



IPCS NIAS Nuclear Workshop

Evolution of Nuclear Strategies & Doctrines

A Covenant Sans Sword

In declaring her nuclear doctrine and operationalising the deterrent, India pledged voluntary renunciation of the First Use of Nuclear Weapons. On the face of it such a disavowal defies conventional wisdom. To deliberately temper a sword and then to abjure its first use would appear to contradict sovereign morality

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Power and Self Preservation

- **Imperative of a Social Contract:** An aura of awe and visible power
- “And covenants without the sword are but words and are of no strength to secure a man at all”
(Hobbes, Leviathan 1651)
- **Logic of No First Use of Nukes**
 - Unprecedented destructive promise
 - Influence and coercive potential
 - Ability to deter conflict beyond the conventional
 - **Political Tool of War Avoidance**

The Cold War Paradigm – NSC 68 & its Corollary

- **Dilemma:** Determinants of the use of power in general and nuclear weapons in particular
- **Motivation:** Violent half a century - two world wars, two revolutions, collapse of five empires, degeneration of two imperial powers, pace of technology, global power distribution and the clash of ideologies
- **Strategic logic:** Low level threats could invite a nuclear response – *where was it leading to - the Peace of the Grave?*

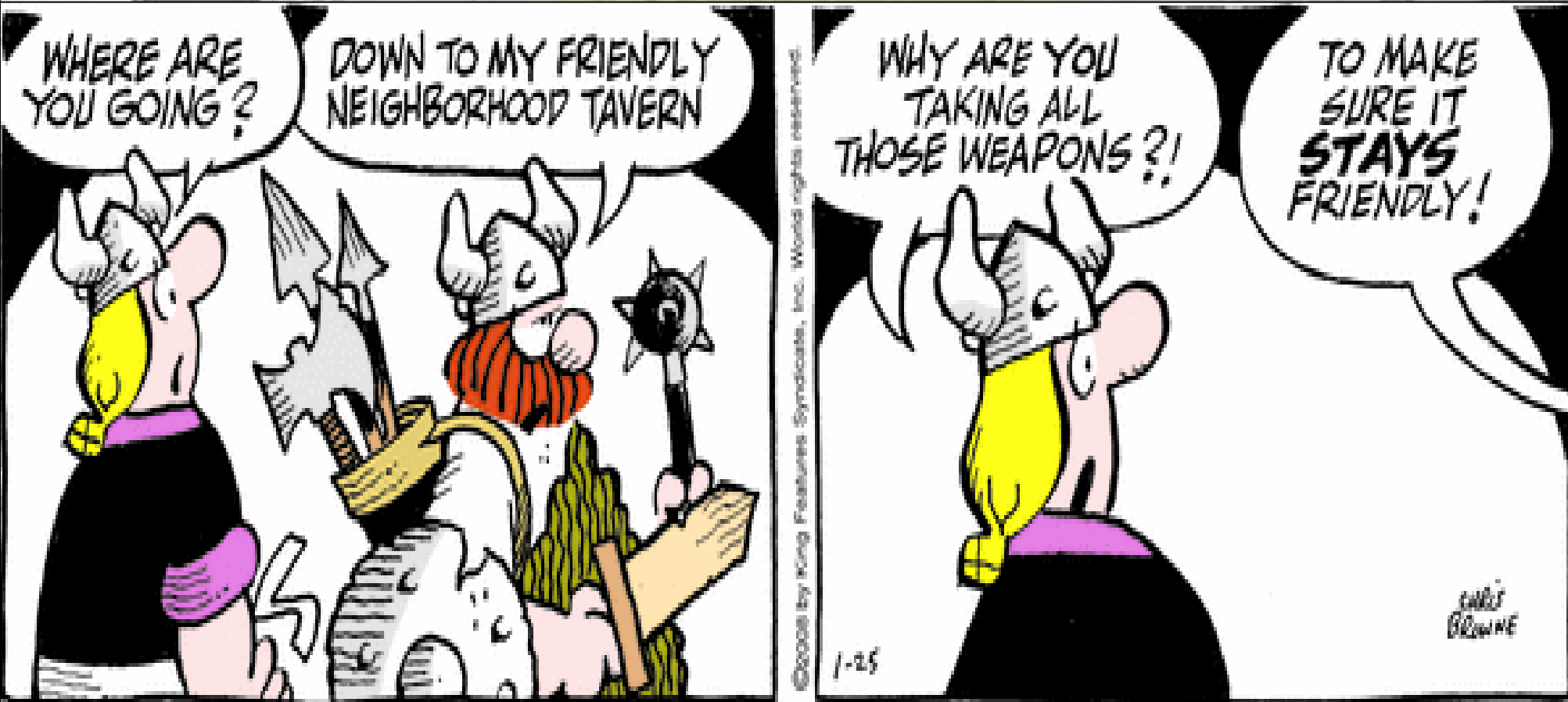
Evolution of Nuclear Theology: India

- **Foundational principles**
 - No first use
 - Massive retaliation
 - Deterrence, credible and minimal
 - No conventionalisation
- **Agenda** driven by a techno-politico-bureaucratic nexus
- **Separation** of Conventional from Nuclear and Controller from Custodian
- **No Recognition** of the idea of **Proportionality of Response or control of Escalation**
- **Nuclear Multilateralism: State of Play**
- **Essence of Deterrence** Rationality; **Reality: Denial of a Universal Logic**

India's Nuclear Doctrine (04 Jan 2003)

- **Form:** NFU, Credibility, Minimal and Deterrence, philosophical goals
- **Substance:** Command & Control, Arsenal Stewardship, Targetting, Technology Intrusions and Operationalizing
- **Separation:** Control from Custodian, Nuclear from Conventional and Redundancy of Control
- **Massive Retaliation:** **Credibility**

Durable Deterrence



Durable Deterrence

- **Deterrence:** Rationality makes roles reversible
