



RESEARCH PAPER

The Role of Hindutva and Identity Politics in Modi Foreign Policy and India-Pakistan Relations

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ABSTRACT

The anguish in ties between Pakistan and India has expedited in 2014. The agony in the relations between the two states started promptly after the emancipation from British Raj, but the woefulness in the relations triggered in Narendra Modi regime. The aims of the study are to explore the Modi's Hindutva belligerent policies towards Pakistan and to discover the factors that paved the way for the xenophobic posture of Modi's administration. Besides, the research is qualitative in nature. Primary and secondary data sources of qualitative methodology have followed, Prominent intellectuals and experts of the topic, face to face interview have followed. The secondary data has also taken from online sources, official documents, articles, past surveys, national and international journal, books and newspapers. The future of Pakistan and India is under the heavy clouds of confrontation because of the influence of Hindu Supremacists and Hindutva ideology in the Modi government, but hope always remain alive in the dark as Martin Luther King Jr. said that " We must accept finite disappointment but never lose infinite hope".

Keywords: Anguish Relations, Hindu Supremacist, Hindutva, Nationalism

Introduction

The relations between India and Pakistan are always topsy-turvy after emancipation from the colonial rule of British Raj, but the relations between the two neighbors have triggered and reached to its detrimental level during Narendra Modi regime. The massive factors behind the deteriorated relations are Identity politics, Hindutva and Modi's foreign policy. In today Modi's India, the foreign policy of the country is based on the Ideology of Identity politics of Hindutva, which has undermined the relations amid India and Pakistan. In this regard, there will be two question will be addressed in the research. The Primary question is that Why the Pak-India relations are topsy-turvy during Modi's Hindutva regime? The secondary question will be discussed in the research is that what factors are behind the deteriorated relations between India and Pakistan? The research is qualitative in nature. To enhance the research, Primary and secondary data sources of qualitative methodology have followed. The purposive sampling and face to face interview along with elite interview has followed. Apart from Primary data collection technique, the secondary data has retrieved from online sources, official documents, articles, past surveys, national and international journal, books and newspapers. Theoretically, Offensive, Defensive and Neo Classical realism and Constructivism have adopted to enhance the research.

In this regard, Afzal, M (2019) elaborates in "Factors Contributing to Extremism in India" that the Hindu supremacists are seeking to alter the one thousand year history of Muslim rule in India. Therefore, they have altered the names of numerous roads, universities and cities. The author further explains that the vote bank of RSS or Hindutva accelerated after Babri Mosque demolition. In 1992 the RSS vote bank was about 20 percent, but it was hiked to 31 percent by Narendra Modi in 2014.

Shibli, M (2019) argues in "World Wide Linkages and Collaborations: Hindutva Rising Extremism in India" that the ideology and narrative of RSS Hindutva are enthused by Hitler and Mussolini. All the founding helm of RSS such as Savarkar, Golwalkar had followed the ideology of Hitler and even the central architecture of RSS Shivram Moonje visited Italy to meet Mussolini. RSS followed the dresses, drill and philosophy of Mussolini.

Jilani, J. (2019) elucidates in "BJP's Hindutva Agenda, International Responses and Pakistan-India Relations in Perspective" that BJP had adopted a Hindutva, anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistan rhetoric in the elections and their manifesto were mainly grounded on four issues which were; Construction of Ram Temple over the Rubble of Babri Mosque, ban on cow slaughtering, abrogation of article 370 or revocation of special status from Jammu Kashmir and introduction of uniform civil code.

Throor (2018) says that Modi is a paradoxical, because he says one thing and does another. Modi has labeled as Mout ka Sodagar by Congress leader Sonia Gandhi on the basis of Gujarat upheaval. Furthermore, Tharoor believes that Modi is orthodox RSS worker, because he expressed on ZEE TV about Gujarat massacre that "This is a chain of action and reaction".

Guha, R. (2012) argues in "The Guru of Hate" that Modi is the adorer of Hindutva. In 2013 with Reuters, he accentuated that 'I am a nationalist, I am patriot, and I am a Hindu so yes I am Hindu nationalist. Therefore, he is vilifying minorities to gratify radical Hindus.

