Nuclear Proliferation and Pakistan

Farooque Ahmed Leghari[1]*, Humera Hakro[2], and Muhammad Ramzan Kolachi[3]

[1]Lecture at Department of International Relations, University of Sindh, Jasmshoro, Sindh, Pakistan.
[2]Lecture at Department of International Relations, University of Sindh, Jasmshoro, Sindh, Pakistan.
[3]Teaching Assistant at Department of International Relations, University of Sindh, Jasmshoro, Sindh, Pakistan.

Abstract

Pakistan, India, Israel in addition to North Korea became successful to get sensitive nuclear assistance from other nuclear weapon states and became successful nuclear weapon states. The major objective of this research is to know Pakistan's nuclear path that what factors motivated it to get nuclear weapons. The qualitative methodology is used and secondary data is being analyzed with content analysis to get the findings. This article tries to look at nuclear proliferation and nuclear non-proliferation regimes to check out Pakistan's nuclear path. The article finds three things. First, the sense of conventional military inferiority and insecurity against India led Pakistan to follow nuclear path. Second, the cold war in Afghanistan between the United States and the Soviet Union proved to be a blessing in disguise for Pakistan to fulfill its dream of becoming a nuclear weapon state. Third, Pakistan became successful to get sensitive nuclear assistance from the China. Pakistan became successful in achieving the milestone of getting the capability to manufacture nuclear weapons in 1980s era.

Keywords: Nuclear Proliferation; Pakistan; India; China; Nuclear Weapons.

*)Corresponding Author.
Email: farooq.ahmedqau@gmail.com

1. Introduction

The episode of the nuclear proliferation is not new to us. We have seen its start after the United States first declared itself a nuclear weapon state by targeting Japan with atomic bombs in world war 11. Since then the world witnessed a new arms race but this time it was not for the conventional weapons but for the nuclear weapons. Within next 25 years after the end of the world war 11, we experienced a Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1968 declaring five permanent members of the United Nations' Security Council as the recognized nuclear weapon states. NPT also imposed strong command and control system to stop further nuclear proliferation for the purpose of manufacturing nuclear weapons but it allowed and encouraged the use of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes under the shadow of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The initial period of 20 years were the worst time for the nuclear pessimists as the four major powers including the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and People's Republic of China (PRC) became successful to test nuclear weapons and the number of nuclear weapon states reached to five.

There were some other states which became successful in getting nuclear weapons after five recognized nuclear weapon states but it took them a long journey to get this milestone. These states include Israel, India, Pakistan and North Korea. Even though the international community didn't recognize these states as nuclear powers but their nuclear status has become as reality which cannot be denied at any cost. Israel was first one in this row which became successful in getting the capabilities to manufacture nuclear weapons in late 1960s era. India and Pakistan followed the suit and tested their nuclear weapons in 1998 while North Korea was the last one to test its nuclear weapons in 2006. It was the sensitive nuclear assistance which helped these four states to get nuclear weapons.

Pakistan became successful to get sensitive nuclear assistance from People's Republic of China (PRC). Pakistan started diverting its nuclear program towards manufacturing nuclear weapons after its defeat in 1971 war at the hands of India. This defeat left a very long lasting impact on Pakistan as it has suffered a severe humiliation at the hands of India in result of the war as the half of

the country was forcibly dismembered and its 90000 soldiers were made hostage. It was the turning point in Pakistan's history when the perception of the country was changed for the first time. Pakistan admitted the fact that it can't balance India in conventional capabilities and it has no other option left but to get nuclear weapons, if it is serious to secure its sovereignty and integrity. It was the time when Pakistan diverted its nuclear program from civilian to military purposes. Zulifqar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan called a meeting of scientists in Multan in 1972 and asked them to build nuclear weapons for the security of their country as soon as possible. China provided sensitive nuclear assistance to Pakistan which helped it get nuclear capabilities essential for manufacturing nuclear weapons in 1980s era. The cold war in Afghanistan between the United States and the Soviet Union facilitated Pakistan to fulfill its dream of becoming a nuclear weapon state.

