CONCLUSION
Chapter VI

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Since the discovery of nuclear fission by the German scientists, Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassman in late 1938, the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, and China have been utilizing nuclear energy for war purposes. They have exploded the nuclear weapon device in different times: US in 1945, Soviet Union in 1949, UK in 1952, France in 1957 and China in 1964. As a result there are more than 60,000 nuclear warheads in the nuclear stockpile of the world today. Most of these warheads are owned by the US and the Soviet Union. They are deployed in both the sea and the land. There are plans, especially by the US, to deploy military system in the space which might use nuclear weapons in the future. That plan is widely known as 'Star Wars'. The West European countries have their own space programme called Sureka. The Soviet Union is not far behind in this plan. The Soviet Union has achieved, first breakthrough in the space technology by sending a rocket named Sputnik in 1957. As a result, the whole universe is encircled

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by the nuclear weapons.2

The efforts for stopping these nuclear forces by the UN along with the support of the third world countries have been thwarted by the nuclear weapon countries since 1945. Despite, the nuclear weapon countries have proposed various proposals in the UN. Especially, the US representative, Baruch has proposed a plan to regulate the nuclear arms through an international mechanism controlled by the IAEA. The Soviet Union has opposed it. The Soviet representative, Gromyko, has proposed for stopping the tests and destroy all existing nuclear weapons. The US did not agree to it. In 1949 the Soviet Union has exploded its nuclear device. Thus the question of nuclear tests has become an important agenda in the UN, as the United Kingdom and France have exploded their nuclear devices in the 1950s. The third world countries have protested in the UN and requested the UN to find out a solution to stop their nuclear tests altogether. Therefore, the UN requested them to stop their nuclear test. But, the US, Soviet Union, UK and France did not follow it. The US has explained about its 'atom for peace' plan to the

2 For a good study in this regard, see, Jack Dennis, ed., The Nuclear Almanac, Confronting the Atom in War and Peace (Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1984), pp. 127-207.
UN. However, in 1959, the big four have agreed to control their atmospheric tests through a monitoring system. The UN requested them to implement their agreement by signing a treaty which would keep Antarctica free of nuclear test. This was accepted by them. As a result in 1965 the UN introduced a set of principles and requested both big four and third world countries to seek solution for genuine arms control (see Chapter I, p. 7). By that time China, the third world country, has exploded in 1964 nuclear device.

However, by 1965, a variety of nuclear weapons have been produced and deployed by both the US and the Soviet Union in Europe. However, based on the UN principles the US, Soviet Union and the UK have proposed for an international nuclear non-proliferation regime -- the NPT. The third world countries, especially, the Latin American countries have reached an agreement on the basis of UN principle to establish NWFZ in their region. Thus, the action for preventing the spread of nuclear arms in an inhabited area was started by third world countries. Although, the Latin American countries have started their negotiation after the NPT negotiations, they have reached an agreement in 1967. In the same year, the Outer Space Treaty was also signed. Thus, within five years, the UN has achieved three treaties including a regional arms
control measure with the cooperation of the third world countries of Latin America. The NPT has entered into force only in 1970. Many third world countries have signed the NPT expecting a genuine arms control by the nuclear weapon countries.

Although Article VI of the NPT says that each of the parties to the treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in "good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date", the nuclear weapon countries, did not follow it. As a result, the entire universe is threatened by their nuclear weapons dispersed in and around the world. Apart from their nuclear weapons, they have established their nuclear connections all over the world either by helping a country produce nuclear energy for peaceful or war purpose, or by establishing their nuclear infrastructures in some of the third world countries. A typical example for these two can be noted in the following. The US has connection in the cases of South Africa, Israel and Pakistan nuclear programmes and it has its nuclear infrastructures in many third world countries; Guam, Philippines, South Korea, etc. The Soviet Union has its nuclear connection with Cuba and the Latin American countries. It should be also noted that the Soviet Union has helped China acquire nuclear technology in the late 1950s. France and the UK
have connection with many third world countries and they are involved in nuclear activities both in Latin America and the Pacific region (see Chapter III). China has also joined this group as it has helped Pakistan acquire nuclear as well as missile technology. Very recently, it has also joined Australia to sign a nuclear agreement in the South Pacific region.3

