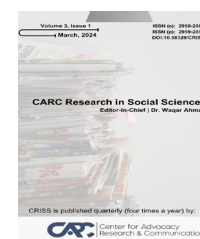




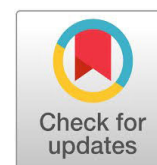
Content list available at:
<https://journals.carc.com.pk/index.php/CRISS/article/view/108>

CARC Research in Social Sciences

Journal homepage : journals.carc.com.pk



Indian attempts to dominate South Asia under Modi: Implications for Pakistan



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ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received: Feb 20, 2024
 Revised: March 27, 2024
 Accepted: March. 29, 2024
 Published: March. 31, 2024

Keywords:

Domination
 Offensive realism
 Indira Doctrine
 Tactical Nuclear Weapons

ABSTRACT

The Research paper attempts to address one central question: what will be the impact of growing Indian domination in South Asia on Pakistan? India has been ambitious and aggressive in its policy in South Asia since its inception. The theory of Offensive Realism by John Mearsheimer is best applicable to the aggressive actions of India. Since Nehru's era, the foreign policy of India has been guided by the desire to dominate South Asia. The capture of Goa, air defense agreement with USA and request for help from USA after the 1962 Sino- Indian war in stark contrast to non alignment policy are some of examples of his efforts to dominate South Asia. His policy was carried on by Indira Gandhi in more concrete terms. The Indira Doctrine and the peaceful nuclear explosion at Pokhran in 1974 give an insight into her realist policies. Then, Rajiv Gandhi's bilateral policies towards Pakistan, Nepal, Maldives and Sri Lanka were in perfect tune to Indira's doctrine. Nuclear explosions in 1998 and Indo-US deal in 2005 attested to the realist tendencies in Indian foreign policy. Modi, since the day of his election to the office of Prime Minister, has been hell bent on exercising Indian power in South Asia. He is taking offensive measures to isolate Pakistan in the region. During his tenure, Indian increased influence in Afghanistan, cooperation with Iran, improved relations with South Asian neighbors, except Pakistan and the cancellation of SAARC summit to be held in Islamabad symbolizes his aggressive foreign policy. Stability of South Asia has been tempered owing to India's offensive actions. Policy options for Pakistan to counter India include: preventing India from limited war, developing Tactical Nuclear Weapons, strengthening relations with neighbors and realizing full potential of CPEC.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The research paper attempts to address one central question: What will be the impact of growing Indian dominance in South Asia on Pakistan? South Asia is an important region that consists of eight countries. Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Maldives, Bhutan

and Nepal constitute this region. India and Pakistan are the two most important countries in South Asia. However, due to high economic growth, and increasing military potential, India has emerged as the most dominant state in the region. Owing to these reasons, the other states are being dominated by India, since most of them are dependent on India due to one or the other reason.

India has been pursuing offensive foreign policy since its emergence on the map of the world. It has always been India's desire to dominate South Asian region by placing the neighboring countries under its control. India has always tried to make sure that the neighboring countries remain dependent on it in economic, strategic and political aspects; so, they may not ask for help from the outside powers. Since Nehru's era, India has made efforts to dominate South Asia. Despite the fact that Nehru campaigned for disarmament and non- alignment movement, he signed an

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How to Cite:

Khan, D., & Rehman, W. ur. (2024). Indian Attempts to Dominate South Asia Under Modi: Implications for Pakistan. *CARC Research in Social Sciences*, 3(1), 82–91.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.58329/criss.v3i1.108>

air defense agreement with US and also asked for US help after Sino-Indian war in 1962. Capture of Goa in Nehru's era is another glaring example of Indian realist policies. The Nehru legacy was carried on Indira Gandhi in more solid and convincing manner. The introduction of Indira Doctrine and the peaceful nuclear explosion at Pokhran in 1974 testify to the aggressive policies of India in South Asia. By Indira Doctrine, India wanted the neighboring countries to stop asking for help from countries, since India didn't want presence of extra regional countries in the region. Then, Rajiv Gandhi ensured the continuation of Nehru and Indira's foreign policy by harping on the same tune. His bilateral policies towards Pakistan, Nepal and Maldives were in perfect harmony to the earlier policies.

Nuclear tests in 1998 and the Indo-US deal in 2005 ensured that India retains its dominant position in the region. The offensive foreign policy is followed in more concrete and solid manner under the government of Narendra Modi. Since the election days, Modi has been using anti-Pakistan rhetoric. Under Modi's government, India has increased its influence in Afghanistan, cooperation with Iran has increased and the neighboring countries have been brought closer. India has increased the soft power in the neighboring countries unlike the previous hard power approach. The failure of hard power approach compelled India to go for soft power. Withdrawal of Indian peace keeping force from Sri Lanka in 1990s is evidence to the fact. Indian soft power approach is working, since the neighboring countries backed India when it opted out of SAARC conference to be held in Pakistan in 2016.

