

## TRIANGULAR DETERRENCE BENEATH THE WAVES: INDIA'S NAVAL NUCLEARIZATION, PAKISTAN'S STRATEGIC RESPONSE, AND CHINA'S EXPANDING MARITIME INFLUENCE IN SOUTH ASIA

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### ABSTRACT

This article examines the strategic transformation of South Asia's maritime security landscape driven by India's pursuit of a credible sea-based nuclear deterrent. The operational deployment of SSBNs such as INS Arihant and the development of long-range SLBMs like the K-4 and K-6 signal India's intent to project power across the Indian Ocean and secure second-strike capabilities. While these developments may enhance India's deterrence posture, they pose complex challenges for Pakistan, which has traditionally relied on land-based deterrence and conventional military balance. Pakistan now faces the emergence of a concealed and survivable nuclear threat beneath its maritime borders, raising concerns over crisis instability, command and control vulnerabilities, and the risk of miscalculation. In response, Pakistan is adopting a multidimensional strategy that includes asymmetric deterrence, naval modernization, development of nuclear-capable cruise missiles, and active participation in regional diplomacy and multilateral forums. The article also highlights broader implications for global non-proliferation norms, environmental safety, and Indo-Pacific power dynamics. It concludes by emphasizing the need for strategic foresight, doctrinal clarity, and cooperative maritime governance to prevent escalation and preserve regional stability.

**Keywords:** Sea-based nuclear deterrence, strategic stability, Pakistan, India, maritime rivalry.

### Introduction

The strategic landscape of South Asia is defined by persistent instability, rooted in unresolved territorial disputes and deep-seated historical antagonisms. Among the most illustrative frameworks for understanding this environment is the concept of the *security dilemma*, which captures how efforts by one state to enhance its security often provoke insecurity in another. The Indo-Pakistani rivalry, shaped by multiple wars and the traumatic events of 1971, exemplifies this dynamic. India's military intervention in East Pakistan transformed a political crisis into a full-scale conflict, ultimately leading to Pakistan's dismemberment. Had Pakistan possessed nuclear deterrence at the time, the Indian offensive might have been deterred. This episode underscores how strategic asymmetry can be exploited during moments of vulnerability.

The theoretical underpinnings of the security dilemma have been articulated by scholars such as John H. Herz, Herbert Butterfield, and Robert Jervis. Herz, who coined the term in his seminal 1950 article in *World Politics*, observed that "wherever such anarchic society has existed—and it has existed in most periods of known history on some level—there has arisen what may be called the 'security dilemma' of men, or groups, or their leaders ... concerned about their security from being attacked, subjected, dominated, or annihilated ... striving to attain security from such attack, they are driven to acquire more and more power to escape the impact of the power of others. This, in turn, renders the others more insecure and compels them to prepare for the worst. Since none can even feel entirely secure in such a world of competing units, power competition ensues, and the vicious circle of security and power accumulation is on." (Herz, 1950)

Butterfield expanded on this logic, emphasizing that war can erupt even between states that are desperate to avoid conflict. He wrote, “the greatest war in history can be produced without the intervention of any great criminals who might be out there to do deliberate harm in the world. It could be produced between two powers, both of which were desperately anxious to avoid a conflict of any sort.” (Butterfield, 1951)

Jervis, in his 1978 work *Cooperation under the Security Dilemma*, argued that “many of how a state tries to increase its security decrease the security of others” and that “one state’s gain in security often inadvertently threatens others.” (Jervis, 1978) His analysis highlights the inherent uncertainty and fear of annihilation that characterizes an anarchic international system. When one state perceives a technological or strategic advantage, it may be tempted to act militarily, believing it can achieve its objectives before the adversary recovers. Such miscalculations risk escalating conventional conflict into the nuclear domain.

This paper contends that Indian naval nuclearization exacerbates strategic instability in South Asia and directly challenges Pakistan’s maritime security posture. In the event of a land-based conflict, India could impose a naval blockade, threatening Pakistan’s energy lifelines and urban centers such as Karachi. The mere possibility of a nuclear strike or successful blockade introduces profound risks to Pakistan’s strategic environment. As a net importer of crude oil and gas, Pakistan’s energy security is particularly vulnerable to maritime disruption.

To counterbalance India’s hegemonic ambitions at sea, Pakistan must invest in its naval capabilities and develop credible deterrence mechanisms. Strategic stability, underpinned by mutual deterrence and sustained diplomatic engagement, remains the most viable path toward enduring peace in South Asia. History demonstrates that India has consistently taken the lead in introducing nuclear capabilities across land, air, and now maritime domains. This trend demands a calibrated and multifaceted response from Pakistan to safeguard its sovereignty and regional stability.

### **The Strategic Rise of India’s Naval Nuclear Force and Its Implications for Pakistan’s Maritime Security**

The maritime strategic landscape of South Asia has undergone a profound shift, driven by India’s determined progression toward a fully realized nuclear triad. Central to this transformation is the deployment of nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines, which have elevated India’s deterrence posture and introduced a new dimension to regional power dynamics. From Pakistan’s perspective, these developments are viewed not merely as defensive enhancements but as deliberate steps toward maritime hegemony and the potential acquisition of a sea-based first-strike capability.

