ARM RACE AND COLD WAR
NUCLEAR THREAT
INDIA AND NUCLEAR QUESTION?
• Nuclear weapons, along with chemical and biological weapons are known as weapons of mass destruction.

• Nuclear weapons are not treated as weapons of War rather weapons of suicide.
• J. Oppenheimer who is regarded as the father of atomic bomb, when witness the nuclear explosion, has sited verse from Gita, verse number 32 chapter II now I am become death the destroyer of World.
INTRODUCTION

- The nuclear weapon have potential to destroy the life on the earth.

- It is said that the nuclear war will start there will be no distinction between jihadi or Fariaadi (professor Ramesh Thakur).
• Nuclear weapons release thermal energy, electromagnetic waves and the radiations.

• It can create nuclear winter, famine as well as genetic disorders for generations.
INTRODUCTION

• So far legally binding instrument exist with respect to the use of chemical and biological weapons but no such legally binding agreement existing with respect to nuclear weapons.

• Only recently on 7th July a treaty prohibiting the use of nuclear weapon has come to power.
INTRODUCTION

• However, the Treaty create no obligation on States which are not party to treaty.

• Thus none of the nuclear weapons states are under any obligation to destroy their nuclear Arsenal.
Scott D Sagan consider the recent it has nothing more than aspirational document.
NUCLEAR PUZZLE

- The Scholars of the international politics have been engaged in solving the nuclear puzzle.
NUCLEAR PUZZLE

• They have given explanation behind, nations acquiring nuclear weapons as well as Nations relinquishing the nuclear weapon options.
Why Nations acquire nuclear weapons?

1. Deterrence or security.
2. For use in war.
3. To establish their power.
4. It gives diplomatic edge.
5. It is a bargaining tool. Country possessing Nuclear weapon can protect itself from bargain by great powers.
6. It is a matter of prestige, it is a recognition of great powers.
• Why Nations relinquish Nuclear Weapon?
There are three schools of thought

1) Realist
2) Liberals
3) Social Constructivist
1) REALIST

- They relinquish only in a situation when they have extended deterrence or enjoy the security umbrella, for example as long India was under the security umbrella of USSR, it didn't make its own Nuclear weapon.
2) LIBERALS

- Liberals highlight the role of International institutions in containing the security dilemma and providing opportunities to resolve the disputes by dialogue in an institutionalized manner.
2) LIBERALS

- Liberals may suggest the existence of collective security which has reduced the composition of self help at least for smaller countries, they also highlight the role of regime like NPT, CTBT in checking nuclear proliferation.
3) SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST

- They have highlighted the role of norms, taboos, and epistemic communities towards nuclear non-proliferation.

- Social constructivist have analysed the role of norms and values rather than the material structure shaping choices.
• **Nina Tannenwald** has shown the role of taboos (cultural prohibition) since USA use nuclear weapons on Japan, public opinion around the world has goal against the use of nuclear weapon and killing innocent civilians.
3) SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST

- We cannot undermine the role of norms and values in international politics, she gives the example of USA which kept itself engaged in costly war in Vietnam.

- Even at the cost of challenge to its hegemony, it could not dare to use nuclear weapons for the second time.
3) SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST

- It is to be noted that sofar USA is the only country which has used the nuclear weapon in context of recent Treaty on prohibition of nuclear weapons.
• **Nina Tannenwald** in her article in Washington Post has suggested that even when Treaty will not result into the destruction of a single weapon, it will play role in delegitimisation of nuclear weapons.
3) SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST

- The objective of the Treaty is to develop new norm so far the possessions of nuclear weapons is treated as a matter of pride, gradually people will start treating it as the stigma.
• TV Paul has analysed the role of norms in nuclear non-proliferation.
• International agreements like NPT, law related to war do have impact on the choices of nations.
• As suggested by Headley Bull, we are moving towards the evolution of Anarchical society.
• Nations observe the norms because they find norms as beneficial.
• Earnest Hass has highlighted the role of epistemic communities in his article “knowledge power and international community”.
• He defines epistemic community as network of professionals with expertise in particular domain, they form a community because they share normative values.
Epistemic communities do have access to policy making Institutions and have influenced the policies.