India could become overconfident owing to its enhanced military spending and it may contemplate ambitious military options in the region. In the past three decades, India time and again showed intent to use force against Pakistan. India thinks that Pakistan could be dissuaded from jumping to nuclear option by waging war below its nuclear threshold by the strategies of Cold Start and Proactive Operations. Indian up gradation of maritime doctrine put Pakistan under further strain.

These strategies have made India believe that Pakistan's nuclear capability would be irrelevant and India's conventional superiority could still be decisive. India projects its military enhancement as China oriented; however, its military basing, posturing, and acquired equipment speaks contrary to the statement. Due to Sino-Indian economic interdependence, conflict is unlikely. Pakistani border has bulk of Indian troops; so, it would be Pakistan facing the consequences of Indian military buildup.

Potential consequences could be faced by the region, especially by Pakistan due to the current Indian military. The threat perception of India's rival Pakistan is likely to be aggravated. Currently, Pakistan faces multiple challenges. Along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, Pakistan's armed forces are busy in long war against terror. Economic challenges have also been multiplied by the war. To restore the conventional balance with India by spending competitively is not feasible for Pakistan. To undo Indian inclination to employ its conventional forces against Pakistan, it has to re-strategize and develop tactical nuclear weapons.

In September 2016, across the Line of Control in the disputed Kashmir region, India claimed to have carried out surgical strikes. However, Pakistan repudiated the Indian claim. If, India kept on modernizing its military potential at the same pace, Pakistan would be forced to think of taking steps that may help it in matching mounting prowess of India and discourage it from any type of adventurism in coming days. India will have to adopt measures to address its growing asymmetry with India to deter it from any kind of aggressiveness in future. Other neighbors are also affected by Indian assertiveness. In the past, India has flexed its military muscle in Sri Lanka. Recently, in 2015, on the pretext of cross-border terrorism, India resorted to surgical strikes across its border with Myanmar. Since, India continues to exert military influence over its smaller and militarily weak neighbors; so, the possibility of India repeating such actions cannot be ruled out.

New Delhi's hike in military potential has potential to bring instability to the region affecting the political and economic atmosphere in the South Asia. Situation would be undesirable for Pakistan, since Pakistan would be weak as compared to India. Pakistan has number of policy options to counter India. These include: stopping India from limited war, developing Tactical Nuclear weapons, strengthening relations with neighbors and realizing full potential of China Pakistan Economic Corridor. The research will focus on India's attempts to dominate South Asia and its possible effects on Pakistan.

Key Questions:

This study seeks to address the elementary questions in the domain of Indian offensive realism. What are the core assumptions of Offensive realism?

- Historically, how Indian foreign policy has been designed?
- What has been the nature of current Indian foreign policy?
- How Pakistan balances Indian domination?

Hypothesis:

India has been dominating the region since its inception. The aggressive foreign policy of India would have serious repercussions for the region, especially Pakistan. It would break the regional stability of the region and Pakistan will be compelled to respond to aggressive actions of India.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature on the subject can be divided into three categories:

The first category deals with the nuclearisation of South Asia and its impacts. Samina Abid in her article "Security dilemma of nuclear armed Pakistan" says that by adopting a declared nuclear weapons posture in May 1998, Islamabad's security atmosphere has tempered. There is also increase in Pakistan's tensions with India. Indian advocates of nuclear deployment have been emboldened by the global community, predominantly, US's failure to overturn South

Asian nuclear proliferation. Pakistan will follow the suit of India, if it installs nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. Due to Operation-ready nuclear weapons chances of an India - Pakistan conflict have increased that could gain nuclear dimension. An Indian conventional attack will not be prevented by Pakistan's nuclear weapons capability, nor will an Indian accidental, unauthorized or preventive nuclear attack be deterred by the presence of nuclear weapons.

Samit Ganguly and R. Harrison Wagner in their article "India and Pakistan: Bargaining in the shadow of nuclear war" say that some scholars hoped that based on the experience of the Cold War, introduction of nuclear weapons into South Asia will encourage peace between India and Pakistan. However, Pakistan became less scared of India's conventional military forces owing to nuclear weapons.

The second category deals with Tri-angular relations of Pakistan India and China.

In an article titled "Power Cycle Analysis of India, China, and Pakistan in Regional and Global Politics." Sushil Kumar is of the view that in Asia among India, China, and Pakistan, structural change has been intense; this is directly connected with instability that has resulted.

Mohan Malik in an article titled "The China factor in India- Pakistan conflict" says that in the India-Pakistan-China triangular relationship, Beijing has since long remained one of the most significant players. Since days of Sino-Indian border war of 1962, New Delhi has been kept under strategic strain by China in the form of association itself with Pakistan. It has done profound strategic and economic investments in that country. Since the early 1990s, China has been making comparable hard work to strengthen Pakistani military's nuclear and conventional capabilities along with its attempts to improve ties with India. India. During the late 1980s and 1990s, Islamabad was encouraged to fight a proxy war in Kashmir without fear of Indian retaliation; Pakistan was encouraged by provision of Chinese nuclear and missile capability.

The third category deals with US factor in Indo-US relations.