India’s pursuit of a sea-based nuclear deterrent began to take shape with the initiation of the Advanced Technology Vessel program in the late 1980s. This long-term effort culminated in the launch of INS Arihant, the country’s first indigenously constructed nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarine. Commissioned in 2016 after its launch in 2009, Arihant marked India’s entry into the exclusive group of states capable of operating SSBNs and completing a functional nuclear triad (Ramsay (Retd), 2018). The submarine carries the K-15 Sagarika missile, which has a range of approximately 700 kilometers, and the more advanced K-4 missile, capable of reaching up to 3,500 kilometers (DRDO, 2021). These systems significantly enhance India’s second-strike capabilities and strategic reach.

Arihant is soon to be joined by INS Arighat, a more sophisticated platform featuring improved stealth, a larger reactor core for extended endurance, and the capacity to carry additional SLBMs. Although not yet formally commissioned, Arighat is undergoing sea trials and is expected to begin operational patrols in the near future (Wueger, 2016). India’s ambitions extend beyond these two submarines, with plans to construct a fleet of four to five SSBNs and

to develop longer-range SLBMs such as the K-5 and K-6, which are projected to reach distances of 5,000 and 6,000 kilometers respectively (Kristensen & Korda, 2023). These developments reflect India’s strategic intent to establish a resilient and far-reaching sea-based deterrent capable of penetrating deep into adversarial territory.

India’s nuclear naval assets and capabilities as of 2024 are summarized below:

Submarine	Operational Status	Missile Systems	Estimated Range (km)	Strategic Notes
INS Arihant	Commissioned in 2016	K-15 and K-4	700 and 3,500	Fully operational and actively deployed
INS Arighat	Undergoing sea trials	K-4	3,500	Expected to join strategic patrols soon
SSBN-3 to SSBN-5	Under construction	K-4, K-5, and K-6	Up to 6,000	Designed to ensure continuous deterrence capability

(Esin, 2020)

India’s maritime ambitions are further underscored by its aircraft carrier program. INS Vikrant, a 45,000-ton flagship carrier, has already been commissioned and symbolizes India’s growing blue-water capabilities (“INS Vikrant: Inside India’s Newly-Commissioned Aircraft Carrier,” 2022). By 2030, INS Vishal is expected to become India’s first nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, with a displacement ranging between 65,000 and 75,000 tons (Desk, 2024). These platforms are intended to project power across the Indian Ocean and reinforce India’s strategic presence. In addition to carriers, India is modernizing its surface fleet through the development of Visakhapatnam-class destroyers. INS Surat, commissioned in May 2022, is a stealth-guided missile destroyer equipped for multi-domain operations (Kulkarni, 2025). INS Imphal, commissioned in December 2023, features advanced weapons and sensor systems, including surface-to-air missiles, anti-ship missiles, and torpedoes (PIB, 2023). Project-17 Alpha aims to enhance stealth capabilities and reduce radar cross-section, further improving survivability in contested environments (admin, 2012).

The strategic rationale behind India’s naval nuclear expansion is rooted in its desire to ensure survivability and maintain a credible second-strike posture, particularly in response to the evolving nuclear capabilities of China and Pakistan. By deploying SSBNs, India seeks to safeguard its nuclear arsenal from a potential first strike and preserve deterrence stability in a region marked by volatility (Tellis, 2001). However, this approach introduces new risks and challenges. The delicate balance of strategic stability in South Asia is increasingly strained, as India’s assertive posture compels neighboring states to reconsider their own security frameworks.

Sea-based deterrents offer distinct advantages over land-based and air-delivered systems. Their mobility and stealth make them less vulnerable to preemptive strikes, and their ability to remain undetected ensures that retaliatory capabilities are preserved even in the aftermath of a devastating attack. For Pakistan, the operationalization of India’s SSBN fleet necessitates a fundamental reassessment of maritime strategy and defense priorities.

Despite the strategic benefits, India’s naval nuclear ambitions face significant operational and institutional hurdles. Maintaining and securing SSBNs requires substantial investment in infrastructure, robust command-and-control systems, and reliable fail-safe protocols. Compared to established nuclear powers such as the United States, Russia, and China, India lacks extensive experience in managing submarine patrols, which raises concerns about misjudgment

and unintended escalation (IISS, 2023). The deployment of nuclear warheads on mobile maritime platforms also complicates command and control, especially during crises, and may further destabilize an already fragile security environment (Basrur, 2009).

Nevertheless, India continues to invest heavily in its nuclear fleet. In the context of intensifying geopolitical competition in the Indo-Pacific and the perceived need to counterbalance Chinese influence, India's sea-based deterrent is increasingly viewed as a cornerstone of its strategic autonomy and regional leadership (Pant, 2009). The evolution of India's naval nuclear capabilities, from conceptualization to operational deployment, represents a decisive shift in its strategic posture. As New Delhi asserts its maritime dominance, regional actors, particularly Pakistan, must respond with revised doctrines and adaptive policies to preserve strategic equilibrium in South Asia.

