

# Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons

*Schelling-esque* Ambiguity Personified

Rabia Akhtar

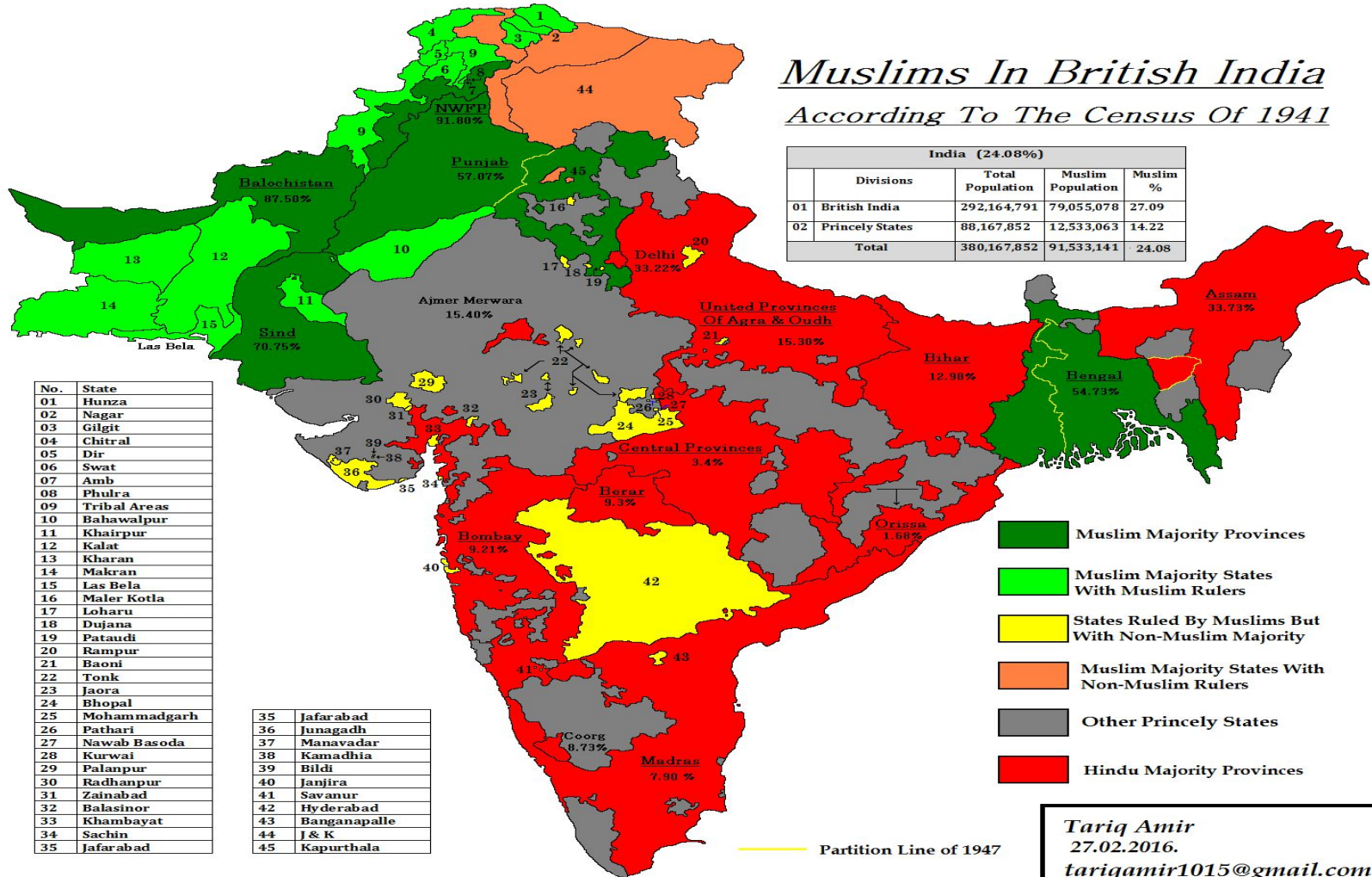
University of Lahore - Pakistan  
61st ISODARCO, Andalo, Italy



# Muslims In British India

## According To The Census Of 1941

India (24.08%)				
	Divisions	Total Population	Muslim Population	Muslim %
01	British India	292,164,791	79,055,078	27.09
02	Princely States	88,167,852	12,533,063	14.22
	<b>Total</b>	<b>380,167,852</b>	<b>91,533,141</b>	<b>24.08</b>



No.	State
01	Hunza
02	Nagar
03	Gilgit
04	Chitral
05	Dir
06	Swat
07	Amb
08	Phulra
09	Tribal Areas
10	Bahawalpur
11	Khairpur
12	Kalat
13	Kharan
14	Makran
15	Las Bela
16	Maler Kotla
17	Loharu
18	Dujana
19	Pataudi
20	Rampur
21	Baoni
22	Tonk
23	Jaora
24	Bhopal
25	Mohammadgarh

35	Jafarabad
36	Junagadh
37	Manavadar
38	Kamadhia
39	Bildi
40	Janjira
41	Savanur
42	Hyderabad
43	Banganapalle
44	J & K
45	Kapurthala

- Muslim Majority Provinces
- Muslim Majority States With Muslim Rulers
- States Ruled By Muslims But With Non-Muslim Majority
- Muslim Majority States With Non-Muslim Rulers
- Other Princely States
- Hindu Majority Provinces

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— Partition Line of 1947

## Colonial rule

Before Partition, Hindus accounted for nearly 70 percent of British India's population while Muslims made up only a quarter. Although most Muslim-majority communities were in the north, religious groups were dispersed throughout the country.



