Hafeez Ullah Khan * Ijaz Khalid **

Indian Cold Start Doctrine: Pakistan's Policy Response

Abstract

India and Pakistan are two next-door neighbors in South Asia, with drastic conflicting and hostile relations. Since the independence of both countries in August 1947 from British rule. Both countries have fought many wars on the territorial dispute of Kashmir, which is one of the root causes of conflict between two countries. Instead of resolving different issues between them through conciliation, diplomacy and dialogues, they have resorted to the use of different strategies, both offensive and defensive, in different times, to resolve different issues between them including Kashmir issue, informally, through the use of force. Indian's Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) is one of those strategies which is aimed to gain limited Military-cum-political objectives by making shallow penetration into Pakistan. The existence of proactive strategy like Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) can engulf the whole of South Asian region, which is strategically important and most vibrant region in the world. This research paper will bring to light all the elements and Modus Operandi of Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) and possible response from Pakistan and defense capability of both countries.

Keywords: Cold start doctrine, Operation Parakram, Parliament attacks, IBG's. Indo-Pak relations

Introduction

Indian Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) is one of those offensive military strategies, adopted by India for dual purposes of deterrence and achieving some limited goals (Ali, 2016). It was adopted by New Delhi in 2004, after 2001 Indian parliament attacks and the failure of "Operation Parakram", for possible achievements of some limited objectives, using conventional forces in proactive manner based on "Hit and Mobilize' strategy and to achieve these goals in swift manner in such a way to preclude any response from Pakistan, militarily and politically, and international community without crossing nuclear threshold (M.F, 2017). Hence the doctrine is to be activated and operationalize under nuclear overhang.

 * Mr. Hafeez Ullah Khan, Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan, KP, Pakistan.

^{**} Dr. Ijaz Khalid, Demonstrator, Department of Political Science, Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan, KP, Pakistan.

The Indian's Cold Start Doctrine(CSD) draws inspiration from and has been formed in the fashion of ''Blitzkrieg'' war strategy, which was utilized by Germany in Second World War for the achievement of their objectives in swift manner by letting disorganization in enemy's army (Citino, 1999). The roots of Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) stem from the very outstanding issues, existing between two countries, in general and territorial dispute of Kashmir particularly and the strategy is aimed to punish Pakistan for alleged support and cross-border terrorism, the claim which is categorically denied by Pakistan.

Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) is also used by India as deterrence to compel and press Pakistan for resolution of Kashmir issue and other territorial disputes as per India's wishes and it is aimed 'To enter into Pakistan up to 80km from different sides through the use of Integrated battle group (IBP), supported by Indian Air Force and Navy and preventing Pakistan from resorting to 'Nuclear First Use (NFU)', which is one of the features of Pakistan's nuclear doctrine. Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) has been envisaged with purpose to use the captured territory as the bargaining chip for the resolution of outstanding issues between two countries as per Indian' wishes including Kashmir issue. According to Indian military strategist Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) is to be activated within 48 hours of any proactive action, in the fashion of 26/11attacks, from Pakistan, which India alleged to have been carried out by Pakistan sponsored terrorists.

India and Pakistan have many outstanding issues between them. For example, water dispute, border issues, territorial disputes like Kashmir and Sir Creek and security related issues between them in which the security occupies utmost importance for both countries and are spending the lion's share of their annual budget on defense and development of nuclear arsenal (Lyon, 2008), which have rendered a very murky picture of Human Development Index (HDI) in both countries.

The Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) reduces the chances of resolution of many of those outstanding issues between two countries and has brought out the prospect of nuclear escalation in South Asia, which is home to 1.5 billion people. The scenario when every state lives in the state of security dilemma and no state is aware about the intentions of other states and unpredictability of Nuclear capability, the nuclear escalation is imminent (C.ladwig, 2008). In current discourse on Indo-Pak relations Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) has gained much significance, especially after the installation of right-wing Barthiya Janata Party (BJP)'s government headed by Narendra Modi, in 2014, which has hawkish approach towards Pakistan. The recent border skirmishes between two countries along the Line of control and international border, where on many occasions, innocent civilians have been targeted, have revived the fears of conflagration between two countries and this is also evident from the hawkish statements, issued from time to time, by Indian's leaders and Indian Army chief, Bepin Rawat.

To counter Indian Cold Start Doctrine Pakistan has achieved second strike capability, completed its nuclear triad, introduced Tactical nuclear weapons, upgraded operational strategies and carried out joint military exercises with various countries to repulse any kind of misadventure from Indian's Army.