2. World Nuclear History

a. Brief overview of nuclear proliferation

The arms race of conventional weapons has a very long history and the world had witnessed the proliferation of technologies being used in the manufacture of conventional weapons transferring from one state to another but the US attack on the Japanese mainland with atomic bombs at the end of world war 11 paved a way for the new arms race. It was not for conventional weapons but for the most lethal weapons called as nuclear weapons which could kill millions of people in one go. And since then we saw major powers one after another putting all its efforts to get the nuclear technology and manufacture nuclear weapons. Just 20 years after the end of world war 11, four major powers have become successful to test nuclear weapons and join the nuclear club with the United States. Human being have a little experience of the use of these most disastrous weapons as it were used in world war11 in 1945, when the United States attacked Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki with Atomic bombs to end war in Japan. And the world for the first time experienced the horrors of the atomic bombs as it resulted in severe casualties. The horrors of these disastrous weapons can best be quoted in the words of Winston Churchell, when he said:

> *"It may be that we shall by a process of sublime irony have reached a stage in this story where safety will be the sturdy child of terror, and survival the twin brother of annihilation" (Rauchhaus, 2009).*

Then here comes the concept of Nuclear Deterrence in the second half of the twentieth century. And we saw the major powers one after another testing their nuclear weapons. It was the Soviet Union after the United States testing its nuclear weapons in 1949 just four years after the US have used these weapons in world war 11. And then it comes the turn of the United Kingdom which tested its nuclear devices in 1952. And then it was France which also followed the same path and tested its nuclear weapons in 1960. And finally it was the turn of the Peoples' Republic of China which tested its nuclear devices in 1964. All these five states achieved the mile stone and became the recognized nuclear powers in result of the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty signed by most of the states in 1968.

The story of proliferation didn't end over there as the new era of proliferation station in which many states tried to get sensitive nuclear assistance that they could manufacture nuclear weapons. Few of them succeeded to manufacture nuclear weapons. Israel became the leading one in this row which became successful to get sensitive nuclear assistance and manufacture nuclear weapons in late 1960s era. India and Pakistan followed the suit and tested its nuclear weapons in 1998. North Korea followed the same path which tested its nuclear weapons in 2006. Therefore, we have seen four non recognized nuclear powers in the world other than five recognized nuclear weapon states. The last sixty five years have been marked as the period of a nuclear proliferation in which we saw states getting sensitive nuclear assistance from the nuclear weapon states and that was the reason, we saw different states utilizing nuclear capability for manufacturing nuclear weapons. These states pursued their nuclear programs to manufacture the nuclear weapons for the four major reasons: security concern, prestige, technological imperatives and domestic politics (Chakma, 2002).

b. Brief over view of nuclear non-proliferation efforts

The proponents of nuclear non-proliferation are very optimist that one day the world would understand the importance of their

ideas of nuclear non-proliferation and that will be the time when the nuclear weapon states would agree to get rid of weapons and secure their mainland Earth. They argue that history is witness to the changes which occurred from time to time and place to place. The world saw major changes which seemed impossible. It can be the end of slavery and apartheid; the collapse of Communism and the Soviet Union; the breaching of the Berlin Wall; and proposed European Union. Proliferation pessimists argue that one day the world will be witnessing nuclear disarmament.

The United States which used nuclear weapons in World War two against Japanese cities was the first one to initiate efforts for nuclear disarmament when it brought Baruch plan at the platform of the United Nations in 1946 with an idea of elimination of nuclear weapons but that was rejected by Soviet Union (McCoy, 1999). The United States came with another initiative. This time it was completely new program named as "Atom for Peace" in 1950swhich was aimed at to benefit the states willing to use nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. The International Atomic Energy Agency was also formed in 1950s under the shadow of the United Nations to monitor the states maintaining nuclear programs for peaceful purposes. Its main focus was to put strong check and balance on states using nuclear technology for peaceful purposes to avoid its exploitation for the military purposes. The Test Ban Treaty was agreed in 1963. The treaty banned nuclear weapon tests in Atmosphere, out space and under water. It was a major achievement in military and international affairs (Weltz, 1969).

