

## Emergence of Nuclear Zero in South Asia: Prospects for Regional Stability

**ALTAF MAJEED**

M.Phil. Scholar, Department of Political Science & International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad.

**Dr. GHULAM MUSTAFA**

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science & International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad.

Email: [gulammustafa@gcuf.edu.pk](mailto:gulammustafa@gcuf.edu.pk)

**BILAL BIN LIAQAT**

Lecturer, Department of Political Science & International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad.

**MUHAMMAD ISMAIL**

PhD Scholar, Department of Political Science & International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad.

---

### *Abstract*

*Global Zero is a campaign at international level to ensure the world free of nuclear weapons. The Global Zero Action Plan calls for the two superpowers in the race of nuclear weapons i.e. Russia and The United States to negotiate to cut down their nuclear armaments as much as possible in the first stage followed by complete denuclearization of the world by 2030. Some people are of the belief that the present nuclear powers can trigger nuclear war at any time but the nuclear powers do realize the implications of such act and they have refrained from such act until today. Since 1945, there have been eight (possibly) new nuclear states and all of them are hostile to each other that includes rivals like Britain and France; India and Pakistan; India and China and most importantly Russia against USA but still there is not a single incident when any of these states used nuclear weapons against each other rather they have been avoiding war as far as possible. South Asia is considered the most probable nuclear flash point in the world as three arch rivals Pakistan, Indian, and China dwells there. Since these countries acquired nuclear capabilities, there is no incident of war in spite of many times coming face to face, such as it is only the danger of nuclear weapons which halted the wars between India and Pakistan in 2001, 2008 and recently in 2019. Besides, complete elimination of nuclear weapons will make the world free for conventional wars, and once the conventional wars become more probable, there will be more chances for re-development and use of nuclear weapons. To crown all, it can be said that complete elimination of nuclear weapons will make its use more certain.*

**Keywords:** South Asia, Nuclear Zero, Regional Stability, Nuclear Peace Theory, Minimum Credible Deterrence.

---

### **Introduction**

Nuclear weapons have two perspectives, one pessimistic and the other optimistic. Pessimists claim that nuclear weapons have indeed kept the world out of containment, but there are many questions, such as how long these armed nuclear States will keep peace among themselves. How long will they be able to avoid a

nuclear catastrophe? How long will world leaders behave like Kennedy and Khrushchev during missile crises in Cuba? Can they ensure that accidents like Chernobyl do not happen in the future? Can nuclear states ensure that terrorists do not acquire nuclear weapons in the future? Can they prevent other states from acquiring nuclear weapons capabilities? These are some of the questions that give us an idea of nuclear danger, but on the other hand, there are optimistic prospects that make us think about how to avoid wars between rivals like Pakistan and India without nuclear weapons. We can guarantee the total elimination of nuclear weapons worldwide. How can we ensure that no incognito nuclear projects are completed later? What are these joint nuclear projects? They will pose a danger to the world free of atoms. This is part of the research that questions the possibility and results of building an atomic-free world. As far as South Asia is concerned, there are two main nuclear weapon states that are enemies, India and Pakistan, for example, and then South Asia, bordering China, which is a strong rival that challenges current global demand. Thus, the South Asian region is crucial to the realization of a nonnuclear world. These two states have fought each other in four wars and have experienced strong mutual mistrust. The nuclear arsenals of these states are a deterrent to future wars and a demonstration of military superiority.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the world in general, and South Asia in particular, from an optimistic and pessimistic point of view, in order to understand whether nuclear zero is possible in South Asia or not. This study will also attempt to develop some measures or a roadmap for achieving zero nuclear weapons in South Asia. South Asia, which is free of nuclear weapons, will also be discussed in the paradox of stability or instability. It is also necessary to offer some alternatives, if the complete denuclearization of South Asia is not possible, to a peaceful and stable South Asia. These studies will also examine the peaceful uses of nuclear energy for the benefit of 1.8 billion people in South Asia.