Roy, A (2019) explains in "The silence is the loudest sound" that for the first time in the history, two nuclear capable states launched an air assault against each other. The situation further became detrimental, when Modi government revoked Article 370 and altered the constitutional relation with Jammu Kashmir. The abrogation of article 370 was an explicit agenda of Hindutva, accomplished by Modi. In this context Modi Said on August 15th that "finally his government accomplished the dream of one nation and one constitution by the revocation of special status to Jammu and Kashmir. Besides, the author is anticipating that violence would be ensued, when the curfew is lifted (Masood et. al. 2020)

Theoretical Framework

Hindutva is a primary influential principle of Modi's foreign policy. Hindutva stance is derivative from its pessimistic interpretation of human nature, its boosting national supremacy through hard, soft and spiritual power (Pratap (2021). Likewise, Morgenthau explicated the intense reality of international politics by the identification of the determination to control as the primary factor of a state and its existence. It is truly grounded on realism. Likewise, Hindutva has triggered ferocity as a political modernism, intimidation in diplomatic relations and intolerant frenzy nationalism in the Indian contemporary politics. It reveals that ties of India with Pakistan are the Neo-classic brand of realism, which reflects in the aggressive foreign policy of Narendra Modi.

Apart from Neo classic realism, the significance of Constructivism in the relation between the countries is not avoidable. In International Relations, Constructivism assists intellectuals to comprehend and explore the inter-state and intra-state relations. Constructivists deem that the construction of ideas, customs, ethics and values in numerous socio-psychological settings, are resulted in enmity, alliance and discrimination within the structure (Slaughter, 2011). Similarly, the interaction between the states and people are chained in culture, norms, ideas, which are socially constructed. BJP administration relations with Pakistan are grounded on the faith, jingoistic nationalism, and Hindutva, all of them have socially and culturally constructed.

Socially constructed identities in Indian Culture lead the nation to hostile identities in the relation with other states. In the relations, the interests and objectives of the state are

socially constructed, not rooted in geo-politics. In constructivism, a state project and expresses its identities and interests in conflictual terms (Shafique, 2011). Identities are socially created and responsible to shape States expression of actions and understanding their geo-political and strategic interests. It reveals that culture and its identities have massive influence over State actions and foreign policy.

Analysis

Origin and Philosophy of Hindutva

Chandarnath Basu was the first person, who used the term Hindutva in 1892, but later the term got more popularity in 1923 by Savarkar. Afterwards, the Hindutva ideology was followed by Hedgewer, Shyama Parsad Mookarjee and currently followed by L.K Advani and Narendra Modi. Hindutva is an ideology of Indian cultural identity. Hindutva actually accumulate a geographically based Hindu religion, culture and national identity into one frame.

Muslims had ruled India for more than 800 years. The Muslims rulers shared power with locals and handed over many momentous and strategic position to them in military and administration. It is because of that amity, Hindus and Muslims together valiantly battled the War of Independence in 1857. After the failure of war, the British inculcated the hatred and enmity in the mind of Hindus and Muslims to divide them and rule on India.

Brahmo Samaj

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a Brahmin, was in the service of East India Company, designed the foundation of Brahmo Samaj. The principles of this movement were based on numerous reforms, comprised of denial of caste system, idolatry and focuses on women education and the direct relation between men and God. Mohan Roy asserted that he reclaimed these traits from the actual philosophy of Hinduism from Upanishads (a part of Vedas) (Milford). The movement fascinated many people, but did not reach to its apex.

Foundation of Modern Hinduism, Arya Samaj

The foundation of modern Hinduism was laid by Dayananda Sarasvati, a Gujarati Brahmin. He believed that British and West are economically affluent but spiritually vulnerable, while on the other side, people in India are spiritually evolved and affluent. So, they can go hand in hand. Sarasvati reckoned these mutual grounds for cooperation with West. Sarasvati founded Arya Samaj movement in 1875, which means noble society, with the aim to return to the temporal and spirituality of Vedas, the pristine scriptures of India.