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was also a major initiative in 1968 which was agreed by most of the states of the world. There were only few states including Pakistan, India and Israel which refused to sign the treaty. The treaty came into force in 1970. The treaty was extended in 1995. NPT encouraged the use of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and strongly discouraged its use for the purpose of manufacturing nuclear weapons. The treaty also recognized five major powers including the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and Peoples' Republic of China as the "Recognized Nuclear Powers." According to the article two of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the signatory states of the NPT agree not to acquire the nuclear weapons or the nuclear devices. The article

three of the treaty explains that states signing the NPT agree to conclude a comprehensive safeguards agreement with International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for the application of safeguards to all its peaceful nuclear activities, present or future, with a view to verifying the fulfillment of its obligations under the treaty. The article four of the treaty recognizes the right of all its signatory states to exchange equipment, materials, and scientific and technological information for the purpose of peaceful uses of the nuclear technology. The parties also undertake to pursue negotiations in good faith towards nuclear disarmament and reaffirm that they will not have any nuclear weapon tests, mentioned in its article six. A comprehensive safeguards agreement between the state and the International Atomic Energy Agency contains an undertaking by the state to accept safeguards, in accordance with the terms of the agreement, on all sources or special fissionable material activities (IAEA, 1993).

After 2046 nuclear test explosions in the atmosphere, underground, and under water, we noticed a major initiative in 1996, when the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) was signed in the United States General Assembly in 1996 by a vote of 158 to 3 (India, Bhutan and Libya) and with five abstentions (Cuba, Lebanon, Mauritius, Syria and Tanzania). Although the treaty came too late and it was the flawed one but at least it ensured that the environment will never again be damaged or polluted by nuclear weapons (McCoy, 1999). It stopped states to have any more nuclear tests in the world. The United States signed the treaty but refused to ratify it. And that seemed to be a major setback to Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

c. Indian Nuclear Program

Indian nuclear program was more focused on the prestige factor than the security concern but the both factors were equally important in connection to Indian nuclear program which was focused by its leaders soon after independence (Chakma, 2002). Indian nuclear program had its roots in colonial era. Soon after independence, India formed Indian Atomic Energy Commission headed by Homi Bhabha a great scientist. A Nobel Prize-winning scientist C.V Raman was also made a member of the commission. Homi Bhabha and Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India were in

consultations on Indian nuclear program even before Indian independence. Nehru was interested in developing nuclear weapon capabilities even before the independence of India (Rana, 2010). Nehru wanted to see India as a nuclear weapon state. The first research reactor was built in India in 1950s. India got Canadian assistance to have the well-developed reactor in 1960. India continued its work on nuclear program fast in 1960s. And India was in a position to make weapons-grade plutonium in 1964.

India wanted to get the role of a major power in the world on the one hand and to balance China on the other. It focused on manufacturing nuclear weapons especially after its 1962 war with China. After Chinese nuclear tests in 1964, India put all its energies to manufacture nuclear weapons and it became successful in having a first nuclear test in 1974 but India claimed that it had conducted a nuclear test for peaceful purposes. After the first test, India continuously remained busy in furnishing its nuclear program. And finally it became successful to have more nuclear tests in 1998.

