

INDIAN MILITARY MODERNIZATION UNDER PRIME MINISTER NARENDRA MODI: SECURITY IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

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Abstract

Military modernization is the need of the hour with the changing mode of warfare for any country. India has been trying to project itself as the next regional power. India's military modernization has had a huge impact on the security apparatus of Pakistan. The military modernization of India under Prime Minister Narendra Modi regime reflects Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh RSS aspirations and agenda that have been hampering Pakistan's security through overt and covert means. A case study research design has been adopted to analyze the various facets of India's military modernization under Prime Minister Narendra Modi's regime. Interviews have been conducted with security analysts and researchers from both sides of the border to understand the advancements in the Indian military from 2014-2022 and how this has been a source of disruption for Pakistan's security. Lastly, navigating through the grey areas and loopholes this study has recommended possible policy options for Pakistan to cope with threats of India's military modernization without investing extensively in the conventional means of warfare.

KEYWORDS: Military Modernization, RSS, Pakistan, Narendra Modi

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Introduction

Military modernization is a process that the military of all the countries in the world wish to achieve to enhance their security and territorial sovereignty¹. Military modernization in simple words means the modernizing trends that are being followed in a military. In modern times this definition has changed in such a way that the number of troops, ammunitions, and weapons no longer suggest the strength of any military, rather it is the strategic position, agility, access to actionable information, reliability, and aspects of cyber security, strong logistical and supply chain command that suggest the true modernizing strength of a military. Even though it is considered a conventional approach to view military modernization, the cardinal impact that it has on modernizing the core capabilities of any military cannot go unnoticed².

The relationship between Pakistan and India has been very tumultuous since their inception. Both the countries have been engaged in 4 wars; out of which 3 were complete full-scale wars while the fourth one was a limited war. Besides these wars, the conflicts between the two countries related to their political, economic, and military dynamics have remained very dominant in their relationship. Despite being geographically, culturally, and historically integrated the dynamic of the present relationship between the two states is not very pleasant. The South Asian region has remained vulnerable due to the changing dynamics of Pakistan and India leading to a hostile environment, Pakistan and India both have tried to expand their military might and both countries spend millions of dollars of their annual budget on military, primarily to counter the threat of each other. Any military development between both countries cannot be escalated without posing a threat to the other country.

¹Stephanie Hill, "The Path to Military Modernization," *Politico*, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://www.politico.com/sponsored-content/2022/11/the-path-to-military-modernization>.

²Sheryn Lee, *Explaining Contemporary Asian Military Modernization: The Myth of Asia's Arms Race* (London: Routledge, 2021).

Literature Review

Military Modernization in India

The process of military modernization in India has been slow over the years but their goal to adopt a strong defensive and deterrent power is coupled with the ability to reflect offensive power. India's economic rise is also a driving force behind India's military modernization³. Given troubled geographical location of India the credit for its military modernization⁴.

Indian Military Budget under Narendra Modi's Regime

India has doubled its military budget after Modi came into power in 2014⁵. In 2014 the Indian military budget was \$38.35 Billion.

By February 1st 2023, it had risen to \$73.8 Billion⁶. This has made India the third largest country in terms of military spending, after the United States of America and China.

Modi in his initial years, heavily focused on importing arms at a fast and heavy pace⁷. This made India responsible for 12% of total global imports of arms from 2013-2017. India has tried to infuse freshness in its military inventory by relying more on smart and cutting-edge

³Rajat Ganguly, "Indian Military Transformation in the Twenty-First Century," in *The Evolution of Military Power in the West and Asia*, ed. Pauline Eadie and Wyn Rees (London: Routledge, 2015), 167–88.

⁴Sunil Dasgupta and Stephen P. Cohen, *Arming Without Aiming: India's Military Modernization* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2013).

⁵Sanjeev Miglani, "India Raises Military Spending, Eases Foreign Investment Limit in Arms Industry," *Reuters*, July 10, 2014, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/article/india-budget-defence-idINKBN0FF0WQ20140710>.