This movement enormously influenced locals. They comprehend Vedas is the absolute truth with denial of idolatry, denial of reincarnation of god, focuses on women education, prohibition of child marriages and advocacy of Sanskrit and Hindi. There are several concrete criticisms on their claims and divinity, for instance, they believe that Muslims are the outsiders and Aryans are the native people of India. The people of Aryan background in elsewhere in the World are Indian and migrated from India. They reckoned that people living in India were all Hindus, some has changed their creed and some were forcefully converted. They believe that those who are not Hindus in India will be converted back to Hinduism. Besides, they proclaimed that Sanskrit is the mother of all languages. This movement tried to create unity amidst Hindus.

Shuddhi Movement

Shuddhi is a Sanskrit word which means purification. It was a Hindu socio-political movement initiated by Arya Samaj and its founder Saraswati and his apprentices along with

Guru Dutt and Swami Shraddhananda, who worked hard in North India more particularly in Punjab in early 1900 to consolidate Hinduism. The aim of the movement was to reel the people back who had converted to Islam and Christianity from Hinduism.

Hindu Mahasabha 1915

Madhan Mohan Malaviya advanced the movement Sanatan Dharma with the teaching of idolatry, caste superiority, and Brahmin priesthood (Jaffrelot, 2009). It had become a new version of Hindu nationalism. This movement extended its roots in Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. It was Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharma, which laid the foundation of Hindu Mahasabha. The aim of the Mahasabha was the Hindu political unity and the conversion of Muslims to Hinduism.

Rashtrya Swayamsevak Sang 1925

In the strong presence of Gandhi in the congress, it was unmanageable for Hindu extremists to get any notable position in the congress. Resultantly, Sabhaite helm moved from Northern India to central provinces and Bihar, where Hindu radicals were stronger comparatively. In the meanwhile, Veer Savarkar, a Brahmin, emerged as a so called revolutionary extremist. During his student life, he was involved in subversive activities against British Raj in London. He was imprisoned for 2 years in the attempt of escape from police custody in Andaman.

Savarkar was enormously impressed by West racism in politics. On the basis of racism, he sculptured the concept of new version of Hinduism. In 1925, the extremists Hindus under the helm of Savarkar and Hedgrwar formed the organization Rashtrya Swayamsevak Sangh. The followers of the movement or organization were equipped by Khaki shorts, swords, stick and diggers (Singh, 2014). Another leader of the movement, a Brahmin, who enthralled the followers, was Dr. Hedgewar.

Dr Hedgewar was absolutely convinced with Savarkar that after emancipation from British Raj, the palpable problem would be Muslims and the cordial relations of Gandhi with Muslims, which had proved during Khilafat movement. Both the leaders were convinced that Hindus would remain succumb to Muslims.

Hedgewar sought to get uncontested power. He pondered that Hindus were subdued by the Muslims reign, which was comprised of centuries, and intimidated by Muslims outlook and psychological superiority. Dr Hedgewar wanted to crumble this dread and intimidation amidst Hindus, which became the objective of this RSS organization.

They were involved to provoke Muslims by passing Hindu processions near to Muslims worship places such as mosques. Resultantly, the riots between Muslims and Hindus were broke out, because of their guards to escort their processions. In the results of riots, in Nagpur, several Muslims were massacred which resulted in Muslims migration from Nagpur (Jaffrelot, 1999). Paradoxically, the leaders of RSS were not so baptized in religious leaning; yet they used to glorifying their allegiances towards Hindu emblems and participated in the Hindu religious congregations. Moreover, the leaders like Savarkar and Golwalkar were immensely inspired from the Philosophy of Hitler, even the chief protagonist of planning of RSS Shivram Moonje stayed in Italy to meet Mussolini and follow his ideology. The RSS workers adopted the uniforms, discipline and philosophy of Mussolini in India (Shibli, 2019).

Shrewd politics of Rashtrya Swayamsevak Sang

The leaders of RSS were cunning and expert of political engineering, for instance, they denied the mandate to oust British from India and keep the organization aloof from the

anti-British activities. When in 1929, the Congress announced Purna Swaraj (emancipation from Raj) (Kumar, 1977), and enunciated that January 26, 1930 would be cherished as Independence Day (Chandra, 1972), Dr Hedgewar firmly instructed his workers to stay away from tricolor flag and must flutter saffron flag.