Imran Khalid in his article, "Re-Energizing India US Relations" says that India-US relations trajectory is on constant rise. Both are leaving no stone unturned to increase marriage of convenience in strategic, economic and military fields. By helping out India, US is bent on serving its own interests. US see it in its own interest to help India emerging a major power. Factors including poverty, inequality, terrorism and other threats are compelling both the states to come together. This cooperation between India and US will have consequences for South Asia, especially Pakistan.

Abdul Qadir in his article, "US-India Strategic Bargaining and Power Balancing in South Asia" says that since 2004, India and US are engaged in active relations. Both these states have translated their relationship into strategic. This strategic relationship has highly impacted the power structure of South Asia, especially Pakistan. In turn, it has also become challenging for US to keep both India and

Pakistan happy.

The literature studied covers broad range of areas; however, regional stability as a result of Modi's aggressive measures hasn't been looked at. The Paper is an attempt to contribute to understanding regional stability as a result of Modi's offensive actions.

Theoretical Framework

India has been trying to dominate the South Asian region since its inception. Since Nehru until now, all the Prime Ministers of India have been following the foreign policy of dominating the South Asian region. During the period, India has been taking offensive actions; so, the theory of Offensive Realism by John Mearsheimer is most relevant for the Thesis. The Researcher has built theoretical framework for the Thesis on the theory of offensive realism by Mearsheimer.

Mearsheimer states that due to the presence of ever present security dilemma, perpetual peace can't be attained. According to him, states are in constant look of increasing the elements of power in order to increase their security. This increase in the security measures of one state instigates other state to go for increase in security.

According to Mearsheimer, International system doesn't have status quo powers. There are only occasional hegemons. Utmost efforts are made by the occasional hegemon to dominate the opponents by different measures. States, being always driven by self interest, are always out there to change status quo and are never satisfied with their current status.

3. METHODOLOGY:

The research paper is based on qualitative research. The research is exploratory and empirical; it provides an in-depth insight into motivations and repercussions. The questions of what and how and have been answered. The researcher has used both primary and secondary sources for the completion of research. Primary sources include the statements and speeches of leaders. Secondary sources like books, articles, research papers have been used for the research purpose. Other secondary sources used for research purpose are the reports of think tanks like IPRI. Articles in Newspapers have been used for research as well. They include Dawn, Daily Times etc.

Secondary sources have been used extensively for the research. The researcher has used different websites and other sources for taking secondary data for the research purpose. Research papers have been consulted in great deal in order to substantiate the arguments. A great deal of material has been taken from there for completing research. Apart from this books have been accessed for the research where it was required. The researcher has taken a great deal of help from think tanks. Think tanks material has helped the researcher a great deal in completing the thesis.

India under Modi:

Indian government, in last few years, has been very much active in creating high level hype around its Act East policy.

The said policy has undergone many transformations. In this regard, India has made it sure to be up to the task by taking number of actions in different spheres. South Asia even now is the focus and priority of India's diplomacy, either measured by the quantity of resources invested or by diplomatic engagement of top class officials. South Asia is an area where India owing to its huge clout can give promising result and can give the most play to its power. Generally speaking, the day Modi has been elected to high seat of Prime Minister, New Delhi has been more active, and aggressive in orienting diplomatic chores in neighboring states. Modi government has been active in spreading its tentacles; however, its diplomatic endeavors in Southeast Asia and Africa are restricted to being heard only. A news being propagated in Indian media about Act East policy is that it is to challenge Belt and Road step of China.

New Delhi has been quite superb in its diplomatic engagements in South Asia. It has done its best to ingratiate all states of region and it has been quite successful until now. New Delhi's diplomatic engagements are not only meant for emphasizing its supremacy in the region, but it also cover surveillance of activities of extra regional great powers. This is evident from the result that has come as per Indian intentions. The result has been in match to diplomatic engagements of New Delhi which could be considered a victory for India. China is proactive in South Asia and it is reaping benefits for its active posture. The benefits that China is squeezing from interaction with these states are far more than Indian engagements in other regions. India has been eyeing to exert some kind of pressure on OBOR and it is very much easy for India to exercise pressure on OBOR from South Asia, since as compared to other regions, India has more sway in South Asia.

On May 26, 2014, Narendra Modi took oath as Prime Minister of India. Modi is known for running administration in dictatorial and discriminatory manner, and his personality reflects extremist, ambitious and ultranationalist traits. Modi adopted the election manifesto during election campaign: The manifesto was based on anti-Muslims and anti-Pakistan points. Indo-Pakistan relations saw downward trajectory during Modi's era, since his governmental policies towards Pakistan and muslims were prejudiced and based on hatred. India, during Modi era, increased suppression of people of Kashmir using inhuman measures. Pellet guns were used that lnded people in numbers. Brute force has been used to silence people; their fundamental right of freedom of expression has met with a strong iron hands.

It is during Modi's era that new identity of leading power has been constructed for India. Modi has made every possible effort to showcase India as dominant and leading power in all fields. In Delhi, during February, 2015, Modi told the annual gathering of Indian envoys that in current situation presents best opportunity for India, as world is looking forward to establish contacts with India. It means world believes in India being an important state and also they consider it a favorable destination for establishing contacts. Modi want India to be a leading power rather than a state is that is involved in balancing. Owing to this, he urged envoys of India to to help India in taking a leading role.