### **India's Naval Nuclearization and Pakistan's Maritime Security Posture: Strategic Calculus in a Shifting Regional Order**

India's pursuit of a sea-based nuclear deterrent represents a transformative shift in its strategic orientation, one that transcends conventional defense logic and reflects broader theological, geopolitical, and systemic ambitions. This evolution is not merely a technical enhancement of its nuclear triad, but a deliberate recalibration of India's role in the Indo-Pacific security architecture. The development of nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines (SSBNs), such as INS Arihant and INS Arighat, signals India's intent to establish a survivable second-strike capability, counterbalance regional adversaries, project power across the Indian Ocean Region (IOR), and assert its status as a technologically advanced and globally recognized nuclear power.

At the heart of India's naval nuclearization lies the imperative of strategic resilience. The logic of deterrence, particularly under India's declared No First Use (NFU) doctrine, demands assured retaliation in the event of a nuclear first strike. SSBNs offer stealth, mobility, and endurance, making them far less vulnerable to preemptive attacks than land-based missiles or air-delivered warheads. Their ability to remain submerged and undetected ensures that India's retaliatory capacity remains intact even under the most adverse conditions. The deployment of SLBMs such as the K-15 and K-4, and the ongoing development of longer-range systems like the K-5 and K-6, further enhances India's strategic depth and reach, allowing it to target adversarial assets deep within Chinese territory (Afridi, 2024; Kristensen & Korda, 2023).

India's maritime calculus has also been shaped by China's expanding naval footprint in the Indian Ocean. The deployment of Chinese SSBNs from Hainan Island, the establishment of a military base in Djibouti, and the construction of strategic infrastructure across South Asia—often referred to as the “String of Pearls”—have raised alarms in New Delhi (Rehman, 2024). India perceives these moves as a long-term encirclement strategy and has responded by accelerating its naval nuclearization to deny China strategic superiority. The ability to conduct deterrence patrols and maintain a credible sea-based retaliatory force is seen as essential to preserving strategic equilibrium in the Indo-Pacific.

In parallel, India's evolving second-strike posture is a response to Pakistan's emphasis on tactical nuclear weapons and full-spectrum deterrence. Although Pakistan has not yet fielded a nuclear submarine, its rapid escalation doctrine and geographic proximity to India introduce significant risks of miscalculation (Kapur, 2008). India's SSBN fleet introduces a stabilizing layer to this volatile equation. By adding time and complexity to decision-making during crises, sea-based deterrents reduce the likelihood of impulsive or accidental launches. Moreover, they enable India to absorb a first strike and respond proportionally, thereby restoring deterrence without triggering immediate escalation (Basrur, 2009).

India's strategic vision is deeply anchored in the Indian Ocean, a maritime space that hosts vital chokepoints such as the Strait of Hormuz and the Malacca Strait, and facilitates the transit of nearly 80 percent of global oil trade (Chaturvedi & Rumley, 2015). India seeks to establish itself as a net security provider in this region, and naval nuclearization is central to that ambition. SSBNs enable extended deployments, strategic signaling, and undersea patrols that project power far beyond the subcontinent. This approach aligns with India's 2015 Maritime Security Strategy, which calls for "credible underwater capability" to shape a favorable maritime environment and deter emerging threats (Baruah, 2015).

Beyond strategic utility, India's SSBN program also serves as a symbol of technological maturity and international credibility. By achieving a complete nuclear triad, India joins an elite group of nations that includes the United States, Russia, China, France, and the United Kingdom. This capability strengthens India's case for membership in global nonproliferation regimes such as the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), and reinforces its role in multilateral security frameworks like the Quad. Naval nuclearization thus becomes a tool of defense diplomacy and strategic signaling (Pant & Bommakanti, 2020).

The momentum behind India's naval nuclearization is sustained by a broad consensus across its civil-military establishment. The SSBN program enjoys institutional support from key actors such as the Indian Navy, the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC), and the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO). It also benefits from political continuity, with successive governments endorsing the need to strengthen deterrence against China and Pakistan, regardless of party affiliation (Perkovich, 2001). The program offers long-term funding, bureaucratic prestige, and strategic relevance, making it a durable pillar of India's national security architecture.

However, India's maritime nuclearization introduces new challenges for Pakistan, whose naval doctrine has historically been limited in scope. Confronted with shifting regional dynamics and growing Indian assertiveness, Pakistan is compelled to reassess its maritime strategy. Its coastline, stretching over 1,046 kilometers along the Arabian Sea and anchored by key ports such as Karachi and Gwadar, is vital to its economic and energy security. The proximity to the Strait of Hormuz, through which over 60 percent of global oil trade transits, further elevates Pakistan's strategic stakes (Rais, 2015). As India expands its naval nuclear capabilities, Pakistan must navigate a complex security environment that demands both conventional modernization and strategic innovation.