## After Partition

Dividing the country by religion proved difficult, especially in the provinces of Punjab and Bengal, which had near-equal Hindu and Muslim populations. The resulting creation of a noncontiguous Pakistan forced millions of Hindus and Muslims to relocate.



Rosemary Wardley, NG Staff.

Source: The CShapes 2.0 Dataset, Guy Schvitz and others, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2022

# Pakistan's Security Dilemma and the Indo-Pak Wars

1. **First Indo-Pak War (1947-1948):** Also known as the First Kashmir War, it took place immediately after the partition of British India in 1947. The conflict was over the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir.
2. **Second Indo-Pak War (1965):** This war was primarily fought over Kashmir. The conflict began in April 1965 and escalated to a full-scale war in September 1965. The war ended with a United Nations-mandated ceasefire and the signing of the Tashkent Agreement in 1966.
3. **Bangladesh Liberation War (1971):** The conflict started as the Bangladesh Liberation War, leading to the creation of Bangladesh. India intervened in support of the Bangladeshi independence movement, resulting in a full-scale war between India and Pakistan. The war ended with the creation of Bangladesh and the signing of the Instrument of Surrender on December 16, 1971. Followed by the Shimla Agreement in 1972 and creation of the LOC



## **1972 Shimla Agreement**

Zulfikar Ali  
Bhutto,  
President of  
Pakistan and  
Indira Gandhi,  
Prime Minister  
of India



**The Line of Control (LOC) between India and Pakistan**

**The Nuclear Flashpoint**

# Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Program

**1965 and 1971:** The War and the Dismemberment of Pakistan

**1972:** Pakistan begins its nuclear weapons program. Intelligence about India's forthcoming PNE

**1974:** India conducts a nuclear test (Smiling Buddha), leading to increased urgency in Pakistan's nuclear program. AQ Khan comes back to Pakistan to give Pakistan a uranium bomb

**1983 & 1987:** Pakistan conducts cold tests indicating advancements in nuclear capabilities. Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) works on the plutonium route to the bomb

**1998:** In response to India's nuclear tests (Operation Shakti), Pakistan conducts a series of nuclear tests (Chagai-I and Chagai-II).



# Indian Nuclear Tests in 1998

## 1. **May 11, 1998:**

- Shakti I: A fission bomb with a reported yield of 45 kilotons.

## 2. **May 13, 1998:**

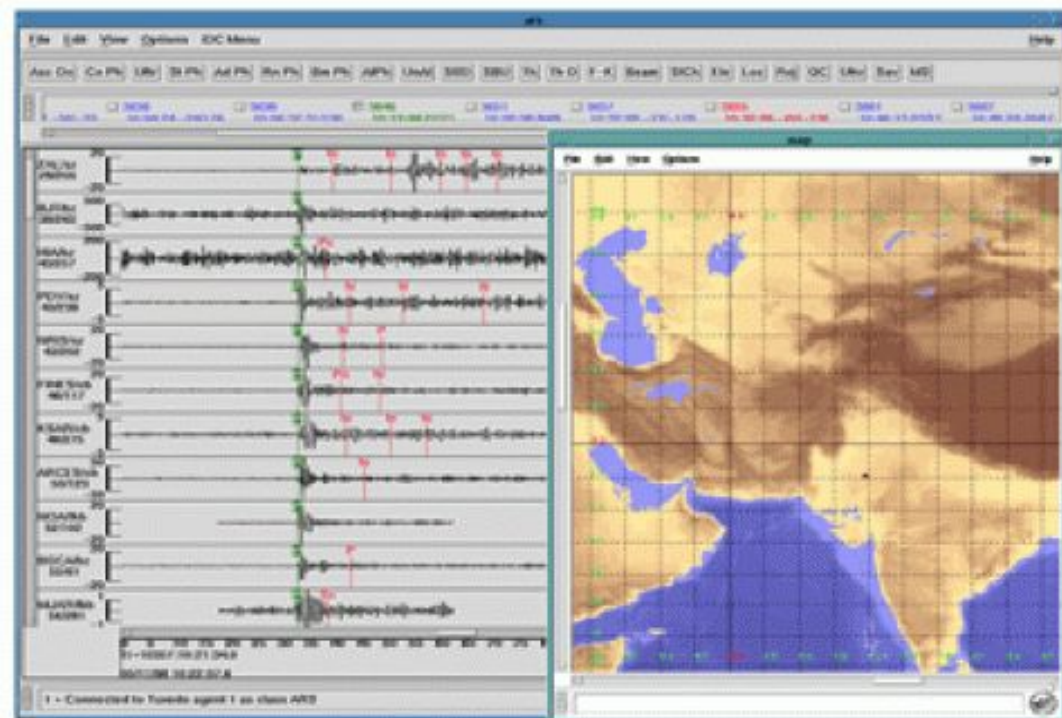
- Shakti II: A fusion (thermonuclear) bomb.
- Shakti III: A fission bomb with a reported yield of 200 kilotons.
- Shakti IV: A fission bomb with a reported yield of 0.2 kilotons.
- Shakti V: A fission bomb with a reported yield of 12 kilotons.