Under Modi government, the idea of a 'leading power' has come to represent the definitive reframing of foreign policy of India. Idea of New Delhi in leading position has not been fleshed out in great detail; though, its essence is not difficult to glean. For one, since India embarked on the path of economic reform and globalization, India's absolute weight in the international system has grown significantly. India was third biggest economy in globe in 2014 (measured in aspect of purchasing power parity). Its military manpower was the world's second and its defense budget was the eighth biggest in the world. Modi is therefore suggesting developing new concepts for India's international engagement and that it must unlearn some of the ideas that guided its international policies in the 20th century.

Non-alignment and strategic autonomy are the ideas that Modi would like the foreign policy establishment to forget. Foreign relations of India have never been described in these words either by the BJP election manifesto or by the Modi since the 2014. The emphasis instead is on building India into great player and taking it to a rightful place in the world.

In contrast to Nehru, who saw India emerging amongst five great players of international structure, Delhi increasingly saw itself as a weak developing state and it must resist the attempts by great powers to limit its freedom of action. The focus has to move away from non-alignment, if India were to be viewed as a great player contributing to maintenance of regional and world order. Nearly 50 per cent of New Delhi's GDP is associated with imports and exports and Modi is also acutely conscious of the fact that India's economy is locked in a profound interdependence with the rest of the world. This interdependence demands that rather than seeking 'autonomy' from external environment, India should shape its external environment. Modi is staking claim for 'strategic influence'. He wants India to move around the world beyond India's border. Modi appears conscious of the fact that India is an attractive partner to all the other powers due to the unfolding shift in global economic and military balance. It is the time to accelerate India's economic development and strengthen its military capabilities in collaboration with other powers, since Delhi is well positioned.

Only if India reaches out to all the powers, including America and China, it (India) can take advantage of its unique position in the international arena. Under the UPA government, in the name of 'strategic autonomy, India held back from deeper strategic cooperation with America'. Since the 1990s, the policy elite in Delhi remain deeply ambivalent about constructing a strategic partnership with America, despite the positive evolution of New Delhi's association with Washington. Modi has clarified it that Indian elite's anti-Americanism of the past has nothing to do with his policies.

According to Modi, West is critical for rapid development of India's comprehensive national power and time and again he has appreciated the partnership with the West. In the past, India was afraid to engage with the West, since it was deeply conscious of the asymmetry of power. Therefore, the role of the West in Asia and the world was continually

tried by India to be limited. Modi, in contrast, is self-assured enough to believe that a rising India can develop terms of engagement with the West that are mutually beneficial. He also appears confident that India has no reason to be a balancing power against the West and.

India's regional net security provider status has led to the growing intimacy between India and USA; the intimacy resulted in Indo-US collaboration. Status of India as net security provider in region is challenged by both Pakistan and China. In order to obtain support from the Washington and its allies, New Delhi is always in never hesitant mood of becoming net security provider. In want to become great power and in order to be recognized as great power, India has been asking for help from US and her allies. New Delhi's ambition of becoming part of Nuclear Suppliers Group, dream of getting permanent slot in Security Council Indian and getting role of mediator in Afghan peace development aptly demonstrate India as ambitious power. This also stems from its national self-image of great power.

Indo-US cooperation started in 1992; the cooperation reached at highest level in 2005 when both the states reached strategic partnership agreement. From then onwards, US believes in India as an inherent partner.

Back in 2016, President Donald Trump, in one of his speeches stressed on New Delhi's help for his government. These words from Trump highlight importance of India for US. He also pointed towards a fact that India, being an inherent ally, shares burden with US in maintaining regional stability. Trump stressed on a fact that in this region, India has propensity to play role of stabilizing force. India has paid back US for all its generous measures in many ways. It arranged Heart of Asia dialogue on Afghanistan, actively participated in Afghan peace development step and maligned Pakistan by dirty propaganda in domestic politics of Afghanistan. India has done all this at the behest of US to make Afghan regime hostile towards Pakistan.

To accelerate Delhi's rise and the nation's growing capabilities to reshape the international system, Modi's India entered a virtuous circle to leverage the international situation. Modi did not hesitate to dispense with conventional wisdom on India's foreign policy, including that in his own party, since he was acutely conscious of the historic moment in India's international evolution. He showed new path to India by developing stomach in it to leave often tread path of traditionalism by engaging in international dealings.

Much resonance is found around the world in the idea of India as a leading power. India's smaller neighbours have waited long for India to take the lead on regional economic integration within the Subcontinent. They want India to devote greater attention to resolve long-standing bilateral issues. It is expected of India to go for lead role and take steps for maintaining regional stability.

