modi's 2014 administration, the anti-Pakistani BJP attained national power in 1998. It had to build a coalition government with parties that didn't share the BJP's nationalist ideology. The party's leadership urged party members to modify their Hindu nationalist ideas. After the BJP took power, it diminished its Hindu nationalist ideologies. The Atal Bihari Vajpai administration's actions before and after Kargil were discussed. Nawaz Sharif maintained bus diplomacy, cricket diplomacy, etc. before Kargil. Vajpai continued peacekeeping with Pakistan's military ruler. Because of international pressure following nuclear testing and the necessity to

³⁸Stone, Marianne. (2009). Security according to Buzan: A comprehensive security analysis. Security discussion papers series, 11 (1).

maintain a coalition government. The BJP coalition government's relationship with Pakistan has had ups and downs because of election predictions. More aggressive, extremist attitudes. Atal Bihari Vajpai's administration was withheld by coalition partners, whereas Narendra Modi's government battled with Pakistan, although not as hostile as the campaign claimed. Hindutva cannot be ignored in any circumstance, but foreign considerations are ideological. US sanctions after nuclear testing in the area are one way to distance from conflict. Because nuclear testing have pushed South Asia into nuclear conflict and escalated armed rivalry. The fact that the BJP was previously in power as a coalition is a barrier. The NDA administration did not address any of Narendra Modi's problematic subjects, like as Jammu & Kashmir's special status and the Ram temple in Ayodhya. Instead, he prioritized economic growth and privatization over social welfare. Due to his electoral victory, Narendra Modi was caustic, particularly against Pakistan.

In addition to Hindutva's internal ideological factors, external pressures are crucial. Neoclassical realism examined Narendra Modi's electoral victory and anti-Pakistani stance, and showed his influence on nuclear strategy. Narendra Modi's risk estimate differs from his predecessors since he conducted minimal conventional attacks in Pakistan. Growing potential of Indian Armed Forces projects started by predecessors drove this growth. During the National Democratic Alliance, the BJP's attitude became more pragmatic to suit requirements.

The political system appears founded on actual politics, not idealistic romanticism. It's the result of BJP elites' astute political strategy in a changing political and economic climate. Hindutva's foreign policy platform is complicated. Several websites produce anti-Pakistan information for India's government. Indian enterprises, ³⁹NGOs, and think institutions were involved. Such activities demonstrate that both nations have decided to dominate one other without traditional competition. No major improvement in bilateral ties is expected under Narendra Modi's administration in 2014 if national considerations are considered, but international variables may make a difference. Narendra Modi's hardline attitude against Pakistan, discriminatory policies towards Muslims in Kashmir, and fundamentalist worldview have led to a lack of trust, insecurity, and misunderstanding between the two nations. Pakistan is a

³⁹Hilali, A.Z. (2005). –Confidence-and Security-Building Measures for India and Pakistan.Alternatives: Global, Local, Political.Vol. 30. 2. Sage Publications, Inc.

committed believer of bilateral, regional, and worldwide peace and the resolution of conflicts via conversation and negotiation with India.

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