# Pakistan's Nuclear Tests in 1998

1. **May 28, 1998**
  - Chagai I: 5 tests, boosted fission devices, 32kt and 1kt (4)
2. **May 30, 1998**
  - Chagai II: 1 test, 15 kt, miniaturized boosted fission device



# Seismic waveforms and Regional map Indian Nuclear Test: 11 May 1998



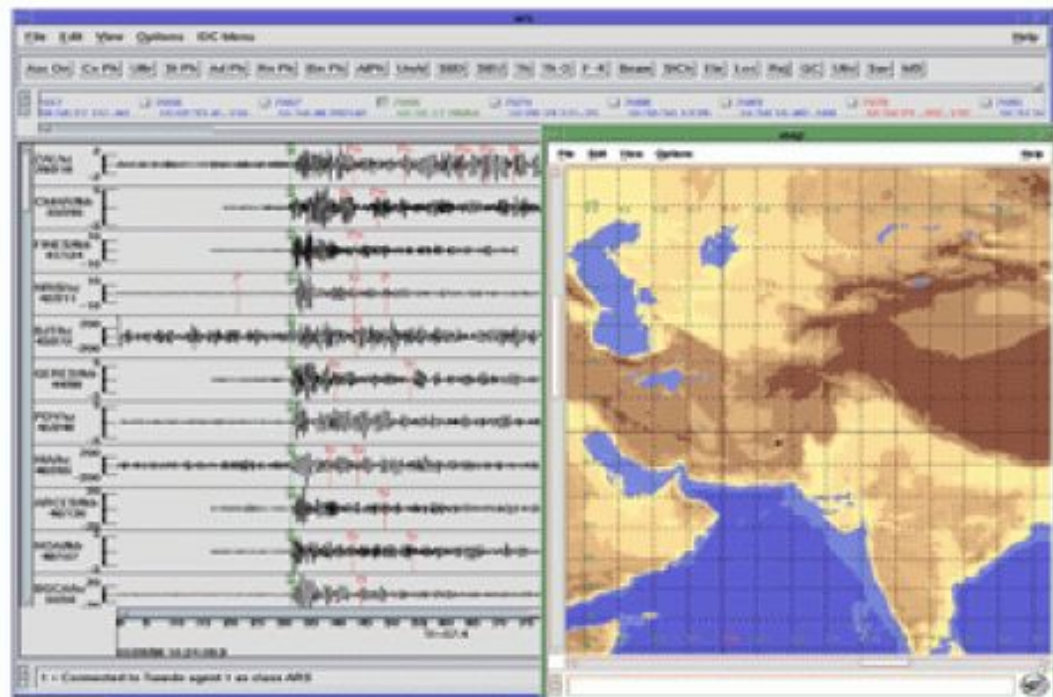
**Origin Time:** 1998/05/11  
10:13:44.2

**Coordinates:** 27.09° N  
71.69° E  
± 13-14 km

$m_b = 5.0$        $M_s = 3.2$

IDC Solution		Ground Truth		Difference
OT (GMT)	LAT (°)	LON (E)	LAT (°)	

# Seismic Waveforms and Regional Map Pakistani Nuclear Test: 28 May 1998



Origin Time: 1998/05/28  
10:16:17.6

Coordinates: 28.91°N  
64.84°E  
± 13-15 km

$m_b = 4.9$        $M_S = 3.5$

IDC Solution			Ground Truth		Difference
OT (GMT)	LAT (N)	LON (E)	LAT (N)	LON (E)	

# Pakistan's National Command Authority (NCA)

## NATIONAL COMMAND AUTHORITY (NCA)

Chairman: Prime Minister

Secretariat Strategic Plans Division (SPD)

Employment Control Committee (ECC)

Development Control Committee (DCC)

Deputy Chairman-Foreign Minister

Deputy Chairman- CJSC

### Members:

- Interior Minister
- Defence Minister
- Finance Minister
- Chairman JCSC
- Chief of Army Staff
- Chief of Naval Staff
- Chief of Air Staff

Secretary: DG-SPD

By Invitation: Others as required

### Members

- Services Chiefs
- Heads of concerned strategic organisations  
e.g. Scientists

Secretary: DG-SPD

Services Strategic Forces  
(Operational Control NCA)

Army

Airforce

Navy

## Nuclear Doctrines of India and Pakistan: A Comparison

<i>India</i>	<i>Pakistan</i>
Credible minimum nuclear deterrence	Credible minimum nuclear deterrence
Assertive command and control structure/civilian control	Assertive command and control structure/civilian-military control/flexibility towards delegative C2 with the induction of TNWs
No First Use (nuclear retaliation against chemical and biological weapons attacks)	No No First Use
Massive retaliation designed to inflict unacceptable damage, Assured Retaliation	Massive and Assured Retaliation
Counter-value and counter-force targeting	Counter-value and counter-force targeting
Robust ballistic and cruise missile programme/induction of SSBNs (moving from dyads to triads)	Robust ballistic and cruise missile programme
Nuclear weapons-instruments of retribution	Nuclear weapons-for defensive use only, not for war-fighting