The Modi government has come up with "neighbors first" policy, since it has declared the regional policies of earlier governments as failed. The policy of Modi government is easing bilateral relations with immediate neighboring states. Then, the next turn will be of Southeast Asia. SAARC and ASEAN have specially been mentioned in

BJP's manifesto. These are the organizations with which relations should be strengthened on priority basis. Modi sent goodwill gestures when he sent an invitation letters to leaders of neighboring states on his oath taking ceremony. This was done on a purpose as Modi wanted to make neighbors first policy a reality, which he did. The forum of General Assembly was used by Modi to meet with the heads of smaller countries of region. Moreover, Modi's first official abroad trips to Bhutan and Nepal are demonstration of his neighbor's first policy. The second reason that could be attributed to Modi's stress on engagement is that his government plans to transform conflicting bilateral matters.

Beijing expanding presence in New Delhi's neighboring states can be called as third motive behind Modi's encouragement of connectivity process, since he wants to curb China's influence in the neighboring countries.

In recent years, Modi government has demonstrated that New Delhi possesses potential of encouraging regional stability and monetary connection. New Delhi is developing a regional strategy; it has not restricted its efforts to just protesting on foreign invasion in South Asia. New Delhi has over last few years undertaken practical steps to realize dream of emerging a regional power, and it is quite successful in its strategy. New Delhi's regional tactic rests on its inherent advantages owing to its geography, common culture and strategic location. Narendra Modi is perfectly aware of the fact that New Delhi's growing economic, strategic, and military clout would enable it to strike agreements with US and China on its own terms.

Implications for Pakistan:

Before explaining New Delhi's aggressive measures, it is necessary to depict picture of current regional environment. Simmering, volatile and dangerous situation in Afghanistan has plagued the South Asian region. Matters have been further complicated by terrorism and extremism of all forms. Signs of existence of Islamic State (IS) in region have been coming every now and then. The situation in South Asia has become more volatile with the passage of time. There is a chance of emergence of new layer of violence in region owing to rejuvenated efforts of independence in Kashmir and also due to recurring events of belligerence between New Delhi and Islamabad along LoC. Situation is further complicated by endemic issues such as terrorist acts, changes in political dynamics and competing desires. In this backdrop, there is likelihood of increase in instability that could turn region into a disastrous situation and ultimately paving way chances of high conflict. Situation becomes more complex in view of continuous transformation of military assets by New Delhi and resultant efforts from Islamabad to balance against dangers that it feels.

The issue of Kashmir

Between the two nuclear neighbors, the issue of Jammu and Kashmir dispute remains a festering wound. Along LoC and Siachen, forces of both New Delhi and Islamabad are in active mode and keep on provoking one another. A danger of nuclear confrontation is recognized by both the sides that may arise out of any conflict. However, both states

ought to keep in mind risks involved with intensification of conflict that may start accidentally or by miscalculation. Diplomatic solution to Kashmir dispute is required owing to the uncertainty surrounding the problem. India has always been busy in making efforts to maintain status quo on the dispute irrespective of knowing views and desires of innocent Kashmiris.

Currently, a full-scale war has been averted; the risk of escalation of conflict into nuclear war has kept both states within limits. It is not, however, a full safe mechanism. Every few years, the same cycle of events reoccurs.

The Indian army emptied many villages near to border with Pakistan. This shows that a prompt Pakistani *quid-pro-quo* was expected by the Indians. Pakistan did not feel compelled to respond, since it totally rejected the false claims of surgical strikes. Pakistani public engaged in social media war by starting India bashing and was satisfied with nullifying Indian claims. This added to exchange of harsh words with Indian public. Another essential approach of public sentiment was brought to limelight by scrutiny of harsh exchange of words. People on Indian side celebrated through all forms of media New Delhi's commitment of fighting evil to its logical end; while people on Pakistan's side reiterated their determination of defending their homeland until their last breath.

However, the question is at its own place; what would happen, if surgical strikes are directed in reality in coming days?

Already it has been pointed in that direction by the new Indian Army Chief. Due to public pressure, at each cost, Islamabad would be forced to reply to New Delhi's attack with equal intensity. Indians would be compelled to counter-act. It would, most likely, pave way towards intensification of dispute lead to an escalation of the conflict. India could be lured to attack with its conventional force in line with Cold Start Doctrine, as the conflict heats up. The escalation process will continue and will not end here. Nuclear weapons are possessed by both the states. The conventional engagements' outcome would determine the side going for pre-emptive nuclear strike. Overall, results of all these happenings will be lethal for region. Kashmir is an apple of discord between Islamabad and New Delhi and it might engage both nuclear states in full fledged war. Ever impending threat of a danger of war clouds the sky of South Asia and in this condition, New Delhi's increase in military potential could prove disastrous by obstructing regional stability that in turn would sensitize threat intuition of Islamabad.

India has concerns about China Pakistan Economic Corridor:

CPEC will link Western China to Pakistani port of Gwadar and cost of project initially was estimated at \$46 billion. The projects embedded in CPEC are likely to benefit both China and Pakistan. CPEC is most likely expected to shrink China's trade distance. As per reports, distance will be cut by several thousand miles and it will be able to get fast reach to global markets. Beijing would have another benefit of avoiding vulnerable and long path passing

through waters of South China Sea and Strait of Malacca. Islamabad has golden opportunity of cashing on CPEC, since CPEC provides bundles of opportunities to Pakistan. The project would assist Islamabad in overcoming economy, infrastructure and power deficiency problems.

