

Neoclassical realism and contemporary India under BJP

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Abstract

Neoclassical realism considers the domestic change of states in a connection to that of international anarchic order. It talks about the repercussions of domestic and international synergies. This paper describes how contemporary India is influenced by this approach under BJP government. In India, the emergence of Modi led to the greater changes in its domestic sphere while assuming the influence of changing global order. Since the international structure impact on the domestic decision-making process of India. Therefore, following the Hindutva fundamentals, India, under Modi government is progressing toward the institutionalization of its ideological and identical phase of developments. Thus, India is looking for better and balanced role in the international anarchic structure which matches its future synergies while equally responsive to the possible shifts in geostrategic, geo-economic and security policies.

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Introduction

The theory of realism is a dominant discourse in the field of international relations. Hans Morgenthau discussed nature of classical realism in his book "Politics Among Nations" in detail. Realism assumes that the states pursue security and national interest in international system (Herbert, Butterfield, and Waltz, 1979). In fact, the security and interest of one state becomes insecurity for the other. Initially, each state does drive and strive for survival and then opt for the maximization of power to achieve great power status. By this way all states do act, react, and calculate the actions and reactions of opposite one.

With the theoretical evolution, the account of classical realism is replaced by the intellectual foundation of the neorealism, developed by Kenneth Waltz. The central idea of the classical realism is based upon the essence of statism in international relations. However, Waltz's in his famous account "Theory of International Politics" focused on the systemic forces and in addition to few basic assumptions of classical realism developed neorealism (Herbert, Butterfield, and Waltz, 1979). Waltz assumed that the international system is anarchic, and it determines the behavior of states in inter-state relations. The perpetual existence of anarchy creates a sense of insecurity among the states in the international system. Thus, states do compete for maximization of capabilities to ensure survival and security in the anarchic structure. This force states to go for devising various strategies including alliance making to ensure the balance of power. After classical realism the evolution of neoclassical realism influenced the central point of global attention and the theorists' developed arguments in the streamline of neoclassical realism.

Neoclassical realism emerged as the third major strands of realism. Gideon Rose was the first to coin the concept of neoclassical realism (Kitchen, 2001). Indeed, this strand of realism like classical realism and neoclassical realism also focuses on the conflictual nature of relationships among the states. However, it is different than other two major strands of realism in a way that it combines the assumptions of classical realism and neo realism. It incorporates domestic as well as structural factors in explaining the international relations. Neoclassical realists' approach of foreign policy of states determined by the factors due to which the choices are made, it focuses on the stimuli between structural and domestic factors (Rathbun, 2008). It further maintains that the systemic pressures prevailing in anarchic structure together with domestic political and economic conditions forces states to adopt a certain course of action (Kitchen, 2001). This makes the neoclassical realism an interesting approach in understanding the foreign policy of any states.

India in the recent times has brought dramatic transformation in its internal and external policies. Since 2014, a broader level of ideological and material shift has been noticed in the internal order of India and New Delhi has acquired the position of changing role based in systemic forces. Particularity, owing to the appealing transformation in global order, the BJP led government has changed the internal political order and security environment of the state. The broader changes and transformation in the ideas and ideology (Hindutva) at the domestic front and revival in its strategy to acquire an influential role at international level hugely impacted on its foreign policy. Now, at the start of the third decade of 21st century, Indian leadership has expressed their aspiration for global role and better positioning in the international system because the US led international factors are offering something to India if not everything. The theorists of international relations associate the policies pursued by India at the internal and external fronts in line with the core assumptions of neoclassical realism. The internal changes such as the politics of identity and ideology in synchronization with the systemic forces significantly influenced the foreign policy of India. Considering the election manifesto of BJP observed by a layman up to the extent of the role of civil and military leadership, there is a dramatic change in the security

environment within India. Additionally, the changing security environment at the systemic level such as US-China competition brought up with opportunities to acquire a role of great power. The central idea of the paper discusses India's policy under the parameters of neoclassical realism. The study explains that how the vision of BJP-Sarkar in India together with systemic opportunities influenced its internal and external security environment.

