Book Reviews

Pakistan's Security Dynamics and Nuclear Weapons Shalini Chawla and Rajiv Nayan (eds)

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Pakistan's nuclear thinking, doctrine, and posture are critical for Indian policymakers and the international security community. For Pakistan, nuclear arsenals are rationalised as an ultimate guarantee of security, a deterrent to Indian conventional military superiority, and an umbrella to pursue a proxy war through terrorism. The book, *Pakistan's Security Dynamics and Nuclear Weapons*, co-edited by Dr Shalini Chawla and Dr Rajiv Nayan is an attempt to gain a deeper understanding of Pakistan's intricate security dynamics from a large number of experts in a wide range of disciplines. The book is divided into three sections with a number of chapters in each section covering the overarching theme of the section.

The first section is about the Pakistani state's various security facets. Experts have attempted to identify Pakistan's most pressing problems, such as the country's economy and its ongoing crisis, the complexities of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), regional extremism and

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terrorism, the issue of Baloch marginalisation, the Indus Water Treaty, and Pakistan's perpetual Afghanistan problem.

Lieutenant General Ata Hasnain discusses Zia's doctrine in great detail in the second chapter. The three pillars of Pakistan's strategy against India examined by the General are: maintaining a nuclear balance with India, using irregular warfare as a form of hybrid conflict, and religious radicalism. The chapter looks at the reasons Pakistan is likely to continue its intimidation strategy against India, using Jammu and Kashmir as a theatre of operations.

The outline of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is covered in detail in the third chapter by Jayadeva Ranade. China sees the CPEC as a way to increase its influence and global reach, while Pakistan sees the corridor as a way to alleviate its economic problems. The chapter highlights the CPEC's drawbacks for Pakistan and discusses its difficulties. The fourth chapter, written by Tilak Devasher, examines Balochistan's socioeconomic marginalisation over the previous seven decades. The chapter details how, despite its strategic importance, Baluchistan is currently a patchwork of conflicts and fault lines that have grown more violent as time passes. The fifth chapter written by Riya Sinha, examines the causes of Pakistan's economic crisis, analysing the deficits in Pakistan's annual budget planning and highlighting missed opportunities for economic reform. This has led to a vicious cycle of external borrowing and debt default. The Indus Water Treaty has been a source of debate in both India and Pakistan. The sixth chapter written by Dr Uttam Kumar Sinha, provides details of the treaty, critical Indian projects questioned by Pakistan, and potential options that rest with India. The author brings out that though India-Pakistan's strained relationship is marked by increasing mistrust, the treaty has endured. The final chapter in this section is written by Dr Shakti Sinha. It elaborates on Pakistan's Afghanistan conundrum. The seventh chapter makes the case that Afghanistan is a result of Pakistan's internal dynamics, specifically the military's desire to "become and remain the sole arbiter of power within the country." According to the author, Pakistan's Afghanistan strategy has sought to "prevent an alleged fear of being encircled by an India-Afghanistan alliance."

The Second Section focuses on Pakistan's Army, Navy and Air Force. Starting with the eighth chapter, Lieutenant General DS Hooda outlines the goals, prevailing ideologies, organisational culture, and values of the Pakistan Army. Although the Pakistani Army claims to support a democratic system, in reality, it favours its own authority over all institutions of the country. The Army's interests and belief in unconventional warfare are covered in this chapter. The author offers insight into the traditional warfighting theory of the Army as well as what the future holds. Air Vice Marshal Amit Aneja in the ninth chapter writes a thorough history of the Pakistan Air Force (PAF) and its Deterrence strategy. The author discusses the crucial issue of using air power while under nuclear threat and provides insight into Pakistan Strategic Air Force Command, one of the PAF's primary commands. Pakistan's ambition to acquire a sea-based nuclear deterrent is critical for regional nuclear dynamics, and the tenth chapter by Dr Vijay Sakhuja provides a comprehensive understanding of its naval strategic thinking and policy formulations.

Section Three is specific to nuclear issues. It elaborates on and evaluates the nuclear dimensions of Pakistan and the debate around the presence of Tactical Nuclear Weapons (TNWs), Pakistan's broad strategy, missile build-up, nuclear proliferation, and full spectrum deterrence. Dr Rajiv Nayan, in the eleventh chapter, provides a comprehensive analysis of Pakistan's nuclear grand strategy. It focuses on India to mobilise resources and provide legitimacy to its nuclear program, but the grand strategy is to establish it as a custodian of the Islamic civilisation, which may facilitate its hegemony over a broad region. The chapter elaborates on Pakistan's objectives, its proliferation network, alliances and the grand strategy post-Balakot strikes. Dr Shalini Chawla, in the twelfth chapter, traces the genesis of the nuclear doctrine and assesses what Pakistan

implies by achieving Full Spectrum Deterrence. She suggests that India needs to strengthen its strategic posture towards Pakistan. Pakistan has a selection of air, ground, and sea-launched ballistic and cruise missiles with a range of capabilities. Professor Rajaram Nagappa in the thirteenth chapter provides a thorough analysis of Pakistan's ballistic and cruise missiles. According to the chapter, Pakistan appears to be far from developing a credible second-strike capability. It also details Pakistan's missile project. In the fourteenth chapter, Dr Manpreet Sethi addresses India's approach, which treats all nuclear weapons equally, and defends the logic and justification of TNWs from Pakistan's perspective. She makes a strong case that Islamabad's employment of TNWs will not result in any renunciations of India's massive retaliation policy. Pakistan's nuclear development was heavily dependent on outside help, and the country's network of proliferators did raise some concerns. The fifteenth chapter co-authored by Arjun Anand and Aarushi Vikram, offers some insight into the recent history and projected future of Pakistan's network of nuclear proliferation.

In conclusion, Dr Shalini Chawla and Dr Rajiv Nayan place four critical outcomes of the book for further assessment to determine Pakistan's nuclear posture in the future: first, Pakistan's reliance on nuclear weapons is likely to increase due to insecurity; second, the nuclear arsenal is expected to expand with Chinese support; third, Pakistan uses a low nuclear threshold to gain strategic advantage and fourth, Pakistan will continue to highlight the dangers of a probable nuclear war in the region.