Panel Discussion
Indian Armed Forces Joint Doctrine 2017: A Critical Appraisal

The Islamabad Policy Research Institute organized a One-Day Panel Discussion on "Indian Armed Forces Joint Doctrine 2017: A Critical Appraisal" on 28 February 2018.

The panelists included Air Commodore (R) Khalid Banuri, Senior Defense Analyst, and Ms Salma Malik, Assistant Professor, Defense and Strategic Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. The discussion focused on the potential shifts in India’s nuclear strategy, its challenges for nuclear deterrence in South Asia (SA), and the issue of asymmetric military buildup in SA and options for Pakistan.

Ambassador (R) Abdul Basit, President IPRI, said that as a reflection of India’s future political and military ambitions, the Joint Doctrine Indian Armed Forces (JIDAF) will have long-term implications for Pakistan’s threat perceptions and force posturing, and requires serious contemplation by the government.

Potential Shifts in Indian Nuclear Strategy: Challenges for Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia

Air Commodore (R) Khalid Banuri, Senior Defense Analyst, highlighted that the Doctrine’s focus on determining and/or preventing conflict through a process of Credible Deterrence, coercive diplomacy and punitive destruction, disruption and constraint is alarming, and warned that while not mentioning “minimum” in the credible deterrence formulation is very problematic, it is also unclear what precise changes are being envisioned by India.

He said that this Doctrine should be viewed in the broader context of the wave of ultra-nationalism that is sweeping the globe and is being spearheaded by India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi in SA. Air Cdre Banuri cautioned that the Doctrine goes beyond a focus on traditional military imperatives and portends to use diplomatic isolation and economic sanctions backed by projection of military force.

Air Cdre Banuri also discussed that Pakistan needs to be wary that over the years, there has been a changing mood in New Delhi vis-à-vis the issue of No First Use as manifested in the statements made by key Indian politicians, strategists and academics like Vipin Narang that “India will not allow Pakistan to go first, and may in fact opt for a full ‘comprehensive counterforce strike’ to completely disarm Pakistan of its nuclear weapons.”

Asymmetrical Military Buildup in South Asia: Options for Pakistan

Ms Salma Malik, Assistant Professor, DSS Department, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, discussed asymmetric military buildup in SA and options for Pakistan. She said that the document leaves no confusion regarding India’s malicious designs – a country which was the world’s largest importer of arms between 2012 and 2016, and the world’s 2nd largest military force.

Ms Malik pointed out that in the last four years, India’s imports were far greater than those of both China and Pakistan. However, she also pointed out that India may soon change this role in the global arms industry by transforming itself into a leading arms exporting nation as well given its focus on indigenous defense production.

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India’s Role in Asia Pacific: Emerging Military and Strategic Linkages

Ms Amna Ejaz Rafi, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI, gave a presentation on “India’s Role in Asia Pacific: Emerging Military and Strategic Linkages” on 13 February 2018 at IPRI. She said that India’s expanding footprints in Asia Pacific are targeted towards exploiting the region’s economic and strategic potential. Besides, by aligning with the regional states, India is trying to contain China’s economic and political growth.

India’s policy to enhance political and economic ties with the countries of Asia Pacific is to look beyond South Asia (trans-regional aspiration). The term Indo-Pacific refers to India’s likely emerging role in the region. Geographically, India shares borders with Myanmar, Thailand and Indonesia. Economically, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)-India ties have progressed; India is a Full Dialogue Partner (FDP) with bilateral trade worth US $70 billion.

India’s Act East policy, other than focusing on economic cooperation, also aims at reinforcing military ties with the regional states. Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s remarks on the need to resolve the South China Sea disputes, signing of a joint strategic vision with the United States for the Asia Pacific and the Indian Ocean region are a testament to this.

New Delhi has established defense accords with regional players, and conducts naval exercises with Japan, Vietnam, Australia, Indonesia, South Korea and Singapore. It supports the Philippines and Vietnam in the South China Sea dispute. This may antagonize China as well as create a rift between Beijing and other claimants, thereby, impacting the ASEAN centrality.

China’s building of ports in Myanmar, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan has provided it with alternate trading routes. India being apprehensive of China’s phenomenal rise is trying to limit the East Asian player in Asia Pacific as strategic partnerships with countries of East Asia are attempts to balance rising China.

India and the United States have convergence of interest against China’s regional ascendancy. Thus, the common strategic goal between the ‘rebalancing strategy’ and ‘Act East policy’ is to jointly balance China.