⁶Muhammad Qasim Mustafa, "Issue Brief on 'Indian Defence Budget 2023–24: An Assessment'," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, February 23, 2023, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://issi.org.pk/issue-brief-on-indian-defence-budget-2023-24-an-assessment/>.

⁷Manoj Kumar Mishra, "India Needs to Be Cautious Against Excessive Militarization," *Diplomatist*, December 21, 2020, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://diplomatist.com/2020/12/21/india-needs-to-be-cautious-against-excessive-militarization/>.

technologies like that of the S-400 Missile System and signing treaties like the Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA) with the USA.

Weapon Modernization under Narendra Modi's Regime

Indian military has a focused modernization plan for its weapons and to achieve its desire to become a regional super-power the country under Modi's regime has invested in a weapons modernization programme worth \$18.4 Billion which includes night missiles, new artillery systems, early warning system, drone technology, and integrating night vision with existing technologies⁸.

India's hypersonic tech is far more advanced than the big powers like Russia, the USA, and China. Under the supervision of India's Defense Minister and the research and strategic cooperation of the Defense Research and Development Organization, Modi has bled to materialize New Delhi's dream of conducting the successful testing of the Brahmos Missile with the joint effort of Russia in 2020⁹.

India believes China's rising power is a threat to the balance of power in the region on account of which these advanced missile systems are a protection for it. Under PM Modi's regime India is advancing towards the Brahmos II Missile which can have a speed over six times the speed of sound on Hypersonic Scramjet Technology¹⁰.

Operational modernization under Narendra Modi's Regime

The creation of the post of Chief of Defense Staff in 2019 by Narendra Modi was an attempt to keep in check the military capabilities and strength of all three forces of the Indian Military

⁸Joe Saballa, "Indian Army Has 93 Modernization Projects in Progress: Report," *The Defense Post*, January 26, 2022, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://www.thedefensepost.com/2022/01/26/indian-army-modernization/>.

⁹Kelsey Davenport, "India Tests Hypersonic Missile," *Arms Control Association*, October 2020, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2020-10/news/india-tests-hypersonic-missile>.

¹⁰Nitin Ticku, "India's Hypersonic Missile: As DRDO 'Goes Vertical', US Speculates Indian Navy Could Go Hypersonic By 2025-28," *The Eurasian Times*, December 2015, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://www.eurasiantimes.com/indias-hypersonic-missile-drdo-indian-navy-could-go-hypersonic/>.

(army, naval, air)¹¹. This post was created with a bona fide objective to bring about intellectual and structural changes in the Indian Army and to accelerate the modernization process.

The researcher further stated that this aspiration of India is the manifestation of Modi's economic superiority to achieve Atmanirbhar Bharat also known as Modinomics and one of its major postulates is to make India independent enough to build its weapons, which can speed up the modernization process for the country and make it unique in the race of arm struggle in South Asia¹². The main agenda of India to modernize under this ideology is to advance without any excessive indulgence.

The researcher talked about the Agneepath Scheme that the Indian Army has introduced to modernize and enhance its military recruitment system¹³. Modi has set out to expand the army with young blood without having to burden the military budget through this scheme, where the Agni-Veers who are the chosen people through this scheme will serve the army for a temporary period. Under this scheme, about 45,000 to 50,000 people will be recruited into the Indian Army contributing to maximizing the strength of the army numerically and otherwise.

Logistical and Strategic Modernization under Narendra Modi's Regime

India is adamant about developing logistical nodes across the country for integration and cooperation of the army, navy, and air force¹⁴. It was stated that India is willing to enhance its

¹¹Amit Mukherjee, "Symbol or Substance? Modi's Decision to Appoint a Chief of Defense Staff," *War on the Rocks*, November 27, 2019, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://warontherocks.com/2019/11/symbol-or-substance-modis-decision-to-appoint-a-chief-of-defense-staff/>.

¹²Kelsey Mandaviya, "An Atmanirbhar Move," *Indian Express*, June 13, 2023, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/nine-years-of-modi-govt-self-reliant-india-atmanirbhar-bharat-8659500/>.

¹³Sharbani Banerjee, "What Is Agneepath Scheme?" *The Statesman*, November 23, 2022, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://www.thestatesman.com/india/what-is-agneepath-scheme-1503081760.html>.