Methodology

The articles explain the theoretical foundation of neoclassical realism via study of diverse developments at global level in relationship with India under Modi. Orderly, it discusses the internal policy drivers in relationship with the development in global anarchic structure.

Neoclassical Realism: A Look to India

The neoclassical realism is an appropriate perspective to understand India aspiration of become a great power. At international level, India is engaged in the regions from East Asia to Africa within its limited capacities. It is to maintain close relationship with the small and middle powers. Particularly in the recent 2022, India's engagement with Arab countries and Israel indicates huge changes in India's internal and external policies (Dar, 2021).

At the domestic level, the wave of emerging India under Prime Minister Narendra Modi based in Hindutva ideology as a founding principal within which the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) work. Ideologically, the national and international orientations of India standing with Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangha (RSS) association has long term implications for India. Additionally, India's growing economy, ever increasing military strength and regional influence has transformed the overall orientations of its leadership at global level. So, India is looking for greater partnership while retaining its allegiance with the Hindu identity across the world (Rose, 1998). At the same time, the definition of religion in the national terms and Indianization of the ideas are considered vital for the legitimacy of national leadership at home and status of India abroad. The political project of the BJP government is comprised of revisionist tendencies where they want to re-read and deconstruct the history within the close association of the Hindutva ideology. Modi's doctrine of Indian foreign policy was taken by BJP government within close association of Hindutva muscles for the greater advantage (Tellis, 2016).

At the domestic level, the shifting policy prospect of India led to the strategic expansion and diversions at the external front. It is proved that the Hindutva reasoning share aspiration with classical realism, the objective "will to dominate" at internal level is a motivational force for India at international level. Hindutva share face of the neoclassical realism that is to show the unique brand of India's identity at international level with full of political modernity, cohesive diplomacy, and exclusive nationalist sentiments. Thus, the Modi's BJP Citizenship Act and National Registration of Citizen present the prime example of national sentiments (Miller and Estrada, 2017). More, the BJP political economy have sensitized relationship with the external world and romanticized with the USA particularly. In the era of soft resistance between the USA and China, India wants to balance military alliances, formulate national security approach and building of military power. Such vision of Hindutva characterized its foundation as sustainable and reliable mean of communication within and outside.

India at Domestic Front: The era of Ideas and Ideologies

Modi won election in 2014, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) leadership was aspired for making huge changes in India's policy orientations. The political leadership was of the view to break up the failed socio-economic polices of the past government which destabilized the economic

conditions of India. Therefore, the domestic changes undertaken by the BJP were in line with the utilization of internal potential of India (Misra, 2019). The policy twist was significant in order to retain India's image as sustainable and reliable state at the international level. To launch and own the support of the people, the BJP led Indian government declared "nationalism as aspiration" for the purpose to build new nation before the 100th year of the country independence (Chellaney, 2018). Modi voiced that India must be upgraded to acquire a strong internal structure with active economic influence. He wanted India to develop industrial complex and become an exporter country. His pro-economic policies led India toward increase in the domestic economic capacities which allowed India to stretched out economic muscles. India envisioned to strengthen and develop 5\$ trillion economies by 2025 and share larger chunk in the global order by 2030 through the domestic utilities (Misra, 2019).

