Mankind is living in an age of nuclear uncertainty. The overkill capacity of the nuclear stock piles available with the nuclear powers can annihilate the civilization many a times. There has been a corresponding relationship between the proliferation of nuclear weapons and remedial measures to control this. The advent of nuclear age in the wake of first detonation of nuclear device by the United States in July 1945, had charged the environment both with fear and optimism. The sense of fear got further accentuated following the dropping of atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki within a month of the dawn of the nuclear age. The catastrophic impact of these bombs shook the conscience of the mankind and serious thinking to devise measures to check the proliferation of nuclear weapons started.

With the United Nations coming into existence in October 1945 with the sole objective of maintaining peace and international security, the task of evolving measures to curb
the further proliferation of nuclear weapons was also entrusted to the United Nations. However, the methods to control further proliferation of nuclear weapons were being deliberated at UN on the one hand and on the other, there were an augmentation in the number of nuclear weapon states. In 1949, Soviet Union emerged as the nuclear power followed by the United Kingdom in mid-1950s, France in 1960 and Peoples Republic of China in 1964. Thus there emerged a 'Nuclear Pentapoly' or 'Nuclear Club' of five nuclear weapon state — US, USSR, UK, France and China. The arms control measures initiated at the United Nations and outside have resulted in the signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty in 1963 and Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1968. These measures have envisaged a nuclear dichotomy of the world into two — the first nuclear weapon states (NWS) and second in the form of the non-nuclear weapon States (NNWS).

The nuclear weapon states while perpetuating their own nuclear proliferation have been raising the problem of Nth country proliferation which is technically called horizontal proliferation. The arms control measures negotiated so far are directed towards curbing the horizontal proliferation without devising any method to control the vertical proliferation. The Non-Nuclear Weapon States including India have been opposed to all kinds of nuclear proliferation. It has drawn
the attention of the NWS towards the fact that even though some steps have been initiated to control the horizontal proliferation, there is immediate need for controlling the vertical proliferation first and conclude a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to completely ban all sorts of nuclear tests. At the same time India has reiterated the inalienable right of the Non-Nuclear Weapon States to harness the nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The NWS are, however, reluctant to concede this. Hence there is a disagreement in the approaches of Nuclear Weapon States and NNWS like India. It is in this background that an attempt has been made in the present study to analyse India's attitude towards the problem of nuclear proliferation.

The first Chapter endeavours to analyse the theoretical distinction between disarmament and arms control. Arms control in fact is the first stage to complete disarmament. It examines in detail the disarmament negotiations at the United Nations General Assembly. Brunnh Plan envisaging the setting up of an international agency to control the atomic energy and the various proposals advanced by the two Super Powers have been analysed for curbing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. A decade of prolonged negotiations had failed to yield fruitful results. It only brought about a consensus between the
USA and the USSR on the question that the general and complete
disarmament was a distant goal and what was desirable was to
have a step by step approach in this regard. This was a turning
point in arms control negotiations aimed at devising means to
curb the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Chapter also
takes note of India's viewpoint on various issues relating to
arms control. It endeavours to portray how forcefully India,
has been insisting measures to check the proliferation of
nuclear weapons.

The Second Chapter deals with the concept of nuclear
proliferation. The Chapter takes note of definition and
typologies of proliferation. It examines the various connotations of the term, 'proliferation'. The terms like dissemination and dispersion are distinguished with "proliferation".
The Nuclear Weapons States have defined the proliferation in
terms of horizontal proliferation whereas India has emphasised
that it includes both horizontal as well as vertical proliferation. The Chapter then takes into account the NWS viewpoint of the horizontal proliferation. Following the peaceful nuclear explosion (PNE) by India, the problem of horizontal proliferation was projected as a potential danger by the NWS. The western scholars as well as the statesmen of the NWS have been making a deliberate attempt to highlight the dangers of horizontal
proliferation while sidetracking the immediate problem of vertical proliferation. An analysis of the various theories advanced by the Western Scholars on horizontal proliferation makes one believe that it is distant dream.

The Chapter then deals with the problem of vertical proliferation which is more serious in nature. An analysis of various theories of vertical proliferation leads to the conclusion that horizontal proliferation is directly linked to vertical proliferation.

The Chapter further proceeds to analyse various factors instrumental in encouraging nuclear proliferation. Some of these factors are search for security, the question of prestige and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The justification for acquisition of nuclear capability by particular country to make itself secure against the nuclear attack seems to be untenable because the over kill capacity of the nuclear stock-pile is so tremendous that the entire civilization can be destroyed many a times. Under these circumstances, the
acquisition of nuclear capability by any country cannot ensure its security; it rather becomes a stimulant for the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Thus the security and prestige as planks to acquire nuclear capability are ruled out. However, the nuclear energy should and can be used for peaceful purposes. It is an inalienable right of each nation to harness the nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The Nuclear Weapon States are opposed to the concept of PNE benefits for the Non-Nuclear Weapon States. These countries argue this would encourage horizontal proliferation. On the other hand the Non Nuclear Weapons States are of the view that horizontal proliferation is closely and directly linked to vertical proliferation. What the Non Nuclear Weapon States are aiming at is not the nuclear weapons but nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. The NWS have even failed to fulfill their obligations under Article VI of the NPT which provides for sharing of the peaceful benefits of nuclear energy with the Non Nuclear Weapon States. The Chapter concludes on the note that the problem of proliferation is only that of vertical proliferation and once it is resolved the horizontal proliferation, which is only a distant threat, will automatically be checked.
The test ban negotiations and India's role in these talks form the subject matter of the Third Chapter. It traces the history of test ban negotiations from the mid-1950s. The step by step approach in arms control negotiations had been accepted by the Super Powers in 1956 and this paved the way for further negotiations to proceed. India since the beginning, has been an active participant in these negotiations insisting on evolving a consensus for general and complete disarmament. It was as a result of the efforts of India and other non-aligned and NNWS that a Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) was signed in 1963.