¹⁴Amrita Nayak Dutta, "Additional Joint Logistics Nodes on the Cards for Army, Navy, Air Force," *Indian Express*, June 1, 2023, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/additional-joint-logistics-nodes-on-the-cards-for-army-navy-air-force-8639554/>.

military strength through logistical assistance from the United States and Russia¹⁵. He explains the Indian-Russian bilateral agreement by Reciprocal Exchange of Logistics Agreement (RELOS) and the USA-Indian logistical agreement Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA). RELOS has given India and Russia the advantage to utilize each other's ports, military installations, and bases whenever they are on their military training and exercises through a reciprocal agreement. The struggles of India spanning over a decade to sign his logistical agreement with the USA which has opened horizons of better prospects for it such as Indian joint military and logistical agreements with the QUAD nations (Australia and Japan) as well as France, Singapore, and South Korea. This amplifies Indian ambition to catalyze modernization in the army.

PM Modi's visit to the USA has been a successful attempt to convince General Electric (GE) to collaborate with state-owned Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) to produce fighter jets for the Indian Air Force¹⁶. America called this advancement an important milestone in the USA-Indian partnership.

The advancement will help India reach its target of increasing its fighter squadron to 42¹⁷. India's major concerns are to lower the cost of production and become self-reliant. The F414 will be produced in India with the help of GE which marks the complete manufacturing of F414 and Tejas 2 in India by the next century.

The extensive military practices of India and the USA military have developed the military capability of Indian military forces¹⁸, The COMCASA agreement signed between India, Japan,

¹⁵Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan, "India's Military Outreach: Military Logistics Agreements," *The Diplomat*, September 9, 2021, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://thediplomat.com/2021/09/indias-military-outreach-military-logistics-agreements/>.

¹⁶Manjeet Negi, "Mega Deal with US Giant GE to Make Fighter Jet Engines for Indian Air Force amid PM Modi's Historic Visit," *India Today*, June 22, 2023, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/deal-us-giant-ge-hindustan-aeronautics-fighter-jet-engines-amid-pm-narendra-modi-us-state-visit-2396413-2023-06-22>.

¹⁷YP Rajesh, "Why GE Plan to Make Fighter Jet Engines in India Is a Big Deal," *Reuters*, June 23, 2023, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/business/aerospace-defense/why-ge-plan-make-fighter-jet-engines-india-is-big-deal-2023-06-22/>.

¹⁸Subhash Singh, "Indo-US Defence Cooperation in the Age of Modi," in *India's Foreign Policy: Reshaping the Contemporary World*, ed. S. Singh (Delhi: Meena Book Publications, 2019), 185–97.

and the USA has opened the pathway for India to buy as many sensitive weapons from the USA as possible. The India-USA 2+2 Ministerial has enhanced the position of India as the most prominent and important strategic and defence partner of the USA in the Indo-Pacific region.

The integral role of Israel in enhancing the process of military modernization in India. India is the largest importer of Israeli weapons, under the Modi regime from the years 2015-2019 the Indian imports of military weapons from Israel increased by 17.5%¹⁹.

The rising strength of the Indian Navy

The shortlisting of Canard Delta wing Rafale M over Boeing F/A-18 Block III 'Super Hornet' that soon will be deployed in INS Vikrant²⁰. It was postulated that two big naval ship carriers of the Indian Navy INS Vikramaditya and INS Vikrant showcase the strength of the Indian Navy. India's dual ship carriers which are manufactured domestically along with the naval joint exercises only predict a stronger and shinier future for the Indian Navy²¹.

India's naval ambitions of securing the position of a strong man in the IOR have made it modernize its military vastly; Joint exercises at Malabar with QUAD members and with well-equipped machinery and pieces of equipment predict India's rising hegemony in navy²².

¹⁹Narendra Kumar Arya, "India-Israel Relations in the Modi Era: Emerging Contours of Cooperation," *SSRN*, February 11, 2022, accessed June 6, 2022, <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4032468>.

