The Growing Danger of Nuclear War in South Asia

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Nuclear Borderlands

Photograph by astronaut taken from the International Space Station, 23 September 2015
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

Gadwal Enrichment Plant (uranium enrichment)
Pakistan Ordnance Factories (Wah) (warhead production)
Missile Complex (Shaka Dara) (missile development & production)
National Development Complex (Fateh Jang) (TEL production and assembly)
Chashma Reprocessing Plant (plutonium reprocessing)
Khushap Nuclear Complex (plutonium production)
Dera Ghazi Khan Nuclear Complex (plutonium processing & uranium extraction)
Shahbaz Air Base (F-16)
Khuzdar Garrison

Tarnawa Missile Complex (missile & TEL production)
Nilore Reprocessing Plant (plutonium reprocessing)
Kahuta Enrichment Plant (uranium enrichment)
Mushaf Air Base (F-16)
Gujranwala Garrison
Sargodha Garrison
Rafiqui Air Base (Mirage)
Bahawalpur Garrison (under construction)
Masroor Air Base (Mirage)
Pano Aqil Garrison

100 kilometers
100 miles

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The path to nuclear war

Pakistan threatens to use tactical nuclear weapons against Indian conventional forces if there is a war.

2016: Indian Army exercise with 30,000 soldiers, tanks, artillery, simulating Pakistan use of nuclear weapons on the battlefield.

Indian doctrine (2003): nuclear weapons “will only be used in retaliation against a nuclear attack on Indian territory or on Indian forces anywhere... [N]uclear retaliation to a first strike will be massive and designed to inflict unacceptable damage.”

India may seek to preempt Pakistan’s first use

Pakistan claims India’s posture is “bluster” and “blunder”
Tactical weapons, naval weapons and MIRVs

*Nasr* (60 km range) battlefield use

*Babur-3*, range 450km, January 2017
submarine-launched cruise missile

*Ababeel*, January 2017
MIRV, range 2200km
Shaheen–III missile and India’s Andaman base

India is developing a strategic base for navy and air force on Andaman/Nicobar Islands.

Pakistan wants “comprehensive coverage of any particular land area that India might think of putting its weapons”
Kashmir

Pakistan-India dispute over Kashmir

Wars in 1947, 1965, 1999: Kashmir split along Line of Control

Cross-border attacks from Pakistan-backed militants

  Attack on Mumbai in November 2008, hundreds of casualties
  Sept. 2016, militants killed 18 Indian soldiers in attack on army base
  India “surgical strikes” across LoC on “launching pads of militants”

2016: Syed Salahudeen, head of Kashmiri militant group Hizbul Mujahideen, “If Pakistan provides support, there is a great chance of a nuclear war.”
Blood and Water and War

1960 Indus Waters Treaty
Pakistan: Indus, Jhelum, Chenab
India: Sutlej, Beas, and Ravi until they cross into Pakistan

September 2016:
Prime Minister Narendra Modi: “blood and water cannot flow together.”

Pakistan: Act of war if India violates Indus Water Treaty
Missed Opportunity

UN Security Council Resolution 1172 (6 June 1998) – unanimous:

• Calls upon India and Pakistan:
  – immediately to stop nuclear weapon development
  – to refrain from weaponization or deployment
  – to cease development of ballistic missiles
  – [no] further production of fissile material for nuclear weapons

• encourages all States to prevent the export of equipment, materials or technology that could in any way assist program in India or Pakistan for nuclear weapons.