Pakistan's maritime interests include safeguarding sea lines of communication, protecting exclusive economic zones, ensuring the security of commercial ports, and defending against naval threats from adversaries. Historically, Pakistan has prioritized land-based defense, but the nuclearization of the Indian Ocean and India's expanding naval footprint have compelled Islamabad to reconsider its maritime posture. While Pakistan lacks SSBNs, it may seek to enhance its conventional naval capabilities, invest in undersea surveillance, and explore asymmetric strategies to counterbalance India's growing dominance at sea.

India's naval nuclearization, therefore, is not an isolated development but a strategic inflection point in South Asia's evolving security landscape. It reflects India's desire to shape regional order, assert technological leadership, and insulate its deterrent from vulnerabilities. For Pakistan, the challenge lies in crafting a maritime strategy that is both responsive and resilient, capable of preserving strategic stability in an increasingly contested domain.

#### **Pakistan's Maritime Security Posture in the Shadow of Indian Naval Nuclearization**

The strategic equilibrium in South Asia is undergoing a maritime shift. India's naval nuclearization, marked by the operational deployment of SSBNs and long-range SLBMs, has introduced a new dimension to deterrence dynamics in the Indian Ocean. For Pakistan, this



development presents both a challenge and a catalyst—forcing a reconfiguration of its maritime doctrine, capabilities, and strategic priorities.

As of 2024, the Pakistan Navy comprises a modest but diverse fleet, including approximately ten frigates, eight submarines, and a range of smaller vessels such as missile boats and fast attack craft. Coastal defense batteries and maritime patrol aircraft further support its operational reach (IISS, 2023). Central to Pakistan's underwater capability are three Agosta-90B submarines equipped with air-independent propulsion (AIP) systems, enabling extended submerged endurance and enhancing survivability. These French-origin platforms form the backbone of Pakistan's underwater deterrent, which, though limited, remains credible.

To bolster its undersea warfare capacity, Pakistan is expanding its fleet with the induction of Hangor-class submarines, developed in collaboration with China. These additions signal a strategic intent to deepen maritime resilience and counterbalance India's growing naval footprint (Firepower, 2024).

India's deployment of SSBNs has compelled Pakistan to explore its own sea-based nuclear options. The test of the Babur-3 submarine-launched cruise missile (SLCM) in 2017 marked a significant doctrinal shift. With a range of approximately 450 kilometers and reported nuclear capability, Babur-3 represents Pakistan's initial step toward establishing a second-strike platform at sea (Khan, 2017). Unlike India's SSBN-based approach, Pakistan appears to be following a model reminiscent of early Soviet Cold War tactics, relying on conventionally powered submarines for nuclear delivery (Kroenig, 2018).

This evolution reflects a broader doctrinal transition—from “minimum credible deterrence” to “full-spectrum deterrence.” In response to India's conventional and strategic superiority, Pakistan has begun integrating offensive and defensive technologies aimed at denying Indian naval dominance, particularly in its littoral zones. Coastal defense systems, anti-access/area denial (A2/AD) capabilities, and sea-based cruise missiles such as Harbah and Zarb are deployed from both land and sea platforms to deter incursions and reinforce maritime boundaries (M. S. Ali, 2021).

The strategic significance of Gwadar Port, developed under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), has further expanded Pakistan's maritime depth. Positioned near the Gulf of Oman, Gwadar offers operational flexibility and reduces dependence on Karachi. However, its prominence also renders it vulnerable to Indian naval blockades and submarine patrols. As a result, Pakistan must enhance maritime defenses along the Makran coast and in Balochistan to secure this asset, which now functions as both leverage and liability (Jabeen, 2024).

Pakistan's maritime strategy also includes active participation in multilateral security frameworks. Naval exercises such as AMAN, which involve over 40 countries including China and NATO members, serve to promote collective security and elevate Pakistan's profile as a responsible maritime actor (Ahsan, 2023). Diplomatically, Pakistan has advocated for the Indian Ocean to remain a nuclear weapon-free zone, arguing that India's SSBN deployments destabilize regional security. Through platforms like the United Nations and the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), Pakistan continues to push for norms that constrain maritime militarization (Shehwar & Nizamani, 2024).

Despite these strategic adaptations, Pakistan faces significant limitations. The Navy receives only 10–12 percent of the national defense budget, reflecting a historical bias toward land-based military priorities (Hasan, 2015). Technological constraints further inhibit indigenous production of nuclear submarines or SLBMs, making Pakistan reliant on external support, primarily from China. The concentration of naval assets near Karachi also exposes Pakistan to preemptive strikes or blockades, as demonstrated during the 1971 war.

These constraints suggest that while Pakistan is incrementally adjusting to maritime threats, its sea-based deterrent remains nascent. Matching India's SSBN program in sophistication and scale may not be feasible in the near term. Nevertheless, Pakistan's strategic posture is evolving. Investments in AIP submarines, deployment of Babur-3 SLCMs, and enhancement of coastal defenses represent a layered approach to deterrence, combining conventional modernization with asymmetric capabilities.