²⁰R. Bedi, "PM Modi's France Visit Critical for Indian Navy," *Tribune India*, July 4, 2023, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/comment/pm-modis-france-visit-critical-for-indian-navy-521376>.

²¹Brad Lendon, "India Demonstrates Naval Strength with Dual Aircraft Carrier Exercise, a Feat China Has Yet to Accomplish," *CNN*, June 15, 2023, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/06/15/asia/india-navy-dual-aircraft-carrier-operations-intl-hnk-ml/index.html>.

²²Allah Nawaz, "India's Evolving Maritime Strategy," *Stimson South Asian Voices*, May 31, 2023, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://southasianvoices.org/indias-evolving-maritime-strategy/>.

The inclusion of naval warfare as one of the integral strategies of the Indian military to accelerate its modernization process²³. The Indian naval aims to produce Unmanned Underwater Vehicles for countermeasure operations. It is also said that the vision of Modi to make India the dominant power of IOR has been manifested through the aggressive modernization of the Navy²⁴.

The modernization of the Indian Air Force

The researcher sheds light on India's modified and revised Indian Air Force (IAF) Doctrine that was released in 2022²⁵. Operational supremacy of aerospace power and to achieve transformational hegemony is what reflects the objectives of the current IAF doctrine. This doctrine has more of an outward-looking posture and focuses on utilizing the alliances of its partners for better control over the region. This reflects the aspirations of the Modi government to inculcate the grand military strategy with a pinch of civil-military diplomacy to help India achieve its renewed air force outlooks.

USA wanted the domination of the IAF in the IOR by 2020 and the USA has been facilitating India to strengthen its air force capabilities²⁶. The USA is also of the opinion to provide India with more advanced technological abilities like F-16 Block 70 and F/A-18-E/F. Aerospace development is the main goal of many Indian leaders in the IAF and USA. The military modernization in Indian aircraft is the result of joint training and development ventures between the IAF and USA, one such example is that of TATA working with Lockheed Martin which would help the IAF develop F-16 Block 70 and Multi-role combat aircraft.

²³Sufian Ullah, "Analysing India's Naval Development Strategy," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute* XIX, no. I (2019): 86–110.

²⁴R. Chaturvedy, "The Indian Ocean Policy of the Modi Government," in *Modi and the World: (Re)Constructing Indian Foreign Policy*, ed. S. Singh (Delhi: World Scientific Publishing, 2017), 163–84.

²⁵Zaki Khalid, "Analysing Indian Air Force's 2022 Doctrine," *Centre for Strategic and Contemporary Research*, February 21, 2023, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://cscr.pk/explore/themes/defense-security/analysing-indian-air-forces-2022-doctrine/>.

²⁶Stephen F. Burgess, "A Pathway Toward Enhancing the US Air Force–Indian Air Force Partnership and Deterrence in the Indo-Pacific Region," *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs* 2, no. 1 (2019): 11–46.

Shift in Indian Nuclear Doctrine under Narendra Modi's Regime

The shifts within the nuclear doctrine of India, in which a deterrence approach is adopted towards Pakistan considering that the stakes with Pakistan are high and the focus on the increased nuclear developments in Pakistan is also concerning, which leaves India with limited military action and political diplomacy²⁷.

The nuclear deterrent strategy of India is based upon the narrative of causing losses to Pakistan below its nuclear threshold and considers that Pakistan's nuclear threshold is not as low as it is believed to be considering that it follows the 'first use policy' but at the same time also considers it as a 'last resort'²⁸. He further adds that over the years the ideal nuclear doctrine of India from owning the 'No First Use' Policy (NFU Policy) has shifted from being a realist policy of 'Use Responsibly', even though the Modi government has never made an official announcement of the shift in India's nuclear doctrine, but the statement delivered by PM Modi saying that their nuclear weapons are not there to be used for Diwali, has escalated concerns amongst the security analysts. Moreover, if the policy of NFU is shifted to the 'First Use Policy', the Indian military needs to upgrade its nuclear might by producing tactical nuclear weapons (TNW) as these warheads would ensure its safe and swift response.