# Pakistan's Nuclear Thresholds: Go Figure!

Pakistan's nuclear weapons are a double edged sword: deter a conventional war with India and a nuclear war

2002 Interview, Gen. Kidwai stated 4 nuclear thresholds for Pakistan:

1. Space Threshold: loss of large parts of territory
2. Military Threshold: destruction of large parts of land or air forces
3. Economic Threshold: economic strangulation
  - a. 'Indian naval blockade or possibly also the placement of Indian dams on rivers flowing from Kashmir that could be used either to dry up or flood Pakistan's Punjab plains, depending on how India's military operations were to unfold.'
4. Political Threshold: political destabilization or large scale internal subversion

# Pakistan's Nuclear Policy

- Pakistan's policy will continue to be based on a minimum credible deterrence (full spectrum deterrence which still remains CMD)
- It will avoid getting embroiled in a strategic arms race with India.
- It will continue to support international arms control regimes, which are non-discriminatory in nature.
- Pakistan's nuclear policy will be conducted with 'restraint' and 'responsibility'.
- It will participate in the FMCT negotiations.
- It will refrain from further nuclear testing. However, this commitment is subject to change in case India decides to resume testing.
- Pakistan will strengthen existing controls on the export of nuclear technology through administrative and legal mechanisms.



**Table 1.** Pakistani nuclear forces, 2023.

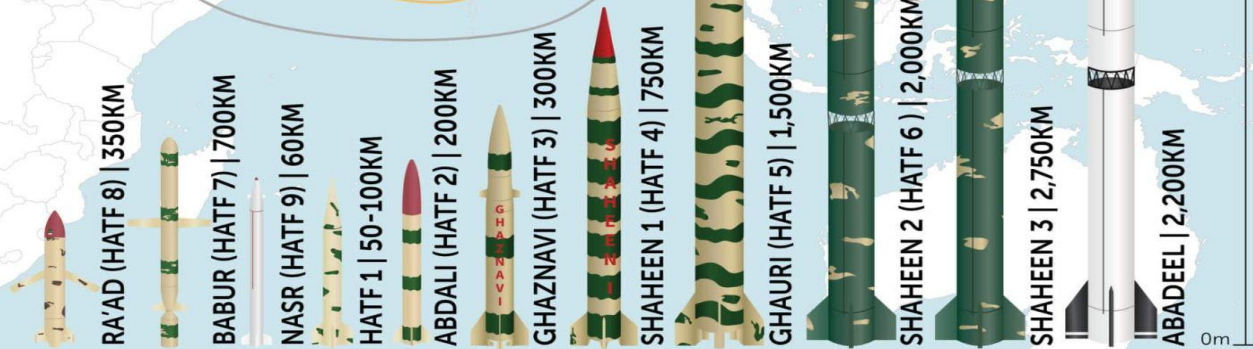
Type/designation	Number of launchers	Year deployed	Range (kilometers) <sup>a</sup>	Warhead x yield (kilotons) <sup>b</sup>	Number of warheads <sup>c</sup>
<b>Air-delivered weapons<sup>d</sup></b>					
Mirage III/V	36	1998	2,100	1 x 5-12 kt bomb or Ra'ad-I/II <sup>e</sup> ALCM	36
[JF-17] <sup>f</sup>	-			Ra'ad-I/II ALCM	-
<i>Subtotal</i>	36				36
<b>Land-based weapons</b>					
Abdali (Hatf-2)	10	2015	200	1 x 5-12 kt	10
Ghaznavi (Hatf-3)	16	2004	300	1 x 5-12 kt	16
Shaheen-I/A (Hatf-4)	16	2003/2022	750/900	1 x 5-12 kt	16
Shaheen-II (Hatf-6)	24	2014	1,500	1 x 10-40 kt	24
Shaheen-III (Hatf-6)	-	-2024	2,750	1 x 10-40 kt	-
Ghauri (Hatf-5)	24	2003	1,250	1 x 10-40 kt	24
Nasr (Hatf-9)	24	2013	60-70	1 x 12 kt	24 <sup>g</sup>
Ababeel (Hatf-?)	-	-	2,200	MIRV/MRV?	-
Babur/-1A GLCM (Hatf-7)	12	2014	350 <sup>h</sup>	1 x 5-12 kt	12
Babur-2/-1B GLCM (Hatf-?)	-	<sup>i</sup>	700	1 x 5-12 kt	-
<i>Subtotal</i>	126				126
<b>Sea-based weapons</b>					
Babur-3 SLCM (Hatf-?)	-	<sup>j</sup>	450	1 x 5-12 kt	-
<b>Other stored warheads</b>					[8]
<b>Total</b>	162				170 <sup>k</sup>



# PAKISTAN'S BALLISTIC AND CRUISE MISSILES



Missile forces play a central role in Pakistan's defense strategy to offset the conventional military advantages of India, its main rival. Islamabad deploys primarily short and medium-range ballistic missiles, but it has also been making strides in cruise missiles. Pakistan's missile and nuclear programs have benefited from Chinese technical assistance, and evidence points to Pakistani cooperation with Iran and North Korea as well.



