

CULTURE OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS IN MODI'S REGIME

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ABSTRACT

A new approach is emerging in the International Relations and the relations between two states. The emerging approach is culture and its surging and immense role in the foreign policies between states. This approach cannot be ignored in contemporary International Relations. Culture is the ignored part of foreign policy between states in South Asia. The foreign policy framers have left an ample vacuum in this regard which requires research and concentration of researchers. In contemporary relations in South Asia, especially between India and Pakistan, Norms and identity play a significant role in national security and foreign policy; still there is very minimal reflection of norms and identity in the foreign policies of states in South Asia. The research has been conducted with the aim to explain the role and influence of culture on the foreign policies of states in South Asia especially to India and Pakistan. The foundation of the research is post-positivist and qualitative in nature. Besides, both primary and secondary data sources have used to test the gap of research. Theoretically, Culture of National Security by Katzenstein 1996 coupled with social constructivism has adopted to robust the research.

Keywords: Culture, National Security, Norms, Identity, Foreign policies.

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on two prominent elements of national security policy; first is the cultural-institutional framework and the second is the constructed identity of states, governments, and other political entities. These elements are being studied from the conceptual viewpoint of sociological institutionalism, with emphasis on the characteristics of the state environment. The primary purpose of this conceptual framework is to establish these causal factors and the theoretical orientations for the analysis of India's culture of national security.

The culture coupled with national security illuminates that how social factors contour different characteristics of national security policy. This conceptual framework connects the sociological use of such concepts such as norms, identity, and culture. These factors are the outcome of constructivist approach of social practices, persistent political action, and differences in power capabilities. Constructivists believe that national interests and its related security arrangements and policies are constructed in the process of mutual interaction in a society. Constructivism is not just a theory. It is an

approach to social inquiry. In this context, norms, identity and culture are outcome of social construction that explain the behavior and structure of a state and national security.

Norm in some situations works like rules that express the identity of an actor. In other situations, norms operate as standards that specify the appropriate enactment of an already defined identity. In such occasions, norms have regulative properties that identify standards of proper behavior. Norms thus either define or constitute identities or regulate behavior of states or they do both. Moreover, identity is a protagonist for varying constructions of state behavior and statehood. The process of construction is typically political. The concept of identity depicts changing national ideologies, collective distinctiveness and perseverance. Along with this, variations exist across countries in the statehood that is decreed nationally and projected internationally (Katzenstein, 1996). Finally, the term culture is a broad brand which means that collective models of nation-state authority or identity are conceded by custom or law. Culture discusses both set of

evaluative standards such as norms and values and a set of cognitive standards such as rules and models which explain that what social actors exist in a system, and how they operate, and how they relate to one another.

The security settings in which states are embedded are the central part of culture. The cultural settings affect not only the incentives of different kinds of state actions and behavior but also the basic essence of states what we call state "identity (Katzenstein, 1996). Similarly, the strategic culture of India is based on image of self, perception of enemy and historical experiences, established by political elite, affects the state behavior and identity of the Indian state. Hindutva based identity politics is exalted in the Modi's administration which persistently influencing the Indian state behavior and the state identity.

Culture of National Security and India's Pakistan Relations

Considering India's strategic conduct with Pakistan during Modi's era, amity and enmity are defining features of relations and security, reflecting the cultural dimensions of India. Therefore, India has followed the pattern of enmity against Pakistan and adopted domestic and regional measures to invigorate its security arrangements. In this pattern of enmity, India is widely criticized on Kashmir's issue such as scraping of article 370 of the constitution which diminished the special status of Kashmir in the India's constitution.

Cultural or institutional features of a state shape the national security interests and the security policies. Norms are one of the influencing factors that affect a state policy. Sometimes, norms function like rules and explain an identity (Ronald, Katzenstein, 1996). Likewise, Hindu centric policies based on othering other communities or minorities becoming a new norm in Indian strategic culture which is based on Hindu, Hindi and Hindustan. Similarly, it is the strategic cultural feature of India's Modi government to enrich its military capabilities in the region to balance military power with Pakistan. This paradigmatic shift in India's policies is primarily driven by the cultural forces.

