ABSTRACT

Nuclear proliferation is not a South Asia specific problem; in fact, it is a problem at the global level. In South Asia, India and Pakistan are the two states among the seven countries which due to their nuclear ambitions have nuclearised the region.

Indian nuclear programme originated at the Institute of Fundamental Research in Bombay. Thereafter, Department of Atomic Energy was established. India solely pursued a civil nuclear programme in the 1950s which was meant for the civil uses of atomic energy – production of electricity. Pakistan in the beginning also started a nuclear programme only for the civil uses of atomic energy. Hence, under both Indo-Pak nuclear programmes, various nuclear reactors have been established to meet the energy requirements.

Nevertheless, peaceful nuclear programmes of India and Pakistan bent towards nuclear weapons production in the 1960s and 1970s, respectively. In fact, the 1964 Chinese nuclear test provided a spark to India’s nuclear weapons programme evident from the fact that a special debate in parliament was held during the period to decide whether India should pursue a nuclear weapons programme or not. In the 1970s, India’s nuclear programme made significant developments. Notably, in 1974, India conducted a nuclear test (which is called Pokhran Test due to the fact that it was conducted at a place in Rajasthan, Pokhran). This is also known as Peaceful Nuclear Explosion (PNE). Pokharan-I provided an additional stimulus to Pakistani weapons programme which had been already motivated in 1971 due to well known progress of Indian nuclear programme and also due to the public declaration by key leaders in India that they must acquire nuclear arms.
After Pokhran-I, Pakistani Prime Minister, in a meeting of Pakistani scientists, ordered for a nuclear weapons programme.

In its nuclear weapons programme Pakistan had been assisted by both China and North Korea. In early 1976, the first preparation for eventual nuclear tests started in Pakistan and, in 1977, a likely test site was selected and the nuclear programme was pursued with a new vigour.

However, both India and Pakistan till late 1970s had adopted a nuclear posture but denied it publicly, more specifically at global level. They kept on insisting that they were not making any effort to acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons. Thus, they pursued a policy of peaceful nuclear programme directed to meet the energy requirements.

However, during the 1980s, both India and Pakistan made steady progress in their weapons programme. Pakistan went a step ahead of India in a unique direction in this regard as it remained busy on a larger scale in nuclear bomb making activities, particularly in cold nuclear tests and also remained involved in international nuclear smuggling. India too tried to conduct more nuclear tests in 1982 as scientists demanded further nuclear tests in order to master the technology. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at the first move authorized the nuclear tests. But within a short span of time she changed her mind and cancelled the authorization. Further, by early 1980s, India launched an ambitious programme to develop and produce ballistic missiles. During that time, (particularly in between 1981-84) India was especially concerned about Pakistan’s nuclear activities which were posing a great threat to India. It took into consideration the development of new varieties of nuclear weapons and by 1990s, India was having an air-deliverable nuclear bomb.
By 1980s missile arms race was also started between India and Pakistan which in the 1990s reached its climax. Both the states remained busy in manufacturing new varieties of sophisticated missiles of different ranges.

During the 1990s, India and Pakistan, taking keen interests in nuclear weapons, started nuclear weapons tests preparations. The nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan reached its highest peak in 1998 when India conducted nuclear tests which was soon followed by Pakistan.

In 1999, Kargil conflict erupted between India and Pakistan who had already fought three wars earlier; in 1947, 1962 and 1971. The remarkable point during the Kargil conflict was that there was a lurking danger over the use of nuclear weapons during the conflict. However, the conflict was resolved due to the US intervention.

During the post 1998 era, the nuclear arms race between the two countries did not check as both have been engaged in stockpiling nuclear arsenals along with the testing of different series of missiles. Thus, there was an urgent need to check nuclear proliferation in the region by strengthening and finding ways and means towards disarmament and arms control.

Various disarmament and arms control measures have been taken at the global level. Special attention is being focused on the nuclear non-proliferation also. Most of the disarmament measures in this regard include the efforts made by the super powers. After the end of the Second World War, super powers agreed on the basic principles for disarmament. On June 26, 1945, the Charter of the United Nations was signed and provisions for disarmament were written into it. Soon after the signing of the Charter; two nuclear explosions in Hiroshima and
Nagasaki on 6 and 9 August 1945, respectively, brought to fore an entire problem on the regulation of armaments.

From 1945 to 1962 several disarmament efforts were made but no international treaty could be concluded among the super powers on disarmament except the 1959 Antarctica Treaty which included disarmament measures for the Antarctica region only. Since 1962, a host of international disarmament and arms control treaties, agreements and conventions have been concluded. However, none of these measures could prevent India and Pakistan from going nuclear.

Many efforts towards disarmament and arms control have also been tried in South Asia from outside of the region. The US imposed certain amendments as Symington, Pressler and Glenn Amendments. But these could not stop the Indo-Pak nuclear weapons programme. On the other hand, a limited number of disarmament efforts had also been tried by the countries of the region, for example, Pakistan’s proposals for a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in South Asia, which was not accepted by India. Thus, the result remained a big zero. However, certain significant progress was also made in South Asia for nuclear disarmament, which included the Confidence Building Measure between India and Pakistan, for instance, Indo-Pak Agreement on Non-Attack on Each Others Nuclear Installations and Facilities.