Pakistan's  
**SECOND STRIKE CAPABILITY**



DESCRIPTION

Platform



800KM/h



450 KM



100 %



Conventional  
or nuclear

RadioactiveFriends



Babur-III is a submarine-launched cruise missile (SLCM) having a range of 450 kms and the ability to deliver various types of payloads including nuclear warheads. On March 29, 2018, Babur-III was tested from a submerged platform off Pakistan's coast in the Arabian Sea. It uses "underwater controlled propulsion." It struck undisclosed location on the land. Babur-III was first tested in January 2017



Chinese Submarine Supplies, 2015

Total Submarines in Fleet: 8

- Ballistic Missile Submarines (SSBNs): 0
- Nuclear-Powered attack submarines (SSNs): 0
- Diesel-electric attack submarines (SSKs): 5
- Mini Submarines (SSMs): 3
- Air-independent propulsion (AIP) enabled: 3/8



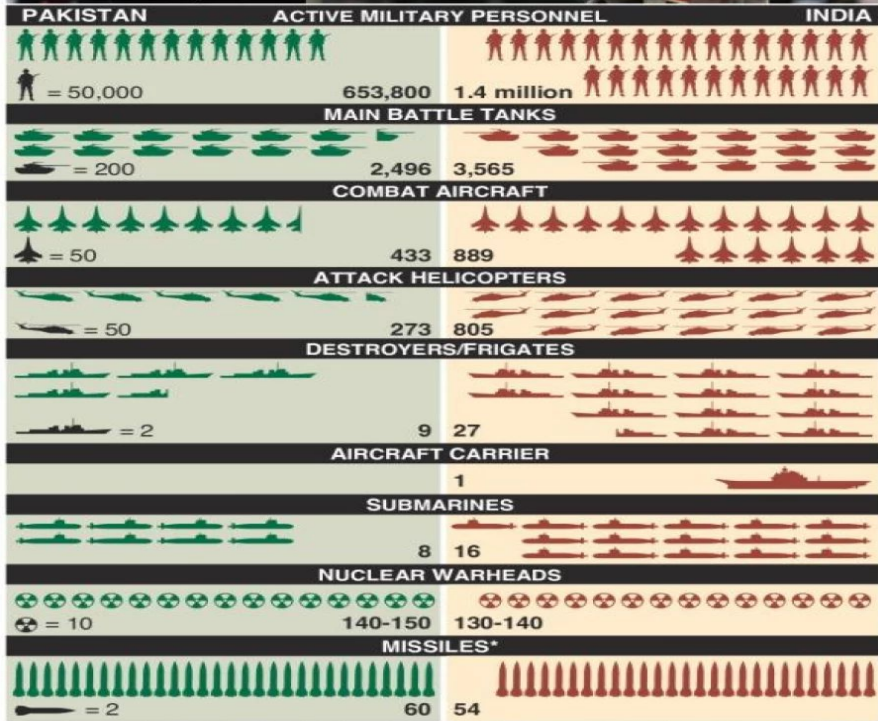
PAKISTAN – 8 x Type-039B Yuan Class



# India-Pakistan military balance



Faced with India's conventionally superior armed forces, Pakistan has built up stocks of short and medium-range nuclear missiles



Source: IISS, SIPRI \*Short and medium-range ballistic missiles Picture: AP © GRAPHIC NEWS

# Full Spectrum Deterrence

According to Gen. Kidwai (2023), “full spectrum deterrence” implies the following:

- “That Pakistan possesses the full spectrum of nuclear weapons in three categories: **strategic, operational and tactical, with full range coverage of the large Indian land mass and its outlying territories**; there is no place for India’s strategic weapons to hide.
- That Pakistan possesses an entire range of weapons yield coverage in terms of kilotons (KT), and the numbers strongly secured, **to deter the adversary’s declared policy of massive retaliation**; Pakistan’s “counter-massive retaliation” can therefore be as severe if not more.
- That Pakistan retains the liberty of choosing from a full spectrum of targets in a “target-rich India,” notwithstanding **the indigenous Indian BMD or the Russian S-400, to include counter value, counter force and battlefield targets.**”

Kidwai: “full spectrum” aspect of Pakistan’s deterrence posture encompasses both “horizontal” and “vertical” elements.

The **horizontal aspect** refers to Pakistan’s nuclear “triad” encompassing the Army Strategic Force Command (ASFC), the Naval Strategic Force Command (NSFC), and the Air Force Strategic Command (AFSC).

The **vertical aspect** refers to three tiers of destructive yield—“strategic, operational, and tactical”—as well as a range coverage **“from zero meters to 2750 kilometers,” allowing Pakistan to target the entirety of India”**