Rashtrya Swayamsevak Sang politics from 1940 to emancipation from British Raj

After the demise of Hedgewar in 1940, another Brahmin, Golwalker became the helm of RSS. The leaders of RSS interminably supported the British Raj during the Indian freedom movement and civil disobedient movement. Therefore, the British entitled this organization as the most Law Abiding organization (Masood, 2019). During this period of time, the prominent objective of RSS was its identity, comprised of the Physical and practical construction of the Hindu nation. In this regard, the Golwalker book *We, Or National hood Defined*, had centered the RSS narrative of self-identity and Hindu nationhood.

Golwalker writes in his book that “the day when first Muslim touched the Indian soil up till now, the Hindu nation is valiantly confronting them. The identity of Hindu nation is exalting, the Indian land is becoming a Hindu land and it will be remained like this, while the other nations and communities are its adversaries and conspirators. If a suitable word used for them, it would be Idiots. They can live in India, but under the obedience of Hindus (Golwalker, 1939). These thoughts of the RSS unfold the hatred, intolerance and enmity for Muslims. It is the explicit example of disapproval of Muslims as a separated nation.

From the Gandhi assassination and ban to the ascendency of Rashtrya Swayamsevak Sang

After independence from British Raj, the Gandhi murder tumbled the Indian politics. There were two actions, firstly Gandhi part in Khalifat movement and secondly his consenting on partition of India, provoked the rapacious animosity in RSS for Mahtama Gandhi, later on, which became the motive of his assassination. Godse was apprehended in Gandhi assassination.

Resultantly, in 1948, RSS banned for two year after Gandhi murder. When it remerged, the helm of the organization tried to focus on the expansion of its organizational arms, seeking for young blood for this purpose. On Diwali 1958, the uncountable number of volunteers gathered for RSS, and in those volunteers, one of them, was eight year old, Narendra Modi (Marino, 2014).

From Rashtrya Swayamsevak Sang to Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) to Bharatiya Janata Party

In the Nehrvian secular state, the state reflected the Hindu nationalist ideology. The Muslims communalism was measured as the responsible part of the partition. After Gandhi assassination, the RSS was allowed to function as a democratic entity, but on the basis of condition that they had to accept the constitution. In the meanwhile, the opposition and other secular parties were not ready to accept Nehruvian discourse due to Congress inherited politics and they reached out to the political wing of RSS, because they reckoned the BJS as the most well organized political party. Resultantly, the opposition formed a coalition inclusive government in fifty percent of the states in 1964. It was the first time, when the political wing of RSS Bhartiya Jana Sang became the part of the coalition government (Afzal, 2019).

The Hindu nationalists incepted with the 3.5 % voted bank and were unable to hike the figure till 1980. It was just hiked from 3.5 percent to 9 percent in 1980 elections. Afterwards, BJP presented itself as solely protector of the nation and its national interests. They inclined people with emotions that Muslims form Middle East and Afghanistan would

control them and Muslims of the India is increasing their population. They warned the Hindus that after emancipation from British, Congress governed India with 30 percent votes, soon the population of Muslims would be reached to 30 percent and afterwards the Muslims will rule again India through electoral process. Paradoxically, they provoked the dread in the upper class Hindus regarding the lower caste Hindus dominancy (Afzal, 2019).

Along with this, RSS tried to established small committed groups of young people, who were devoted, enthusiastic and even ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause. The followers scarified their social and private lives and above all their property and became the Parcharaks. The followers had the example of Atal Behari Vajpaye and Lal Krishna Advani at that time for motivation (Jaffrelot, 1996). The Parcharaks established organization, comprised of primary and secondary members, and even the local goons were organized in that way, and formed Bajrang Dal (Siddaramaiah 2018). In this way, the hike in the BJP voted bank started from 1988 to 1992 because of their promises. They had promised the annulment of Article 370 and unified civil law but were unsuccessful to abrogate it. Till 1992, when the Babri mosque was battered, their vote bank was whirling around 20 to 22 percent. They have increased it to 31.6 percent in 2014 election and 37.36 percent in 2019 election due to Modi populism (Afzal, 2019).