d. Pakistan's Nuclear Program

The development of Pakistan's nuclear program can be divided into three phases which brought the country to achieve a milestone and test its nuclear weapons in May, 1998. Pakistan's nuclear program can be divided into three phases from 1954 to 1971, December, 1971 to 1989 and the last one from 1989 to 1998 (Chakma, 2002). Pakistan started working on its nuclear program since 1950's in response to Indian nuclear program but its nuclear program was not focused on manufacturing nuclear weapons in first phase which included first two decades. During 1960s, Zulifqar Ali Bhutto tried to convince Pakistan's President Ayub Khan to focus on Pakistan's nuclear program and justified his argument on the ground that India is working on its nuclear program to manufacture nuclear weapons so Pakistan should also try to divert its nuclear program from civilian to military purposes. Ayub Khan refused to accept Bhutto's view point and stated that when India gets the nuclear capabilities, Pakistan will follow the suit and will get nuclear weapons on any cost. The dramatic change in Pakistan's policy was seen after its war with India in 1971, in which it lost its Eastern part. As Pakistan noticed during

the war that it didn't get any help from its alliance partners and its membership of South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) didn't give it any benefit. It failed to get any help from the United States when it was facing difficulties in its war against India.

After Pakistan's humiliating defeat at the hands of India, it seemed to be a decisive time for Pakistan to bring changes to its policy. Pakistan's policy makers admitted that fact that Pakistan cannot balance India with conventional capability so they need to focus on nuclear weapons program because it will be the only option to balance India and secure Pakistan's borders from any foreign invasion (Ganguly, 2013). Therefore, Zulifqar Ali Bhutto called a meeting of scientists in Multan in 1972 and asked them to work on Pakistan's nuclear program. Pakistan's intention to become a nuclear power was strengthened when India had its first nuclear test in 1974. Pakistan soon after the Indian test increased its concentration on its nuclear weapons program. Pakistan seemed to its aim of becoming a nuclear weapon it purchased a nuclear reactor from France in 1976. The Unites States was having an eagle's eye on Pakistan. It pressurized Pakistan not to pursue the path of nuclear weapons program. It had imposed sanctions on Pakistan in late 1970s. It became difficult for Pakistan to continue its work on nuclear weapons program in late 1970s as the military general General Zia ulHaq, the then Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff has over thrown the elected prime minister Zulifqar Ali Bhutto's government. Therefore, the US sanctions made Pakistan hard to pursue its nuclear option. Then it was a blessing in disguise in result of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and cold war between the United States and Soviet Union which increased Pakistan's worth. The cold war between the Soviet Union and the United States started in Afghanistan in 1979 and continued till 1988 till the Soviet forces' withdrawal from Afghanistan started. The world noticed that Pakistan was greatly benefited of cold war fought between the two major world powers in Afghanistan. On the one hand, it got military and economic aid from the United States and on the other, it continued its speedy work on nuclear weapons program and it was the reason that it seemed to be in a position to manufacture nuclear weapons in late 1980s. Pakistan fulfilled its dream of becoming an overt nuclear power as it test edits nuclear weapons in response to Indian nuclear tests in May 1998.

According to one estimate, Pakistan is having about 90-100 nuclear weapons but it could be larger than the estimated number (Kerr, P.K, Nikitin, M.B, 2013).

3. Critical Analysis

The nuclear proliferation has a long history. After the end of World War II in 1945, states considered nuclear weapons as a symbol of strength and prestige. The world noticed that many states one after another were busy in efforts to pursue expensive nuclear programs but only major powers became successful in getting nuclear weapons. There were four states other than the United States which became successful in testing nuclear weapons till 1965 in the period of initial 20 years after World War II. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) signed in 1998 gave five nuclear weapon states the United States, Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and Peoples' Republic of China a status of recognized nuclear weapon states. Israel also became successful in manufacturing nuclear weapons in late 1960s era. India, Pakistan and North Korea put its all efforts to get the nuclear weapons capabilities and became successful in getting nuclear weapons in the coming years. India and Pakistan tested its nuclear weapons in May, 1998. North Korea followed the suit and test edits nuclear weapons in 2006.

There were also some states which tried to manufacture nuclear weapons but lacked there quired technology and resources. Some states also tried to purchase nuclear weapons but failed to get it. There were two major reasons which hindered states to get nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons had given a sense of strength and prestige to the major powers which were also the permanent members of Security Council at the United Nations. Therefore, these major powers were not ready to share their sign of strength with other states. Nuclear weapon programs were very expensive on the one hand and nuclear technology was very precious on the other. And it was the reason it was very difficult for states to get nuclear weapons.