# Survivable Strategic Force

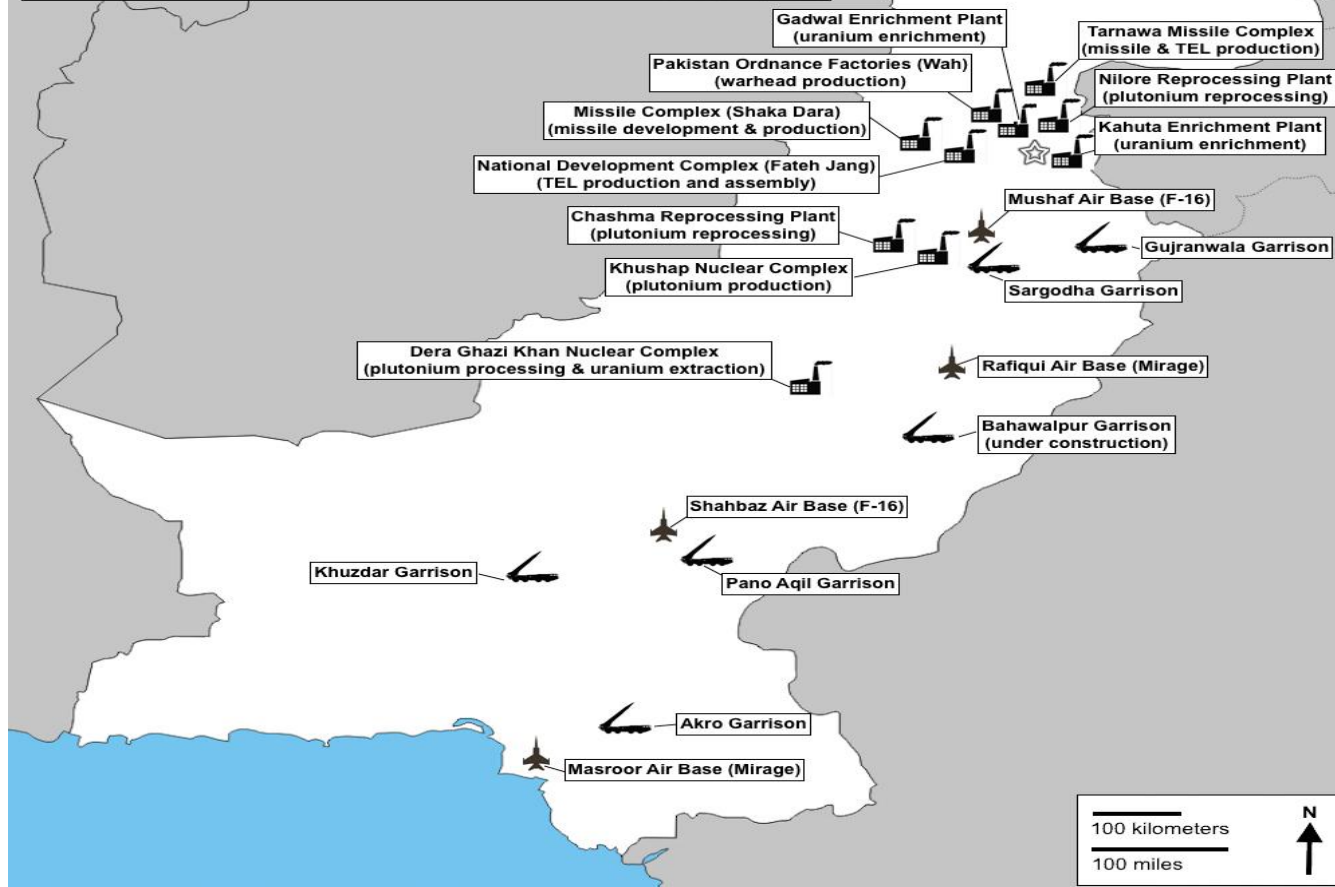
Because of operational security concerns, no details have been revealed about the measures taken to ensure survivability, but presumably they involve an emphasis on **mobile systems, camouflage, hardened and deeply buried facilities, and strict compartmentalization of information about the plans, locations, and standard operating procedures governing the movement, deployment, and possible employment of strategic forces.**



# Pakistani Nuclear Weapons Related Facilities

-  Primary Industry (locations approximate)
-  Road-Mobile Missile Launcher Garrison
-  Fighter-Bomber Air Base (F-16 and Mirage)

*Kristensen/FAS, 2016*



# India-Pakistan Nuclear Crises

- **Stability-Instability Paradox**

- **Stability at the Nuclear Level:**

- At the strategic or nuclear level, a stable deterrent relationship exists when both adversaries possess a second-strike capability.

- **Instability at the Conventional Level:**

- **The paradox arises when the stability at the nuclear level leads to a perception of reduced risk of an all-out nuclear war.** As a result, the adversaries may feel more inclined to engage in conventional conflicts or provocations, believing that the nuclear deterrence will prevent the situation from escalating to a full-scale nuclear war.