Theoretical Framework:

The research paper uses the theoretical framework of Realism, Limited war, Operational art of War or strategy, Compellence to analyze and find out the intricacies of, and describe the Indian's Cold Start Doctrine (CSD).

There are many theories which define the relations between two or more countries, which include liberal internationalism which takes the view that government should establish peaceful relations with each other ,through dialogue, negotiations, arbitration, promotion of trade and commerce and establishing democratic government internally (Scott Burchill, 2005) but the relations between two countries show that both countries never reconciled through negotiations or dialogue with the exception of few moments in its history.

However, the relations between the two countries can well be characterised by Realist paradigm and is relevant to explain the relations bewteen two countries.

Offensive realism states that state must undertake and initiate war against other states for the interest of the state (Girffth, 2007). So, India's Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) is offensive strategy which entails a limited war.

The concept of limited war goes back to the 19th century, when military strategist and theoretician introduced a concept of limited war. In his book "On limited war, the challenge to American strategy" the Robert E. Osgood defines Limited war as the war defined by the achievement of some limited objectives, which do not require utmost military mobilization and efforts. This definition brings to light the contrast between total war, which is characterized by utmost military efforts and limited war where no hectic military mobilization is required. According to Thucydides states go to war with each other for three reasons; Fear, honor and interest. In total war, there is the element of fear, while in Limited war there is the element of Honor and interest (Thucydides). Whenever a state initiates a limited or total war, it is always preceded by some strategic calculations, where different choices are weighted to make Cost-Benefit analysis and to select the most optimal choice which brings minimum cost and maximum benefit, which can be defined in terms of "Rational actor model".

The strategy of Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) takes into account the striking inside Pakitsan ,but it is based on India's own strategic calculations,taking into account their own strategic goals. A successfull strategy must take into account the power of the target,conditions,environment and response from the target (Nye, 2011). The job of strategy in war is to work with contingency . Strategy infact is the the theory of war (Strachan, 2014).

The Indian Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) also envisages to coerce and compel Pakistan into accepting India demands and dictates. The term "Compellence" is attributed to have been used by *Thomas schelling*, which was coined by him to mean that "The use of coercion by one state, as a punishment and

deterrence to compel and coerce, another state for some course of action, as per the wishes of the former".

Historical background

The deep hostility and antagonism between two South Asian giants and arch-rival, India and Pakistan, predate their independence, when in united India both communities had antagonism towards each other and engaged in serious confrontation. But this confrontation reached its zenith when in the embryonic phases of independence movements both communities were at loggerhead, reinforced by their ideological differences, mutual mistrust and diverse political aspirations (Ganguly, 2016).

Factors Responsible for Bitter Indo-Pak Relations:

Both countries have adopted various strategies in their 70 years of existence, to meet their security needs and to achieve those objectives which are central to their security. These security needs are deeply ingrained in their historical past which is fraught with deep hostility towards each other,150 years of British rule in the sub-continent, geographical proximity, social and cultural systems and most importantly colliding ideologies, with India claims to be a secular and largest democracy, albeit in name only and Pakistan claims to be an Islamic country. These and other factors have led to completely contrasting views on a number of issues, from which most of their hostilities emanate. There are bitter and hostile relations between two countries which are attributable to different factors and are to be divided into following broad categories.

Historical

The deep-rooted hostilities between two countries stems from their historical past differences in the sub-continent where the two major communities of Muslims and Hindus, had diverse social and cultural values, religions, outlook on life, ideological differences and political culture and after the independence these diversities translated into confrontation over the issue of Kashmir, security problems and water problems between them (Mirza, 2015).

Ideological Differences:

The hostile relations between two countries stem from the divergent ideologies, which led to diversity in their political aspirations and goals in pre- and post-independence period (Fred Halliday, Hamza Alvi, 1988)It were these ideological diversities that led Hindus to adopt an arrogant posture following their outstanding victory in 1937 elections, following which they broke breaking all records of brutalities afflicted on Muslims ,in their government from 1937 to 1939. These differences led to diverse goals which can be evident from ,Hindi-Urdu controversy of 1967 ,their opposition towards Muslim demand of separate electorate, forcing British to rescind the partition of Bengal of 1905, advocating competitive exams ,which was harmful for Muslims given their backwardness in education, criticizing Lahore resolution which called for the division of India into

Muslim and Hindu majority areas and finally opposing the very existence of Pakistan, when it came into being on 14th August 1947 (Chugtai, 2015).