World witnessed nuclear devastation in 1945, when USA dropped nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki to end the WWII effectively. Since then, word has been living under the shadow of nuclear warfare. Although, nuclear war between two nuclear powers is uncertain due to mutual assured destruction but still, any incident of mismanagement, misinterpretation, miscalculation etc. would lead humans to such unfortunate fate. Korea and South Asia are two most imminent nuclear flash points in the world right now with looming dangers of nuclear wars. South Asia is the region of more than 1.8 billion people and any nuclear incident can perish this quarter of the world population from the face of this planet. On the other hand, deterrence halted the occurrence of conventional wars at many instances between eternal rivals Pakistan and India. Besides, more casualties occurred in history due to conventional wars than that of nuclear wars. Hence, it is imperative to analyze the importance of nuclear weapons in global peace, security, and stability, to evaluate the feasibility and possibility of denuclearization of South Asia, and envisage some approaches through which ultimate objective of South Asian regional security and stability can be achieved.

The emergence of nuclear weapons in South Asia has changed the local conditions to a great extent. Nuclear integrity has found its place in Indo-Pakistani life sciences, and many researchers believe that nuclear prevention has been active in South Asia since the apparent dispersion of both countries. However, nuclear optimists see that constant frustration may exist largely on the basis of specific essential elements that would contain an emergency situation should it arise. As Kenneth Waltz pointed out, it needs a lack of participation in a preventive war, while the state is building up its nuclear capabilities. Furthermore, the guaranteed and adequate possibility of a second strike by both States and, ultimately, the guaranteed quality of the ordering and control system in order to avoid any unplanned or unauthorized use undermine the certainty of Nuclear Weapon usage. However, as Chris Gunn noted, India and Pakistan have not met any of these critical conditions for a stable deterrent.

### **Nuclear Peace Theory**

Nuclear peace is a theory of international relations that argues that under some circumstances nuclear weapons can induce stability and decrease the chances of crisis escalation. In particular, nuclear weapons are said to have induced stability during the Cold War, when both the US and the USSR possessed mutual

second strike retaliation capability, eliminating the possibility of nuclear victory for either side. Proponents of nuclear peace argue that controlled nuclear proliferation may be beneficial for inducing stability. Critics of nuclear peace argue that nuclear proliferation not only increases the chance of interstate nuclear conflict, but increases the chances of nuclear material falling into the hands of violent non-state groups who are free from the threat of nuclear retaliation.

The key argument on this topic has been between Scott Sagan, a leading proponent of organizational theories in international politics, and Kenneth Waltz, the founder of neorealist theory in international relations. Waltz largely contends that "more may be better," contending that new nuclear states will use their assimilated nuclear capabilities to deter threats and preserve peace. Sagan maintains that "more will be worse", since new nuclear states often lack sufficient organizational controls over their new weapons, which makes for a high risk of either deliberate or fortuitous nuclear war, or mugging of nuclear material by any terrorist group to commit nuclear terrorism (Galluchi, 2006).

As for as South Asia is concerned, there are two most outstanding adversary's atomic states India and Pakistan and afterward there is China nearby South Asia, who is a solid contender to challenge the current world order (James, 2004). In this way, the locale of South Asia is basic for the success of nuclear free world. These two states have fought four wars with each other and have a great degree of mistrust for each other. Nuclear arsenals in these states work as a tool for deterrence for future wars and an exhibition of military superiority.

This paper is meant the world in from both optimistic and pessimistic perspectives to see if nuclear zero in South Asia is possible or not. It is expected that the emergence of nuclear zero in South Asia is the first step towards retaining both India and Pakistan from engrossing, which in turn, is the first step towards nuclear free South Asia. Deterrence halted the occurrence of conventional wars at many instances between eternal rivals Pakistan and India such as in 2001, 2008, and recently in 2019. Hence, considering the current situation of South Asia it can be said that existence of nuclear weapons is the symbol of security in South Asia and effectively prevented the two countries from going to war (Gaddis, 2019). The need of the time is to focus on security of these weapons rather than abolishing them altogether, which might make the conventional warfare in South Asia more certain.

### **Hypothesis**

Nuclear Zero in South Asia is neither possible nor feasible; hence, minimum credible deterrence infested with strong nuclear security system is the only way forward.