After the United States, we saw Soviet Union became successful in testing nuclear weapons in 1949. It focused all its energies on its nuclear weapons program. It hired the best nuclear scientists from the world and used all its sources to get the relevant

technology and information. The nuclear proliferation started after 1945 as states tried to get concerned technology and information by using different sources and that created a black market in which companies and persons dealing in the technology and information of nuclear programs were involved and helped states to get relevant technology and information. The third state which became successful in getting nuclear technology was the United Kingdom. It tested its nuclear weapons in 1952. The fourth state was France and the fifth one was Peoples Republic of China. Later on, Israel became successful in getting the relevant nuclear technology and manufacturing nuclear weapons. India, Pakistan and North Korea also followed the same path and became successful to get the relevant technology and tested their nuclear weapons. These all states became successful to become nuclear weapon states due to sensitive nuclear assistance they were getting form different states.

Solingen (1994) endorsed Pakistan's position on nuclearization that in the anarchic structure of the society, states try hard to maximize their power to match other states and that is the reason that this security thrust of states leads them to attain nuclear weapons. Pakistan's conflict with India on Kashmir had been the cause for three wars; Gilpin (1984) defended Pakistan's position to get nuclear weapons by arguing that the political conflicts between different states have been a major cause for states to opt for nuclear weapons. Gilpin further illustrated this point and explained, "Soviet Union and the United States got nuclear weapons because of one another, China because of the two super powers, India because of China, Pakistan because of India and Israel because of Arab states."

There are about 45 states in the world which are using nuclear technology for the peaceful purposes. It is good that these states have not opted for the option of nuclear weapons program. This shows the success of the efforts of nuclear non-proliferation. There is need for the United to play more vital role to resolve the disputes among the states because the anarchy will lead more states to pursue nuclear weapon programs for their security. The increasing number of nuclear weapon states is alarming for world security. The immature nuclear weapon states seemed to be a major threat for the world as these powers don't have strong command and control system and there remains a question mark on the security of their nuclear weapons.

If we want to stop nuclear proliferation, we need to give a sense of security to each and every state in the world. The anarchy will lead more states to get nuclear weapons for their security. Presently, there are many states in the world which are using nuclear technology for the peaceful purposes and if we fail to provide them a feeling of security, it will take them very short time to divert their nuclear programs to military purposes. In this scenario, there is a greater need for the United Nations to play its role to ensure security to every state in the world. The United States should make all its efforts to stop states from pursuing the path of nuclearization. It should also promote the efforts of nuclear non-proliferation. This will lead us to a peaceful world.

4. What Led Pakistan on the Way of Nuclearization

The history of bloody partition and its war with India on Kashmir in 1948 made its belief firm that India is not going to be its friend and a major threat lies to it from Indian side. This belief was further strengthened when it fought another war with India on Kashmir in 1965. Indians intervened in East Pakistan and initiated war against Pakistan. This war resulted in the dismemberment of East Pakistan and surrender of more than ninety thousand Pakistani soldiers before Indian army. Pakistan's humiliation in war put severe impact on its people and especially its military and it was the moment that Pakistan seriously started considering nuclear option.

Pakistan's position of getting nuclear weapons was further strengthened after Indian nuclear test in 1974. Pakistan's nuclear weapons program faced some difficulties during the end of 1970s due to the US sanctions but later on when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, Pakistan invited the United States to help it get Soviets out of Afghanistan. The US agreed to Pakistan's point and here the new era of cold war between the US and Soviet Union started. Pakistan got benefit of this United States and Soviet Union rivalry and availed billions of dollars and modern weaponry from the United States. In the meantime, Pakistan also got an opportunity to continue its nuclear weapons program on a very fast track. And it was because of this opportunity that Pakistan became successful to get nuclear weapons capability in 1980s. Though it tested nuclear weapons in 1998 but it had been able to manufacture nuclear weapons in 1980s.