Yet, these efforts did not hinder Indo-Pak nuclear weapons programme either in pre-1998 nuclear tests era or post-1998 nuclear tests era. Moreover, the efforts which were especially made by the super powers just before the end of the cold war period, like compelling India and Pakistan to sign the CTBT, and establishment of a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in South Asia, also met with a fiasco because in 1998 both India and Pakistan conducted nuclear weapons tests.
The Indo-Pak arms race had a vital impact resulting in a setback to the nuclear disarmament and arms control efforts. On the one hand, super powers made several disarmament and arms control efforts in South Asia, on the other hand, both India and Pakistan continued their nuclear weapons programmes. When super powers asked India and Pakistan to sign the NPT, India maintained the opinion that NPT is discriminative, as it differentiates between Nuclear and Non-Nuclear Weapons States. India took the stand that NPT allows the Nuclear Weapons States to hold the nuclear weapons, simultaneously, it puts restrictions even on the right of Non-Nuclear Weapons States to possess peaceful nuclear tests. Hence, she refused to sign the treaty. In response to Indian stand Pakistan also, ultimately, refused to sign the NPT and held that it was indeed discriminative. In the last decade of the 20th century when the super powers pressed India and Pakistan to sign the CTBT both India and Pakistan also refused to sign it and exploded the nuclear bombs in 1998.

In fact, the super powers were also having many geo-strategic, political and economic interests towards South Asian nuclear proliferation. Due to this reason also they could not effectively handle the issue of nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia. For example, during the cold war era, the US v/s Soviet Union nuclear politics towards South Asia chiefly revolved around their cold war politics. Hence, the US policy towards the region was mainly based on the policy of ‘Containment of Communism’.

Thus, the role of super powers in the context of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and disarmament towards South Asia also was not away from the loopholes. Hence, the remedy lies in reconsidering and refocusing nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament issues. Ways and means should be found out in
order to reach an agreement for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons of any sort and the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons should be defused. There are a host of other remedies to contain nuclear proliferation.

**Plan of the Study**

The study consists of five chapters, taking up the problem in some detail, so that the core of the topic may be understood in order to reach a plausible remedy.

The first Chapter is devoted to the history of nuclear proliferation in South Asia which includes the study of nuclear policies of India and Pakistan. The history of India’s nuclear programme is traced from the pre-independence era which goes up to 1980s. It inculcates the two dimensional study of India’s nuclear programme – atomic energy programme and nuclear weapons programme. The history of Pakistan’s nuclear programme also includes the study of Pakistan’s civil nuclear programme and nuclear weapons programme. The presentation of the data in this Chapter is made mostly using the historical and chronological methods of study.

The second Chapter is again based on the historical method as we can understand the present by learning our past. The study in this Chapter includes a historical background of Indo-Pak nuclear programme, between 1981-1998, which includes a two dimensional study of atomic energy programme as well as nuclear weapons programme of both the countries. Moreover, special place in this Chapter has been provided to discuss the 1999 Kargil conflict between India and Pakistan and the Indo-Pak missile arms race. Further, North Korea had aided Pakistan in its’ missile development programme. Hence, at the end of this Chapter Pakistan-North Korean axis in this context is discussed.
The third Chapter brings to light the history of disarmament and arms control at the global level. It, generally, contains the beginning of discussion on the role of the super powers towards global disarmament and arms control efforts up to 1962. Thereafter, a particular study of the main global disarmament and arms control treaties, agreements and conventions is made using chronological method and analytical method.

The fourth Chapter is an attempt to study the nuclear disarmament and arms control efforts in South Asia. It includes, mainly, the agreements and conventions as reached between India and Pakistan including the Indo-Pak stand on NPT and CTBT, and Draft Nuclear Doctrine of India. Moreover, some arms control measures are imposed on South Asia from outside of the region – the US sponsored Pressler, Symington and Glenn Amendments – are also included in this Chapter.

The fifth Chapter brings to light the interests of the super powers towards nuclear proliferation in South Asia and their efforts towards disarmament and arms control. This Chapter tries to answer some of the questions like: How the problem of nuclear proliferation originated and developed at the global level? What where the interests of the super powers in the region, especially, towards nuclear proliferation? What sorts of efforts were made by the super powers towards South Asian nuclear proliferation? And which states deviated from the path of nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia?

Further, the role of super powers towards South Asian nuclear proliferation, including their interests as well as non-proliferation efforts (1991-2000), have been analyzed and critically discussed in this Chapter using historical, comparative and chronological methods of study.
At the end of this work a conclusion is made which contains a critical assessment of the disarmament and arms control efforts towards South Asia including revelations and findings. Lastly, some proposals for a future strategy in this regard are put forward in order to find a plausible solution to the problem.