Hindutva and Indian Identity Politics

The oxford dictionary explains the word Hindutva. According to the dictionary, Hindutva is a philosophy, keenly seeking the status quo of Hindus and Hindu Culture. Hindutva wants to believe us that Hindus are divided nation. They are divided in caste such as the eminent caste Brahmin and Shudars the lower caste and worship multiple divinities. Therefore, the Hindutva movement tried to evolve a common identity for Hindus. They started work on it since 1920 and still the process is continuing for the common Hindus identity.

With this background, it would be easy to understand the role of Hindutva in Indian politics. In the West, majority of the people reckon that the center of Indian politics is based on secularism. Apparently, the term secularism in Indian politics was initially introduced by Indian National Congress, because it was a political coercion for them. The momentous reason behind this compulsion was the religion, language, culture, traits and caste of the diverse people, which had clinched India. So, Secularism is the compulsion for Indian National Congress to be embraced as an ideology rather than a true spirit of what secularism indeed is. The secularism was an apparent political move of Congress, but Indeed, there are multiple examples that how Indra Gandhi and her sons Sanjay and Rajeev utilized Hindu symbolisms for political mileage. Amid the Babri mosque episode, the Congress and its Prime Minister Narsimha Rao instructed the police to not intervene in the clash. Congress is involved to bolster the RSS. From 2004 to 2014, in these 10 years, Congress government fully funded the 6000 schools, belonging to numerous RSS frontal organizations. Moreover, thousands of Shishu Mandirs were actively engaged to brainwash and incline young generation (Sundar. 2004).

Modi's Political Manifesto

After the brawl with Pakistan, Narendra Modi and RSS sponsored BJP run the complete 2019 election drive on the basis of anti-Pakistan and anti-Muslim narrative. Modi's 2019 election manifesto was based firmly on four components, firstly, building of Ram Temple over the debris of Babri Mosque, Secondly, to refrain Muslims from cow meat and slaughtering, thirdly, the annulment of article 370, which dissolves the exclusive position of Jammu and Kashmir and lastly the start of uniform civil code (Jilani, 2019).

After utilizing populism and anti-Pakistan stance, Modi got 37 percent polls and re-elected as a 14th Prime Minister of India. This time, he accelerated the unfinished

contemplation of Hindutva to abolished article 370 from Jammu Kashmir. To subdue the response, Modi deployed around 45000 more soldiers, halted all the communication and incarcerated the whole political helm of Jammu Kashmir. Pakistan responded angrily and downgraded ambassadorial relations and expelled the Indian high commissioner. On August 15th, 2019, on Independence Day at Red Fort Delhi, Modi uttered that BJP administration has lastly achieved India's vision of "one nation one constitution with his Kashmir verdict. The spectators applauded upon seven million under sieged Kashmiris (Roy, 2019).

Pakistan replied exclusively on diplomatic customs instead of armed apparatus. Prime Minister Imran Khan emphasized on Kashmir concern at international setting, such as in the United Nation and conventions with world leaders. On September 27, 2019, in UN speech, Khan highlighted that Kashmir is not the internal subject of India and unveiled Modi as Fascist leader of India and responsible for the violence in Kashmir.

In South Asia, these two nuclear neighbor states are the central character of the peace in the region, but Modi's Hindutva based strategies have deteriorated the ties to damaging level (Ijaz, 2017; Yaseen, et. al. 2016). Modi openly uttered in Public speech in 2019 that "Our nuclear arsenal is not for Diwali", threatened Pakistan. Geographically, the clash on Kashmir, Siachean, and dams over the rivers in Kashmir are the security dilemma for Pakistan. Leadership model is immensely significant in any relation. Modi is a classic case of Realism. He is eager to accumulate power in the region to turn out the symbol of domination. Indian Media plays the protagonist of howl and hooted. It was the Indian media, which reduced the decision making time for Indian establishment for military apparatus against Pakistan after Pulwama attack in 2019. On the other side, India is officially involved in extremism events in Baluchistan to destabilize China Pakistan Economic Corridor (Rahim, et. al. 2018)

India is napping in the hallucination of self-declared and quixotic absolute power in South Asia. Therefore, for Military rivalry, India has allotted 55 billion dollars in 2019 budget, and it has more surged to 60 billion dollars in 2020. Additionally, (DAWN, 2021) elucidates that Pakistan cautions India that any footstep on Indian occupied Kashmir can jeopardize region's amity. Foreign office advocates Zahid hafeez expressed that India should reconsider its illicit and aggressive rules in occupied Kashmir. Pakistan will untiringly confront the Indian activities to change the demographic alterations in Kashmir. In this context, Foreign Minister, Shah Mehmood Qurashi also sent a letter to UN to emphasis on Pakistan's objections on these changes.