We can give the example of ICAN as an estimate community which has played instrumental role in the Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons.
• Discuss the debate between K Waltz and Scott D. Sagan
Nuclear weapon.
K. Waltz is in favour of nuclear proliferation, he believes that the presence of nuclear weapon have ensured that cold war does not turn into hot war.
According to K. Waltz, Gradual Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is not straight to international peace rather conducive when countries presents nuclear weapons, the livelihood of War diseases because countries have deterrence and defensive capabilities.
• Nuclear weapons induce a sense of responsibility on those who possesses nuclear weapons.

• The use of nuclear weapons require lot of caution and hence it becomes hard to start a nuclear war
It may be hard to start the nuclear war but it is not impossible, there is also the possibility of accidental wars.

Hence, nuclear disarmament rather than deterrence is preferable.
According to Sagan military organizations display such organizational behavior which is likely to result into deterrence failure and either lead to deliberate or accidental war.

The future nuclear armed state are likely to be controlled by such countries where civil governments are weak and military enjoy command and control.
The attitude of armed forces is short tempered, they focus on winning war rather than the long term implications hence nuclear war remains a possibility.
Question

• Que. Write short Note on Nuclear Ages?
NUCLEAR AGES

• Nuclear age started with the use of nuclear weapon by USA in world war two.

• Nuclear age is divided into two phases-
Nuclear age is divided into two phases:

- First Nuclear Age
- Second Nuclear Age
FIRST NUCLEAR AGE

- Up till the end of cold war.

- It was less dangerous because of less number of players, All the players had strong state system to control nuclear weapon.
SECOND NUCLEAR AGE

• Since 1989 onwards it is considered more dangerous because of following point:
1989 ONWARDS CONSIDERED MORE DANGEROUS BECAUSE-

- A) More number of countries possesses nuclear weapons countries like Pakistan, North Korea cannot be considered as responsible members of international community.
1989 ONWARDS CONSIDERED MORE DANGEROUS BECAUSE-

- There is a huge possibility of nuclear weapons falling into the hands of non state actors in Pakistan, considering the influence of non state actors over the present state of Pakistan.
1989 ONWARDS CONSIDERED MORE DANGEROUS BECAUSE-

- Unlike India where nuclear command and control is in the hands of civil government, in Pakistan it is under the control of Army.
1989 ONWARDS CONSIDERED MORE DANGEROUS BECAUSE-

• B) The biggest threat in the second Nuclear age is the threat of nuclear terrorism, it has resulted into the initiative known as nuclear security Summit.

• The Nuclear Security Summit now also include the Agenda of Nuclear Safety.
1989 onwards considered more dangerous because-

• C) Disintegration of USSR has resulted into the presence of nuclear weapon in post Soviet Republics, considering the political and economic crisis, there was a huge threat of proliferation of weapons and technology to non state actors.
1989 ONWARDS CONSIDERED MORE DANGEROUS BECAUSE-

- Hence, USA and Russia started Cooperative threat reduction program as a result of Non-hugar agreement however recently Russia has come out of cooperative threat detection initiative sponsored by USA.
1989 ONWARDS CONSIDERED MORE DANGEROUS BECAUSE-

- D) Another challenge in the presence of nuclear black market known as A Q Khan network.
• What is Nth Nation Problem?
WHAT IS N’TH NATION PROBLEM?

• This time was used by Headley Bull which suggests the possibility of Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to Nth Country.

• It is believed that so long even a Single Nuclear Weapon exist we cannot escape from the Nth nation problem.
Question

• Discuss nuclear security architecture at present and do you think the Global Security architecture will change in accordance to India do you think the nuclear word order will involve in the favour of India?
THE GLOBAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE COMPRIZE OF

1) Multilateral Agreements Treaty
THE GLOBAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE COMPRISE OF

2) Bilateral Agreements like New START treaty between USA and Russia.
THE GLOBAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE COMPRIS OF

3) Regional Agreements known as Zones of Peace for Example –SEANFZ
1. Treaty of Pelindaba
   • Which declares Africa nuclear weapon free zone.