The security situation is improving and the middle class is expanding. However, CPEC is not viewed favorably by India. The corridor passing through Gilgit Baltistan has been formally objected by India as it views as disputed territory.

Possibly, it fears that it would be surrounded by China from the Western side. Islamabad has a perception that in order to sabotage CPEC, New Delhi is funding proxies in Baluchistan to obstruct peace. In 2015, Kulbhashan Yadav, an Indian Spy, confessed on national television about his heinous designs of obstructing developmental activities in Pakistani province of Baluchistan. Islamabad's complaints regarding New Delhi's role in Baluchistan were substantiated by his statement. Overall, the hostility between both countries is increased by India's views on CPEC.

Cold Start Doctrine:

With the concept of surgical strikes inside Pakistan, India has re-packaged India's Proactive Strategy as Cold Start Doctrine. This is to gain an edge over Pakistan and divert the direction of regional dominance in its own favor.

The South Asian region is further destabilized by the Cold Start strategy, since it is very much aggressive in nature. This strategy is specially designed to respond to Pakistan. The strategy is an extension of Sun Tzu's doctrine. It envisions teaching Islamabad a lesson for sponsoring terror acts in India. Moreover, it embodies a quick response in the form of deployment of forces along the border. At the same time, it simultaneously aims to destroy the combat capability of Pakistan's forces in order to insult it on global level. Without crossing perceived nuclear threshold, the purpose is to achieve all of this. An Indian offensive mindset is presented by the strategy. Driven by emotions, people of India are zealous of witnessing their country imposing its decisions on other states on pattern of great powers, since they think that the India is becoming more powerful.

It seems that the Cold Start strategy has morphed again. Indian strategists may be contemplating for limited action in targeted places on pattern of 2016 surgical strikes. It is increasingly realized by New Delhi's strategists that their tactic of applying narrow conventional force envisioned in Cold Start embodies every risk of minor conflict escalating to nuclear level. So, in view of this, strategists might be thinking of light concentration- high tech attacks on Pakistan. The possibility of such strikes in the future Chief has been highlighted by the new Indian Army.

In the existing asymmetrical strategic and political equation between India-Pakistan, nuclear postures and expectations that the other party would behave in a similar way cannot, of course, be taken for granted. Furthermore, in a crisis environment, the states do not necessarily retain a set pattern of conduct. Therefore, formulating hostile doctrines of dominance such as CSD, and exercising such doctrines will definitely instigate an action-reaction process. This

would also be prone to accidents. The conception of such a plan that has the potential to increase the tendency to take competitive risk-taking has a tendency to deliberately initiate a conflict.

The extensive use of Anti-Pakistan Rhetoric by the Indian Government:

In Indo-Pak scenario, New Delhi's excessive chanting of anti-Pakistan expression has also led to disruption of stability. Currently the BJP is in power in India. Anti-Pakistan stances are attached with it. To gain political mileage, Modi, has most of the time has resorted to anti-Pakistan expression both internally as well as on international forums. He has maligned Pakistan by many times in order to gain political advantage; it was evident during his election campaign for central as well as state governments.

Due to its obvious benefits of anti-Pakistan expression, the current practice is unlikely to fade away. Possibility seems distant even in an event of new parties coming into helm of affairs. Owing to this, lethal tradition has started. Indian leaders mount pressure on themselves by using anti-Pakistan rhetoric. It is then expected of these leaders by the public to transform their verbal promises into practical action. This leads to increased instability in the region and aggravates tensions between India and Pakistan

Indian Naval Development:

Rising India's economy is improving by leaps and bounds and global attention has also shifted to a considerable extent in its favor due to which New Delhi's naval ambitions have increased too. This increase in naval ambition is also necessitated by looming threat in the form of great power like China. For regional peace and security, these will have far reaching implications. Within a brief period of time, New Delhi's maritime force has been overhauled. At the same time, it is made sure that basic principles establishing New Delhi's strategic preferences in naval sphere remain intact. Since first naval doctrine was issued in 2004, New Delhi's naval strategy has transformed to a great extent over years. Subsequently, a significant role is highlighted by the Indian maritime doctrines 2009 and 2015 for Navy in Indian Ocean. These changing doctrines over years also highlight New Delhi's growing attention in Western Pacific.

On regional as well as international scene, implications of Indian naval strategy are evident. New Delhi desires to consolidate its position by emerging as principal player in Indian Ocean with minimum competition from other powers. However, New Delhi's maritime policy seems to have adopted exception for Washington. New Delhi's relaxation for Washington is in contrast Indira doctrine that envisioned presence of great players with abhorrence. New Delhi has always considered Beijing as potent rival and a source of threat for its interests; however, Washington has been accommodated in strategic sphere owing to increasing cooperation with it. New Delhi is eyeing to ascertain its predominance in Indian Ocean in the long run, since it believes in withering of Washington from region on the pattern of Britain.

