Preface

The instrument of sanctions has become frequent choices of American foreign policy options, attracting robust debates on the efficacy and relevance of the sanctions as a standalone instrument in achieving various American foreign policy objectives including nonproliferation objectives. The studies so far carried out in the past on various cases on many countries exhibited varied range of effectiveness of the instrument of sanctions, from success to failure, but often indicating failure of the much-employed instrument.

Drawing inspiration from the debates on the effectiveness and usefulness of instrument of sanctions, the present study is carried out on India, focusing on the case of two largest sets of sanctions, the Pokhran-I and Pokhran-II non-proliferation sanctions. Primarily, the study is slated to investigate the effectiveness of the U.S. non-proliferation sanctions in achieving its non-proliferation objectives in India. Essentially, the focus is on how far the U.S. restrained and constrained the Indian policy makers in attaining its non-proliferation goals in the case of Pokhran-I and Pokhran-II non-proliferation sanctions. Meanwhile, the study attempts a comparative analysis of nature and mode of operation of the Pokhran-I and Pokhran-II nonproliferation sanctions, as both the sanctions worked under different milieu. While the Pokhran-I episode was primarily marked by India’s technological dependency and cold war politics, the Pokhran-II episode was marked by technological self-reliance, post cold war context and economic stability.

Sanctions being a double-edged sword, studying the impact of sanctions on the economic interests of imposer naturally forms part of the study. The evolution of U.S. nuclear non-proliferation policy and the consequent nonproliferation approaches, the most important one being the sanctions approach, studied additionally, in the context of India’s Pokhran-I nuclear test that became a primary and immediate catalyst to reshape the U.S. nuclear nonproliferation policy and establish stringent sanctions laws including the Glenn Amendment sanction, which was later invoked for the first time against the
India’s Pokhran-II nuclear tests in 1998. Interestingly, this Pokhran-II sanctions episode became acid test to effectiveness and relevance of the same Pokhran-I-driven Glenn Amendment sanctions. In the process of study of Pokhran-I and Pokhran-II episodes of sanctions, politics of discriminatory use of sanctions policy by U.S. on India and Pakistan gets revealed.

Narrative, comparative and analytical methods have been employed to carry out the present study. The following hypotheses are tested in the course of study: (i) sanctions, particularly nuclear non-proliferation sanctions, may not be effective, should there be disputes especially that affect the target country’s security and sovereignty; (ii) with the global environment based more on interdependence in terms of economy and technology, the sanctions are hoped to be effective on the countries imposed but also simultaneously it has adverse effect on the imposer too; (iii) paradoxical objectives of the sanctioner on the target state may damage the successes of the sanctions; (iv) success and failure of a sanction may be directly proportionate to weak or strong political, economic stability and technological development of the target state; and (v) the trend of selective and vertical proliferation of the U.S., in spite of the end of cold war politics, weaken the credibility of U.S. nonproliferation objectives and also weaken the cause of nuclear disarmament.

The chapter-I introduces, as a prelude to the subsequent chapters, the history of instrument of sanctions as a tool for American foreign policy purposes, particularly for non-proliferation purpose, and presents a debate on effectiveness and relevance of instrument of sanctions in American foreign policy. The imposition of a rudimentary non-proliferation sanction on India’s Pokhran-I nuclear test and its effectiveness are dealt with in chapter-II and part of the chapter-III. Major portion of the chapter-III deals with the change in the approaches of US non-proliferation policy and establishment of domestic and international non-proliferation sanction regimes at the instance of India’s Pokhran-I nuclear test in 1974. The chapter-IV presents the imposition of Glenn
sanctions against Pokhran-II nuclear tests and the impact of those sanctions on India, the target, as well as the U.S., the imposer. The chapter-V deals with the intense nuclear diplomacy between India and the U.S., consequent gradual lifting of sanctions and the politics involved in the lifting of sanctions, evaluating the overall success of sanctions in Pokhran-II case. While all the hypotheses are tested throughout the chapters, functioning of sanctions in the case of Pokhran-I and Pokhran-II nuclear tests is compared and observations on this American experiment of non-proliferation sanctions in India are drawn in the concluding chapter.

I record my gratitude to Jawaharlal Nehru University for facilitating a short-term field trip to the United States. This field trip, because of limitation of time, had to be focused at relevant location of source material. Essentially, the field research was done at research centres and libraries located in Washington, D.C. and Maryland. Certainly field research enriched the content of the doctoral thesis. Particularly, the numerous visits made to the Library of Congress, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), the Lauinger Library of the Georgetown University, Brookings Institution, Economic Policy Institute, The American Enterprise Institute, SAIS Library, Council on Foreign Relations, Centre for Non-proliferation Studies and Center for the Security Policy in Washington, D.C. and Maryland gave access to relevant and significant primary and secondary research sources that were lacking in India for the doctoral thesis.

I also record my gratitude to the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) for awarding fellowship, whereby relevant source materials were consulted for the doctoral research from the libraries and research centres in New Delhi, Chennai and Hyderabad.