Pakistan's motivation for nuclear weapons was based on the element of insecurity it faced from Indian side. The findings further added that Pakistan's defeat in 1971 war with India and Indian nuclear test in 1974 had contributed to Pakistan's way to nuclearization. According to Syed Tariq Fatimi, Ex Pakistan's Ambassador and Special Assistant to Pakistan's Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs (7 June 2013 to 28 July 2017), Pakistan did not even think of going after nuclear weapon program till late 1960s and it was 1971 war and dismemberment of Pakistan into two parts and Indian nuclear test of 1974 which led it seriously to think about its nuclear weapons program but before initiating its own nuclear weapons program. Pakistan just followed Indian path and it was the reason that when Indians tested nuclear weapons in 1998, Pakistan responded them by testing its own nuclear weapons (Fatimi, ST., Expert Informant Interview, 30th October 2015).

Pakistan's motivation for getting nuclear weapons was because of the extreme sense of insecurity compounded by two events including the trauma of the Pakistan's defeat and dismemberment into two parts which severely affected psychologically Pakistanis in general and its army in particular as that was the very traumatic experience and Indian nuclear test of 1974. There was a perception in some of my colleagues and senior leadership of Pakistan Army even before Indian nuclear test of 1974 that if Pakistan had nuclear weapons in 1971, India had not dared to go for such a aggression against Pakistan which Indians called later as "Indian revenge for a thousand years subjugation of India by Muslims" and Indians celebrated victory by giving "jingoistic and rhetoric statements" (Kidwai, Expert Informant Interview, 19 November 2015).

In accordance with the findings that the element of insecurity led Pakistan on the way of nuclearization and that insecurity was because of the wars Pakistan fought with India on Kashmir dispute, Zafar Khan confirmed that it was the security factor which led Pakistan on the path of nulcearization and that was based on two developments. First, it was 1971 war and dismemberment of East Pakistan. Second, it was Indian nuclear test in 1974 (Khan, Z., Expert Informant, Interview, 12 November 2015). Furthermore, Durrani endorsed Pakistan's right for nuclearization and said that Pakistan's conventional military defeat in 1971 war and non-conventional threat emerging from

Indian side in shape of 1974 nuclear test led Pakistan to tackle both Indian conventional and non-conventional threats with its own nuclear weapons, he further added that Pakistan had a psychological impact of 1971 defeat and Indian nuclear test of 1974 and wanted to release that psychological pressure by working fast on its nuclear weapons program (Durrani, A., Expert Informant, Interview, 3 November 2015).

Solingen (1994) argued endorsed Pakistan's position on nuclearization that in the anarchic structure of the society, states try hard to maximise their power to match other states and that is the reason that this security thrust of states lead them to attain nuclear weapons. Pakistan's conflict with India on Kashmir had been the cause for three wars and a Gilpin (1984) defended Pakistan's position to get nuclear weapons by arguing that the political conflicts between different states have been a major cause for states to opt for nuclear weapons. Gilpin further illustrated this point and explained, "Soviet Union and the United States got nuclear weapons because of one another, China because of the two super powers, India because of China, Pakistan because of India and Israel because of Arab states."

The finding that the element of insecurity led Pakistan on the way of nuclearization have been further justified as Kidawi confirmed that Pakistan firmly believed that in the presence of Pakistan's very strong inventory of nuclear weapons, the adversary which is basically India as our (Pakistan's) nuclear program is India centric, the Indians will not want to engage in any kind of serious conflict with Pakistan (Kidawi, Expert Informant Interview, 19 November 2015). Sultan defended Pakistan's nuclear option and considered it as a source of providing security against India and further added that Pakistan had a non-declaratory nuclear weapons capability by 1982 but it surfaced on the scenario in 1986-87 when Indian based on "Offensive Military Doctrine" initiated Brasstacks military exercises while Pakistan counter mobilized based on "Defensive Offensive Military Doctrine" and in the meantime Dr Qadeer Khan gave an interview to Quldeep Nayar in which Dr Qadeer Khan admitted that Pakistan had the nuclear weapons capability and said it could be used against India if India launches a conventional war against it (Sultan, M., Expert Informant, Interview, 5 November 2015).