Apart from these connections, they have, as noted above, their nuclear infrastructures deployed at the sea. Today there are 15,490 nuclear warheads belonging to them at the sea: US (9346), Soviet Union (5428), UK (254), France (294). Their, especially, the American and Soviet, naval nuclear weapons have been violating the regional arms control treaties. Tlatelolco and Rarotonga, Sea-based weapon systems are too dangerous because it connects both space and land based forces. For example, the American system established in the Pacific can help all land and space based communication systems which are part and parcel of the US nuclear war strategy. However, the most dangerous forces deployed at sea which would endanger particularly the NWFZ of Latin America, South Pacific and Antarctic are: US Tomahawk and Soviet SS-NX-21 and SS-NX-24 long-range, nuclear armed sea-launched cruise

3 Nuclearic Week (New York), 24 December, 1987; For more details, see Chapter IV, p. 236.
missiles. 4

Moreover, the US navy also operates 168 nuclear reactors in 149 vessels, including ballistic missile submarines, attack submarines, aircraft carriers, cruisers, and a single deep-research vessel. The Soviet Union is using its nuclear reactors in the sea as well as space. For example, the Soviet Union had launched about 25 satellites carrying nuclear reactors. They are known as Romashka and Topaz. They produce about 150 kilowatts of thermal or about 40 kilowatts of electrical power, and they are fuelled with about 50 kg of highly enriched uranium. The US also uses similar satellites in the space most of them connected with sea-based forces. The nuclear satellites have been operating since 1974. The Soviet Union operates two nuclear satellites at a time. The US uses four such satellites at a time which are in the mission of ocean surveillance. 5 Thus, the nuclearization of the sea and outer space have become a new threat for the regional arms control treaties: Antarctic, Outer Space, Sea-bed, Tlatelolco and Rarotonga.

Antarctic treaty is a collective effort for using the Antarctic continent for scientific purposes. Nuclear

4 Jack Dennis, n. 2, pp.
activities are not permitted there. However, some bases established by the big powers can be used for communicating weapon-system related communication centres both on earth and in the space. Third world countries like India and China have joined the Antarctic regime. Many third world countries are not members. Especially Malaysia has opposed the Antarctic treaty and demanded the UN to formulate a treaty which would make Antarctica a place of common heritage in the real sense. Antigua and Barbuda, the small third world countries have supported Malaysia. In regard to the nuclear free provision it should be noted that the treaty permits nuclear forces that connects Antarctica from both the sea and the space. There is no mention in the treaty about nuclear infrastructures and their impact on the Antarctic regime.

In the name of scientific activities it permits the military related bases which are directly linked with the nuclear-related bases deployed in and around Antarctica (see Chapter II).

Also, for Outer Space treaty many third world countries are signatories. Outer Space treaty also aims to have nuclear free outer space, but practically the outer space is getting nuclearised (see Chapter II). Especially the star wars programme is opposed by many third world countries. Also other arms control agreements
relating to the outer space arms control measures are not maintained satisfactorily by the big powers, especially by the US. Other arms control measures which are violated or interpreted differently for the convenience of using outer space for military purposes are Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) and Anti Ballistic Missile treaty (ABM). By 1994, the US is planning to implement the star wars programme. The Soviet Union has a plan of camouflaging the star war strategy of US in the space by hitting or blocking the satellite-based communication system on which the star war plan would depend very much.

Sea-bed treaty has the same problem as the sea has been connected with all nuclear installations of both the Soviet Union and the United States. Especially, third world countries those who are signatories for the sea-bed treaty note that the sea-bed cannot be separated from the ongoing nuclear arms race at sea in general. Thus, the leading countries at sea: US, Soviet Union, UK, France and China are opposed by many third world countries in the sea-bed review conferences. In the second review conference held at Geneva, Switzerland, from 12 to 23 September, many delegates from third world countries had stressed for the complete exclusion of the sea-bed from the nuclear arms race in general. However, for preventing

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sea-based nuclear arms, the US has not agreed. In June 1988, the US has rejected the third world proposal of including sea-based nuclear weapons in the arms control agenda of both the US and the Soviet Union.