## **Literature Review**

### **Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia**

Towards WWII by Jazib Shamim (2018) explains the world witnessed a major historical event in 1947 when subcontinent, which was administered as a one unit from Khyber to Burma since practically last one thousand years, apportioned by the decision British Empire coming about into two states to be specific India and Pakistan. The significant explanation for segment of the subcontinent was the religious and social contrasts between the Hindus and Muslims. This distinction made them antagonistic towards one another and India having predominance in all viewpoints, constrained Pakistan to turn into a security state directly after its initiation. To extend its predominance over the entire area, the Indian atomic program began in 1944, even before its autonomy. India directed first atomic tests in 1974 and kept growing its atomic program. This constrained Pakistan to work earnestly on its atomic program with a quick pace. India reported its formal section to the atomic weapons club in May 1998 with 5 atomic tests at Pokhran, Pakistan, having atomic capacity around then, answered back in simply two weeks with 6 atomic tests and turned into the seventh country on the planet and first Islamic nation to join the atomic nations club. The

lives of over a billion people are at leniency of the two atomic forces state heads, particularly India having a radical government represents a genuine danger to the tranquility of subcontinent which needs extraordinary consideration particularly from the worldwide network generally an atomic armageddon could be normal (Shamim, 2018).

### **Worldwide Stability through Atomic Expansion**

Rethinking the pragmatist atomic harmony by Gabriel Valizerov (2017) said that atomic harmony process among USA and Soviet Union finished with the breakdown of Soviet Union. With the part of the arrangement and bipolar framework, the possibility that presence of atomic weapons guarantees dependability and harmony wound up suspicious. With the development of multi-extremity in the International framework, the talk of discouragement and atomic weapons turned out to be progressively far from being obviously true in leftist school of considerations as well as in pragmatist circle. To crown all, Gabriel is of the view that presence of atomic weapons proffers harmony and dependability in bi-polar framework and cripples such solidness in multipolar framework (Valizerov, 2017).

Atomic demobilization and non-expansion by Sverre (2017) examined the overarching banter on demilitarization and atomic non-multiplication. Especially, he talked about the thoughts how to concoct non-Nuclearization systems and execute the arrangements of demilitarization in the atomic world. As indicated by Sverre, the three mainstays of the arrangement of atomic non-expansion are: serene utilization of atomic vitality, demilitarization and non-multiplication. He especially talked about the non-multiplication regarding the states that never joined non-expansion bargain, for example, India, Pakistan and Israel. Also, North Korea and Iran are the potential atomic weapon expresses that are NPT signatory. Connection among demilitarization and non-multiplication is also imperative in case developed nuclear states such as USA, Russia etc. because issue in these states is disarmament rather than non-proliferation (Sverre, 2017).

Speculations on the future of nuclear South Asia by Pervez Hoodbhoy (2016) envisaged after United States possessed nuclear weapons four other states i.e. USSR, United Kingdom, France and China acquired nuclear capability respectively. NPT was established in 1970 that was supposed to restrict further proliferation of nuclear weapons but India, being not a signatory of NPT, tested its peaceful nuclear device. Despite of all the efforts to curb further nuclear proliferation, India, Pakistan and Israel were suspected to carry out their nuclear programs in 1970s and 1980s. Disintegration of USSR left a legacy of nuclear weapons in newly created states of Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan which was again a worry for international community. According to her, there are certain motivational factors that drive security is the foremost contributing factor towards the desire to acquire nuclear weapons. She argues that though deterrence is supposed to be main cause of nuclear proliferation but it is presence of a protracted conflict that drives nations towards nuclear proliferation (Hoodbhoy, 2016).

Regionalism in South Asia (2008) By Kishore C. Dash gives an account on regional hegemony that the presence of a hegemonic power within a region gives rise to regional grouping that leads to success regional organizations as the presence of Germany in European Union and United States in NAFTA. He argues that India is the leading country in South Asia with its superiority in military capability, economic capital, and human as well as natural resources. To keep in check the hegemonic power, other states in the region rally through four different strategies which are balance of power, regionalist entrapment, band wagoning and declining hegemony. In case of South Asia, the imbalance is quite clear where there is a huge gap between India and other local states. Be that as it may, the resistance of India's predominance by Pakistan has been very apparent because of two principle reasons: to accomplish level of influence versus India and freedom of Kashmir; and has prompted security problem in the district. This security predicament has offered ascend to weapons contest in the district. In May 1998, India tried a progression of five atomic gadgets in Rajasthan in the wake of keeping up an approach of atomic equivocalness. It was driven by Pakistan's trying of six atomic gadgets in Baluchistan. The Nuclearization of South Asia led to a debate

whether it will make the region more unstable and war-prone or will it make the region more stable (Dash, 2008).