However, in the wake of Coronavirus and worldwide financial slump and India's economy growth was maintained under 5% gross development. The financial constraints incredibly reduced the role of "Brand India" to strengthen the country. It led to the internal political changes which floated in unstable ways and also, the economic challenges reflected negatively on India's domestic status, role, and position at international level as well (Misra). In the context of monstrosity of the financial difficulties, the new BJP government fundamentally stressed over exchange and business relations. It focused on economic strategy to work with India's financial recovery. Modi expressed as of late that he accepts that a solid economy is the driver of a powerful national strategy with empowerment of capabilities at external front (Misra, 2019). With regards to managing enormous powers, geoeconomics will probably direct Modi's internal strategy. However, the head of the state is a blatant pioneer of exchange and financial discretion. Besides economic policies, the BJP government seemed vocal about the challenges such as cross border terrorism and the long-term policy of fighting Islamic terrorism in the region (Misra, 2019). To unify the people of India against foreign penetrations, the BJP's stance on nationalism turned very rigid and uncompromising. Thus, the Registration of Citizens (NRC) was the policy of state developing, however, it proved as an obstacle in country unity. So far, the issue of nationality remained in the roots of BJP policy and ideological framework at domestic level (Tellis, 2016). Furthermore, from ideological and nationalist perspective, "Hindutva" is known as prime foundation of BJP government in India (Misra, 2019). The reconstruction of Ayodhya temple and revocation of the Article 370 are the policies of BJP through which the party wanted to guard its ideological and constitutional faith and belief. In the context of its ideological aspirations, BJP government wished to eliminate the triple talak and halala nikah (Tellis, 2016). Via supporting and securing its border, Modi government revealed a document which sectioned the commitment of "Nation First" policy emphasizing upon the national security, zero tolerance to terrorism, strengthening of the arm forces, self-reliance and boosting of defense sector, welfare of solider and security of country borders (Miller and Estrada, 2017). Modi contested election under the vision of popular promises, he was aspired for the new role of India in the region. Therefore, Modi brought changes in the internal political order of India, his non-traditional and least popular initiatives were criticized in the domestic circle of Indian leadership. The opposition parties condemned him for the sake of their political leverage, other domestic political leaders criticized his economic vision beyond the security and strategic policies. However, the association of Modi with the ideology of RSS (Hindutva) and belief on the institutionalization of the Hindutva made him popular and strengthen his political foots in the system of India (Miller and Estrada, 2017). Evidently, major part of Indian population is Hindu and deeply attached with the Hindu's ideology. So, from cultural point of view, Modi wanted to promote the ideological discourse of Hinduism, the culture of Yoga Hinduized in the social custom of India. More, the illustration of Indian culture into the Hindutva ideological framework led to the imperial vision of India in the region. The

passion of Indian exceptionalism has been observed in the foreign policy of India under the government of BJP (Thomas, 2020). Indian media added word pragmatism with the foreign policy vision of India. The newspapers explored the idea of Modi's pragmatism in context of the realist assumptions (Miller and Estrade, 2017). However, the vision of India was associated with the Hindutva idealism. Modi found close association with the belief system of Hindutva. He completely moved away from the traditional policies of India and led toward the RSS-familiar ideological framework of foreign policy in order to avoid the past trap, he was given the hope that his ideas will be given high attention in India and at the global level (Singh, 2021). Moreover, the association of pragmatism with the realists' vision: the neo-realism and classical realism, the critical theorists envisioned those states do not adopt realists' approach, but the structure of international relations dictates and enforces the status of the states (Miller and Estrade, 2017). So far, Hindutva has become one of the significant notions of Indian national identity. As per the assumptions of neoclassical realism that the domestic conditions determine the behaviour of the state. At national level, the Hindutva brought maximum integration in Indian society. People in India overcame the ethnolinguistic barriers. The passion of Hindutva led to the essentialists vision of Hinduism. The germs of superiority in the reasons and vision of Hindutva sees India as superior civilization which get greater part in the global contribution as Hindus see it as a cause of their global leadership (Miller and Estrada, 2017). Modi took help of the Hindu Ideology and wanted to Indianize the history, also created close link between the foreign policy of India and the Hindutva ideology.

Furthermore, the flag-waver Modi want to revitalize India's "civilizational glory" and reestablish its antiquated brilliance. With that in mind, India should accept great role in the shift of international power toward Asia. This must be accomplished on the base of domestic strength. Modi's pre-political decision articulations proposed that he would shun an overstated depiction of India's power. As he said, "we need to take care of our own business, so the world is drawn to us (Gibbs "et al.", 2015). As the government of Modi is concerned regarding Indian enrollment in international clubs or regional groups doesn't all by itself make India a genuine competitor for international job. It way starts with genuine changes in the economy, administration, and public power at domestic level. Modi's push to reinforce India's national image isn't only administered by his own convictions yet additionally the country's new economic capacities.