Modi's Foreign Policy and its influential component that affected the India's Pakistan relations

Identity politics in Modi Foreign Policy

A political thinker, Maguire (2016) explains the foundation of identity politics is as when folks of definite caste, faith, and gender form entities and organizations strive hard to escorts its entity, objectives and interest politically, economically and socially. The example is nationalistic efforts of BREXIT, when nationalists structured and shaped association and politically bolstered the exclusive objectives and interests of the group. Besides, the researcher explicates that identity politics is a type of mixed bag. On some occasion, it looks to challenge tyranny and in certain condition, identity politics is a safe way and a certificate for oppression and discrimination.

Apart from this, another intellectual, Arthreya (2016) provides the reference of John Stuart research work. During 19th century, John Stuart Mill claimed that nationalist efforts and movements were enormously reliant on linguistic, origin, culture and ethnicity. These traits of nationalistic movements were the momentous protagonists of the statehood during

19th century. Subsequently, in 20th century, Nationalism appeared as third world phenomena, and the counter response of imperious colonization. The colonial supremacies framed and fashioned the identities to divide and rule.

Today in India, these deep rooted frenzy nationalism coupled with globalization has played the detrimental part to manifest and project orthodox Hindu cultural, which has been publicized by right wing nationalists since 19th century. The objective is to create an amalgamated uniform homogenous Hindu association and state. Yogi Adityanath, CM UP, said in Lok Sabha in 2014 that "Hindu is Nationalistic Identity". These Hindu nationalists reckon that variety in culture is a tangible obstacle for India to exalt as a resilient and affluent state. India is an abode of cultural diversity, 4599 different communities, 1652 different languages and dialect. In spite of the massive pluralism in India, all of them are succumbed by Hindu Supremacists. In this respect, article 15, 16, 25, 26, 27, 28 of the Indian constitution illuminate the secular structure of the country. Furthermore, article 15(1) of the constitution explicates that in any condition either adequate or not, State cannot categorize any citizen on the basis of faith, class, sex and consistency. Article 16 of the Indian constitution pledges equal likelihoods for all. Article 25 grants autonomous practice of creed. Currently, these clauses of the constitution and activities under it are transpiring in Modi government are repugnant, Today, in India, a cow is safer than a woman and human (Alam, 2006).

Role of Culture

Culture has interminable influences on the Indian politics and political affairs. Culture is like an umbrella, under the shade of that umbrella, there are numerous customs, cultural traits values and norms. Modi Said in Mann ke Baat on November 29, 2020 that "Culture is great helpful during crisis, and it acts as emotional recharge" In India, the xenophobic culture has embedded in the Indian culture by Hindu radicals, which compels the government for Neo realism and Neo classic realism against neighboring states more predominantly Pakistan. In India, Modi national and foreign policy are grounded on cultural identity politics (Pethiyagoda, 2014). The part of culture in prior Congress administration was subtle; their culture ideology was grounded on Gandhi's non-violence and Nehruvian discourse of secularism. Culture identity is a significant section of Modi's foreign policy. They are striving friendly relations with Bhutan and Nepal on the basis of mutual cultural; and religious identity such as Hinduism and Buddhism.

The influence of identity is endlessly significant in the ties between India and Pakistan. In this regard, a political thinker (Booth, 2007) explains that People in the World are constrained and chained in their constructed identities. They are doing their actions in that particular sphere and within the boundaries of constructed identities. Nationalistic identities in numerous part of the World have turned one nation pugnacious against the other one to defend their Identities. We can take as an example the Hindutva role and influence in the Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan.