Diversity in Cultures:

The distinct religion of both communities led to diversity in every aspect of their life be it culture, language, customs', way of life, the use of utensils, structure of building, places and ways of worship. In most cases the victor of one was the villain of another. These diversities in culture were quite palpable and had both historical and social aspect (Avari, 2016).

Those associated with partition plan

These are those factors, the roots of which can be found in the partial implementation of 3rd June plane. Hindus leaders, in collusion with Viceroy of United India, Lord Mountbatten, implemented the plane in such a way, to benefit India. Impartiality was never maintained, in any aspect of the plan, whether it was the division of territory, fate of princely states, division of economic and defense assets, and the control of the waters between two countries.

Kashmir Issue:

Kashmir is considered as the flashpoint between India and Pakistan, and this single most important issue is always conspicuous in very bilateral, multilateral, and treaties between two countries. Both countries have fought three full-fledged wars and one mini war over the issue. The resolution Kashmir issue is considered central to the peaceful and durable relations between both countries, over which both countries have divergent views (Ganguly, 2016).

The very issue stems from ideological differences and conflicting claim over the status of the disputed territory. India bases its claim on the premise that with the withdrawal of British, British paramountcy came to an end and the ruler of the states had complete independence of thought and discretion to accede to either of the state, India or Pakistan (Sayeed, 1967). India also claims the disputed territory purely on secular and legal grounds, where it is not necessary the Muslim majority of Kashmir, but important is the instrument of accession, which the Maharaja signed with the India.

On other hand Pakistan bases its claims over the Kashmir territory on, its Muslim majority population, Contiguity of the Kashmir with Pakistan, two nations theory and the questionable circumstance around which India secured the instrument of accession from the Maharaja Hari Singh in October 1947. Pakistan considered Kashmir to be incomplete partition agenda, because in its view, had 3rd June plane implemented in its true letter and spirit, the whole of Kashmir would have made part of Pakistan. From Pakistan's perspective Kashmir is integral to Pakistan, and certain portion of the Kashmir is under Indian occupation of India which need to be resolved as per the aspirations of the Kashmiri people, through the exercise of right to self-determination under the auspices of the United Nations Organization Security Council Resolutions (Sayeed, 1967).

Division of Defense and Economic Assets:

Partiality was never maintained in the division of defense and economic assets too, which were to be proportionally divided between two countries. Lt. General Gul Hassan writes in his book 'the last commander-in-chief' that Pakistan's share of defense assets was .17 million tones and was to be sent in 300 trucks but only three were sent and joint commander-in-chief was obstructed, when he sought impartiality (Hassan, 1994).Similarly, in the economic assets too, Pakistan's share was not wholly paid. Therefore, the biased role in the division of assets created serious ill-feelings with regard to India and security and economic problem in its early years of existence (Hassan, 1994).

Water Issues:

The genesis of water issues between two countries also can be found in the partial implementation of partition plan, which resulted in handing over the control of water headwork to India. India later on used this as the tool to woo Pakistan, which confounded the problems of Pakistan at the very outset. Pakistan being the lower riparian suffered due to this issue (Cohen, 2013).

Although the water between two countries are regulated through Indus water treaty, signed in September 1960. This is considered to be longest survived ever treaty between two countries, which has survived, wars between two countries. According to this treaty, on three rivers of Sutlej, Beas and Ravi, India exclusive right was recognized, while on three rivers of Sindh, Chenab, and Jhelum, Pakistan exclusive right was recognized (Fact sheet: The Indus Water Treaty 1960 and the World Bank, 2017). The treaty was guaranteed by World Bank, but India is utterly violating the treaty by building dams like, Baglihar, Silasal and Kishanganga, on the rivers allotted to Pakistan, which is meant to create serious economic problems for Pakistan.

Ethnic Problems and Refugee Problems:

Ethnic riots and confrontation, between Hindus and Muslims were order of the day in pre-independence period. But the immediate aftermath of the announcement of new border line saw serious riots between ethnic minorities on both sides of the border with serious incidence occurred in east and west Punjab. In this bloodbath almost 1 million Muslims lost their lives and the exodus of refugees from and into Pakistan created huge, administrative and financial complications for Pakistan (Hassan, 1994).

Indo-Pak War 1948:

It was the first ever war fought between two countries in the immediate aftermath of partition. In this war, the erstwhile compatriot fought against each other. This war led to ceasefire line in July 1948, later renamed as Line of Control (LoC) according to Shimla agreement, when the issue was referred to the newly established United Nations Organization (Ganguly, 2016).

