



PROGRAM ON STRATEGIC STABILITY EVALUATION (POSSE)

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India and Pakistan: Beyond Minimum Nuclear Deterrence?

POSSE Policy Memo

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- It is obvious that there is growing discrepancy in comprehension of strategic issues in India and Pakistan.
- Pakistan is one of the potential adversaries of India, which could have plans to use conventional and nuclear forces not only against Pakistan.
- Missile programs of India and Pakistan demonstrate different trends. India tries to expand the missile range and it works on warheads. Also it develops the naval strategic forces, working on SSNBs and sea-based missiles.
- Pakistan is not interesting in expanding the missile range. But it needs cruise missiles and tactical nuclear weapons.
- Very important difference between India and Pakistan is the status of infrastructure of production of nuclear weapons. India has the infrastructure which allows to develop foreign technologies and create original ones.
- Pakistan doesn't have such an infrastructure. In 10-20 years it will have to build the infrastructure or to depend on the third countries (mainly China and North Korea).
- In this regard it is important to review again and again the concept of the minimal nuclear deterrence in India and Pakistan.
- Because India adheres to the non-first-use obligation, it might plan to use nuclear weapons as a second-strike counter-value capability. It seems that it tries to build the strategic forces, capable to target the main political, military and industrial centers of

potential adversaries (China and Pakistan). In the same time it works on conventional counter-force capabilities.

- Pakistan plans to use the nuclear weapons not only against political, military and industrial centers, but also against conventional forces on the territory of India or Pakistan in the case of invasion.
- There is a danger of asymmetric response of Pakistan to growing missile and missile defense capabilities of India, including sabotage and terrorism. Experts in Pakistan understand its highly destabilizing effect, but this option might be on the table in Rawalpindi.
- To prevent the worst possible scenario India, Pakistan and third countries should give the greatest attention to conflict prevention between India and Pakistan and, especially, to possibility of use of the nuclear weapon.
- Both states could provide partial transparency of nuclear forces (structure and placement).
- India and Pakistan could continue dialogue on confidence-building measures not only in the field of nuclear forces, but also conventional forces.
- Inclusion in national nuclear doctrines of a principle of non-first-use in both countries could promote stability strengthening.

- Decrease in risks of the nuclear conflict would be promoted by achievement of mutual obligations not to deploy the nuclear weapons in disputable territories or near the Indian-Pakistan border.
- The same purposes can be reached by mutual de-alerting nuclear missile of medium range (i.e. to legalize existing practice) and about notices of change of such status during training, tests or for the operative reasons.
- It is necessary to promote development of the general approaches in the field of security, including political and economic problems (contacts between military, participation in the general initiatives, for example in SCO, etc.).
- The third countries can play stabilizing role by the progress in the field of disarmament, and by the policy in the South Asia, including military and technical cooperation with India and Pakistan.