Nationalism in Foreign policy

Narendra Modi openly said in a Public speech in Tamil Nadu on April 9, 2019 that "We were Nationalists, We are Nationalists and We Will remain Nationalists"

Narendra Modi has colossally inflamed the nationalistic attitudes in India for his political benefits. In this regard, the intensification of Hindu jingoist nationalism has altered the clad of identity politics in India and internationally in the Indian diaspora. The Modi government trails their self-goal and interests and objectives despite the variety and diversity in the Indian culture (Jain, 2020). Modi has revealed aggressive intolerant nationalism and outlined the national security as a paramount significant concern for India and its people. Modi has invested in media to regulate them to broadcast his rhetoric (Qaiser,

2020). Media has strengthened his rhetoric of heroism and attracted the fury nationalism through so called surgical strikes propaganda. Additionally, the RSS nationalism is completely grounded on the anti-Muslims design; Muslims are the dangerous jeopardy to them and their existence. They have proclaimed India is a solely belonging state to Hindus. There are numerous explicit instances, such as altering the roads and cities Muslim names in India like Humanyunpur to Hanumanpur, Islampur to Ishwarpur and imposing imperious punishment on cow slaughtering (Siddique, 2016).

The Pak-India relations under Modi Hindutva regime

Modi epoch of power is the era of terrifying terrorization, hostility, melancholy, atrociousness and woefulness in term of Pakistan and India relations. The foreign policy of Modi for Pakistan is based on Hindutva and RSS ideology.

In 2014, Modi got the majority with xenophobic stance and transformed the whole milieu in the region quickly. In the beginning, Modi invited his counterpart Nawaz Sharif for his oath ceremony. Shawls and Sari were exchanged between the two heads of the states. It was forecasting that a new chapter of joint relations is to be emerged, but within two month; the condition worsened at the LOC due to dreadful clashes. Subsequently, in the same year, during the hostility, India annulled the foreign ministerial level meetings due to Pakistan's intended gathering with Kashmiri freedom leaders. Afterwards, in November 2014, in the SAARC summit in Nepal, Modi disregarded his Pakistani counterpart, but later, the summit was concluded on the hand shake between Narendra Modi and Nawaz Sharif. Nevertheless, the ice was melting, On December 25th, 2015, the Modi plane surprisingly landed at Lahore Airport to embrace Nawaz Sharif and to attend Maryam Nawaz's daughter marriage. After Few days of his landing in Pakistan, the Pathankot outbreak on January 2nd, 2016 entirely ruined the anticipated cordial relations between the two nations. India promptly blamed Pakistan for the deadly attack without evidence and rejected to share SARRC economics ministers level meetings with Pakistan in Islamabad on August 25th, 2016. The environment amid the two neighbors further worsened, when Nineteen Indian army persons were killed in Uri on September 18th, 2016.

Uri ambush surged the terror of nuclear devastation in the South Asia. Resultantly, India abrogated to join the 19th SAARC meeting in Islamabad. On September 28, India enunciated that they have launched "surgical strikes" inside the Pakistan managed Kashmir, but Pakistan rejected such claims of strikes carried out by India. Nawaz Sharif linked the attack with the turmoil in Kashmir. Defense Minister of that time Khwaja Asif called the assaults an inside job (Dawn, 2016). Pakistan asserted that India is trying cunningly to distract the World attention form the violence in Kashmir. The Indian hardcore and the infamous Hindutva class applauded the so called surgical strikes. Bollywood tried to appeal the people on the propaganda film based on surgical strike, which designed narrative for BJP administration and presented Modi as a valiant hero of India. The narcissistic Modi endeavored persistently to distant Pakistan internationally. In 2017, it was stated that India dishonored the 2003 ceasefire treaty 1970 times; primarily targeted the resident settled areas in Pakistan administered Kashmir (Saddique, 2018).

On the cold day of February 14, 2019, the milieu twisted from worse to tragic, when a Kashmiri youth confronted on Indian military convey and killed 44 soldier at Pulwama, Kashmir. Indeed, it was the flashing point between Pakistan and India, when a single man dragged the two nuclear nations to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. Just after few movements of Pulwama eruption, Indian mass media screamed and put the whole responsibility on Pakistan. Indian media tried to scheme the framing of suitable response to Pakistan without any sound evidence. The Indian media projected itself as an accelerant, which reduced the time and choice of decision making about the befitting response to Pakistan. On February 26, early dawn, Pakistan military DG ISPR tweeted, that Indian air force has dishonored Pakistani Sovereignty in the hostility which is an unambiguous

