CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

If, taking your stand on egotism, you think,
“I will not fight”, vain is the resolve of yours;
nature will drive you to the act.

_Bhagavad Gita_

Chapter 18, Verse 59

INTRODUCTION

The Second World War emerged as a momentous event that caused changes in “war strategies and nuclear war tactics.” After that race began among countries to go nuclear, this resulted into concern among leading nuclear nations to control further spread of nuclear weapons. During this time international nuclear regimes emerged to stop other countries from acquiring nuclear weapons. That is the reason nuclear policy became an important constituent of foreign policy after Second World War. The foreign policy of every country is formulated keeping in view domestic and international factors. The existence and evolution of international nuclear regimes have influenced the foreign policies of the countries particularly developing countries. In case of India, first Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru laid foundations of independent and sovereign foreign and nuclear policy of the country which successive governments followed, though with addition of changes suiting contemporary times. Even during the era of coalition governments in India the independent stance of the foreign and nuclear policies had been pursued without any significant departure from past.

A number of changes were witnessed in the International relations after the Second World War, and later these changes were replicated in the respective foreign policies of the nations of the world, hence International relations became a very important aspect in the study of politics. Jeremy Bentham, in 1780 brought the term ‘international’ in use. The objective was to coin a single term that could convey ‘relations among nations.’ In fact, the term ‘international’ came to be used in the

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literature of international relations to denote relations among ‘sovereign states’ and to lay emphasis on distinction between international relations and domestic politics.\(^2\) In international relations both continuity and change go hand in hand. For centuries many core features and patterns continue to exist with the equivalent importance, for example nation-states continued to preserve their sovereignty and promote their national interests. Though there are certain aspects of world politics which at times undergo major changes.\(^3\) There is conventional wisdom in the field of international relations that states pile up nuclear weapons in order to strengthen their security, “through relative power gains vis-à-vis its counterparts within the international anarchic self-help system.”\(^4\)

“Nuclear Power” is a manifold term. Its use is associated with production of electricity, medical purposes as well as a potential weapon of war. The continuing pre-eminence of war is not surprising as for over 2000 years of recorded history humans have been fascinated and frustrated by war and its consequences.\(^5\) Humankind was at the most critical turning point in its entire recorded history, when on May 31, 1945, sixteen men met in the office of Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson. They were not talking about “just another weapon” but “a new relationship of man to the universe”\(^6\); they were making plans for the nuclear bomb. Today “We are concerned with the vastness of the universe and the minuteness of atomic particles...”\(^7\) The use of atomic bomb in 1945 in the World War II marked a watershed moment which changed the manner in which international relations were to be conducted and decisions were to be taken in the coming centuries. The destructiveness of the atom bomb used by the United States (US) forced the world to believe that things that were thought to be impossible, unproven and improbable cannot remain so in the fast changing

\(^3\) J. Martin Rochester, Fundamental Principles of International Relations (Boulder, USA: Westview Press, 2010), iii.
\(^5\) Devetak, 1.
\(^7\) Prashant Agarwal, India’s Nuclear Development Plan and Policies (New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 1996), 1.
technological world. The introduction of nuclear weapons in international power relations has been one of the most significant changes in international politics. Kenneth Waltz argues, that “the changes in means of transportation, communication, and war fighting; for example, strongly affect how states and other agents interact. Such changes occur at the unit level. In modern history, or perhaps in all of history, the introduction of nuclear weaponry was the greatest of such changes.”

The use of nuclear power in the form of weapon by the USA was a stimulating event for other powerful countries to imitate the feat of the USA and it led to a mad race among the powerful countries to conduct nuclear test and show-off their respective competence and strength. Table 1.1 gives the detail of the nuclear tests conducted by countries and their total number in brief.

