

PROSPECTS OF ARMS CONTROL AND CBMS BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

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Outline

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- Failure of Strategic Restraint Regime (1998-99)
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Introduction

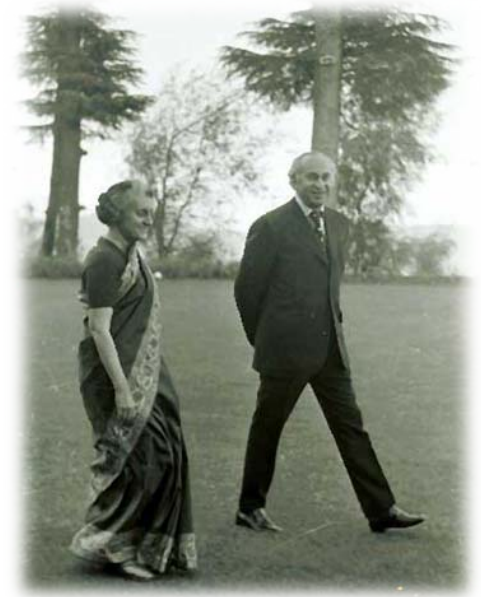
- Prospects of arms control and CBMs between India and Pakistan are not good:
- Strategic anxieties between India and Pakistan are growing – from both perspectives.
- Trends towards arms race, security competition rather than conflict resolution and restraint.
- Potential for new CBMs and even arms control are feasible despite the poor prospects.

Brief Overview of CBMs (1947-99)

- India and Pakistan have never resolved an issue bilaterally; in fact, most military crisis were defused through outside intervention.
- Both have a record of CBMs and agreements but poor record of implementation. Each CBM has a crisis as a point of origin.
- History of trust damaging episodes.
- Global vs. regional audience.

Major Agreements and Treaties

- Karachi Agreement, 1949
- Indus Water Treaty, 1960
- Tashkent Agreement, 1966
- Simla Agreement, 1972
- Lahore Declaration, 1999
- Islamabad Accord, 2004



Regional Proposals

- ▣ South Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone, Nov. 1974
- ▣ Joint Renunciation of Acquisition of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, 1978
- ▣ Mutual inspections of nuclear facilities, 1979
- ▣ Simultaneous acceptance of IAEA 'full scope safeguards, 1979
- ▣ Simultaneous accession to the NPT, 1979
- ▣ Bilateral nuclear test-ban treat, 1987
- ▣ Multilateral conference on nonproliferation in South Asian in 1987 and 1991.

Nuclear and Military CBMs

- Prohibition of attack against nuclear installations and facilities, Dec 1988
 - ▣ Exchange of lists of nuclear installations
- Agreement of Prevention of Airspace Violations, 1991
- Agreement on Advanced Notification on Military exercises, Delhi, 1991.
- Joint declaration on the Complete Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, 1992
- Joint Anti-Terrorism Mechanism, Sept 2006
- Hotlines
 - ▣ DGMO hotlines
 - ▣ Foreign secretary hotlines
 - ▣ Maritime security hotline

Lahore MOU

- Bilateral consultations
 - Advance notification in respect of ballistic missile flight tests
 - National measures to reducing the risks of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons under their respective control.
 - Continue to abide by their respective unilateral moratorium on conducting further nuclear test explosions
 - Conclude an agreement on prevention of incidents at sea
 - Periodically review the implementation of existing CBMs
 - Review of the existing communication links
 - Engage in bilateral consultations on security, disarmament and non-proliferation issues
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- Technical details of the above measures will be worked out by experts before mid 1999, with a view to reaching bilateral agreements.

Failure of Strategic Restraint Regime (SRR, 1998-99)

- SRR Concept
 - Derived from U.S. minimum deterrent
 - Nuclear and conventional force restraint are connected
 - Formalized regional non-deployment
- Conventional Force Restraint
 - Designation of offensive forces
 - Designation of low-force zones
 - Notification of peacetime movement to low force zone/battlefield
 - Proportionate force reduction
- Nuclear restraint: non-mating and geographic separation.
- Missile restraint: range payload, flight testing, missile defense/SLBM, and non-mating of nuclear warheads with missile.
- Establishment of national risk reduction centers (NRRC)

Trajectories: Good, Bad and Ugly



**THE
GOOD**

**THE
BAD**

**AND THE
UGLY**

Good

- India unlocks and agrees to a renewed dialogue and CBMs in Lahore MOU and give fair consideration to SRR.
- Further progress is made on political and 'people-to-people' contact.



Bad

- Status quo of tension is maintained
 - ▣ slow arms race continues; region gets closer to deployment.
 - ▣ conventional force deployments persist
 - ▣ nuclear strategic weapons deployment move into an ambiguous state of deployment.
 - ▣ Pakistan continues to drag feet with regard to arms control.



Ugly

- ❑ Technical innovation leads to full deployment of strategic arsenals, including China.
- ❑ More robust naval development in the Northern Arabian Sea; missile defenses.
- ❑ Hot pursuits along LOC.
- ❑ Cold Start fortification of international border.
- ❑ Pakistan (with support from allies) scuttle international efforts toward arms control.



Prospects of CBMs and Arms Control

- A renewed Joint Anti-Terrorism Mechanism
 - ▣ Lesson learned from Mumbai
- National Risk Reduction Centers (NRRC)
 - ▣ Lesson learned from Mumbai
- Maritime CBMs
 - ▣ INC SEA delineation of maritime boundaries; anti-piracy cooperation and etc.
 - ▣ Lessons learned from Mumbai
- Elimination of short-range ballistic missiles
 - ▣ HATF-1 and Prithvi-1, phase 1
 - ▣ HATF-2 and Prithvi-2, phase 2