The analysis affirms the security implications for Pakistan and state that the military modernization and shift in the nuclear doctrine of India would only result in the rise of the balance of power in the region²⁹. Under the Doval doctrine, the Indian military has found alternative ways and means to cause harm to Pakistan through UAVs, warfare aircraft, and 5th-generation warfare that involves the conjoined effort and association of India's military as well as intelligence agencies. Pakistan considering that Pakistan's economic situation does not

²⁷Manpreet Sethi, *Nuclear Strategy: India's March Towards Credible Deterrence* (Delhi: K W Publishers Pvt Ltd, 2009).

²⁸Sitakanta Mishra, "Revision of India's Nuclear Doctrine: Repercussions on South Asian Crisis Stability," *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs* 2, no. 4 (2019): 88–106.

²⁹Muhammad Khan Khattak, M. Khan, and G. Qumber, "Evolution of New Indian Military Strategy: Implications for Pakistan," *Margalla Papers* XXIII, no. I (2019): 139–49.

support its aims of military modernization in comparison to India. It is further stated that Pakistan in its defence relies upon its nuclear weapons to deter the Indian threat in the region through TNW. Pakistan's defence strategy is based on the limited war doctrine as per the CSD.

The researcher while analyzing Pakistan's nuclear doctrine suggests that even though Pakistan has not published its nuclear doctrine it is quite reasonable to assume that the First Use Policy if and when the threat to the state is sensed implies that the nature of its nuclear doctrine is Indian Centric³⁰. She further adds that Pakistan's nuclear doctrine is similar to its military doctrine depicting an offensive-defensive nature to counter any threat from the neighboring India. It was also highlighted how Pakistan's nuclear doctrine is based upon the use of tactical nuclear weapons (short-range missiles) that suit well for Pakistan's lack of strategic depth and counter only the enemy without entering the general population³¹. Sethi terms it as Pakistan's Military Doctrine of Necessity. Pakistan seeks active support from China for the acquisition of missile defence to counter the conventional threat from India.

What is the rising threat to Pakistan?

The research unveils that the new air base in Indian Gujarat developed under PM Modi is an effort of the government to protect the country from any security risk from its western side³². Given that the air base is 130 km from the Indo-Pak border Modi declared it as the centre of security for India against enemy attacks. The huge funds released for this airbase suggest that in the next two years, this airbase will have its fighter aircraft in the region militarizing the belt. The Airbase will install air defence fighters like MiG-29 and Tejas.

³⁰Manpreet Sethi, "Pakistan's Nuclear Doctrine and Strategy," *Air Power Journal* 2, no. 3 (2022): 75–109.

³¹Manpreet Sethi, "Pakistan's Nuclear Doctrine and Strategy," *Air Power Journal* 2, no. 3 (2022): 75–109.

³²Shishir Gupta, "Why Is Deesa Airbase Crucial to IAF's War Fighting Capabilities?" *Hindustan Times*, October 19, 2022, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/pm-modi-latest-news-modi-in-deesa-why-is-deesa-airbase-crucial-to-iaf-s-war-fighting-capabilities-101666165182792.html>.

The researcher states that Modi's Act East Policy in naval doctrine has helped India become a South Asian power strong enough to counter the rising threat of China³³. It was further elucidated that Modi's visit to Paris in July harnessed government-to-government collaboration between both countries for advanced defence systems³⁴. Modi's main agenda was to convince France to technology transfer for the six nuclear power attack submarines that India is willing to work on and develop at Visakhapatnam.

Jaspal considered this shift in India's nuclear policy as an opportunity for it to legalize the usage of nuclear weapons and to maintain its violent hegemony over Pakistan as it did through surgical strikes and by conducting massive militarization in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK)³⁵. It was elucidated that Modi's main agenda has been enhancing the military skills of the Indian military, for not only securing internal peace but also for securing the borders and the constant threats³⁶. The orientations that India wishes to bring about in all three branches of the military fall short, and can cause India problems in maintaining its dominant position in the IOR while competing with the smaller countries having promising prospects of growth.