Pakistan's maritime security framework now rests on three interlinked pillars: deterrence, conventional defense, and economic security. Babur-3 missiles launched from submarines, frigates and coastal batteries, and the protection of strategic assets such as Gwadar Port and sea lines of communication (SLOCs) form the operational core of this posture. However, gaps remain in infrastructure, sustainability, and C4ISR systems, which are essential for effective command and control in a maritime nuclear environment.

The strategic implications of India's naval nuclearization for Pakistan are profound. The introduction of SSBNs into the Indian Ocean alters the deterrence equation, eroding the mutual vulnerability that previously underpinned strategic stability in South Asia. India's ability to conduct covert patrols and absorb a first strike while retaining retaliatory capacity challenges Pakistan's deterrent credibility, especially in scenarios involving conventional asymmetry (Tellis, 2001).

In this shifting landscape, Pakistan must navigate a complex web of strategic concerns, including alliance politics, resource allocation, crisis escalation, and deterrence management. The challenge is not only to maintain credible deterrence but to do so without exacerbating instability. As India consolidates its naval nuclear triad, Pakistan's response must be measured, adaptive, and rooted in both strategic necessity and regional responsibility.

### **Pakistan's Maritime Dilemma: Strategic Adaptation in the Wake of Indian Naval Nuclearization**

The strategic landscape of South Asia's maritime domain is undergoing a profound transformation. India's deployment of nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines and long-range submarine-launched ballistic missiles has introduced a survivable second-strike capability that reshapes deterrence dynamics in the region. This development not only enhances India's strategic depth but also undermines the principle of mutual vulnerability that previously anchored strategic stability between India and Pakistan. In response, Pakistan faces an urgent need to recalibrate its maritime posture, despite enduring financial constraints and technological limitations.

The testing of the Babur-3 submarine-launched cruise missile marked a pivotal moment in Pakistan's strategic evolution. Although launched from conventionally powered submarines, the Babur-3 represents an embryonic attempt to establish a sea-based deterrent. While India's SSBN fleet remains more credible and survivable, Pakistan's effort nonetheless aligns with the foundational logic of deterrence theory, which emphasizes the restoration of reciprocal vulnerability. However, the reliance on conventional submarines introduces operational risks. These platforms must surface periodically, making them more susceptible to detection and interception. Moreover, the integration of nuclear assets into Pakistan's traditionally centralized command structure presents doctrinal and institutional challenges. The deployment of nuclear weapons at sea requires a shift toward decentralized control, secure communications, and robust command protocols, especially in a maritime environment where attribution is difficult and miscommunication can escalate rapidly.

India's naval modernization has placed the Pakistan Navy under increasing pressure. The presence of Indian SSBN patrols, carrier battle groups, and advanced anti-submarine warfare capabilities compels Pakistan to divert limited resources toward maritime defense. This

reallocation affects broader national priorities and forces difficult trade-offs between conventional modernization and strategic deterrence. Pakistan has initiated procurement of platforms such as Type 054A/P frigates and Hangor-class submarines, alongside the deployment of coastal missile batteries. Yet these efforts require sustained investment, long-term planning, and institutional capacity that remain constrained by budgetary limitations.

Beyond the military domain, the implications of India's naval nuclearization extend into Pakistan's economic and strategic infrastructure. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, anchored by Gwadar Port, is increasingly vulnerable to Indian maritime interdiction. In the event of conflict, India could blockade or disrupt access to Gwadar, threatening Pakistan's energy imports and commercial shipping routes. The securitization of economic corridors has stretched Pakistan's defense apparatus, necessitating expanded naval and aerial coverage in its western maritime zones to protect vital infrastructure and trade flows.

Pakistan's strategic dependence on China has deepened in response to these challenges. Beijing has provided critical support through the joint development of Hangor-class submarines, coastal radar networks, and surveillance technologies. While this partnership enhances Pakistan's maritime capabilities, it also raises concerns about strategic autonomy. In times of crisis, Pakistan's reliance on Chinese military assistance may limit its flexibility and complicate regional diplomacy. India views this cooperation with suspicion, interpreting it as part of a broader effort to constrain its influence in the Indian Ocean.

Doctrinally, Pakistan must undergo a significant transformation. The Strategic Plans Division, historically focused on land-based deterrence, must now incorporate mobile and maritime nuclear platforms into its strategic framework. This requires structural reforms in command and control, inter-service coordination, and specialized training across the Pakistan Navy and Strategic Forces Command. In a maritime environment characterized by stealth, ambiguity, and rapid escalation, the risks of misidentification, accidental launch, and command breakdown are magnified. Institutional resilience and doctrinal clarity are essential to mitigate these dangers. India's submarine deployments have also eroded the prospects for arms control and confidence-building in the region. Unlike land-based nuclear forces, which can be monitored and verified, sea-based assets operate covertly and resist transparency. Pakistan's repeated calls to designate the Indian Ocean as a nuclear-weapon-free zone have been rejected by India, further complicating efforts to establish crisis communication mechanisms or mutual restraint protocols. This asymmetry in transparency and restraint undermines the possibility of stabilizing deterrence through diplomatic engagement.