From the prism of Indian foreign policy, Modi's pragmatic attitude is the manifestation of India post-Cold War vision. It has engulfed with the realist assumptions based upon statism and national interest encapsulated in its foreign policy (Miller and Estrada, 2017). It is not correct to say that the ultimate cause of Modi's foreign policy is the changing international status of India and the demand of the time ([Peedikayil, et al, 2020](#)). Therefore, the neoclassical realism talks about the approach of states which transform their role in international order while opting of ideal changes at domestic level. States do seek power and the greed of power led broader changes in the states' internal approach and foreign policies. Similarly, India is going through the kind of phase assumed by the proponents of neoclassical realists.

The ideological commitment of Modi at national level led to broader changes at domestic and international position of India. His policy vision of transformation is centered around the prospects of territorial diplomacy, national integrity, and seeking security on multilateral front. Predominantly, the political vision of Modi is dictated and influenced from the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) political ideology (Ray, 2018). Modi objected the territorial understandings of India in the region: he focused on the India-Bangladesh border and discredited the idea of the values and pluralistic culture heritage of India. Also, India border clashes with China and abrogation of the Kashmir's status are the manifestations of Modi's offensive visions. Via domestic strength and external partnership Modi wanted India as a leading power rather balancer

in the global order. Therefore, India is looking for greater change and influence in the structure. (Chellaney, 2018). It is assumed that Modi's Hindutva preaching will contribute to the international recognition of India as Hindu-Identity to enjoy the benefit of Hindu ways of life and their global achievements. So, the supreme Hindu national identity of India under the BJP government led to great awakening of national level. Now, the people and political leadership see India as a strong and influential global partner acting within the prism of Hindutva (Ogden, 2018). Neoclassical realism talks about the world system in two levels, the domestic environment of the states and international system which is the product of the interstates relationship. It talks about the international environment that how it effects the internal decision-making process of a state, it is a two-way observation of the world system. Also, it says that the internal changes in the state are directly influenced by the international anarchic system and vice versa. The currency of neoclassical realism exemplifies the role and status of India under Modi. Modi, a populist political figure emerged from within the system and transformed his hold over the political roots of India. He emerged as a Prime Minister of India but later successfully transformed his political ideas and interest with the ideological foundation of India. Neoclassical realism says that the internal political environment and its association with international order dictated Modi to take some solid steps which cut the roots of India from that of historical inclinations.

India: Anarchic International Structure

India under Modi looked for the change in its global status and role, the institutionalization of change made the internal environment of India suitable for its new role in the international structure. India has secured notable attention for its quest of emergence and challenging the status quo of international system. Under the theory of neoclassical realism, the BJP-Sarkar, Modi, has brought huge transformation into the internal structure of the state. Also, being a self-proclaimed tea maker "Chay-wala" Modi associated the role of India to that of historical indemnity (Dar, 2021). He talked for the changing structure of India at internal level and transforming role at external front. The socio-economic, ideological and identical changes inside India associated its role with international level which presents prime application of the theory of neoclassical realism. Through the roots of neoclassical realism, the relationship between India and other countries can be tracked and traced. India sees South Asia as a geopolitical unit (Dar, 2021). Comparatively, a powerful state in the South Asia, India's strategic engagements are still facing the limitations. The BJP government is leading the aspirations of broader India "Akand Bharat" role in the region.