India’s economic interest in view of China-India bilateral trade (US $71.5 billion) does not allow the latter to directly wage a confrontation. Therefore, its policy encompasses engagement and cooperation mechanisms with China. India is also keen to join the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) agreement.

External Engagements

President IPRI, Ambassador (R) Abdul Basit’s various external engagements during the month of February included:

- Presentation on “Coercive Diplomacy with Reference to Pakistan: Foreign Policy Challenges” at the Joint Panel Discussion on “Coercive Diplomacy” convened by the National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad, on 19 February 2018.
- Keynote Speech at the Seminar on “Pluralism vs. Exclusionism: The Case of Rising Extremism in India” organized by the Institute of Policy Studies (IPS), Islamabad on 22 February 2018.
- Presentation on “Shanghai Cooperation Organization: India’s Perspectives and Impact on Bilateral Relations with Pakistan” at a Seminar titled “Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO): Challenges and Opportunities” organized by the Centre for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS), Islamabad on 27 February 2018.
- Discussion on “India: An Apartheid State” authored by Dr Junaid Ahmad at the Book Launch Ceremony organized by the Readers Club on 28 February 2018.
Efficacy of Indus Waters Treaty (TWT)

Mr. Adeel Mukhtar Mirza, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI, delivered a presentation on "Efficacy of Indus Waters Treaty" on 26 February 2018. Giving an overview of the Indus Waters Treaty (IWT), he informed that it was signed between India and Pakistan in 1960, with the World Bank playing a mediating role between the two countries. The IWT allocated the Ravi, Sutlej, and Bias Rivers to India. Pakistan, on the other hand, was assigned the water from the Chenab, Jhelum, and Indus Rivers.

India violated the IWT by initiating the construction of Baglihar Dam in 1999, and exacerbated the issue by proceeding to initiate new projects such as the Ratle Dam on the Chenab River and Kishanganga on the Neelum–Jhelum River.

The completion of these projects, in addition to the modifications in the allocation of river waters to Pakistan, is likely to deprive the people of the Indus Basin region the basic human right of access to water for drinking, agricultural, and domestic purposes, he warned.

The Treaty set up the Permanent Indus Commission to adjudicate any future disputes arising from the allocation of waters. The Commission has survived three wars and provides an ongoing mechanism for consultation and conflict resolution through inspection, exchange of data and visits.

The Commission is required to meet regularly to discuss potential disputes as well as cooperative arrangements for the development of the Basin. Either party must notify the other of plans to construct any engineering works.

He concluded that an exhaustive and serious deliberative exercise is required to comprehend and dissect the ebb and flow challenges of national significance. Pakistan can capitalize on its skilled human resource, and infrastructure for such endeavors. Moreover, the country also needs to promote public and private partnerships for research and development projects in the defense sector.

- Pakistan needs to build its tri-services capability, in order to bridge the existing asymmetry with India by strengthening its nuclear as well as conventional deterrence to build "credible deterrence capabilities". But, these capabilities are dependent on economic prosperity. The more economically better off Pakistan will be, the more lucrative and vital it will become for the international community. This will eventually also give credence to its narrative among the world community on different matters.

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Pakistan's political and military leaders need to be cognizant that this Doctrine is not confined to physical conflict alone, rather factors in Hybrid Warfare, including supporting chaos, psychological and media warfare, cyber warfare, and economic warfare. She cautioned that India is progressing regularly from military power, soft power to smart power and is making these moves in leaps and bounds, supported by its growing economic might. Pakistan needs to catch up rapidly with technology, while at the same time focusing on its conventional strength.

Recommendations

The Panel Discussion forwarded the following policy recommendations:

- There is a conventional asymmetry between India and Pakistan. Similarly, nuclear weapons cannot prevent acts of sabotage and covert activities sponsored by India, and limited military action under nuclear umbrella. Therefore, Pakistan needs to determine how much damage it can take, and build a robust cushion for raising the nuclear-threshold bar to conventionally deter India from ruminating or deliberating limited or large scale conventional or special forces action against the country.

- In order to counter Indian military buildup, Pakistan also needs to have a strong defense production infrastructure. To exploit its full potential, Pakistan needs to develop an indigenous scientific research and development culture, in order to rely on efficient and optimal resource utilization for overcoming
Asghar Ali Shad
Research Fellow (Urdu Articles)
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Daily Pakistan
“Salar-e-Aala ka Pur Maghaz Bayyaniya!”
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