Faced with these multifaceted challenges, Pakistan must adopt a strategic response that is both credible and sustainable. A hybrid approach that combines asymmetric deterrence, selective modernization, doctrinal flexibility, and diplomatic outreach offers the most viable path forward. Central to this strategy is the institutionalization of sea-based second-strike capabilities. While SSBNs remain beyond Pakistan's immediate reach, diesel-electric submarines armed with low-yield nuclear-capable cruise missiles such as Babur-3 can provide a functional deterrent. The planned acquisition of eight Hangor-class submarines, with enhanced stealth and air-independent propulsion, will improve survivability and endurance in the Arabian Sea. These platforms, when integrated into a coherent doctrinal framework, can reinforce Pakistan's deterrence posture without provoking destabilizing escalation.

### **Strategic Adaptation and Maritime Resilience: Pakistan's Response to Indian Naval Nuclearization**

The intensification of India's naval nuclear capabilities has introduced a new layer of complexity to South Asia's strategic environment, compelling Pakistan to recalibrate its maritime posture. Rather than seeking parity in platform numbers or technological



sophistication, Pakistan is pursuing a nuanced and multi-dimensional strategy aimed at preserving deterrence, safeguarding maritime sovereignty, and mitigating escalation risks. This approach reflects a pragmatic understanding of asymmetry, resource constraints, and the evolving nature of maritime security in the Indo-Pacific.

One of the most immediate imperatives for Pakistan is the enhancement of its Anti-Access and Area Denial capabilities. In the face of India's expanding blue-water navy and its growing expeditionary reach, Pakistan must develop a layered deterrence architecture that can effectively constrain adversarial maneuvering within its littoral zones. This involves the deployment of unmanned systems, coastal defense batteries, and land-based anti-ship missile platforms. Systems such as the Harbah cruise missile and the Zarb coastal missile launcher form the backbone of this deterrent layer, offering precision strike capabilities that can be further augmented through over-the-horizon targeting enabled by satellite reconnaissance and drone surveillance. The strategic placement of mobile missile batteries and fast-attack craft along critical chokepoints, including the Makran Coast and the approaches to Gwadar, can impose significant costs on a superior naval adversary, particularly in the confined waters of the North Arabian Sea.

While submarines provide stealth and strategic depth, the modernization of Pakistan's surface fleet remains essential for presence operations, convoy protection, and maritime policing. The acquisition of Type 054A/P guided-missile frigates from China has significantly enhanced Pakistan's surface warfare capabilities, integrating advanced radar, anti-aircraft systems, and anti-submarine warfare technologies. When combined with Azmat-class missile boats and MILGEM-class corvettes co-developed with Turkey, these platforms enable multi-domain operations and strategic projection in key maritime corridors, especially near the Strait of Hormuz and the Gulf of Oman. Complementing these assets is the expansion of Pakistan's maritime surveillance infrastructure. By extending coastal radar coverage, deploying UAVs such as ScanEagle, and integrating satellite imagery into naval intelligence, Pakistan can improve situational awareness and early warning, which are critical for both peacetime monitoring and wartime responsiveness.

To support the operationalization of sea-based deterrence, Pakistan must institutionalize a maritime command and control architecture under the National Command Authority. The establishment of a Naval Strategic Forces Command would allow for the centralized oversight of nuclear-armed naval platforms, ensuring tactical coordination and strategic coherence. This structure must be reinforced by secure communication systems, dual-key authorization protocols, and routine peacetime exercises to guarantee survivability and control under crisis conditions. The development of such an architecture requires not only technical investment but also political commitment and robust civil-military coordination.

Given its limited indigenous capacity, Pakistan must also deepen strategic maritime partnerships. China and Turkey emerge as pivotal actors in this regard. China's role in the development of Gwadar Port and its provision of naval platforms and surveillance technologies has already contributed to Pakistan's maritime resilience. Continued cooperation in joint patrols, intelligence sharing, and naval technology development can enhance deterrence against Indian assertiveness in the western Indian Ocean. Turkey's involvement in shipbuilding and naval training further diversifies Pakistan's strategic options. Beyond bilateral partnerships, Pakistan should engage with regional institutions such as the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium to promote norms of responsible maritime behavior and advocate for the non-nuclearization of the Indian Ocean, despite anticipated resistance from India.

Strategic signaling remains a vital tool in Pakistan's deterrence repertoire. Through doctrinal ambiguity and selective disclosure, Pakistan can maintain escalation control while compelling

adversaries to account for worst-case scenarios. By neither confirming nor denying the nuclear status of platforms such as Babur-3 or Hangor-class submarines, Pakistan introduces uncertainty into adversarial planning. This ambiguity, when paired with credible capabilities and occasional strategic messaging, reinforces psychological deterrence. Pakistan may also consider refining its nuclear doctrine to emphasize full-spectrum maritime deterrence and reaffirm its capacity to respond across multiple domains in the event of aggression at sea.