During election of 2014, Modi launched "Sardar Patel National Unity Day" which enthusiastic was to unite small princely states for the greater cause. After that Modi promoted the "Neighborhood First" policy in which he said that the fate of the nation is associated with its neighbors. Therefore, Modi wanted to transform India's regional ties in smooth way so that the emerging status of India can be tolerated by other states in the region (Kaura, 2018). Internationally, the purpose of his foreign visits was to mend strong regional ties with neighbor states for the purpose to overcome the future challenges and pursue strong mutual ties. Notably India took Chinese regional engagement on board because it underestimated the Indian regional efficiencies and choices. In 2014, Bhutan was the first country where Modi made commitment to construct a hyrail power project, also, his visit to Nepal broke the ice between both countries. After that, Modi signed a historical deal with Bangladesh which resolved the issue of old border conflicts between both neighbors (Sahoo, 2014). The agreement changed the image of India in Dhaka, Modi was regarded as a great cause of geopolitical stability. After that Modi visited Nepal and Sri Lanka was the next target of Modi to avoid the long shadow of China (Basrur, 2017).

In 2015, realizing China's influence, Modi visited Sri Lanka and inaugurated the development project and signed India-Sri Lanka joint venture (Miller and Estrada, 2017). More, a surprise visit of Modi to Pakistan was another breakthrough into the political ring of the region. Surprisingly, he visited Pakistan to mend the possible ties with Pakistan so that the Indian regional aspirations could be transformed smoothly as Pakistan is the only nuclear archrival of India in the region and at global level. Modi showed interest in trade with Afghanistan via Pakistan but the terrorists' activities in the region particularly in Afghanistan and Kashmir, additionally, the 5th of August Kashmir's abrogation, derailed normalization of relations in the middle. More so, India's reaction over the terrorist's attack was aggressive. India blamed Pakistan sponsored non-state actors for cross border terrorism and afterwards, the BJP government conducted surgical strike. It was first of its kind since 1971 war between Pakistan and India. Modi adopted hyper offensive approach to punish Pakistan for the terrorists' activities at the border areas between Pakistan and India (Saran, 2018). A step ahead, this time India threaten Pakistan with unbearable consequences, Modi talked of using nuclear weapons in public. Indian policy makers did not shy off while changing their historical stance from No-First Use to First Use (Saalman, 2020). Modi's hate speech and rhetoric against Pakistan led to his greater support in domestic circle and greater attention at international level. Additionally, the harsh reasonings against Pakistan such as to punish and vanish Pakistan from the earth surface (nuclear options) served the strong bond of ideological foundation between Modi and RSS. Further, Modi showed the sign of cool figure by reviving the policy of the forum South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) minus one formula against Pakistan (Miller and Estrada, 2017). Hence, Modi wanted the regional countries to sideline Pakistan from the SAARC forum so that India can successfully undermine the role of Pakistan and influence of China in the region. Apart from it, Modi took solid steps of investment in Afghanistan and at the same time India managed to build good relations with UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Iran. For the good fortune of India, Saudi Arabia got closer to Israel and India become a big doner of Afghanistan, spent almost \$3 billion largest sum in the region (Miller and Estrada, 2017). India started joint ventures via SCO forum. Modi, facing some challenges, got succeeded in provoking regional diplomacy for the purpose of greater attention to India (Chellaney, 2018).

To contain China, Modi followed the policy of provoking the most powerful neighbor rather stay quite at the cost of Chinese strategic expansion inside the border of India. However, Modi's policy vise verses Pakistan was quite calculated, Modi wanted to purse controlled lower level of conflict intensity against Pakistan while shifting focus on the bigger and powerful enemy (Sahoo, 2014). So far, India's foreseen engagement under Modi can be defined by the theoretical assumptions of Neo-classical realism. The changing anarchic international structure led to the realignment of Indian international decision-making process. Particularly, the changing strategic vision of the USA and the emergence of China led the catalytic changes in the policy perspective of Indian BJP government (Chellaney, 2018).

India's regional approach got changed in the wake of US withdrawal from Afghanistan which led to the emergence of Taliban. To accommodate its presence in the changing regional dynamics, initially, India faced confusion and uncertainty took over the Indian government, but later India openly accepted the reality of Taliban and pursued to talk to them on the multiple subjects. It was an important strategic transformation in Indian policy making. India wanted to ensure communication with Taliban in one or other way so that the communication gap may not led to the wide sphere of disagreements and misunderstandings between the two sides with the ultimate favors to the rival powers (Pakistan and China) in the region. Also, in the context of the global attention toward Afghanistan it became important for India to strengthen its partnership

with the USA. Thus, India pursued so to avoid the regional rivals, such as Pakistan, to fill the strategic gap in the possible scenario of diplomatic collapse between India and Afghanistan.