Confrontation with India has extended from land to

naval sphere. Segment of sea boundary at entrance of Rann of Kutch, absence of consensus on delineation of Sir Creek estuary increases fears on both sides. History witnessed Pakistan breaking into two pieces by successful maritime obstruction in Bay of Bengal. During the Kargil crisis, Islamabad experienced another effort of obstruction of Karachi port. Owing to all these reasons, Islamabad is not in a position to ignore New Delhi's growing naval foothold in Indian Ocean.

Islamabad- Beijing relations have become more significant in view of growing New Delhi-Washington's association; Indo-US nexus does impact Pakistan's vital security interests. Washington is helping out India in modernizing its maritime capabilities. Washington is helping New Delhi in developing its own maritime fleet.

The strong US existence Indian Ocean will result in increase of New Delhi's naval power. India, at the behest of the US, is trying utmost to emerge as regional power by portraying the character of net security donor in region. Ultimately, these developments are resulting in obstruction of strategic equilibrium. This disequilibrium is putting Pakistan in disadvantageous position.

New Delhi's strategic coordination with Washington is not only offsetting Beijing's increasing presence in Indian Ocean, it is countering and endangering Islamabad's security too.

Ballistic Missile Defense:

Over the years, New Delhi is involved in overhauling and its military assets; it has gathered huge reservoirs of conventional and nuclear potential. New Delhi's scientists have been making claims from 2007 that soon it will be in position to install BMD system in order to shield big cities of India against attacks of Pakistan.

It was reported in one of top Indian newspapers that two most important cities of Mumbai and Delhi will be placed under BMD system. Those cities can be shielded against possible attack in quick time.

Delhi will be placed under BMD system. Those cities can be shielded against possible attack in quick time. For protecting major cities of India, it needs to install BMD system against long range missile attacks of Pakistan and this could be done by scientists on winning sentiments of politicians and people of India. The deployment of BMD will aggravate security dilemma due to which mistrust would increase manifold. However, deployment of BMD will give sense of safety to people of India. Both parties in region have proved sluggish in learning from past mistakes. Washington and Moscow signed Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty and arms control agreements during peak of Cold War, since they were aware of mutually assured destruction. In South Asia, the logic of mutually assured destruction is undercut by India's pursuit of BMD.

Asymmetry is increased between India and Pakistan by New Delhi's huge pumping of money in defense sector. Pakistan is then forced by this asymmetry to take steps in order to protect itself from looming danger of ever increasing military strength of India. India couldn't deliver

a decisive blow to Pakistan, despite its military advantages. This could be attributed to nuclear potential of Pakistan. BMD has the potential to upset strategic stability; though, New Delhi might not be able to shield itself with BMD in practical war situation. On one hand, antimissiles lend a sense of security but on the other hand, these antimissiles escalate strains as well. Anti-missiles induce states arms race, obstruct mutually assured destruction (MAD) principle and more importantly engage states in miscalculations that could lead both states to brink of full fledged war.

Tactical Nuclear Weapons:

The regional dynamics have compelled Pakistan to induct a host of measures:

These include induction of short-range nuclear delivery systems and the development of Tactical Nuclear Weapons (TNWs) to counterbalance India's offensive strategy. The purpose is to enforce its primacy. It would, however, increase the probability of escalation at a time of crisis, as both the countries have divergent offensive and counter-offensive strategies. These further intensify the unpredictability and, therefore, raise the prospects of risks high on both sides.

The challenge of Strategic balance/solidity in South Asia:

Nuclear stability term came to South Asia after the two most important states went nuclear; so a question arises as to what is stability in nuclear context?

Elements or circumstances that help in guaranteeing the maintenance of nuclear deterrence are called nuclear stability. Nuclear stability is threatened by many factors; these factors include: unreasonable leaders, complications in command and control system and preemptive incentives.

Following drivers of nuclear instability between India and Pakistan have been highlighted by Michael Ryan Kraig:

- The danger has emerged owing to geographical closeness between India and Pakistan.
- Boundaries are still disputable.
- Cold War bifurcations happened due to extensive political-economic philosophies while there is presence of ethno-religious cleavages that are fundamental to two state's founding national identities.
- There are violent internal exigencies and they have strong connection to above mentioned factors.
- There is lack of credible early warning sensors; this deficiency is due to technical underdevelopment and geographic closeness.
- Absence of credible nuclear security measures has worsened already tensed situation.

Lack of committed command and control structures; lack of this committed structure keep situation under control in tensed situations.

India Pakistan nuclear deterrence equation seems balance; however, it is vulnerable to undergo rigorous

shocks owing to their enduring rivalry, shifting interests of extra-regional powers and altering patterns of regional alignments. There is a growing and unstoppable antagonism for hegemony between regional powers. This ugly antagonism can have two troublesome impacts for Islamabad.

Firstly, chances of nuclear conflict involving regional players are expected to boost manifold. New Delhi, for instance, may come to conclusion that without inciting nuclear retaliation, it can invade Pakistan. Simultaneously, Islamabad may infer that without triggering a nuclear exchange, it can use nuclear weapons. Secondly, this competition could result in the expansion India's nuclear weapon program.