Abbas also agreed that he conventional threat to Pakistan emerges from India and when India conducted nuclear test in 1974, Pakistan became firm to continue its own nuclear weapons program because it knew that its nuclear weapons can cause deterrence against Indian conventional as well as nuclear threat (Abbas, A., Expert Informant, Interview, 2 November 2015). Hussain also endorsed that a sense of insecurity having its roots in 1971 defeat and dismemberment of Pakistan into two parts and Indian nuclear test of 1974 made Pakistan think of going nuclear (Hussian, N., Expert Informant, Interview, 3 November 2015). While Hoodbhoy looked Pakistan's nuclearization with the other way, "It was basically with the idea of revenge that Pakistan started its quest for nuclear weapons. After 1971, the loss of East Pakistan, Zulifkar Ali Bhutto put the acquisition of nuclear weapons as one of his main priorities." (Hoodbhoy, P., Expert Informant, Interview, 6 November 2015). Furthermore, Cheema, P.I argued that Pakistan faced with a security dilemma always had tried to search for the options which could make it secure against Indian conventional military threat and it was the reason that Pakistan joined alliances during its initial years because it did not have a capacity to match Indians in conventional military strength and saw in alliances an opportunity to secure itself from India and over the years Indian powerful economy helped it to purchase more conventional weapons in comparison to Pakistan and this increased gap resulted in Pakistan's increased dependency on nuclear weapons for its security (Cheema, P, I., Expert Informant Interview, 13 November 2015). According to Abbasi, Pakistan's policy motivation for nuclear weapons lied in Indian perceived threat to its security and it was seen visible by looking at the history of three wars between the two states in 1948, 1965 and 1971 (Abbasi, R., Expert Informant Interview, 12 November 2015).

Pakistan's path for nuclearization was with the motive of seeking strategic parity with India. Pakistan's conventional military inferiority against India led it on the path of nuclearization. Pakistan is indulged into a sub conventional war fare against India under the garb of its nuclear weapons which stops India from going after Pakistan. While the justifying Pakistan's path to nuclearization, Marwah said that Pakistan's motivation behind its nuclear program was to get "strategic parity with India and also to achieve a leadership role among the

Islamic comity of nations" (Marwah, O., Expert Informant, Email Interview, 25 January 2016). Marwah further argued that as Pakistan has lost all conventional wars against India in 1948, 1965 and 1971, it made it feel inferior to India in conventional military capabilities and led it on the way nuclearization (Marwah, O., Expert Informant, Email Interview, 25 January 2016). Marwah further defended the impact of nuclear deterrence, "One might aver that both nations held back from a full-scale war in 1999 due to both having acquired/declared their nuclear weapons status." This meant that nuclear weapons provided security to Pakistan against India (Marwah, O., Expert Informant, Email Interview, 25 January 2016).

Das also supported the Pakistan's nuclearization on the basis of insecurity it felt from Indian side and added that it was Indo-Pak war in 1971and dismemberment of East Pakistan which created Indian fear "what can be described as an existential paranoia vis-à-vis India" and "the tilting of the military balance favorably towards India over the last 2-3 decades had driven Pakistan to acquire deterrence capabilities against a significantly larger Indian forces" (Das, P., Expert Informant, Email Interview, 9 February 2016). Das further added that the role of nuclear deterrence in Pakistan's strategic policy is to stop Indians from going after Pakistan and avoid an "existential crisis" and provide it with a "strategic umbrella" under which it could continue its sub-conventional policies without bringing Indian punishment (Das, P., Expert Informant, Email Interview, 9 February 2016). Nye said that Indian nuclear test and Indo-Pak conventional military competition motivated Pakistan to go for the search of nuclear weapons (Nye, J, S., Expert Informant, Email Interview, 9 February 2016). Nye further added, "Pakistan relies on nuclear deterrence to balance Indian conventional superiority" (Nye, J, S., Expert Informant, Email Interview, 9 February 2016). According to Sahgal (2010) the conventional military asymmetry was forcing Pakistan to bring further changes into its nuclear weapons doctrine and to opt for tactical nuclear weapons to counter India's Cold Start Doctrine which meant to stop India from opting the space of limited conventional war.