Nuclear risk reduction in South Asia by Michael Krepon (2004) in Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia gives a record on atomic hazard decrease in South Asia with the assistance of a relative report with Cold War. As indicated by Krepon, however the geographic setting of South Asia is very surprising from US and USSR where all the nuclear states share borders with each other. The first thing to do is to engage in formal agreements and serious efforts to ensure no change in territorial setting of South Asia. Then military practices alongside international borders must be minimized or even avoided. Trust is one of the main hurdles in the way to reach any arms reduction agreement among that is the reason to advance trust appropriate confirmation is basic if any understanding happens. Besides, legitimate correspondence crosswise over outskirts, repetitive direction and control frameworks, and endless consideration is additionally significant for danger decrease in South Asia. As indicated by Krepon, there are two principal factors in the zone for example India versus Pakistan and China versus India. These two factors decrease the chances of nuclear risk-reduction in the region. A triangular effort is needed to ensure denuclearization of the area in which all the three states could compromise and come to a neutral ground for negotiation (Krepon, 2004).

### **Academic Survey Results**

India and Pakistan have many options to foster security in South Asia. To crown all, the following recommendations for India and Pakistan are based on a number of interviews.

1. Negotiate confidence-building measures with regard to nuclear and conventional forces.
2. Exercise mutual restraint in the development of nuclear weapons, and create verification mechanisms.
3. Include the issues of Kashmir, nuclear security, and counterterrorism in the agenda of the Composite Dialogue.

Atomic Terrorism is a strategy or procedure to undermine the legal situation through the efficient exercise of brutality so as to get some political objectives. In the time of worldwide fear based oppression, the procurement atomic weapons are one of the real challenges for the security. Principle concern of the world states with respect to security condition today isn't just the peril of state entertainers to be assaulted by the non-state actors, yet in addition the ownership and misusing of nuclear explosives by non-state actors. Also, the increases in atomic weapons combined with the scattering of data pertinent to the development of atomic weapons are clear signs of fear mongers to gain atomic capacities.

The key challenge between China, India and Pakistan is getting progressively unpredictable with gigantic ramifications for the security and steadiness of the entire area and past. Insecurity in the area can rapidly saturate into the contiguous regions that incorporate West Asia, Central Asia, Southeast Asia and East Asia, overwhelming the imperative pieces of the world. The size of this challenge is just going to increase. With the point of adjusting the modernization of damaging US traditional capacities, China is modernizing its regular and atomic powers. This is putting a ton of weight on India to modernize its regular and atomic power bringing about a giant interest in the modernization of its military abilities. Its expanded abilities alongside the fruitful finish of Indo-US Civil atomic understanding has produced a great deal of apprehension in Pakistan's military foundation, which is as of now under strain from a traditionally prevalent Indian military machine. Pakistan considers being in India's capacities as a danger to the fragile level of influence in the area.

It is quite evident that a nuclear all-out war between Islamabad and New Delhi is certainly not out of option. There were almost two scenarios where a nuclear all-out war was just one step away but the 1.5 billion inhabitants of both the states were lucky on both the moments but will fate be always lucky and give lifelines every time, certainly not only more than billions of inhabitants of subcontinent will suffer from this war but the whole region will be affected. Therefore, there is a dire need of promotion of concrete and

decisive dialogue and confidence building among both the states since this military rivalry has curtailed the level of socio-economic development of both the states to a greater extent.

The goal of a welfare state couldn't be achieved by both the countries without eliminating this rivalry. If European states which fought wars for hundreds of years could now remain in exemplary peace and harmony, why India and Pakistan having their ideologies intact can't develop friendly ties which will be in the interest of the 1.5 billion people residing in the region.

### **Nuclear Arsenal in South Asia and its impacts on Regional Stability**

There are two most imminent nuclear flash points in the world; South Asia and Korean Peninsula. North Korea program of nuclear armament is a much heated issue in Korean region, which can lead to any catastrophe. But, North Korea has learnt his lesson as existence of nuclear arsenals would make the USA and her allies reluctant to disrupt her borders sovereignty as compared to non-nuclear states such as Libya, Iraq, and Syria etc. (Carranza, 2009). On the other hand, South Asia is infested with many long standing disputes between two rival states nuclear states India and Pakistan such Kashmir, Sir-creek, etc. Great power play in the region also plays her part in distorting the peace and stability of South Asia which is important to converse.