The broader implications of these developments extend beyond South Asia. The emergence of naval nuclear weapons in the region, driven primarily by India's SSBN deployments and Pakistan's asymmetric responses, challenges existing arms control frameworks and introduces new risks to global strategic stability. The covert nature of undersea deployments complicates crisis signaling and undermines escalation control. In the absence of deconfliction mechanisms, naval hotlines, or maritime confidence-building measures, the potential for miscalculation increases. The inability to verify the presence or absence of nuclear payloads on submarines exacerbates the "use-it-or-lose-it" dilemma, especially in scenarios where communication is degraded or early warning systems fail. These dynamics heighten the risk of inadvertent escalation, particularly if conventional naval operations are misinterpreted as precursors to nuclear action.

#### **Navigating the Nuclear Tide: Strategic Risks and Response in South Asia's Maritime Domain**

The maritime nuclearization of South Asia has introduced a volatile layer to an already fragile strategic landscape. Unlike land-based military deployments, which are often bounded by geography and governed by established protocols, naval operations unfold across fluid and contested spaces. The presence of nuclear-armed submarines in international waters, coupled with uncertainty surrounding their payloads, creates a uniquely dangerous environment where misperception can rapidly escalate into confrontation. In the fog of maritime conflict, a single maneuver may be misread as a signal of nuclear intent. For instance, the deployment of a Babur-3 equipped submarine by Pakistan during a crisis could be interpreted by India as a deliberate move toward the nuclear threshold. Conversely, Pakistan may perceive India's SSBN patrols near its coastline as rehearsals for a preemptive strike. These perceptions, if left unaddressed, compress decision-making timelines, reduce diplomatic space, and undermine strategic restraint (Mian et al., 2019).

The fusion of conventional and nuclear roles within naval platforms further complicates escalation dynamics. When a vessel carries both conventional and nuclear capabilities, adversaries may struggle to distinguish between routine operations and strategic signaling. This ambiguity heightens the risk of preemptive targeting, especially in high-stakes scenarios where clarity is elusive and time is constrained. The absence of transparency regarding the deployment of nuclear warheads at sea exacerbates this problem, leaving both sides vulnerable to miscalculation.

Beyond bilateral tensions, South Asia's maritime nuclearization reverberates across the broader Indo-Pacific strategic architecture. China's expanding naval footprint in the Indian Ocean Region, marked by submarine patrols, intelligence-gathering missions, and port access agreements, has accelerated India's pursuit of a robust sea-based deterrent. In turn, India seeks to position itself as a net security provider in the region, a role increasingly anchored in nuclear capability. This triangular dynamic between China, India, and Pakistan creates a layered deterrence environment, where actions taken to counter one actor may inadvertently provoke another. The strategic theaters of the Indo-Pacific are becoming increasingly entangled, with overlapping threat perceptions and competing security narratives (Tellis, 2001).

India's participation in the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue and its deepening defense ties with the United States further complicate regional signaling. Technology transfers, joint exercises, and intelligence sharing may embolden India's maritime posture, but they also risk amplifying Pakistan's sense of vulnerability. The unintended consequence of these alignments is a more brittle strategic balance, where deterrence is pursued through capability accumulation rather than mutual understanding.

The implications for global non-proliferation norms are equally troubling. Although neither India nor Pakistan is a signatory to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, their actions shape the normative landscape and influence the behavior of other potential nuclear aspirants. The mobility and concealment of sea-based nuclear platforms challenge verification mechanisms and erode transparency. Unlike fixed land-based systems, submarines evade satellite monitoring and inspection regimes, creating blind spots in global arms control efforts. This opacity may encourage other regional powers, particularly in East Asia and the Middle East, to view naval nuclearization as a viable path to strategic parity (Kristensen & Korda, 2023).

The absence of mutual declarations, hotline protocols, or maritime confidence-building measures among China, India, and Pakistan reveals a critical gap in strategic governance. Without mechanisms for communication and deconfliction, the risk of unauthorized launches, technical mishaps, and inadvertent escalation remains unacceptably high.

Environmental and humanitarian concerns add another layer of urgency. Nuclear-armed submarines operate in ecologically sensitive waters such as the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. An accident involving a nuclear vessel—whether through collision, leakage, or sabotage—could have devastating consequences for marine ecosystems and coastal populations. The proximity of naval bases like Visakhapatnam and Karachi to densely populated urban centers amplifies the humanitarian stakes. In the absence of publicly articulated safety protocols and disaster response frameworks, the region remains ill-prepared for the fallout of a maritime nuclear incident (Dalton & Krepon, 2015).