It is evident from the very outset that India exhibited its hegemonic designs and hawkish approach when it invaded Kashmir in October 1948. To repulse and recapture tribe's men supported by Pakistan army captured area up to Muzaffarabad. Since then some three forth of the Kashmir is administered by India and one fourth by Pakistan with Srinagar and Muzaffar Abad as their respective capitals of the area under their control (Sayeed, 1967). India's strategy in this war was offensive.

Indo-Pak Wars

The war lasted for 17 days when both countries signed Tashkent declaration in 1966, sponsored by USSR, Although it is described as a full-fledged war between two countries where India crossed the international border by attacking Lahore and capturing some important areas Of Pakistan. 1971 war was a total disaster for Pakistan, which led to the dismemberment of Pakistan and Pakistan was cut into two pieces. Although Bangladesh, former East Pakistan, historically, had reservations against West Pakistan for alienating them but the immediate cause of the war was the political chaos and uncertainty, witnessed after the 1970 elections, when two political parties Pakistan People's Party, headed by Zulfigar Ali Bhutto and Awami League, headed by Sheik Mujibur-Ur- Rehman could not accept each other mandate, leading to civil war and agitation against the west Pakistan and the Marshall law regime. These convulsive situations were soon followed by the military operation conducted by Pakistan army codenamed as "Operation Search Light" to quell the agitation and press the rebellion. This operation soon escalated first into rebellion by East Pakistanis and then into a fullfledged war between India and Pakistan on 1st December 1971 (Raja, 2012). 1999 war was fought immediately after both countries had gone Nuclear in May 1998, when Pakistan ventured into occupy the positions vacated by Indian Army in the season of winter. India retaliated by engaging in mini war with Pakistan in the high altitude of Kargil (Rathore, 2016).

But due to the presence of nuclear weapons and to prevent nuclear escalation international community, particularly USA, reacted swiftly to diffuse the tension between two countries, which resulted in the Clinton-Nawaz accord in Washington D.C. According to which Pakistan army vacated the positions it had captured during the war. In this war India's strategy was defensive.

Indian's Cold Start Doctrine: and it's Development

Doctrine is the aggregate of those values and actions, which are adopted by states for the furtherance of their national, ideological and foreign policy goals. Similarly, military doctrine pertains to those actions of the military which is aimed to achieve the interest of the military in general and the interests of the state at large. These doctrines define how military should fight, when to fight and what kind of Modus Operandi to use for carrying out the aforesaid objectives in efficacious way (Military Doctrine, 2010).

In majority cases offensive strategy is adopted by those states which aspired to be regional power or cherish the desire to be in dominant position, due

to which states indulge in the practice of aggrandizement, for extending their territory up to maximum limits possible, through subterfuge and machinations in lower and military offence at highest level. On other hand defensive doctrine is adopted by the weak states, which is economically crippled, politically unstable and cannot devote their capacity and resources to the offensive actions against other states. As India aspire to be in dominant position, albeit in South Asia, therefore it has adopted since inception, many offensive strategies and doctrines, to offset balance of power in south Asia, in its favor. Over the course of history India has had different policies, strategies and doctrines with regard to their security. Overall these strategies surrounded the following objectives.

- To overhaul their capability and to elevate it to such a level to prevent Pakistan from challenging the predominant position of India in South Asian region.
- It was also meant to deter Pakistan from taking any offensive action against India.
- To wage two front war against China and Pakistan by establishing security equation with regard to China and preventing any challenge emanating from China. It is aimed at encircling Pakistan from both eastern and western front and instigating rebellion in the restive provinces of Pakistan to materialize the next breakup of Pakistan (Agressive Indian Posture, 2018).
- India also aimed to increase their presence in Indian Ocean by developing their naval system and it has got much significance after the flagship China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project initiated by the collaborative efforts of both China and Pakistan in 2015.
- To achieve the status of regional power at least in no-distant future.

Development of CSD:

Indian cold start doctrine was preceded by of the important the doctrine known as "Sunderji Doctrine". It was in operation till its failure following Indian parliament attacks in 2001. Sunderji doctrine was adopted by India in 1981 but it was defensive-offensive in nature as evident from the statement of former defence minister George Fernandes that ''it was military doctrine based defensive philosophy'' (Ahmad, 2010).