### Table 1.1: Countries, Date of First Nuclear Test and Total Tests Conducted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Initial year of test</th>
<th>Site of the Test</th>
<th>Atmospheric</th>
<th>Underground/Underwater</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>July 16, 1945</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>1032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>August 29, 1949</td>
<td>Semipalatinsk</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>October 30, 1952</td>
<td>Maralinga</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>December 3, 1960</td>
<td>Moruroa</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>October 16, 1964</td>
<td>Lop Nor</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India*</td>
<td>May 18, 1974</td>
<td>Pokhran</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan**</td>
<td>May 28, 1988</td>
<td>Chagai</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Korea#</td>
<td>October 9, 2006</td>
<td>Punggye-ri</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>530</td>
<td>1523</td>
<td>2051</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled on the basis of: Table 12 B.2.: www.ctbto.org/fileadmin/user_upload/_pdf/Sipri_table12b.pdf and Table 1.1: Murthi, p.20, 2013.

*some sources mention 6 tests for India. **some sources mentions 7 tests for Pakistan. #2013 Test was the successful test, previous to that nuclear test were conducted in 2006 and 2009.

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8. Ibid., 2.
Introduction

With the emergence of various new issues at the international front a different order of dealing with such issues and concerns emerged, this was the emergence of regimes. International regimes are elements of an institution-based international order. By the nineteenth century the evolution of such international order began and continued within the League of Nations during the inter-war period. After the end of World War II the state system drew attention of the world for creation of international structure to deal with the consequences and hence, the scope of issues managed by international institutions significantly expanded.

With the spread of nuclear weapons there emerged efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation during the early 1950 itself. The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) resolution of December 14, 1946 for the first time made recommendations for “prohibiting and eliminating from national armaments atomic weapons adoptable now and in the future to mass destruction”. This resolution was adopted on January 24, 1946 by the UNGA and under this resolution Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) was established. Gradually similar bodies like North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949, WARSAW Pact in 1952, came into being and on 29 July 1957 the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was created, and the creation of this agency marked a very significant event in the history of nuclear development. With the passage of time a number of nuclear regimes emerged which tried to limit the use and proliferation of nuclear weapons. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), Zangger Committee, Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) etc., are some of the prominent examples. The role of these nuclear regimes has been highly criticised by the developing countries. These regimes are seen as instruments of interference and sanction by the developed countries in the affairs of non-nuclear particularly the third world countries. Some of these treaties and regimes emerged as a reaction when non-P5 countries started carrying out nuclear explosions, and creation of the NSG as a

\[\text{\textcopyright Murthy.}\]
\[\text{\textcopyright Ibid., 22.}\]
\[\text{\textcopyright J.S. Baylis and Steve Smith, ed. Globalisation of World Politics (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 380.}\]
\[\text{* P5 countries are the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, including five governments like China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States.}\]
result of India’s nuclear explosion of 1974 is one of the best examples. The coming of regimes was seen as, “a new form of feudal society of the nuclear age in which the entrenched nuclear aristocracy will be exploiting the non-nuclear serfs.”

The term ‘nuclear power’ is quite an ambiguous term as it is used to refer to both civilian and military purposes. This term looks appropriate in relation to the Indian quest for nuclear energy development as initiated by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and nuclear scientists.“Even before India gained independence, these men sought to win for their country all the prestige, status, and economic benefits associated with being a Nuclear Power, including the option of building “the bomb” if necessary. The capacity to master the atom represented modernity, potential prosperity, transcendence of the colonial past, individual and national prowess, and international leverage.”

Before 1945 Indian political leaders particularly Jawaharlal Nehru started working on the blue prints of development plans for India. It was the time when modern Indian attitudes and policies concerning science in general and nuclear science in particular were shaped under the guidance of Jawaharlal Nehru. For him growth and development in science and technology was the solution to the problems of India. India’s approach to the nuclear power revealed a preoccupation with the relationship between “Science, National Development and Power, and International Security.” Nuclear energy was seen as a cost-effective solution to all the developmental problems of India in 1950s.

Every country’s policy making is shaped by a number of factors, in case of India several internal factors such as its “geo-strategic location, economic conditions, political traditions, societal fabric, national character, national morale, and personality traits of the leaders” have influenced the policy making. Whereas, rise of international regimes, global and regional economic groupings, “rising international political environment, foreign policies of major powers and those of the neighbouring countries” comprise the

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external factors affecting India’s policy making. Particularly in case of nuclear policy making ‘security’ issue and to seek ‘status’ at the international level were the two basic interests which dominated the Indian scene.