The India's culture and identity politics act as a primary helm; there are also multiple secondary norms exist which explain the behavior of Modi's government and its policies. It seems that the Indian culture is influenced by Hindutva and the norms of

that culture regulate the behavior and identity of Modi's government.

In contemporary India, Hindu Rashtira is one of the norms of Hindu culture which push Modi to mature military deals with other countries such as Rafael jets deal with France and other security arrangements with other states in the region to safeguard their people, culture and national security. Hindu Rashtira considers these military deals are the emblem of modern state and a layer of protection of Hindus. Similarly, in some conditions, norms act like rules that express the identity of a state. Besides, in many occasions norms have regulative effects that specify standards of appropriate state behavior. Therefore, norms either describe identities or propose behavior, or simultaneously, they do both. For instance, the advanced weapon systems are a kind of measure that demonstrates that a state is advanced and modern. Therefore, governments expend their interminable funds to purchase such weapon even if they have only a minimal security threat to national security. Previously, large battleships at the start of the twentieth century and a second-strike ability at century's end were considered as a world or superpower status.

Moreover, In India, the culture has been Hindutva influenced and socially constructed by ruling political elite even before freedom from the British Raj, but it has triggered more in Modi regime. It has broad norms and values; for example the slogan of Hindustan belongs to Hindus and Hindi was promptly emerged in Modi era. Along with this, this culture operates in a social order and defines the action and behavior of the government in India and how to interact with other states. Furthermore, Culture explains two sets, firstly evaluative criteria such as norms and values, and secondly, cognitive standards such as rules and models which express that what social actors exist in a system and how they operate, and how they relate to one another.

There is immense influence of culture and identity on national security. Indian culture is the subject of International and domestic factors and environment which plays a momentous role in shaping state identities and the culmination of nationalism. During Modi era, nationalism is ascended in the Indian culture; because of that nationalism, the liberal voices in India are subdued by narrow minded rulers.

The state is a social actor which is chained in social rules and contracts. The identities of states establish from their interactions with various other

social settings, both in domestic and internationally. Benedict Anderson stresses that national identities are socially constructed (Katzenstein, 1996). Similarly, Modi administration is agreed that the national identities of India are based on Hindus, Hindustan, Hindi, and along with this, nationalism is a sub part of these identities. These national identities of states are essential for understanding politics and government actions and behavior.

Unlike realists, it is the culture which is the subject of analysis instead of state. Culture has deep influence on institutions and foreign policy. Besides, the cultural settings affect the incentives and different kinds of state behavior along with the basic charisma of states "what we call it a state "identity." (Ronald L, Katzenstein 1996). The India's state is the significant part of culture. Modi's state identity is the epitome and culmination of Hindu supremacy, regional hegemony, vilification of minorities and claiming Pakistan as a terror harboring state. The pervious democratic traits and norms have disgraced because of shrinking the liberal voices and controlled media. The culture of national security explains that the security situations in which states are knotted are the significant part of cultural and institutions. This assumption is contrasts to Neorealist; in their opinion, international and domestic settings are mainly devoid of cultural and institutional essentials and they are best captured by materialist metaphors like the balance of power and bureaucratic politics. Moreover, the pattern of amity and enmity is the significant dimension of culture of national security. India follows both the pattern of amity and enmity in the foreign policy to establish relations with other countries. Narendra Modi has run the entire political campaign on the basis of India's Pakistan enmity. The international pattern of enmity has important cultural dimensions, India has adopted it. The relation between Pakistan and India has been topsyturvy since independence. Both nuclear states have fought multiple wars, but the relations reached to its detrimental level in Modi regime. It was for the time in the history, when two nuclear states assaulted each other through air force strikes in 2019. The relation between India and Pakistan has become deteriorated because Modi has adopted the pattern of enmity with Pakistan which is a significant dimension of their culture of national security.

Apart from this, variation in state identity influences the national security interests and policies. Similarly, the Indian state identity is transforming and it is not

static. Modi's identity politics is replacing the Nehruvian secular state identity. It shows that norms, identities, and "culture" matters in shaping a state identity.