To sum up, Pakistan motivation for nuclear weapons was because of its insecurity against India. This had its roots three wars fought between India and Pakistan in their three decades after

independence. The two major events Pakistan's humiliating defeat in 1971 war in which East Pakistan was dismembered with Indian intervention and second Indian nuclear test in 1974 led Pakistan to follow the path of nuclearization.

5. Conclusion

The search for security, dominance and prestige has always led states to become stronger in military means and these were the reasons which led nine states of the world to get nuclear weapons capabilities. Pakistan also followed the path of the five recognized nuclear powers and searched its security in nuclear option. Pakistan led with its complex conventional military inferiority against India pursued a nuclear option and became successful in getting nuclear weapons capabilities in late 1980s. The cold war helped it get the milestone. It tested its nuclear weapons in 1998 in response to Indian nuclear weapon tests.

The nuclear proliferation has been a cause of a major concern for the world. Thousands of nuclear weapons present in the world have been enough to destroy the whole globe in one go. In the first instance, there is a greater need to stop states from pursuing the nuclear path. Looking at the example of newly born nuclear weapon states as Pakistan it becomes clear that it becomes difficult for these immature nuclear weapon states to take care of its nuclear weapons as they lack sophisticated command and control system.

There is only one way to stop states from pursuing their expensive nuclear programs and that is only to put an end to the anarchy present in the international system. The world needs to strengthen the United Nations. The international community should play its role in resolving the long standing disputes. The justice must be insured in the international system. States should be insured their security by international law. And finally, there should be collective efforts to put an end to nuclear arms race and nuclear weapon states must also be convinced to go for nuclear disarmament.

And finally, three things including an end to anarchy, an end to nuclear proliferation, an end to injustice and to ensure justice and implementation of international law in the true sense and nuclear disarmament would lead to a peaceful world and would end any sort of threat which the world can face.

References

Chakma, B. (October, 2002). Road to Chagi: Pakistan's Nuclear Programme, its sources and motivations, *Modern Asian Studies* 36 (4).

Ganguly, S. (2013).Diverging Nuclear Pathways in South Asia, *The Nonproliferation Review*, 20:2, pp. 381-387.

Kroeing, M. (April, 2009). Importing the Bomb: Sensitive Nuclear Assistance and Nuclear Proliferation, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol.53, No.2, pp. 161-180.

Kerr, P.K, Nikitin, M.B. (2013). Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons: Proliferation and Security, *Nuclear Weapons: Select Issues from the Global Arena.*

Mc Coy R.S. (1999). *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons and Ending Violence*, Published by Petaling Jaya.

RanaShazia. (2010). *India and Pakistan Nuclear relationship: Establishing a Stable Nuclear Deterrent and Prospects for Peace*, Masters Dissertation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada.

Rauchhaus Robert. (April, 2009). Evaluating the Nuclear Peace Hypothesis: A Quantitative Approach, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 53, No. 2, pp. 258-277.

Sagan, S.D. (Spring 1994). "The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 66-107.

Sagan, S.D. (November/December 2001). "The Perils of Proliferation in South Asia," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 41, No. 6 pp. 1064-1086.

Waltz, K. (1981). "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Better," *Adelphi Papers*, Number 71, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London.

Wentz, W. (December, 1969). Nuclear Proliferation, *Military Affairs*, Vol. 33, No. 3.