During the Nehru era (1947-64), India played a very active and diplomatic role in international affairs (by giving to the World the idea of Non-alignment, Disarmament and Panchsheel) at various platforms of the United Nations. This role along with the various norms and values of Indian civilization (like non-violence, peace etc.) reinforced the credibility and strength of the Indian Government’s decision not to go nuclear. However, at the same time India was also actively working on the civilian and peaceful use of nuclear energy under the leadership of Homi Bhabha. The formation of Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR) later called Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC) depicts a clear example of developments in nuclear field.

In 1962, India faced a direct Chinese attack which shattered Prime Minister Nehru’s idealistic moral expectations from India’s neighbours. Later in 1964 the whole world saw China’s nuclear competency in the Lop Nor test, which was seen as an awakening call for India’s security. “Following its defeat in the Sino-Indian border war of 1962- India began to flirt with the possibility of extending civilian nuclear technology to defence applications through its Subterranean Nuclear Explosion Project (SNEP).” In the aftermath of 1962 war with China India’s national interests became more “sharply focused and defined, and were regarded as being essentially regional. The Sino-Indian conflict added another dimension to India’s foreign policy thinking by altering its threat perceptions. Henceforth, China and Pakistan became the most important focal points for defence and foreign policy making and thinking.” These developments at the international as well as domestic level persuaded Indian scientists and Indian leaders to take serious steps towards making India a nuclear power.

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18 Frey.
20 Tellis, 11.
21 Vanaik.
However, with the death of Jawaharlal Nehru and Homi Bhabha, and with installation of Lal Bahadur Shastri as Prime Minister the speed of nuclear programme slowed down.

In 1960s, the NPT was being debated internationally while at home India was facing peculiar problems as Indian nuclear scientists and the country’s political leadership developed opposing viewpoints regarding the treaty. As a result the role of nuclear weapons in Indian foreign policy came to the foreground. Whereas, most of the Indian scientists were in favour developing nuclear weapons for India, Indian political leaders were against it. “These encounters dampened the search for autonomy and nuclear weapons development in Indian diplomatic and military affairs during the mid-1960s and 1970s, but they did not eliminate it at the same time.”

The U.S., Canada, France, and other countries ostensibly cooperated with the civil nuclear programs of India, Pakistan, and Iran before, during, and after the establishment of nuclear non-proliferation regimes. During the evolutionary period, the American relationship with these countries and their nuclear programs shifted from positive to negative. In the beginning, the U.S. promoted development of nuclear technology, in the mid-1970s; it tried to constrict nuclear cooperation in an effort to forestall proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The Indira Gandhi period (Jan 1966-Mar 1977 and Jan 1980-Oct 1984) in the political history of India witnessed a lot of ups and downs in the nuclear policy making and its development. In the initial years of her government, like her predecessors, she was completely against the making of nuclear weapons. However, there occurred gradually shift in the stance of Indira due to the changing international environment and war of 1971 with Pakistan coupled with the loss of her popularity among the citizens and deteriorating image of her government. She felt compelled to move India in the direction of nuclear capability and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosion (PNE) of 1974 was the result of this. Since 1974, India has pursued a ‘open nuclear option’ strategy. To

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22 Kapur, 27.
Perkovich, “This entailed the capability to assemble nuclear weapons quickly—within hours or a few days—paired with the expressed intention not to do so until grave threat to its security arose.” Time and again Mrs. Gandhi emphasised on the peaceful purposes of conducting the test. The ‘nuclear option’ after 1974, continued to reflect “India’s normative aversion to Nuclear Weapon, it emphasised on global nuclear disarmament, and political leaders’ preferences to concentrate resources and energy on economic development.”