expression of India's antagonistic attitude towards Pakistan. During the attack, Indian planes dropped its payload at Jabba near to Line of Control which changed the condition dangerously. They called it "Balakot Strike". In the reaction, on 27th February, Pakistan reacted and shot down two Indian planes. In that terrifying environment, Pakistan arrested an Indian pilot, who was prior ejected from MiG21. Pakistan released the Indian pilot Abhinandan Varthaman to reduce the hostility. In the history, it was the first time, when the two nuclear nation states carried out air strikes against each other. The whole episode after Pulwama outbreak inferred the belligerent policies of Modi government and the defensive policies of Pakistan, because the Pakistan's action was the reaction of the Indian action. In an interview with India Today on April 27, 2019, Modi deliberately uttered that our government is investing in artillery and Air Force to target Pakistan. In this interview, he said that we are developing artillery gun under Made in India project, which will target Pakistan from 48km distance. It infers that Modi wants to deal with Pakistan through military race and military apparatus.

The bitterness in India and Pakistan ties under Modi regime has been triggered since 2014. Modi government has cashed the attacks and ambushes of Pathankot, Uri and Pulwama for political mileage. The Modi's foreign policy is seeking and striving to encircle Pakistan through Afghanistan and the developments of CPEC through the seaport of Chahbahar, Iran, but they have failed after United States withdrawal. The foundation of Modi foreign policy is based on orthodox and intolerant Hindu nationalism. In an interview with ZEE TV, Modi expressed that "It is right that I am born Hindu and I am a Hindu nationalist". There are five fundamentals of Modi's foreign policy. Firstly Hindu jingoistic nationalism, secondly the personal image of Modi, which he is promoting through social media, thirdly to robust economy, Fourthly, Islam phobia. BJP notes every Muslim and Pakistani as a terrorist and fifthly is security (Basrur, 2017). Therefore, Modi is spending billions of dollars to maximize security against Pakistan and China.

Apart from this, the religious influence in Modi's diplomacy is immensely vivid. Modi has got adequately abet from BJP and its Hindu nationalists to mount India as a soft power. The religious customs and traits are the firm apparatus of the projection of that soft power (Hall (2019)). Modi is endeavoring to agglomerate the international Indian diaspora through their religious apparatus and norms and traits. When Modi was a teenager, he abandoned his paternal abode, and started quest and voyage for self-discovery in different RSS places. It unfolds his religious attachment since his early age. The religious belief of BJP and Modi are based on the Hindu superiority in the region. They molded the religious belief for their political interest, because every religion in the World is in favor of Peace, but instead of peace, there is jingoistic belligerent attitude in the Modi foreign policy for neighboring countries.

Conclusion

The India Pakistan relations are always topsy-turvy since Independence, but the bitterness in the relation is massively triggered in Modi's regime. There are multifarious factors involved in the asymmetrical relations between India and Pakistan. Hindutva and its policy makers are the key protagonists of the bitterness between the two neighbors. They always project the regional exclusivist supremacy of Hindustan, Hindi, Hindu and Hindu culture.

Apart from this, Cultural identity politics is the most influent part of the Indian politics. Today, the Hindutva Cultural identity, which is socially constructed by the supremacist, is compelling the government for decision making according to their interest regarding Pakistan. Besides, the personality of Modi matters enormously, his entire politics is based on anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistan rhetoric. Modi has framed the anti-Pakistan narrative in India and cashing it as a Political mileage. It would be true that his entire political career is based on anti-Pakistan stance and belligerent policies.

Moreover, the ambush on Indian military and the killing of civilian in Kashmir by Indian army have turned the situation from worse to detrimental. Kashmir is the paramount and existing nuclear flash point between the two states. It has been witnessed that for the first time in the history, two nuclear states assaulted the sovereignty of each other in 2019 after Pulwama attack.

Lastly but not the least, the Indian media plays its part in the Indian politics as an accelerant of decision making and policy making. They hooted and howled without any evidence after 10 minutes of Pulwama attack and within 10 minute, they blamed Pakistan without any evidence. The media compelled and exerted pressure on Modi government to strike against Pakistan after Pulwama attack.

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