Since 2014, India "Look East Policy" has greater importance for India to retain China's expansionism and influence at the global level. Modi praised the growth of India and shifted his vision from "Looking to Acting", he wanted India to emerge and contribute significance role in the East and South Asian region (Sahoo, 2014 and Chellaney, 2018). More so, under Modi India took on the policy of "String of Pearls" and devised the "Necklace of Diamond" to keep active engagement and counter influence in the Indian ocean (Khalid and Gul, 2017). India's policy of Necklace of Diamond is the manifestation of Indian global aspirations to reactivate those alignments which could play the role of potential balancer against China. Modi want to contain China to set India on the leading position in the region (Miller and Estrada, 2017).

Furthermore, India initiated active engagements in the East Asian countries, it established close relations with Japan, and Vietnam. The glowing relationship between India and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) led to the presence of 10 members of ASEAN countries on the India's Republic Day of Celebration, 26th January 2018 (Ogden, 2014). After successful regional initiative India's Modi proceed policy initiative toward global engagements. India came up with the likeminded democratic countries and demonstrated the security agreement called Quadrilateral Security Dialogue in 2017 (QUAD). It was a strategic agreement between India, USA, Japan, and Australia. India signed it as a manifestation of its strategic vision to avoid the mounting pressure of China. People in India called it Modi-QUAD, it is based upon a circle of the states to bring attention and safeguard against China in the Indo-Pacific region. By this India wanted to utilize its energies in the Eastern side so that the influence of China could be thwarted efficiently (Misra, 2019).

On the subsequent point, India's way to deal with the Quad and adjusting conduct toward China are model (Pandey, 2021). India has shown strength for the Quad to adjust China's rise in the result of Sino-Indian border crisis. At the same time External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar repeated India's obligation to save its essential independence. Superficially this might appear to be a continuation of Nehruvian thinking, yet the rationale of Hindutva's authenticity is unique. Hindutva scholars are hesitant to focus on a formalized military collusion against China since they have prioritized fundamental change for inner adjusting rehearses in contrast with outer adjusting that require depending on partners to meet one's security advantages. Basically, they don't believe outer adjusting to agreeably address India's necessities. Their accentuation is on domestic strength of working all things being equal. Financial position of India made Modi anything but hesitant to utilize coercive instruments against China; he just might not have great choices against a more impressive adversary. Be that as it may, for the Quad to understand its tactical potential different individuals might need to put resources into India's military (through innovation sharing or help) and economic limitations urge New Delhi to share the weight of more extensive security worries in Asia (Singh, 2021).

As long and the priorities of Modi are unclear the key national security challenges oblique India's national and international vision. For a nation and society as different and as complicated as India, the global vision ought not to be made in a restraint. The greatest test will probably not come from Pakistan or China; it will be from inside, coming from India's aggressive local leadership and their ideas and from Modi's own supporters in the BJP and its partners. For example, geoeconomics will have a focal impact in driving Sino-Indian relations. Modi is very much aware that China needs the huge Indian market, while India frantically looks for huge Chinese speculations to assemble tools and other needs of its financial restoration. Hostility over borders and international contention will be the focal point of India's arrangement toward China.