Sunderji doctrine had following features.

- It was based on the use of conventional weapons.
- It was meant to prevent Pakistan becoming a nuclear state.

- According to this doctrine the armed forces of India were constituted into different strike groups, to rapidly gain its objective in case of any proactive action from the Pakistani side by mobilizing it troops.
- Strike groups were organized into seven holding corps, in such a way that, these corps are to be stationed in proximity to strategically important areas of Indo-Pak border, on Indian side.
- These holding corps are to be trained in such a way to absorb any proactive strike from Pakistan's side.
- There also to be strike groups, organized into three categories, which will
 have the capacity to strike inside Pakistan, after seven holding corps had
 absorbed the strike from Pakistan. These strike groups shall include
 infantry and artillery.
- These strikes groups are to be mobilized within 72 to 96 hours, after any pre-emptive action from Pakistani side.

But as according to Sunderji doctrine, as stipulated, the strikes groups are to be activated within 72 to 96 hours of any proactive action from Pakistan, so ideally it should have taken 3 to 4 days for the mobilization of strike groups but the tardy mobilization of troops, which took almost 20-25 days for Indian military to mobilize these strike groups. This poor mobilization of strike group provided enough opportunity and timing for Pakistan to carry out counter mobilization, and international community to intervene to reduce the chances of escalation. The Indian parliament attacks in 2001 dawned upon Indian government to formulate a strategy, where the military would be deployed in forward positions and instances strike in enemy territory, which would provide India and upper hand in the limited war over Pakistan (Kanwal, 2011).

Therefore two significant factors compelled India to revise and update their military doctrine with evolving security dynamics in South Asia. Two factors of immense importance in this regard were loopholes in "Sunderji doctrine", which were exposed during "Operation Parakram" and nuclearization of South Asia, when both countries when after 1998 nuclear explosions became to be declared nuclear states. Following these nuclear explosions both countries evolved the deterrence of new sort

Objectives of Cold Start Doctrine:

Indian Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) was adopted in 2004 by Indian military against Pakistan for their alleged claim against Pakistan of using non state actors against India, following Indian parliament attacks in 2001.Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) is offensive in nature and which is meant to establish deterrence against Pakistan particularly with the aim to dissuade it from taking any offensive action against India. It is based on the premise that deterrence is to be established not only through resort to defensive strategies but it can also be established through the threat of punishment. Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) envisages a limited war,

because after the nuclear explosions the only viable option for both countries to embark upon a limited war, which need not to cross nuclear threshold (Jaffery, 2018).

It has following characteristic features.

- It would entail the quick mobilization of military troops to achieve limited objectives within 48 hours of any proactive action from Pakistani side.
- It is based on shallow penetration into Pakistan and to obtain and capture some limited area inside Pakistan.
- The Doctrine also aims to keep the war within limits and not crossing nuclear threshold. It thus would minimize the chances of any nuclear escalation.
- The Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) is based on the perception to gain above all objectives before international community could react and to intervene. This has been due to the fact that on many occasions when war was imminent between them after two countries had gone nuclear the international community intervened to control the situation from escalating from bad to worse.
- Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) envisages a limited war which would not require extensive military mobilization, but is aimed at the utilization of the troops in swift manner which would gain limited objectives. It is characterized by the utilization of limited troops for gaining limited objectives.

The overall objectives of the Indian's Cold Start Doctrine revolve around following things (Ahmad, 2010).

- Resolution of various issues between as per Indian's wishes. Because the territory captured up to 80 km, as envisaged per Indian's Cold Start Doctrine (CSD), would be used as bargaining chip, to compel and coerce Pakistan into acquiescing to India's dictates.
- To punish and chastise Pakistan for alleged support of cross-border terrorism and Pakistan based organization which India alleged to have been patronized by Pakistan government.
- The Doctrine is meant to cope with short term management of crisis and shall be used as coercive diplomacy for gaining short term gains.

Although the Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) of India is based on their own strategic calculations but it also suffers from certain inconsistencies. Firstly, it is based on the principle that it would meant not to cross the nuclear threshold but it is not possible for one state to estimate the nuclear threshold of other states

because of the sensitivity of nuclear arsenal. Secondly once the war is started then it could not be limited and can easily be escalated into a full-fledged war (Ahmad, 2010).

Utilization of Cold Start Doctrine

As per Indian's Cold Start Doctrine (CSD), the strategy is to be executed in following ways that is the Modus Operandi of the doctrine is as follow.