As Pakistan and India slowly build up their military and nuclear capabilities at high rates, it is not surprising that researchers, observers, and the media have relied on the use of auxiliary weapons to explain this phenomenon. Too much confusion the two neighbors are certainly caught up in a long-standing challenge, however, they are not very tightly integrated competitors as long as each other is running behind each other. The India-Pakistan race is loaded with reservations and asymmetries. The two foes are coordinated neither in size, inclination, nor view of the nature and extent of the contention. Nor is it clear whether the race is a dash, a long distance race, or a steeplechase; the end goal is apparent to nobody (Basrur, 2008).

The existence of nuclear weapons in South Asia seems imperative as they proffered peace and stability in the region. Nuclear weapons always favor the weaker state: such as, when Brezhnev, the President of USSR, in 1965 floated the 'No First use of Nuclear Weapons' proposal to Western Europe, USA and Europe rebuffed it as USSR at that time was far more superior to Western Europe in conventional warfare. If USA and Western Europe had accepted this proposal 'No First Use of Nuclear Weapons', USSR would have easily over-turn the Berlin Sovereignty, which was a very flimsy nuclear flash point during the cold war. Hence, it can be inferred from this episode that existence of nuclear weapons always supports the comparatively weaker state through deterrence; as it supports more to Pakistan against India and India against China. In case of conventional war, it is weaker state which is to bear the major brunt of the war. Hence, existence of nuclear weapons in South Asia is imperative from the perspective of Pakistan and peace and stability of the region.

In 2008, a 'Nuclear Fuel Bank' proposal was floated in United Nations under the aegis of International Atomic Energy Agency, which ultimately would have led to Nuclear Zero in the world (Cole, 2012). This proposal was dumped on ground of the lack of reliable guarantees that no state would re-build the nuclear facilities after Nuclear Zero. Also, there were doubts that complete denuclearization of the world would make the world free for conventional warfare and conventional wars would make the use of nuclear weapons more certain. For instance, there are many countries in the world such as Canada, Germany, and Japan which have enough extracted Uranium that they can make nuclear weapons not in years and months but in weeks; because the nuclear arsenals can be dumped, not the nuclear technology. So, as long as there is nuclear technology, chances would be there for the re-emergence of Nuclear Weapons. Besides, if Nuclear Weapons are made during any conventional war, it would be for usage not deterrence because it would have already failed in its basic purpose which is to stop the conventional war. Hence, to avoid any nuclear incident, it is important to avoid any incident of conventional war particularly among nuclear

capable states (Doyle, 2013). So, it can be said that complete denuclearization would make the use of nuclear weapons more probable.

South Asia is engrossed in its own issue ranging from border or territorial disputes to historical character particularly between India and Pakistan, two rival nuclear states of the region. South Asia is a region of more than 1.8 billion people; any incident of nuclear war means the elimination of millions of people along with other losses. To the worst, South Asia is largely infested with illiteracy, poverty, and religious fanaticism, all these attributes can make any region prone to war. Since, the existence of nuclear weapons in South Asia has effectively kept sovereignty over the decades since 1987. Many times, such as 2001, 2008, and 2019, these two nations came face to face but averted war due to the fear of nuclear war. But the question arises, for how long these two countries will behave as a responsible nation? Any incident of misunderstanding, miscalculation, or misinterpretation can also lead to any un-expected catastrophe. For instance, on 26 September 1983, three weeks after the Soviet military had shot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007, Stanislav Petrov, a lieutenant colonel of the Soviet Air Defence Forces, was the duty officer at the command center for the Oko nuclear early-warning system when the system reported that a missile had been launched from the United States, followed by up to five more. Petrov judged the reports to be a false alarm, and his decision to disobey orders against Soviet military protocol is credited with having prevented an erroneous retaliatory nuclear attack on the United States and its NATO allies that could have resulted in large-scale nuclear war (BBC, 2007). Investigation later confirmed that the Soviet satellite warning system had indeed malfunctioned. Hence, the need of the time is not nuclear disarmament but nuclear security and proper chain of command, so any such incident would not lead to any specious war.

### **Way Forward**

The safest way to reduce nuclear threats in South Asia remains a patient and persistent top-down approach to the normalization of relations between Pakistan and India. Various CBMs may be taken for this purpose, such as;

- Efforts should be made that peace talks between India and Pakistan must not be sabotaged by Kashmir issue.
- The process of decreasing hostilities requires to be instigated and efforts should be made to de-link Kashmir from the point scoring domestic agendas.
- The hostile propaganda about Kashmir in media must be curtailed in both India and Pakistan.
- Heavy weapons along LoC should be relocated.
- People to People contact should be increased, for that purpose; visa process should be made easier.
- Open media links (print and electronic) in both India and Pakistan
- Hostile literature in both countries against each other should be demeaned.