India welcomed this and also signed the PTBT. At the same time India continued to stress the need for concluding a comprehensive test ban treaty to finally stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Between 1963 and 1966, various draft treaties with provisions to ban the testing of nuclear devices had come up before the ENDC as well as the First Committee of the UN General Assembly. The Chapter presents a critical appraisal of these draft treaties along with India's views.

India while expressing views on the technical aspects of these draft treaties had stressed the need for discarding the
discriminatory provisions. The major emphasis of most of these draft treaties put forward by the nuclear powers was on suggesting measures to check the horizontal proliferation. India and other Non Nuclear Weapon States frequently pointed out that serious note should be taken of the immediate threat posed by the vertical proliferation. President Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) or the so called Star War programme and India's view of this as against arms control spirit has also been discussed.

The Fourth Chapter attempts an indepth analysis of the various proposals for establishing Nuclear Weapon Free Zones (NWFZs) in various parts of the world vis-a-vis India's views in this regard. After looking into various theoretical aspects of the concept workable definition of Nuclear Weapon Free Zone is attempted. The prominent proposals mooted since 1950 for establishing NWFZ related to Balkans, Adriatic Central Europe and Nordic countries. More recently the proposals to declare Africa, the Middle East, the South Pacific and South Asia as NWFZs have been discussed.

Various treaties declaring certain areas as NWFZ have been briefly examined. Two of these treaties, namely the Antarctica Treaty signed in 1959 and the Outer Space Treaty signed in 1972 apply to uninhabited areas. The only treaty
establishing a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone in a densely populated areas has been Tlatelolco Treaty signed in 1967. This treaty established Latin America as a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone.

The Chapter undertakes an analysis of the Tlatelolco Treaty and the proposal for South Asia as a nuclear weapon free zone, and examines India's attitude towards both. While India had welcomed the Tlatelolco Treaty, it had certain reservation on declaring South Asia as a nuclear weapon free zone.

The idea to declare South Asia as a nuclear weapon free zone was first mooted by Pakistan after India's peaceful nuclear explosion of May 1974. It took the plea that since all the countries of South Asia had already claimed their opposition to the acquisition of nuclear weapons this could form the basis of an agreement to declare South Asia as a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone. India opposed the proposal on the ground that no prior consultations regarding its implications, feasibility and acceptability had taken place and that South Asia was only a sub-region and an integral part of the region of Asia and the Pacific. As such it was essential to take into account the security environment of the region as a whole. It thus appears that unless the objections raised by India
are suitably answered and the proposal is sponsored by all the member states of the region, there is little likelihood of South Asia being declared as a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone.

A critical appraisal of the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and India's attitude towards it form the subject matter of the Fifth Chapter. Measures taken prior to the conclusion of the NPT in July 1968 have been examined.

It is evident that by the latter half of 1950s two different approaches with regard to the nuclear non-proliferation had developed. The Soviet proposal of 1956 aimed at curbing the spread of nuclear proliferation by establishing Nuclear Weapon Free Zones. The United States insisted on an agreement or a treaty which would ban the spread of nuclear weapons by the Nuclear Powers and the acquisition of such weapons by the Non Nuclear Weapon States.

The United Nations General Assembly on the basis of an Irish resolution in 1958 directed the Ten Nation Disarmament Committee (TNDC) to take immediate steps to check further proliferation of nuclear weapons. The TNDC failed to arrive at an agreed solution and following the establishment of Eighteen Nations Committee on Disarmament (ENDC) in March 1962, the question of nuclear non-proliferation become ENDC's
preoccupation. India, which became a member of ENDC expressed the view that the elimination of nuclear weapons was imperative and urgent as an initial step towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament.

With the detente, the two Super Powers appear to have agreed on duopoly and to check horizontal proliferation. From 1962 onwards various draft proposals which came up before PNDC, were mainly proposed by the US and the USSR. The emphasis was mainly on checking the horizontal proliferation. India and other Non Nuclear Weapon States opposed such discriminatory approach which deprived the NNWS of nuclear energy even for peaceful purposes.

The Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) which was finally signed in 1968 has divided the world into two categories the Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) and the Non Nuclear Weapon States. It has legalised the nuclear monopoly of the five nuclear powers while depriving the Non Nuclear Weapon States of the peaceful nuclear explosions and to harness the nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. India has not signed the NPT because it regards the latter as discriminatory, imbalanced and against the interests of Non Nuclear Weapon States. A clause by clause analysis of the treaty is undertaken and India's objections to the same have been discussed. The Chapter
further refers to the three Review Conferences of 1975, 1980 and 1985 which have failed to modify the NPT to make it more widely acceptable.

The Conclusion finally highlight, the emerging trends and projects the prospects for future. The trends emerging from the present study project a pessimistic outlook for the future of nuclear non-proliferation. The adamant attitude of the NWS not to stop the vertical proliferation and to insist only on horizontal proliferation have brought about a stalemate. The arms control negotiations like SALT I, SALT II, START and SDI, all aim at quantitative reduction and of qualitative augmentation of nuclear weapons. India despite its capability to go nuclear, has explicitly made it clear that it shall continue to utilize the nuclear energy for economic and technological development. As the situation obtains at the globe level, the problem of nuclear proliferation has assumed serious dimension. India has suggested a way out in the signing of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty which would ban all sorts of nuclear tests and eliminate the existing nuclear stockpiles. India is prepared for a world without nuclear weapons. The initiative in this regard, however, has to come from the Nuclear Weapon States.
A bibliography at the end not only details the sources used in the preparation of the present study but also provides the reader a list for further reading on the subject.