

***India Pakistan Nuclear Diplomacy: Constructivism and the Prospects for Nuclear Arms Control and Disarmament in South Asia*, Mario E Carranza (London: Rowman & Littlefield: 2016).**

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In recent years, the traditional hostility between the two South Asian nuclear neighbours, Pakistan and India, has increased tremendously. Aimed at their deep-rooted territorial disputes, water and terrorism issues, the international community believes that a growing military and nuclear competition pose a grave danger to the regional as well as to the international peace and security. All past efforts to normalise and stabilise Pak-India relations could not yield any positive results. There is a growing fear that over the issues like Kashmir, water and terrorism, a conventional conflict or a limited war between Pakistan and India could escalate into a nuclear war. Under their perceived security concerns, nuclear weapons developments and modernisation programmes in the South Asian region are irreversible. However, the international community believes that there is a need to explore ways to regulate the nuclear behaviour of Pakistan and India according to the evolving nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament norms.

With this background, Mario E Carranza in his book, *India Pakistan Nuclear Diplomacy: Constructivism and the Prospects for Nuclear Arms Control and Disarmament in South Asia*, has made an attempt to explore the prospects of nuclear arms control and disarmament in South Asia. In contrast to the existing realist/neorealist approach towards Pak-India nuclear competition, he supported his argument by providing an alternative theoretical framework based on Constructivism. He challenged realist/neorealist approaches as rigid ones by comparing them with Constructivism, which provides enough space to accommodate emerging Nuclear Non-Proliferation Norms (NNPN), global disarmament norms and influence of the international social environment. He compared both these approaches and provided an in-depth literature review for better exploring the prospects

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of nuclear arms control and disarmament between Pakistan and India. He argued that existing literature on nuclear competition between Pakistan and India is mainly based on realist/neorealist approaches, which revolve around security dilemmas and stability instability paradox, whereas there is a gap of constructivist analyses of the Pak-India nuclear conundrum. Based on a constructivist theoretical framework, he tried to find prospects of building a nuclear arms control regime, with or without waiting for a final solution to the Kashmir dispute in South Asia.

According to Carranza, the realist approach considers nuclear arms control and disarmament in South Asia as a futile endeavour as Pakistan and India are strongly committed to nuclear build-up and they are unlikely to cap, reduce or eventually eliminate them. A nuclear abolitionist approach will be ignored by both as long as their security concerns are not adequately addressed. He challenges Realism on the grounds that according to the Constructivism, international norms and social environment influences the behaviours of states. Similarly, the nuclear behaviour of both, Pakistan and India, could be influenced by the international social environment, emerging NNPN and global disarmament norms. As states preferences are not carved on stones, therefore, it could be changed according to the international norms.

Carranza considers deterrence stability in South Asia as an impossible game, as Pakistan and India have constantly been modifying their nuclear doctrines. A comparative analysis of Pak-India's present and possible future nuclear weapons growth could make it impossible to achieve deterrence stability in South Asia. Both the states have travelled from weapon-less deterrence to weaponised deterrence and kept on changing their war fighting doctrines e.g., the Indian Cold Start doctrine and Pakistan's tactical nuclear weapons development. Furthermore, a political first approach did not work in past as hawks are interested in a continued Cold War between India and Pakistan. He argues that although both, Pakistan and India are non-signatory to Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), yet they have declared a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing, which reflects a respect for the NNPN.

Critically evaluating realist/neorealist approaches of international relations further, Carranza identified that this approach tarps states in a

security dilemma as these approaches are rigid to integrate any change and the stability and instability paradox is a misleading notion. He argues that NNPN are still robust at the international level and Pakistan and India cannot ignore it for a long time. From a constructivists approach, NNPN and the international social pressures will definitely bring a change e.g., the indefinite extension of NPT, the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1540, Obama's nuclear disarmament initiative and other evolving arms control and disarmament initiatives are likely to impact such nuclear competitions in future. He also critically evaluated the role of the sole super power, the US, in support of his main argument of developing a constructivist theoretical framework. He argued that the US could play a crucial role in the South Asian region by bringing Pakistan and India to discuss nuclear restraints and can use its diplomatic power to induce a serious nuclear arms control dialogue between both. He criticised the US policy at first place where it sacrificed its principled non-proliferation policy, accepted the legitimacy of India's nuclear weapons, helped India to technologically advance its nuclear weapons programme thus destabilising the regional stability. He notes that the Indo-US Nuclear Deal exacerbated Pak-India nuclear competition and the US has failed to adopt a comprehensive nuclear policy in South Asia. Carranza argues that the US, being a sole super power and the champion of non-proliferation would continue to play an important role in the international nuclear order.

To support his main argument, Carranza presented Constructivism as an alternative theoretical framework. He highlighted that the nuclearisation of South Asia is no longer a regional matter and global NNPN and external normative pressures have a potential to impact the ongoing nuclear competition between India and Pakistan. A "critical mass" of actors can create a tipping point and can influence the Pak-India's nuclear behaviour. He said that the Chinese and the US ratification of the CTBT will generate enough pressure for Pakistan and India to sign and ratify it. He presented several lessons in support of a Constructivism theoretical framework. He concludes that an arms control first approach in South Asia is feasible and desirable because the global NNPN have an impact on Pakistan and India. The global NNPN has already constrained Pak-India nuclear behaviour for not carrying out further nuclear test; the nuclear taboo of non-use; respect for the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) rules; adopted UNSCR 1540 and now both states are striving to earn the status of "responsible" nuclear states. He notes that "sooner or later India and Pakistan will have to

be accountable to the international community for their nuclear behaviour.” It could be done by mainstreaming India and Pakistan into the nuclear club and by influencing them to accept and adopt meaningful and binding nuclear arms control and disarmament commitments.

Carranza effectively developed a constructivist theoretical framework and identified prospects of a nuclear arms control and disarmament approach in South Asia. He presented a balanced view by keeping in mind major security concerns between India and Pakistan and established that the global NNPN and social structure do play an important role in shaping countries nuclear policies. He successfully addressed all the criticism which may arise from realist/ neorealist school of thought in support of his main argument for developing a constructivist theoretical framework.

After the globalisation process, experts are providing alternative approaches to explain International Relations and state's behaviour. The current book under review can be considered as one of the major contributions to the existing literature on one of these approaches and that is Constructivism. The book also represents that as the international order is changing so is the approaches to describe it, therefore now it is a time to look for other alternative explanations of international relations. This book is recommended for the students of International Relations theories, nuclear policy makers, advanced level university students and for researcher who are working on South Asia and the role of international nuclear norms. This could also serve as a basic guide for those experts who want to explore future of nuclear relations between India and Pakistan.