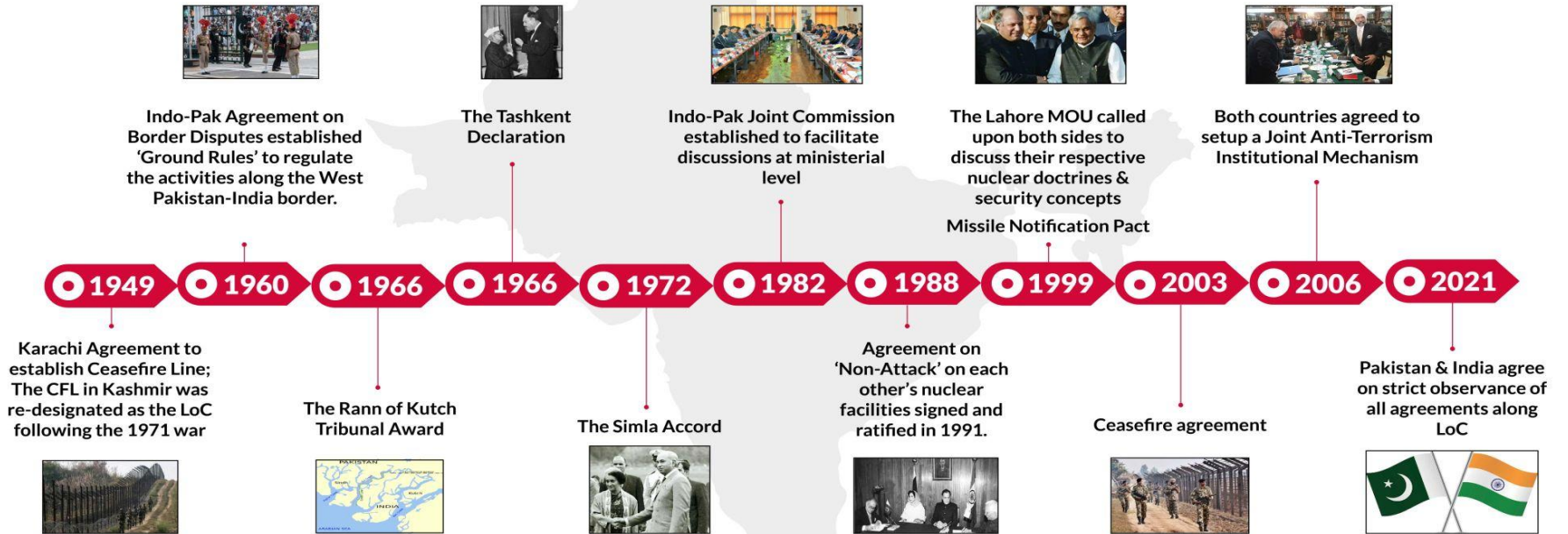
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1. **Kargil Crisis (1999):**
  - While not a direct nuclear crisis, the Kargil conflict raised concerns due to the possibility of the conflict expanding and escalating into a larger war, possibly involving nuclear weapons.
2. **Parliament Attack (2001):**
  - After the attack on the Indian Parliament in December 2001, both countries deployed large military forces along their border, escalating tensions and raising fears of a potential nuclear conflict.
3. **Mumbai Attacks (2008):**
  - The terrorist attacks in Mumbai in November 2008 strained relations between India and Pakistan. Though not a direct military confrontation, there were concerns about the potential for a military response and escalation.
4. **Surgical Strikes (2016):**
  - January 2016 Pathankot attack and Sep 2016 Uri attack
    - i. In September 2016, India conducted "surgical strikes" across the Line of Control (LoC) in response to a militant attack on an Indian army base in Uri. While this did not lead to a full-scale war, it increased tensions and raised the risk of escalation.
5. **Pulwama Attack (2019):**
  - In February 2019, a suicide bombing in Pulwama, Kashmir, targeted Indian paramilitary personnel. India blamed Pakistan for supporting the militants responsible. Tensions escalated, leading to aerial engagements and fears of a larger conflict.

## Noises about India ditching No First Use?

- Indian ideological temptations are real, irrationality is a possibility leading to miscalculation of reality, militarized Hindutva nationalism being the main driver
- Quite likely that in its strategic arrogance and superiority complex, India will misread Pakistan's capability, resolve, and thresholds again to provoke retaliation in Balakot 2.0
- Pakistan's Quid Pro Quo Plus (QPQP): The 2002 red-lines (spatial, military, economic and political thresholds) are no longer the benchmark of predictability associated with Pakistan's nuclear behavior.
  - Evolution in Pakistan's doctrinal thinking where the **'P' in QPQP** is **'the threat that leaves something to chance'**.

# Confidence Building Measures Between Pakistan & India



## Indo-Pak Nuclear CBMs

1. **Non-Attack on Nuclear Facilities Agreement (1988):** Both countries committed not to attack each other's nuclear facilities.
2. **Agreement on Pre-Notification of Flight Testing of Ballistic Missiles (2005):** Aimed at reducing the risk of misinterpretation of missile tests.
3. **Reducing the Risk from Accidents Relating to Nuclear Weapons (2007):** Agreement to reduce the risk of accidental use of nuclear weapons.
4. **Agreement on Reducing the Risk of Accidents Relating to Nuclear Weapons (2007):** Another agreement aimed at preventing accidents related to nuclear weapons.

# 1998-2023: What's the Trend

1. South Asian Strategic Stability: Deterrence Stability+Crisis Stability sans Arms Control Stability
2. Outsourced Escalation Control - Too much Uncle Sam
3. No Bilateral Crisis Management Mechanisms
  - a. On March 9, 2022, India accidentally launched a BrahMos cruise missile, which crossed the border into Pakistan and traveled approximately 124 kilometers before crashing near the town of Mian Channu - No joint investigations
4. Regulated Ceasefire on the LoC
5. Bipolar nature of communications :)
6. CBMs, YES! Fragile trust but no incentives for arms control
7. Disinformation Campaigns and Fake News - Spy Games
8. Militarized Hindutva Nationalism - No playbook
9. Elections 2024 in Pakistan and India

# SAFER SKIES: HOW THE S-400 WILL DEFEND INDIA

**1. High altitude tracker:** The S-400's powerful AESA radar scans the sky in a 360-degree sweep. If any incoming threat is detected, the radar's computer helps determine if it is a missile, aircraft, cruise missile or drone. The system can track between 100 and 300 targets simultaneously.