The use of Integrated Battle Groups (IBG) According to Cold Start Doctrine the Indian military has constituted eight integrated battle group. These groups are to attack Pakistan from different sides to penetrate into Pakistan and capture territory up to 80 km (50 miles). These IBG's shall consist of infantry, artillery and are to be synergized by Russian-based T-90 tanks, T-72 Mi, India Airforce and possibly Indian navy. These integrated battle groups are to be supported by Indian' Air force, making its use more credible. These IBG's, as envisaged in the doctrine, are likely to be placed in following positions (Integrated Battle Groups to give tough time to enemies, 2011).

- IBG's-1 are to be stationed in Jammu, the area which hold importance with regard to Indo-Pak relations.
- IBG's-2 are to be stationed in Sikh holiest city of Amritsar, with a target to attack Lahore, the cultural capital of Pakistan and administrative capital of Punjab.
- IBG's-3 are likely to be placed in Chandigarh, to penetrate into Kasur and its adjacent areas
- IBG's-4 are to be placed in Suratgarh to attack and make shallow penetration into Bahawalpur
- IBG's-5 might to be stationed in Bikaner, with an aim to attack Rahimyar and its adjacent areas
- IBG's-6 are to be stationed near Jalmur for attacking and penetration into Sindh
- IBG's-7 are to be deployed in Bermer, with the aim to target Mirpur khas and the areas in its proximity
- IBG's-8 are to be placed in Palanpur for attacking Hyderabad.

Stationing of forces in forward positions

The strategy also envisages positioning these Integrated Battle Groups (IBG's) on the forward and advanced positions along the border. This has been made with purpose that in case of any proactive action from Pakistan these forces would not require any utmost military mobilization (Gokhale, 2016).

To materialize these objectives India has entered into various agreements with Israel and Russia for the modernization of its Army, Air force and Navy. It also aimed to upgrade and replace their old weapons with sophisticated one. This is the reason that India is the biggest arm importer after Saudi Arabia in the world.

Pakistan's Policy Response:

Pakistan is responding to Indian Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) through both formal and informal channels at different level. Pakistan's response to India's Cold Start Doctrine is defensive in nature. While inaugurating Agosta 90B (PNS Hamza), Pervez Musharraf declared that "Pakistan has adopted the strategy of defensive deterrence". As Cold Start Doctrine is Pakistan's centric, therefore Pakistan has adopted different strategies, both offensive and defensive to counter it's the proximity of major industrial cities, Lahore at approximately 20 km, Karachi 160km and Islamabad 80 km, with India, Pakistan has adopted defensive strategy.

Military Response:

Development of Nuclear Arms:

The bellicose statements by Indian army are compelling Pakistan to adopt a warfighting nuclear doctrine. Pakistan since the detonation of nuclear explosion on 28th May, in Quetta has developed their nuclear capability and according to one estimate have up to 120-130 nuclear warhead. These Nuclear Weapons are meant to establish Minimum Credible Deterrence. Both countries are spending lion's share of their annual budget on the defense and the development of nuclear arsenal.

Nuclear Triad

In recent decade Pakistan has carried out successfully different test aimed for surface-to-surface, surface to water and air thus completing Pakistan nuclear Triad. India had completed its nuclear triad as far as 2003, and since then Pakistan also has started its efforts to complete its nuclear triad.

On 9 January, Pakistan test fired successfully the submarine based cruise missile which completed Pakistan nuclear triad thus providing Pakistan with second strike capability (Arif, January 2017).

Tactical Nuclear Weapons (TNW)

To counter and respond to India's Cold Start Doctrine Pakistan has introduced new kind of weapons known as Low Yield Weapons or Tactical Nuclear Weapons (TNW). For this purpose, a series of new weapons have been tested from time to time since 2010, which have the capability to carry both conventional and nuclear warheads.

In April 2011 Pakistan test fired the Hatf-IX followed by series of tests with advanced ranges in succeeding years.

Development of Tactical Nuclear Weapons' (TNW) are very important headway of Pakistan in the direction of responding to Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) and are efficacious in Cold Start Doctrine and that was the reason that Lt. Gen Kidwai had to say that "Tactical Nuclear Weapons' have poured cold water on India Cold Start Doctrine" and these TNW's will go a long way to fill those gaps, which would create viable situation for Indian's Cold Start Doctrine to operationalize.