The researcher highlights the security implication of Pakistan amidst the military modernization of India by critically assessing it through an economic lens³⁷. The deteriorating economic situation of Pakistan in an environment where India's military spending for the year

³³Panda, "India Makes Moves at Indonesia's Strategic Sabang Port," *The Diplomat*, July 17, 2018, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://thediplomat.com/2018/07/india-makes-moves-at-indonesias-strategic-sabang-port/>.

³⁴Ashley J. Tellis, "India as a Leading Power," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, April 4, 2016, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2016/04/04/india-as-leading-power-pub-63185>.

³⁵Z. N. Jaspal, "India's military buildup at this time is ominous for Pakistan," *Arab News*, March 14, 2023, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://arab.news/m97sz>.

³⁶Ashley J. Tellis, "India as a Leading Power," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, April 4, 2016, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2016/04/04/india-as-leading-power-pub-63185>.

³⁷Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, "India's military buildup at this time is ominous for Pakistan," *Arab News*, March 14, 2023, accessed August 31, 2023, <https://arab.news/m97sz>.

2023-2024 has increased by 13% Pakistan faces an enormous threat of raising its budget to acquire modern technological equipment and to spend on strategic planning and surveillance.

Discussion

India just like any other country has embarked upon the journey to modernize its military after considering it pertinent to the changing political landscape of the world, however, one other reason that stands strong as a testament to India's military modernization is its geographical positioning. With Pakistan in the North West of India and China in the North, it is evident that the historic relationships of India with these two countries have compelled the country to enhance its military capabilities in all ways possible. The increase in India's military budget from 2013 to 2023 reflects the aspirations of India to become a regional super-power with its strong military might under the regime of Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Modi has been able to materialize this dream for India by investing billions of dollars in various military modernization projects that are conventional and unconventional. Modi has been able to enhance its military capabilities by investing in advanced weapons from 2013-2017 including the S-400 Missile System.

The recruitment changes that India brought about in its military reflected the effectiveness that the Indian army wanted to present in terms of enhancing its numbers and at the same time regulating the pensions as it was a huge burden on the overall Indian Army Budget. Not only is that but the effectiveness of the Indian military in enhancing itself in the weapons business is also commendable as this fulfilled India's aim of becoming Atmanibhar Bharat without relying on foreign countries to fulfil its weapon demand, even though India still is dependent on Russia, France, and the USA for weapons its defence is shifting towards self-reliance. Modi has tried to capulate the idea of Modinomics in Indian military modernization through smart and efficient ideas like the Agneepath Scheme and Atmanibhar Bharat.

India's smart military technology like that of the S-400 missile is an addition to the Indian army's weapons that could pose a serious threat to Pakistan. Not only is this, but India's hypersonic tech system is said to be far more advanced than big powers which shows that India has tried to excel in unconventional military development as well as strengthen its command and control. India's large-scale investment in the Defence Research and Development organization is associated with Russian cooperation. India has always blamed China for being

the reason behind its aggressive modernization and it tries to justify its stance of gaining Brahmos I and now Brahmos II only to counter the Chinese threat, but the security dilemma that these advancements are posing for Pakistan cannot be ignored.

With a strong streamlining of Logistics, the Indian military modernization is aiming to add a more systemic and organized essence to its military systems. This includes logistic cooperation with big powers like the USA and Russia. RELOS, LEMOA, and QUAD partnerships have enabled India to establish training relationships with other countries as well as to advance its military as per the requirements of the time. Not only is this but PM Modi while taking full advantage of his visit to the USA signed a pact with General Electric to help them fulfil the manufacturing of F414 and Brahmos II. This cooperation of General Electric with Hindustan Aeronautics Limited is an opportunity for India to advance military development on its soil.

India also justifies its advancement in military capabilities as a means to gain the maximum power in IOR. The Israeli support for Indian military modernization in the field of surveillance, control, and command is exceptional. Both are driven by the power to gain dominance over the enemies. What has struck a chord in Indo-Pak relations concerning India's military modernization is said to be the development of a new air base in the Indian Gujrat region which is just a few kilometers away from the Line of Control. The fact this air base will be militarized soon depicts a strong military threat to Pakistan. The Indian Air Force has worked on establishing its system outwards rather than sticking to its conventional approach. While talking about the Indo-Pak military strategy the advancement in the Indian air force could be a threat to Pakistan as the former plans to incorporate global cooperation to achieve domestic goals. Under the Modi Regime, the advancement of the Indian navy has been commendable. The addition of INS Vikramaditya and INS Vikrant. India has been able to expand its fleet whereas Pakistan lacks an aircraft carrier warship.