2. Treaty of Tlatelolco
   • Which declare Latin America as a nuclear weapon free zone.
THE GLOBAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE COMPRIZE OF

Only South Asia and Middle East regions in developing world without such agreements and rather involved in our service.
Commercial Groups Controlling Export

1. NSG
2. MTCR
3. Australia Group
4. Wassenaar Group
NPT - NON PROLIFERATION TREATY

• Significance-
  • The only legally binding multilateral agreement with almost Universal membership, reflecting global consensus.
  • Only countries out of NPT are India, Pakistan, Israel, North Korea and South Sudan.
Only countries out of NPT are

- India
- Pakistan
- Israel
- North Korea
- South Sudan
NPT - NON PROLIFERATION TREATY

• NPT enjoy global consensus as in 1995 at NPT review conference, NPT has extended indefinitely NPT agreement emerged in 1968 and has entered into force in 1970.
Features of NPT (It has three pillars)

1. Nuclear Non Proliferation
2. Civil Nuclear Cooperation
3. Nuclear Disarmament
Treaty Categorizes Country into Two Groups

1. Nuclear Weapon States
2. Non Nuclear Weapon State
1. NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES

- The states which have denoted their device till 1967 are to be treated as nuclear weapon states. It is a coincidence that P5 is also N5.

- The Possession of nuclear weapon by other state is considered as illegal.
2. NON NUCLEAR WEAPON STATE

- Rest of the states are considered as non nuclear weapon states.
What is their obligation?

They will not go for acquiring nuclear weapon.

What will they gain?

In exchange they will get full civil nuclear cooperation.
Question

• How to ensure that Non Nuclear Weapons state are not diverting the material and know how for weapon Purposes?
How to ensure that non nuclear weapons state are not diverting the material and know how for weapon Purposes?

1. IAEA
1) IAEA

- International Body IAEA is to act as Watch Dog.

- How-
  - Non Nuclear weapon States will have to sign a comprehensive nuclear safeguards agreement with IAEA which will allow inspection rights to IAEA.
1) IAEA

- Note - Under Indo US Civil Nuclear Agreement India has entered into “Facility Specific Safeguard Agreement”.

- India has kept 14 nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguard.
2. CIVIL NUCLEAR COOPERATION

- In exchange of countries giving up their Right to make Nuclear Weapons, they have been promised for full civil Nuclear Cooperation, India has deprived itself from civil Nuclear Cooperation by not becoming part of the treaty.
3. DISARMAMENT

• Article 6 of NPT Treaty expects nuclear weapons states to take effective steps for
  • A) Arms Control and Disarmament
  • However, it does not mention any time bound commitment.
• The recent Treaty on prohibition of nuclear weapon has emerged out of the frustration among non-nuclear weapon states as nuclear weapon countries, as nuclear weapon countries have not taken any step for disarmament.
1. India favours complete disarmament and according to India treaty is just for arms control
INDIA'S OBJECTION

2. Disarmament pillar in the weakest pillar as there is no concrete time-bound commitment for comprehensive Universal Variable Disarmament.
3. India believes it does not end proliferation, it only prevents horizontal proliferation but does not prevent vertical proliferation.
INDIA'S OBJECTION

4. It stops new state from acquiring Nuclear Weapons (Nth National Problem) but it does not prevent nuclear weapon state neither in quantitative terms not in qualitative terms for acquiring nuclear weapons.
According to India it creates the world of nuclear have and have not and this subject countries to the bargaining of nuclear weapons states.
INDIA'S OBJECTION

It is to be noted that bargaining by P 5 Countries especially USA for advancing its economic interest has been the factor behind the temptation of acquiring the Nuclear Weapons by countries like North Korea.
WHAT IS USA’S PERSPECTIVE

- 1. USA is also committed for nuclear disarmament, the practical ways to achieve the goal is -
PRACTICAL WAYS TO ACHIEVE THE GOAL IS

1) Prevent any new nation from acquiring nuclear weapons

(It is also one of the objectives of foreign policy because of any new country acquiring Nuclear weapon limits USA’s Hegemony)
PRACTICAL WAYS TO ACHIEVE THE GOAL IS

• 2) As far as nuclear weapon states are concerned immediate contact should go for bilateral agreement.