- **Logic:** Intolerable destruction mutual
- **Basis:** Stability of deterrent, Stability in crisis, Transparency in Policy and Technology
- **Reality:** Complex Multi lateral Nature of Deterrent Relationship in the Sub-Continent.

China and its Proliferation Policy

- **Proliferation:** A State Policy
- **Orientation:** Balance of Power and Fanning Insecurities
- **Ramifications:** In Islamic world Questionable Motivations
- **Heft up the power ladder**

The Unhinged Tri-Polar Relationship

- **Proliferation:** Continued nuclear and missile technology proliferation
- **Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Program:** A collusive blueprint, designed, tested and sustained by Beijing
- **Sino-Pak:** Doctrinal co-relation suggested
- **China's Janus Faced Policy:** **NFU while fostering Nuclear proxies**

Pakistan's Nuclear Doctrine-An Imprecise Deduction

- **Kidwai's Thresholds:** Military, Economic, Political and Survival
- **Beg's Auto Nuclear Strike:** Attack on Arsenal by any will prompt N-Strike on India
- **Pak Planners:** N-Wpns & Non-State Actors are "Inalienable" to Military Strategy
- **Briskness of Nuclear Decision Making:** Intro of **Tactical Nuclear Weapons and Principles of Conventional Warfare**

Making Sense of Pakistan's Nuclear Strategy-The Nuclear Nightmare

- **The Paradox:** Why not *Rapprochement*?
- **The Perilous Uncertainty:** China's Two-Faced Policy, introduction of Tactical Nuclear Weapons and a policy to use
- **Uncontrollability:** Convulsive & Unrestrained Nature of Nuclear Escalation
- **The Nuclear Nightmare:** A hair trigger, opaque deterrent embracing tactical use under single military control steered by an obscure doctrine seeped in ambiguity and guided by a military strategy that carouses and finds unity with non state actors

Conclusion

India struck a covenant not just with her own citizens but with the global community at large. At the heart of this pledge was the voluntary renunciation of the First Use of Nuclear Weapons.

To deliberately temper a sword and then to abjure its first use appear to contradict sovereign morality.

And yet if there is belief in the changed nature of warfare that nuclear weapons have wrought that has morphed political objectives from war winning to war avoidance then, humanities moral weight would be on the side of the covenant sans sword.