Tlatelolco and Rarotonga treaties have established nuclear free zone in an inhabited areas of third world. Latin America, being a hot-bed of politics has preserved its zone status for about twenty years now. However, the nuclear submarine movements of the UK and the nuclear installations of the US in Puerto Rico are against the interest of the zone. The UK was reported to have used nuclear submarine in the Falkland conflict with Argentina. Moreover, the US has nuclear-related military bases in Guantanamo, the Cuban territory, which was leased out to the US in 1903. The Soviet Union also maintains its nuclear infrastructures in Cuba. More importantly, the naval nuclear movements and its related bases established at sea, and the land-based nuclear forces of the US which can reach any part of the zone are against the survival of the Latin American zone. It should be noted that California based naval nuclear stations which is connecting many nuclear aircrafts centres of the US is operating its troopments in Latin American water and air space. The South Pacific nuclear-free zone has come to exist recently in 1985 in the Pacific. The twenty first century
is termed as a Pacific century. Both military and economic activities are directed towards the Pacific. Because of the reason, the already established powers in the Pacific, US, France and UK have not signed the treaty as it might lead for the end of their influence in the region. The nuclear activities of these powers are still continuing in the region. However, the US nuclear related bases in Australia are only the direct threat for the existence of SPNFZ. The France has a long-term plan of using this region. It has tested its nuclear devices at Mururoa Atoll even after the Rarotonga treaty came to exist in 1985. Recently on June 17, 1988 it has conducted one more test in the Atoll. Thus the US and the French nuclear activities affect the interest of SPNFZ at present. Moreover, UK has its nuclear connection with Australia, the rich country in uranium resources in the world. Australia has more than forty US nuclear installations and therefore it connects the entire Pacific in a crisis period. Moreover, Australian nuclear bases are targeted by the Soviet Union. Twenty per cent of the nuclear forces are maintained in the Pacific by the Soviet Union in order to counter the American nuclear influence in Hawai, Guam and American Samoa. These US forces and the Soviet Pacific forces can reach the SPNFZ.
Finally, the proposed NWFZ for Europe, Africa, Mediterranean, Indian Ocean, South Asia, and Middle East are yet to gain the political supports of both zone and nuclear weapon countries. However, the chances of establishing zone are not bright, as they have direct involvement in their region by the nuclear weapon countries. Europe is the hot-bed of nuclear arms race by both the US and the Soviet Union. It has two independent nuclear weapon powers: UK, France, which have a new plan of jointly producing many nuclear weapon systems in the future in the light of INF agreement between the US and the Soviet Union. Also, the European space programme, Eureka, which might lead to deploy the European based military bases in the space can jeopardise the interest of NWFZ in Europe. For establishing Africa NWFZ, many third world countries are interested. But South Africa is involved in nuclear activities. It was reported in the UN by the Soviet Union to have exploded nuclear weapon device in 1977, in Kalahari desert. It has political links with both the US and the UK which might invite nuclear arms race in the future if the South African government requires so. Mediterranean NWFZ proposal depends upon the big powers. The US and the Soviet Union are operating their naval forces in this region. Egypt has connection with China, as it helped Libya obtain nuclear technology by signing an agreement with China. Also, it has connection with the US. Egypt
is also helped by the US for obtaining delivery systems.

The Sri Lankan proposal for Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is facing problems, as both the US and the Soviet Union have involved in this region. There are more than 2000 nuclear warheads aboard ships and submarines which are patrolling Indian Ocean. Also, the littoral states of Indian Ocean have nuclear infrastructure of US and Soviet Union and France. They are deployed in Australia, Diego Garcia, Oman and Seychelles (by the US), Vietnam, South Yemen, Ethiopia (by the Soviet Union), Djibouti and Reunion (by France) (see Chapter 1). The NWFZ proposal for South Asia proposed by Pakistan is yet to gain the political support of the region. However, the nuclear connection between US and the Pakistan is a disruptive factor in this region. Also, India, being a technologically advanced country in this region, has a stable friendly relation with the nuclear weapon country, the Soviet Union. Although India has no intention to produce nuclear weapons at present, a tragic change in Pakistani nuclear programme may invite the nuclear arms of the big powers to the region or stimulate the Indo-Pak nuclear arms race. NWFZ proposal for Middle East has several problems as the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries have deployed their nuclear forces in this region. Also Israel has involved in sensitive activities. It is reported to have basement
nuclear missiles. Also, it has tested an intermediate range nuclear missiles, known as Jericho II (see Chapter I). Israel has a political link with both the US and the UK which might also involve the nuclear weapon powers in this region. Thus, the increasing involvement of nuclear weapon countries in many regions of the world poses a great threat to both established and proposed NWFZ of the world. Therefore, an universal nuclear non-proliferation regime should be achieved by third world countries along with the support of the United Nations. The nuclear weapon countries, as the United States and the Soviet Union have succeeded by signing the INF treaty, should cooperate for this effort. The new nuclear non-proliferation regime should aim to curb the nuclear arms race; to prevent a nuclear war; and to eliminate nuclear weapons. If this is achieved there might emerge a way for a nuclear free world.