Despite these risks, the current moment also presents an opportunity for strategic dialogue and institutional innovation. India and Pakistan could explore bilateral agreements to designate the Indian Ocean as a nuclear-free zone, establish maritime confidence-building mechanisms under regional platforms such as SAARC or IORA, and initiate protocols for prior notification of SLBM tests and SSBN patrols. Track-two diplomacy, naval symposiums, and think-tank engagements offer non-political spaces to discuss crisis management and safety standards. The shared vulnerability posed by nuclear-armed submarines should incentivize both states to pursue cooperative maritime practices, even in the absence of political rapprochement.

The strategic implications of South Asia's maritime nuclearization extend far beyond the India-Pakistan dyad. They challenge the integrity of global non-proliferation regimes, reshape regional deterrence architectures, and introduce new escalation pathways in times of crisis. The Indian Ocean, once a relatively stable maritime space, now risks becoming a theater of nuclear ambiguity and strategic miscalculation. To mitigate these dangers, regional and international actors must prioritize transparency, communication, and restraint. While deterrence remains central to nuclear strategy, its extension into the maritime domain demands new norms, doctrines, and safety mechanisms tailored to the unique challenges of underwater warfare.

#### **Policy Pathways for Pakistan's Maritime Security Strategy**

In light of India's expanding naval nuclear capabilities, Pakistan must craft a strategic response that balances deterrence with prudence. A multidimensional approach is required—one that integrates military modernization, diplomatic engagement, legal safeguards, and regional cooperation.

Pakistan should prioritize the development of a credible second-strike capability through conventional submarines equipped with nuclear-capable cruise missiles such as the Babur-3. This approach is more feasible than pursuing SSBNs and allows for strategic ambiguity and survivability. Enhancing the endurance, stealth, and operational range of these platforms through domestic innovation and selective international partnerships will be essential.

Command and control infrastructure must be fortified to ensure the integrity of sea-based deterrence. Pakistan should invest in satellite communications, underwater acoustic networks, and redundant decision-making systems to prevent unauthorized or accidental use of nuclear assets.

To reduce the risk of unintended encounters, Pakistan should initiate maritime confidence-building measures with India. These could include naval hotlines, prior notifications of exercises and missile tests, and protocols for managing incidents at sea. A crisis de-escalation mechanism tailored to the maritime domain would be particularly valuable during periods of heightened tension (Abbasi & Masood, 2024).

Pakistan must also engage actively in multilateral maritime diplomacy. Participation in forums such as the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium, the Indian Ocean Rim Association, and the maritime working groups of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization can help counterbalance regional narratives, promote norms against nuclearization, and expand Pakistan's diplomatic footprint (Bhatti, 2025).

Finally, a comprehensive national maritime security policy is needed to integrate naval modernization with economic, legal, and environmental governance. This policy should focus on securing strategic sea lanes, enhancing port infrastructure, and expanding maritime domain awareness through radar and satellite systems (Samad, 2022).

By pursuing these pathways, Pakistan can strengthen its maritime resilience, contribute to regional stability, and navigate the complexities of nuclear deterrence in the underwater domain with strategic clarity and institutional resolve.

### **Conclusion**

The strategic contours of South Asia have been profoundly reshaped by India's determined pursuit of a sea-based nuclear deterrent. The operational deployment of SSBNs such as INS Arihant and the development of long-range SLBMs like the K-4 and K-6 reflect not only India's aspiration for a credible second-strike capability but also its intent to extend strategic influence across the Indian Ocean and into the broader Indo-Pacific. While these advancements may reinforce India's deterrence posture, they have simultaneously introduced a new layer of complexity and vulnerability into Pakistan's security calculus. Confronted with the emergence of a concealed and survivable nuclear force beneath its maritime periphery, Pakistan must now contend with the risks of crisis instability, doctrinal asymmetry, and technological imbalance. The presence of nuclear assets in congested and shallow regional waters magnifies the potential for misperception, misidentification, and inadvertent escalation, especially during periods of heightened tension.

To navigate this evolving landscape, Pakistan must adopt a strategic posture that is both adaptive and restrained. Leveraging asymmetric capabilities, investing in cost-effective deterrent platforms, and enhancing command and control resilience are essential components of a credible response. Equally important is Pakistan's engagement in regional diplomacy, including the institutionalization of maritime confidence-building measures and active participation in multilateral security forums. These efforts must be complemented by naval modernization, the development of nuclear-capable cruise missiles, and the integration of strategic communication infrastructure.



The implications of India's naval nuclearization extend far beyond bilateral rivalry. As nuclear-powered assets proliferate across the Indian Ocean and Indo-Pacific, the urgency for international attention to maritime governance, crisis de-escalation mechanisms, and arms control frameworks becomes increasingly apparent. Pakistan's response must therefore be situated not only within the context of its strategic competition with India but also within a broader commitment to regional stability and global non-proliferation norms.

Ultimately, the trajectory of maritime nuclearization in South Asia underscores the need for strategic foresight, doctrinal clarity, and diplomatic initiative. The durability of deterrence and the preservation of peace will depend on Pakistan's ability to manage India's maritime ambitions with composure and vision, avoiding the temptations of reactive escalation and instead shaping a maritime strategy that is resilient, responsible, and regionally attuned.

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