• For Example- Arms control agreement between USA and Russia.
PRACTICAL WAYS TO ACHIEVE THE GOAL IS

• 3) To address vertical proliferation we can go for comprehensive test Ban treaty, if we compare India's position with USA.

• India is a Idealistic while USA is a pragmatic country.
We can say that NPT has been a successful arms control agreement because it has considerably slowed down the new nations acquiring nuclear weapon and since 1945, only 9 countries possess Nuclear weapon.
SHOULD INDIA HAD JOINTLY NPT?

- India's opposition to NPT has resulted into nuclear Apartheid against India.

- India has deprived itself from the benefit of civil nuclear cooperation.
SHOULD INDIA HAD JOINTLY NPT?

- More than India, North Korea had taken the practical approach it joined NPT for the benefit of civil nuclear cooperation developed capability and came out of the Treaty by utilizing the exit clause, any country can come out by giving three month notice in rational interest.
CAN INDIA JOIN NOW?

- India is at present Nuclear weapon state, India will not be destroying its nuclear weapons.

- NPT Treaty will not be amended for India, only those countries which have tested before 1967 can be given the status of nuclear weapon state it will set a wrong example for other countries if NPT is amended for India.
CAN INDIA JOIN NOW?

- NPT in its present form has been extended infinitely under NPT Review Conference 1995.

- After signing Indo US civil nuclear agreement India has accepted the obligation which are similar to the obligation under not only NPT but also CTBT.
What are the India's obligation

1. Facility specific safeguard with IAEA
2. Take steps to strengthen non-proliferation regime.
3. Work with USA for earliest conclusion of FMCT.
4. Continue Moratorium on further testing.
THE TREATY
The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty

CTBT
CTBT

- 1. It is a treaty which compliments NPT, it checks vertical proliferation.
- How-
  - It bans testing of nuclear weapon underground.
CTBT

2. It is complementary to PTBT it is called Comprehensive because PTBT bans testing atmosphere and water CTBT will ban testing even in underground.
• CTBT

• 3. CTBT was open for signature in 1996.

• Present status of CTBT
• So far 183 countries have signed and 163 countries have ratified.
The prominent countries out are -

1. USA (Signed but Not Ratified)
2. India (Not Signed but Ratified)
3. Israel
4. Iran
5. North Korea
6. China
WHAT ARE INDIA'S OBJECTIONS

1. It is neither comprehensive nor a testing ban.
The Nuclear Weapon States have developed the capacity to do testing by computer simulations, They do not require physical testing.

Hence, the treaty has lost its relevance.
WHAT ARE INDIA'S OBJECTIONS

2. CTBT also maintains the world of nuclear have and have not
WHAT ARE INDIA'S OBJECTIONS

3. No time bound commitment for disarmament
4. Arundhati Ghosh representative of India at conference of the disarmament had explicitly stated that neither India will join now, nor ever. In 1998 India has acquired nuclear weapon.
SHOULD INDIA JOIN NOW?
INDIA SHOULD JOIN CTBT NOW BECAUSE -

1. India also have developed the Capacity of simulated test and does not need Physical Testing
INDIA SHOULD JOIN CTBT NOW BECAUSE -

2. India is under Self Imposed Moratorium on further Testing.
INDIA SHOULD JOIN CTBT NOW BECAUSE -

3. India is under obligation not to go for further Testing as per Civil Nuclear Agreement.
NOTE

- USA has right to end the operational right to return all the material supplied in case India goes for further testing however there is an exception India has to communicate its intention and if USA is convinced, USA will not cancel the deal.