Geoeconomics will likewise set a significant number of Modi's decisions versus the balance of East Asia and Southeast Asia, particularly concerning India's developing relationship with Japan. Japanese firms that are confronting developing aggression in China progressively consider India to be a superior alternative. Given his affinity with Abe, this could be fruitful venture for Modi. The Modi government will convey geoeconomics to fortify India's most strong relationship with the United States. More, the Indo-U.S. relationship has experienced as of late stagnation in exchange arrangements, disagreements about protected innovation, lazy economies, and the Obama administration's preoccupation with Afghanistan and Syria. The striking declaration to open India's \$250 billion protection area to private cooperation (ADB, 2006) which obviously will incorporate U.S. firms, could revive Indo-U. S financial relations. The US consider Indian very close in the context of changing balance of international structure. The mutual relationship will likewise be the foundation of Modi's international strategy with the EU, a large part of the Middle East, and Eurasia. With Modi anxious to make India as a central point of attention in the international world. "Made in India" campaign in his Independence Day address in August 2014" exchange with Germany, India's greatest accomplice in Europe, accepts more prominent significance. No doubt, Modi will feature issues connecting with exchange, venture, foundation, and the other financial and improvement inputs important to restore economic development linked with its global status.

To put it plainly, his administration's need is to overcome issues between the country's objectives and its foreign policy. The government of Narendra Modi has raised immense assumptions for India's international strategy. On each step, the public authority makes it as a rule acutely watched, and there are signs that Modi's international approach will be altogether not quite the same as that of his nearby ancestors. With his known abhorrence for the Nehruvian perspective, the main change will be the continuous surrender of nonalignment for neorealism (Singh, 2021). The international mechanization of India led to the dramatic change in its foreign policy, though India faced serious challenges but still on the project to acquire a great power status in the world rather reserving its origin as a balancer. By this way Modi seek the significance shift in his foreign policy to revitalize the country economic and military muscles (Misra, 2019). The BJP government emphasized upon the active diplomacy and carried on the agenda of mutual and bilateral summits with the heads and representatives of other countries. However, there is criticism on Modi which says that the internal order of India remained unchanged or least focused as compared to the energies spent at external level. On the matter of Indo-US relations, Modi was crystal clear to mend strong ties with Washington because he showed aggressive gestures towards China's intentions (Chellaney, 2018). Though Modi visited China but could not mark it as a historical visit. Therefore, his domestic policies underscored, and Modi wanted greater partnership with rival power in the changing global order. He took the idea of walking in the middle for the national interest without compromising its foreign policy in the one camp. Owing to the regional challenges India wanted to seek close relations with the major powers (Chellaney). On the one hand, India is on the avenue of developing economic competition with China while on the other hand, the changing nature of global engagement for the security and economic reasons has attracted the greater attentions of India, also, the Western led global order has encouraged India to overcome its domestic constrains, compelled for changes in domestic polices, for the sake of its new role at global level.

Conclusion

Neoclassical realism considers the domestic change of states in a connection to that of international anarchic order. From 2011 till 2021, India under BJP government has witnessed dramatic changes in its historical, ideological, and identical foundations. The BJP government has

Indianized and Hindunized the history and social fabrics of India. It is the manifestations of the Hindu ideology most specifically the RSS ideology. After pursuing the hardcore domestic policies by the BJP government India has accelerated its engagement at international order on the bases of the systematic changes and fluctuations in its role. So far India followed aggressive foreign and sharp domestic policies. However, at domestic front in the context of changing system Modi emerged as a self-processed leader who wanted to pursue his policy vision. His political rival called a man full of power hunger. But his policy of NRC, Kashmir 5th August decision at domestic front and the cultural and economic sustainability of the foreign pacts are yet to bear fruits for India. So far, the domestic approach of Modi and his policy application is actively dictated by the systematic forces of global level. By bringing huge changes in the domestic system Modi wanted to transform his influence while preparing India for the greater change at international level which the neorealists talks about. According to the assumption of neoclassical realist, Modi policy initiative are the advent of his thoughts to mold and prepare India for the changing international order. The Emergence of China and the inward policy approach of the USA led Indian energies for the purpose to contribute the role as a leading power in the global order rather working as a potential balancer against China. As boss clergyman of Gujarat, Modi made a few trips to China, Japan, and South Korea, developing personal compatibility with counterparts like Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. He will look for shipping lanes to extend relations with great powers that make a difference to India's economic recovery and international outlook.

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