The 1974 PNE had serious international implications as the world was surprised by Indian nuclear test. To counter such sudden nuclear shock from a developing country like India a major step in the creation of the international nuclear regimes to halt such explosions in future was taken in the form of creation of the NSG. The NSG aimed to prevent nuclear exports for commercial and peaceful purposes from being used for nuclear weapons manufacturing. The members-countries of the NSG are expected to forgo nuclear trade with governments that do not subject themselves to international measures and inspections. It also provides confidence to the nuclear exporters that their nuclear material is not used to develop nuclear arms.

India remained silent for twenty four years about its nuclear programme. Meanwhile, the nature of polity changed in India from the Congress era of one party dominance to multi-party coalition system. The security challenges also changed at internal and external levels. In 1998 Bharatiya Janata Party led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government took the reins of the country. Under the leadership of the NDA India again conducted a series of nuclear explosion in May 1998 which resulted in imposition of sanctions on India from various countries and international nuclear regimes. However, India has always remained undeterred by any pressures and sanctions, whatsoever, as far as it’s nuclear programme is concerned. The Indian Tests in May 1998 were a major event which was a response to provocative Chinese, American, and Pakistani strategic behaviour. Although in the post-Nehru era successive Indian governments have been careful of not committing themselves to

24 Ibid., 3.
25 Ibid.
permanent (as distinct from conditional) nuclear abstinence. Till date India has not exercised the nuclear weapon option nor has it given up its general orientation of non-alignment. The U.S. non-proliferation policy merely antagonized India, although it could not stop its nuclear bomb program. Critics point to the sanctions policy put in place after the May 1998 tests as proof of the ineffectiveness of the U.S non-proliferation efforts and to improve relations with a prospective ally and fellow democracy. A former Ambassador and Secretary at the Ministry of External Affairs explains that, “US sanctions against India after the 1998 nuclear tests were also designed to force India to sign the CTBT unconditionally. India was also sanctioned after the 1974 “peaceful nuclear explosion” and technology denial regimes were created by the US and allied nations to coerce India into falling in line and sign the NPT. None of these sanctions achieved their objectives.”

India has made tremendous strides in economic growth and progress in the development of science and technology during the last decade. Recognizing the growth potential of India in An Uncertain Glory: India and Its Contradictions, (2013) Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen has termed India as “one of the fastest-growing economies in the world.” India is also faced with several challenges arising out of its polity and unique character that stems from diversity of languages, castes, ethnicities, religious affiliations and cultural variations. India has shown from time to time her competency in all spheres including nuclear as well as military manufacturing capabilities.

Pursuance of independent foreign and nuclear policy since the time of single party majority governments of the Congress era remained a distinguishing feature of Indian polity after independence. The momentum of nuclear development did not slow down even during the times of coalition governments at the Centre. In spite of direct and indirect compulsions and pressures from outside and within, India always followed a

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27 Vanaik.
31 Ghosh.
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sovereign and strict stand keeping in view only the national interest of the country. However, the impact of international nuclear regimes such as disarmament, non-proliferation along with technological regimes and other structures on Indian nuclear policy cannot be denied.