High potential of an India Pakistan Conflict:

Chances of India-Pakistan conflict stands tall as ever due to mistrust and other factors. Now, conventional military capabilities are ramped up by India. India's military initiatives are majorly directed against Pakistan. In view of current uncertain situation, Islamabad needs to come up with strategies to escape dangerous results. Due to Pakistan's expanding dedication to matters of domestic security and its extended commitment towards internal security and budget unevenness with India, its choices are limited. However, Pakistan needs to be prepared for war, in case it wants to distance itself from battle against India.

These are the following recommendations with regard to the South Asian security:

- In a non-discriminatory and impartial mode, nuclear states which are non signatory of NPT together with Pakistan, ought to be should be fixed within main stream global nonproliferation regime.
- Without any discrimination, Security benefits of whole community of states ought to be offered same treatment, predominantly at multilateral levels and it should be acknowledged that one or a small number of states cannot wish security at the expense of others.
- It is essential to deal with the tangible reasons which compel states to build up nuclear weapons rather than concentrating on the effects only.
- Nuclear weapon states possessing thousands of weapons comes under the obligation to go for nuclear disarmament. They should reveal a transformed and universally confirmable assurance that they will attain nuclear disarmament within a rational time span.
- In line with global obligations and under apt international safeguards, the endorsement of nonviolent uses of nuclear technology necessitates a criteria-based and non- discriminatory strategy. Pakistan also upholds criteria-based and non- discriminatory strategy for entry into global non-proliferation regime.
- NPT-nuclear weapon states offer the security guarantees. The security guarantees promised by NPT nuclear states should be codified in global, categorical and legally binding agreement.

- It has become essential to deal with the rising apprehensions cropping up from weakening of technological inclinations and this can be done by evolving a non-discriminatory international understanding (for example; consumption, growth, and spreading of ABM and relevant technologies).
- To avoid outer space from military developments and from cyber crimes, all states must jointly develop an international legal regime.
- The nuclear weapon states must ensure the fact that their relevant materials are under full security.
- Islamabad should be facilitated in getting non-discriminatory entr  tointer under national nuclear export control arrangements as it totally meets the criteria in order to be a member of Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG).
- Dialogue should be started on nuclear CBMs and must recommence between India and Pakistan. For boosting strategic stability in the region, Islamabad's offer of a strategic restraint regime in South Asia presents valuable structure.

Pakistan fulfills every standard necessary to be incorporated in four international export control regimes, together with NSG, since it is a conscientious nuclear possessing state. In order to attain the aspirations of nuclear arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation, Pakistan wishes to play a prolific contributing role on grounds of impartiality and joint venture with global society.

4. CONCLUSION:

India's national power is on the rise and it is growing to emerge as an economic thrust. Along with national and economic strength, its regional and global ambitions are also growing. In order to cater to its ambitions, it is constantly enhancing its military potential. The dynamics of South Asian stability have been changed by this. The introduction of Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD), the Cold Start strategy and the constant up gradation of naval doctrine changes the bargaining calculus in India's favor.

A sense of insecurity is created in Pakistan by India's offensive strategy and this necessitates it on Pakistan to reply India in befitting manner. Despite nuclear factor, the New Delhi's strategists and policy makers Indian strategists believe in some kind of space for hostility between both nuclear armed countries. Therefore, hostility in South Asia is kept alive by Indian intimidation and the Pakistani reply .This increases imbalance in region and ultimately leading to tensed environment. New Delhi's military transformation is directed to fill capability gaps. This is essential in order to give practical shape to actions embodied in Cold Start strategy. New Delhi justifies increase in power for gaining larger dominance in region. There are already many factors of instability in region, and if New Delhi continued piling up its potential and capabilities, then its huge prowess and aggressive attitude against Islamabad would ultimately result in perilous circumstances. There is always possibility of an escalation, since the relations between both countries

remain tense mostly.

The hostility between India and Pakistan is further increased by the excessive chanting of anti-Pakistan expression by Indian leaders; in turn it leads to more instability in the region. The situation is alarming owing to the presence of a number of longstanding bilateral issues. Kashmir is an important issue between both the countries; it is called the nuclear flash point. Since 1947, India has been showing keenness to punish Pakistan. Growing Indian desire to take action against Pakistan is demonstrated in Indian claim of "surgical strikes" in 2016. An actual strike could force Pakistan to respond leading to an all-out war.

It has been hinted by the Indian Army Chief that there is a space for recurring strikes. It seems that New Delhi has imagined that, if a certain set of conditions exists, India can hold claims or even it feels that it can have attack on specific targets without fear of retaliation. Because of New Delhi's growing potential in all sectors, its leaders are filled with confidence that they can give practical shape to such offensive designs. The primary cause of instability in South Asia is the dangerous outcome associated with these actions of India. So, it can be concluded that New Delhi's increasing potential is escalating instability in South Asia.

Pakistan can counter Indian offensive measures by preventing India from limited war, developing Tactical Nuclear weapons, strengthening relations with the neighbors, increasing diplomatic efforts and realizing the full potential of CPEC.

Conflict interests

The authors has declared that no competing interests exist.

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