Besides these short term CBMs, other bold decisions from both countries must be taken to establish the peace, security, and stability in the region, such as;

- Both India and Pakistan should make their stance about Kashmir more flexible. For instance, United States of Kashmir (Jammu, Sri-Nagar, and Azad Kashmir), Chenab Formula (dividing Kashmir along the lines of river Chenab), or Independent Sri-Nagar are the most viable options which need to be discussed.
- Pakistan should give India a bargaining chip to offer her supporting in Security Council for permanent seat if Kashmir issue is resolved.
- Information about terrorist organizations should be shared between both countries and any such activity in respective soil must be discouraged.
- Any sort of separatist movement in both countries should be discouraged.
- SAARC is a debating club, which should be made more effective. For that purpose, SAARC countries should take an economic initiative through regional openness. Pakistan is in dire need of water and electricity which can India provide; in return, Pakistan should offer India the free

passage/corridor to Afghanistan and Central Asia. Besides, India should also be invited to be included in CPEC.

- Economy is a base for the success of any political organization; hence, SAARC should be remodeled on the European Union principles.

Yes, India and Pakistan have issues, but these issues are not greater than the issues of France and Britain a few centuries before. Yes, India and Pakistan have fought four wars, but they haven't fought a 100 years or a 30-year war. Yes, India and Pakistan have linguistic and cultural differences, but these differences are not greater than that of differences among France, Britain, and Germany. They even don't understand the language of each other. On the hand, India and Pakistan share a long history companionship, they understand each other's language, and they share same color and somewhat same culture except religion. But, they learnt a lesson from two world wars; hence, they united their economic and political destinies while maintaining their discrete language and culture, then why not South Asia? The need is to think from the regional perspective rather than national interest. They need is to define the common regional economic and political goals. The need is to divert the resources for the wellbeing of 1.8 billion people of South Asia, who are living in a common misery of economic and social hardships. Under the pursuance of such positive steps, nuclear weapons in this region would become irrelevant. Otherwise, South Asia will keep on ringing on her tows until some catastrophe caught on.

## References

- Basrur, J. (2008). *South Asia's Cold War: Nuclear Weapons and Conflict in Comparative Perspective*. Washington D.C: Asian Securities Studies.
- BBC, (2007). Stanislav Petrov: The man who may have saved the world. *BBC News*. Retrieved ON 26 September 2013
- Bruce, V. (2006). *China-Southeast Asia Relations: Trends, Issues, and Implications for the United States*. Washington DC: Congressional Research Services.
- Carranza, M. (2009). *South Asian Security and International Nuclear Order Creating a Robust Indo-Pakistani Nuclear Arms Control*. London: Ashgate Publishers.
- Cole J. (2012). *From Theory to Reality: The Evolution of Multilateral Assurance of Nuclear Fuel*. The Nuclear Threat Initiative. Accessed on: 05-11- 2019.
- Doyle, J. (2013). *Why Eliminate Nuclear Weapons? Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gaddis, P. (2019). *South Asia on a Short Fuse: Nuclear Politics and the Future of Global Disarmament*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Galluchi (2006). Averting Nuclear Catastrophe: Contemplating Extreme Responses to U.S. Vulnerability. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Page: 51-58.
- Jamees, K. (2004). *Pakistan's Nuclear Requirements*. Karachi, Oxford University Press. Accessed on: 10<sup>th</sup> March, 2019.
- Krepon, M. (2004). *Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Mesquita, P. (2006). *Nuclear Non Proliferation*. New Delhi, Viva book private limited.
- Michael, K. (2013). *Pakistan's Nuclear Requirements*. Karachi, Oxford University Press. Accessed on: 10<sup>th</sup> March, 2019.
- Pervez, H. (2016). *Speculations on the future of nuclear South Asia*. Strategic and Defense Studies Centre. The National University.
- Shamim, J. (2018). *Nuclear proliferation in South Asia: Towards WWII*. Delhi, Authors Press.
- Sverre, M. (2017). *Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Valizerov, V. (2017) *Worldwide Stability through atomic expansion: Rethinking the pragmatist atomic harmony*. Karachi, Oxford University Press.
- Waltz, K. (1987). *Theories of International Politics*. New York: University of California.