Similarly, the Indian Nuclear Doctrine Policy has considerably advanced under Modi's regime. From following NFU India has now followed the use of Responsibly Policy which indicates that India has opted for an offensive discourse rather than a defensive one. In conjunction with Pakistan's security, this is a great threat. Pakistan being a clear power also talks about the use of nuclear power if any of its big cities is under attack. India's military modernization is a means to achieve Indian hegemony in the region, especially over its territorial conflicts like

that of Kashmir. With the disturbed balance of power in Asia with the rise of China, it is evident that India aims to gain hegemony to legalize its use of hard power over territorial issues.

The impact of the Doval doctrine on India's military modernization is very evident as the coupling of Hindutva ideology with Modi's military aspirations has put forth a two-fold modernization plan for India concerning Pakistan. It includes the conventional means to ensure the loss of Pakistan whereas the other is the diplomatic and informational war.

The fact that the USA supports India over the purchase of S-400 and the relentless cooperation of Israel to India over surveillance issues has stirred silence in the world when it comes to the rising arms race of India, which has a lot to do with Pakistan's fading diplomatic and domestic power in the global realm.

The increasing surveillance of the Indian Armed forces which is a result of the integration of the forces and inclusion of cyber and tactical threats for Pakistan is an increasing concern for the latter which reflects the realist approach of Modi. Not only is this but when it comes to Pakistan this security challenge aggravates because of the internal challenges of Pakistan which a present are emerging in the form of a disrupted economy.

India as a means to justify its modernization specifically mentioning the repeated skirmishes with the Chinese in 2013 and its rising threats has advanced its airpower under the pretext of countering the terrorist threats from Pakistan. On the whole, the military fast-tracking of India is a result of its neighbor's environment.

By analyzing the shift in India's military approach it is evident that India is trying its best to maneuver Pakistan through psychological and information warfare.

The ideas of Modinomics and Atmanibhar Bharat completely resonate with the Indian struggle to lessen its dependence on external powers and at the same time advance militarily without external pressures.

India owes a geospatial military and S-400 are a threat as they can cause huge kinetic loss to Pakistan, other than this the Indian revisionist policies are trying to weaken Balochistan which is a result of non-kinetic means to disable the security apparatus of the country.

India's military modernization as a source of conventional and unconventional threats to Pakistan primarily because of its weak leadership has created a void for India to take advantage of the domestic situation of Pakistan.

Through its modernization, India is establishing itself as a global power intending to isolate Pakistan and at the same time its major objective is to weaken Pakistan on both military and diplomatic fronts to gain a stronger stance on Kashmir. Even though the world knows about the human rights violations going on in Kashmir the fact that India has been able to come forward as a stronger country, the chances for Pakistan to lose its stance on Kashmir have increased.

National Security Policy of Pakistan (2022-2026) and the way forward:

With the advancing and constantly changing means of warfare there is a need for Pakistan to fully resort to its National Security Policy NSP (2022-2026) to counter the security threats it's facing in a non-traditional way by elevating its internal situation to create economic ground conducive for higher foreign direct investments, and better living standards These factors to a larger extent can help Pakistan curb the menace of hybrid warfare n information propaganda. This policy is seen as a means to enhance Pakistan's non-traditional security threat in a way that can help it counter the traditional threats as well but more smartly and effectively³⁸. It is quoted as the enhanced surveillance and communication of sea lines which might not only act as a source of enhanced partnership for the country but in the larger picture pave the way for Pakistan to counter the rising Indian maritime threat in a more agile manner. The country cannot afford to invest in conventional means of warfare and counter-measures to protect its security rather an offensive yet unconventional policy is what would make it shine strong. In the face of the realist policies of Narendra Modi, as witnessed in the military modernization of India, Pakistan is not in a position to indulge itself in an arms race but is capable of fully

³⁸Nasreen Akhtar, Inamullah Jan, and Sumaira Akram, "Hybrid Warfare Strategy of India: Impacts on Pakistan," *Global Regional Review* VI, no. II (2021): 64-72.

exploring the cyber, intelligence, and non-traditional aspects of NSP to respond to the rising threat of Indian military modernization.