**4. Launcher:** Data are sent to the best placed of the battalion's launch vehicles and it releases two surface-to-air missiles.

**2. Mobile command centre:** Weapons operators inside the command post communicate with friendly forces, monitor threats and prioritise targets, but the system can work autonomously.

**3. Fire control radar:** Once the target is identified, the command centre orders the fire control radar to launch missiles.



## S-400 Specifications

**Role:** Long range anti-access/area denial

**Equipment:** Each S-400 battalion has eight launchers, a command centre, two radars, mast and up to 72 missiles.

**Range:** 120 to 400 km, depending on missiles deployed

**Targets:** Hostile aircraft, missiles, stealth jets, drones

**Missile speed:** 17,000 kph, faster than any existing aircraft

**Reaction time:** Vehicle stopping to missile firing is five minutes

**Number ordered:** 5 systems

## COMPONENTS OF INDIA'S THEATRE MISSILE DEFENCE

### SHORT RANGE

**Spyder:** 15 km

Origin: Israel

Role: Cover for fast moving armour, troops

Speed: 4939 kph

Order: 1800 missiles

**Akash:** 25 km

Origin: India, DRDO

Role: Protection for static armour, troops

Speed: 3704 kph

Order: 3000 missiles

### MEDIUM RANGE

**Barak 8:** 70-90 km

Origin: Israel-India/DRDO

Role: Protection against missiles, aircraft

Speed: 4939 kph

Order: Missile under development

### LONG RANGE

**S-400 Triumph**

Origin: Russia

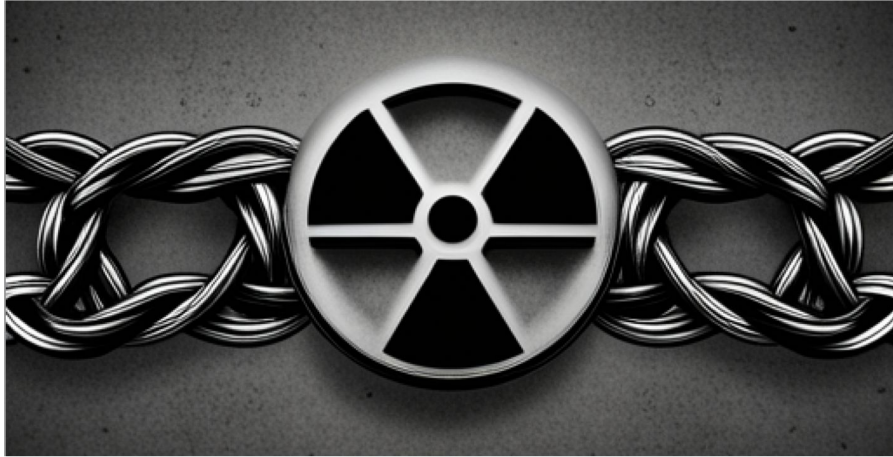


# The Nuclear Tetraplex: New Influences on the Indo-Pak Dyad

Issues International Security

## The Inevitability of the Emerging Nuclear Tetraplex

October 17, 2023 7553 0



Rabia Akhtar

The architecture is currently grappling with a range of multifaceted challenges due to the intricate strategic chain connecting several key countries. This chain, which includes the United States, China, India, and Pakistan, has inadvertently positioned Pakistan at the tail end of the chain, rendering it susceptible to the disruptive impacts of an ongoing arms race. This situation further exacerbates Pakistan's security dilemma, exponentially increasing the complexity of the prevailing security landscape in the region.

## The second order effects of the Strategic Chain

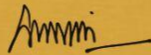
India's efforts to modernize its military are driven, in large part, by its concerns about China's growing influence in the region. With China's military buildup being seen as a response to the United States' presence in the same area, a delicate balance emerges. In this multi-dimensional dynamic, Pakistan finds itself delicately maneuvering through the ebb and flow of power dynamics and strategic landscapes. Consequently, it is compelled to dedicate substantial resources to match the prowess of its more formidable neighbors.

## GAMING FOR PEACE

The Center for Security, Strategy and Policy Research (CSSPR), University of Lahore is proud to announce an innovative new initiative aimed at reducing the risk of nuclear conflict. This new program will seek to develop scenarios for nuclear risk reduction, focusing on designing and envisioning alternate futures that promote peace. With a pressing need to mitigate the dangers associated with nuclear weapons, it is imperative that we prioritize and invest in practical solutions that are not only sustainable but also innovative. This initiative seeks to accomplish just that by designing scenarios that prioritize peace instead of the traditional approach of war gaming.

This initiative will be based on rigorous research and analytical, theoretical and empirical insights in the fields of security studies, international relations, and conflict resolution, will utilize interdisciplinary approaches, including game theory, strategy, and complex systems modeling. One of the primary objectives is to move the narrative away from the traditional war gaming mind-set to a discourse in the nuclear real world.

As an academic institution, the University of Lahore believes that by investing in a multidisciplinary approach to achieve a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the challenges of nuclear risk reduction. CSSPR, in conjunction with prominent experts in the fields of security studies, international relations, and conflict resolution, will utilize interdisciplinary approaches, including game theory, strategy, and complex systems modeling. One of the primary objectives is to move the narrative away from the traditional war gaming mind-set to a discourse in the nuclear real world.



Awais Raof, President CSSPR  
Chairman BoG, University of Lahore

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