Military Exercises:

Pakistan since 1989 has carried out number of military exercises with the aim to boost up their readiness and operational capacity. These exercises ranges from operation "Zarb-e-Momin", which is considered to be the largest ever military exercise by Pakistan army, to that of "Operation Azm-e-Nou", "Operation Sea Spark", "Operation High Mark" in 2010 and the most recent one Friendship 2016 with Russia

Pakistan also has conducted umpteen joint military exercises with many countries in recent decade. These joint military exercises conducted by Pakistan with different countries are aimed at purposes: To learn from the each other experiences and operational strategies and give and convey a message to the world and India particularly about Pakistan nuclear capability

This year Pakistan also has conducted joint military exercises with its erstwhile ideological rival, Russia codenamed as DRUZBA 2017 or Friendship 2017. This enhancement of relations between two countries is important due to the fact that it involves two ideological rival of Cold War era and it also shows that how far deep cooperation exists between two countries after the shift in strategic dynamic in the region.

So far, the biggest joint military exercise Pakistan and other Muslims countries have conducted is "Thunder North". The exercise is considered to be as the largest military exercise not only among the Muslim countries but in the world. "Thunder North", military exercise was held in the Riyadh in 2016, where the troops of many major Muslims countries like Egypt, Turkey, Malaysia, Morocco etc. participated (Thunder North military excerise begins in Saudi Arabia, 2016).

Political response

At political level Pakistan is engaged in the manoeuvre to gain maximum support of international community to apprise them about the India's hegemonic designs, which is engaged in state-sponsor terrorism in Kashmir and indiscriminate firing along the international border. To prevent India to get upper hand over Pakistan, Pakistan has signed various treaties with different countries and China particular to equalize India (Narang, 2010).

According to foreign office of Pakistan involving capability is molded by strategic and security dynamics, defense imbalance between India and Pakistan

and aggressive posture of India, which compelling Pakistan to take all necessary steps to defend itself from any kind of internal and external misadventure.

Although Pakistan is a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic state, with various ethnic entities residing across the width and breadth of Pakistan and this ethnic diversity is the source of continual bane and hindrance to national integration of the country. In this context Pakistan is polarized society, divided on the basis of language, political aspirations, goal, etc. but when it comes to India and relations with India, then this diversity transmute into unity where all Pakistanis consider India to be their arch rival.

Pakistan always has refuted the existence of Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) and advocated that all issues between two countries are to be resolved peacefully, without resorting to the use of force, intimidation and unilateral approach. However, insincerity on the part of India, has compelled Pakistan to think the other way around.

Pakistan has projected the voice of Kashmiri people at different international forums, like United Nations Organization (UNO) and Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC), which India wants to resolve through the use of force, disregarding the wishes of the Kashmir people and their right to self-determination.

Pakistan also has signed various treaties with different countries for mustering support against India.

There is a famous maxim in international relations that "The enemies of my enemy are my friends" acting on this maximum, Pakistan has entered into alliances with those countries, who never favor the rise of India, particularly China.

Pakistan enjoys cordial relations with China, since their diplomatic relations were laid firmly in 1950, Pakistan has signed many agreements, held many military exercises, to boost their operational capability and sought diplomatic support in case of Indo-Pak war.

Conclusion

Since independence both countries in 1947 are engaged in the tug-of-war to contain each other. This can be attributed to the existence of many factors ,which have marred the peaceful relations .Some of these factors are historical in nature ,like ideological difference ,trust deficit and cultural diversity, which led to diverse political aspirations, social customs, mores, and different constitutional attributes in post-independence period and while others have their roots in the partial implementation of 3rd June plane ,which led to the sprouting up of Kashmir issue, on which both have engaged in scrimmage on many occasions ,water dispute; which India uses a water terrorism and unfair division of defense and economic assets, which led Pakistan to be national security state. The acquisition of nuclear weapons with their respective nuclear doctrines also be seen in the

context of hostile relations between them. India nuclear doctrine is based on No First Use policy, to maintain nuclear deterrence, completion of nuclear Triade, to equate China and punish Pakistan while that of Pakistan is based on First Use Policy, to maintain nuclear minimum deterrence and repulse any kind of aggression from Indian side. Both countries face many threats from each other, rooted in their historical past, which is fraught with deep hostility and confrontations and have adopted different strategies to contain each other. The Indian Cold Start Doctrine is also one of them, which was adopted in April 2004, following the failure of "Operation Parakram" and "Sunderji Doctrine", which conceived the deployment of military forces on forward positions along the border with Pakistan.

Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) is envisaged with the objective to make shallow penetration into Pakistan from eight different sides through the utilization of Integrated Battle Groups(IBP) supported by India Air Force. It is aimed at causing attrition to Pakistan military keeping the war limited under nuclear overhang. It was meant to rectify the loopholes of "Sunderji Doctrine", which ended in fiasco. It was designed to be carried out in such a way to preclude any response from international community. But Pakistan's military and even some Indian leaders have refuted the existence of Cold Start Doctrine (CSD), which has no reality in grounds. Pakistan is prepared to any kind of aggression. Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) is offensive-defensive strategy aimed to cause attrition to Pakistan military in general and punish Pakistan particularly for the alleged support of nonstate actors. But Pakistan has adopted a defensive posture to repulse and counter the Cold Start Doctrine (CSD). For that purpose, Pakistan has carried out nuclear tests in 1998 to accentuate its deterrence against India and to prevent any misadventure from enemy side. Pakistan according to latest estimate has 120-130 nuclear warheads.

References

(2018). Agressive Indian Posture. The dawn.

Ahmad, A. (2010). India's Limited war doctrine.

Arif, K. (January 2017). Pakistan completes Nuclear Triade. Foreign Policy.org.

Avari, B. (2016). India: An ancient Past. London: Routledge.

Chugtai, P. (2015). *Historical struggle for Pakistan*(1857-1947). Lahore: Nazria Pakistan Trust.

Citino, R. (1999). The path to "Blitzkrieg". Lynne Reinner Publisher.

Cohen, S. (2013). *Shooting for centuries: The India-Pakistan Conundrum.* Washington DC: Brooking Institution Press.

(2017). Fact sheet: The Indus Water Treaty 1960 and the World Bank. Worldbank.org.

Fred Halliday, Hamza Alvi. (1988). State and ideology in Middle east Pakistan. London: Macmillan education Ltd.

Ganguly, S. (2016). *Deadly Impasse: Kashmir and indo-pak relations at the dawn of new century*. Cambridge University press.

Gokhale, N. (2016). India's Doctrinal shift. The Diplomat.

Hassan, L. G. (1994). *The Last commander-in-chief*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

(2011). Integrated Battle Groups to give tough time to enemies. Post.jagran.com.

Jaffery, S. (2018). The cold start doctrine and india's compllence woes. The South Asian Voices.

Kanwal, B. (2011). Lost Opportunties in Operation Parakram. Indian defence review.

(2010). Military Doctrine. www.rand.org.

Mirza, D. (2015). *Hindu-Muslim confrontation*(712-1947). Lahore: Nazria Pakistan Trust.

Narang, C. (2010). Doctrines. Capabilities and Instability in South Asia.

Raja, M. (2012). A stranger in my own country. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Rathore, A. (2016). Kargil: The height of Bravery.

Sayeed, K. B. (1967). The Political system of pakistan. Oxford university press.

Thunder North military excerise begins in Saudi Arabia. (2016). Express Tribune.

Khattak, M.-u.-R. (2011). Indian military Cold Start Doctrine; Capibilties, Limitations and possible response from Pakistan.

Krepon, M. (2013). Pakistan's nuclear strategy and dettrence stability.

M.Amin, S. (2010). *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A reappraisal*. Oxford University press .

Indian Cold Start Doctrine: Pakistan's Policy Response

Majeed, G. (2013). South Asian Security Compulsions: A Historical Analysis of India-Pakistan Relations. *Journal of Political studies*.

(n.d.). *Military Doctrine*. https://www.rand.org/topics/military-doctrine.html.

Mirza, D. H. (n.d.). *Hindu-Muslim Confrontation*(712-1947). Lahore: Nazria-Pakistan Trust.

Mishra, N. (2015). Cold Start Doctrine and future; India new war strategy. Summit enterprises.

Mohanty, N. (2013). America ,Pakistan and The indian factor. New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLA.

narang, C. c. (n.d.). Doctrine, capabilities and instability in South Asia.

(May 26, 2016). New geopolitics of china, india and pakistan. Council of Foreign Affairs.

(May 26, 2016). New Geopolitics of China, india and Pakistan. Council of Foeign Affairs.

Nixon, R. (1992). Seiz the moment: America's challenge is a one-superpower world. New York: Simon and Schuster.

P.R Chari, Parvaiz Iqbal Cheema, Stephen Philip Cohen. (2003). *Perception, Politics and Security in South Asia.* London and New York: Routldge Curzon.