Traditionally, the role of status, prestige and norms in weapon proliferation and debate over it are rarely theorized and when they are theorized, then they are generally used and discuss in transient manner. Norms and culture play an immense role in a state acquiring weapon. In India, acquiring weapons consider as a norm, culture, modernity and status symbol. Weapons do not spread because of rivalry between their adversary and national security needs but because of the momentarily emblematic, normative nature of forces and their weaponry (Eyre, Suchman, 1996). Weapons are multiplied because of the socially constructed senses and meanings that are allied with them.

Furthermore, regional clashes are perceived as the playing out of world power conflicts in alternate venues; weapons production and proliferation is not only driven by local or domestic national needs but also driven by the global strategies and power politics (Eyre, Suchman, 1996). Similarly, India and Pakistan is playing significant role in the power politics of great powers such as China and the United States. These great powers rivalry impact the regional rivalry. The United States is empowering Indian military strategically in the region and China is maturing military deals with Pakistan which will disturb the balance of Power between India and Pakistan.

Along with this, Humanitarian intervention and morality is considered as the important part of Indian culture. They intervened in Kashmir and East Pakistan under the umbrella of humanitarian intervention. The other side of the picture unfolds something else; In Kashmir, they are widely criticized for human rights violation by international community. Similarly, in East Pakistan, The first free election was transpired in November 1970, the Awami League garbed 167 out of 169 seats of parliament, reserved for East Pakistan in the lower house. The Awami League did not urge political liberation for the East Pakistan amid the elections, but they demand regarding one-person-one-vote, political representation, and economic autonomy for the East Pakistan (Finnemore, 1996). The government in West Pakistan observed the Awami League election victory as a peril to their power and government. In the wake of these electoral outcomes,

the government in West Pakistan decided to revoke the assembling of the new National Assembly without any time frame. In March 1971, the West Pakistani army started military operation indiscriminately and resulted in civilians casualties. India claims that we intervened in that tense situation in East Pakistan for humanitarian purpose, but as well as they played an important role in making Bangladesh.

The Indian culture is immensely influenced by Chanakya philosophy and beliefs. In the western Realism, war is measured an essential evil in the anarchical international system, and there is no space for moral standards. Kautilya offers an alternative outlook as his theory of power and security is not barren of ethics and morality. According to Kautilya, the paramount objective of the state should be the well-being of the people. He gave main position to a strong financial treasury for better governance and having robust defense ability. Kautilya sought leaders to seek to be a “Vijigishu” the most powerful king or hegemon for peace and security (Jindal 2019). It explains that the Indian strategic culture is immensely influenced by Chanakya Kautilya philosophy of state, ruler, peace and security. Modi wants to be a Vijigishu the most powerful ruler and hegemon of the region for the security of India.

It is the identity of a state to establish alliances for regional hegemony and its security. Similarly, India is establishing alliances with great powers to make its regional hegemony and security arrangements since independence. India went in Russia camp to bolster its economy and military, but currently India is a frontline partner of the United States in Indo-Pacific and Asian region. It shows that state identity is not static. It changes with the interests and foreign policy behavior of a state. In this view, states pursue alliances mainly to enrich their capabilities through amalgamation with others, which assist to deter a possible belligerent and evade an undesirable war (Barnett, 1996).

Conclusion

State identity is not a static phenomenon. It transforms and takes new shapes with the change in their interests and foreign policy behavior. The Indian strategic culture is changing and it influences Modi’s government behavior and policies towards its partners and neighbors more particularly towards Pakistan. Hindutva has emerged as a prominent culture feature of India’s identity today. In India, the

Hindutva is culminated by Modi administration and followed the pattern of enmity with Pakistan. In this context, the culture of National security and Hindutva is addressing the influence of Hindutva and Identity politics on the foreign policy of Modi and on the India- Pakistan troubled relations. The culture of Hindutva is socially framed by the contemporary political elite and it is culminated in Modi administration. This culture is based on Hindu, Hindi and Hindustan. The study emphasizes that it is pertinent to see that how the culture and norms of India are shaping and regulating the behavior, action and giving meaning to foreign policy choices of India.

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