From a realist perspective, the military modernization of India under the regime of Prime Minister Narendra Modi is a manifestation of power maximization, where kinetic, non-kinetic, conventional, and non-conventional means have been used by the state to enhance its political and military power in the region and over conflict-ridden territories like Kashmir.

At present, with the changing world dynamics, the interests of the leaders have also changed. One such case study is that of Prime Minister Narendra Modi who came into power in 2014. After Modi came into power the narrative of India towards Pakistan has shifted from adopting a composite dialogue policy, and efforts have been made to ignore the dispute of Kashmir. The constant Indian tactics to cancel the meeting soon after Modi took office it evident that at least till 2016 the relations between India with Pakistan would remain strained.

India in order to achieve its supremacy and dominance in the region has been taking full advantage of its political and diplomatic maneuvering to rapidly enhance its logistical and operational agility. The concept of Akhand Bharat has been prevalent in the RSS vision and the realist and offensive approach of Narendra Modi in the military development of India is a testament to it. The fact that India has resorted to hybrid warfare and has blatantly threatened Pakistan multiple times, cannot make the international community buy the Indian narrative of countering the Chinese threat as a cover for disturbing the balance of power in the region to achieve RSS revisionist policies.

Conclusion

This research attempted to explore the various facets of India's military modernization under Prime Minister Narendra Modi's regime and how it has raised security threats for Pakistan. This research has also explored the various options available for Pakistan that it can adopt to maintain the balance of power in the region. The findings of the study have broadly focused upon the revisionist policies of RSS that have influenced the current developments in the Indian military backed with an agenda of Akhand Bharat. The conventional and unconventional ways through which India has strengthened its military have been using both kinetic and non-kinetic means to create a misbalance of power in the region while posing serious security threats to Pakistan have been discussed. The fact that with changing modes of war, India has adopted

hybrid warfare for Pakistan and the informational and psychological warfare waged by the former is concerning for Pakistan considering the big powers seem to be silent over this issue. The way Narendra Modi has embarked upon the journey to militarize India introducing various doctrines and induction of technological weapons suggests its realist aims to dominate power, especially in the case of Pakistan over the matters of Kashmir suggests a realist prerogative hidden in the vision of RSS. The creation of an air base in Gujarat and abrogation of Article 370 (A) suggests that India has been taking full advantage of the military as well as diplomatic strength posing severe consequences for Pakistan at both military diplomatic, and domestic fronts which reflects strict realist policies. The need for Pakistan to overcome this challenge by taking into account its strengths and weaknesses is a well-orchestrated policy that could be followed. Prioritizing the domestic economic situation and then focusing on countering the hybrid means of warfare waged by India should be the priority of Pakistan rather than out rightly spending millions of dollars on conventional warfare. Pakistan has multiple strong points as well considering its nuclear doctrine which acts as a deterrent for India, but investment in enhancing coherence within forces and better strategic leadership would also work in favor of Pakistan to overcome security threats from India.

Recommendations

Enhancing the domestic economic situation of the country should be the priority of Pakistan instead of indulging itself in an arms race with India. Only an enhanced economic situation in Pakistan that attracts foreign direct investment can stimulate the country's ability to invest in conventional and unconventional warfare.

Pakistan needs to make the best use of its diplomatic position in the global realm to form useful military partnerships that can help it enhance its training and logistical support.

Pakistan should prioritize intelligence and surveillance capabilities contrary to the conventional military development to overcome the threats of non-kinetic means of warfare which stand as a bitter threat from India.

Pakistan needs to reduce its cyber security threats and enhance its geospatial presence by investing in research programs.

There should be full-fledged and in-depth implementation of NSP so that Pakistan can have a clear roadmap to counter the rising threats of hybrid warfare which is offensive.