Today, a powerful India fits into the Global Order of 21st century hence it can enter the international regimes at its own conditions. It can be argued that autonomy in pursuing nuclear programme indigenously and use of judicious mix of nationalism as well realism by India for more than five decades has diluted the monopoly of nuclear regimes and has forced nuclear regimes to take cognizance of a country of India’s size and might. It is important to look into factors which resulted in all these changes. Policies formulated by coalition governments from time to time have enabled the country to enter the situation where it seems, the more India grows powerful and bridges the gap with the developed countries, the more it will be accommodated by the nuclear regimes. India has been able to conduct itself at international level in a manner that convergence in strategic, economic, ideological interests and the mutual accommodation with powers controlling regimes has grown. India has also learned to make use of the maxim, ‘there are no permanent friends and foes but permanent interests.’ Therefore, India does not hesitate from working on issues of mutual adjustments at the international level and issues which do not intend to compromise national interest of the country. The adoption of Nuclear Doctrine under the NDA and determination of maintaining minimal credible deterrence has led to opening of India towards international nuclear regime which has enabled it to develop capabilities from first strike to second strike and expediting its three stage indigenous nuclear programme. Coalition governments in past two decades have succeeded in taking a stand at international level that, maintaining autonomy in its nuclear and strategic issues is very crucial for India. However, given the past records of India as champion of disarmament and proliferation, the present coalition governments have also expressed their willingness to accommodate the regimes in direction of disarmament. Policies adopted for opening up towards nuclear regimes will strengthen India’s strategic cooperation with all powers of the world. Governments in India are of the firm view that going nuclear has given more strategic space to India and has forced a change on
part of international nuclear regime. So continuity in nuclear policy matter is expected to continue in times to come irrespective of the size and nature of the coalition government. Developments and trends in past have reflected that regimes have accommodated countries of developed world, now it is the turn of leading countries among Third World. Mutual accommodation with regimes has significance for not only India’s nuclear policy, but also space programme, missiles programme, and her energy security. Increased interactions with the regimes are in interest of India to move forward towards the goal of becoming a global power. It is also interesting to note that increasing aspirations on part of middle class people have enabled coalition governments to pursue their nuclear policy in a forthright manner without succumbing to any kind of pressures and turning India into powerful country.

The thesis attempts to find answers to the questions such as the kind of contribution that India has made in order to make the functioning of nuclear/technological/disarmament/proliferation regimes more democratic at the global level and non-discriminatory for countries especially like India. The study looks into various stages which India passed, when it used to oppose the very presence and functioning of regimes, their discriminatory practices and held them responsible for eclipsing India’s nuclear program on one hand and now India striving very hard or pursuing nuclear diplomacy to join hands with these very regimes or seeking entry to it. Mid 90s/early 2000- developments at the world level Proliferation, Nuclear threat/war, Concerns for energy security, India’s programme to achieve credible deterrence under the garb of energy security are the other areas which this study is going to focus upon. The study analyses the nuclear policies of the NDA and the UPA from the point of view of domestic politics of coalition constituents and international pressure of regimes such as the NSG.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The research is incomplete without reviewing the existing literature on the subject, because to study present and predict the future, the analysis of past is cardinal as it provides guidance and exhibit points which need particular attention. The researcher has gone through available literature and it has helped to understand
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something without which the study will be incomplete. For the purpose of present research, references have been made to primary and secondary sources, books, journals, reports, magazines, newspapers, internet etc. and a selected few are discussed below.

Books

Ajai Kumar Rai\textsuperscript{32} has used analytical approach and historical perspective. He has comprehensively analysed the diplomatic base and conduct of Indian Nuclear policy after Pokhran II. He has focused on the changes and transitions that took place between India’s bilateral relations with countries like US, Russia, Pakistan, China and France. He also elaborated the fact that in spite of Indo- US nuclear agreement, US doesn’t desire or see the need to accommodate India fully within the non-proliferation regime. Rai has summed up his literature by saying that the Pokhran tests have placed the country in an advantageous situation. India has acquired a significant strategic space with its expanding engagements with US and other big nations. But still there remain enough challenges to be tackled. He does not focus much upon the role of other regimes like IAEA, NPT, CTBT, FMCT, MTCR, NSG, AG, LG, and UN etc. which will be analysed in the due course of the study.

Ashley Tellis\textsuperscript{33} in his book assessed India’s emerging nuclear posture in the aftermath of the May 1988 tests. He has focused primarily on India because of its Geopolitics-centre of power is capable of influencing the strategic environment in South Asia. Keeping this in mind Tellis tried to address the nuclear issues in the context of a broader understanding of India’s strategic interests, its institutional structures and its security goals. Tellis began by describing the external and internal factors that affect India’s nuclear choice. Globally, he saw India aspiring to be a great power in a world where the five Ps have no interests in giving up their nuclear arsenals. Regionally he emphasized on the neighbouring nuclear arsenals respectively. He has also talked about the bi-lateral relation of India with other major powers like US, Russia or Japan, which affect India’s nuclear calculus and finally talking about the domestic front, he is of the

\textsuperscript{32} Ajai Kumar Rai, \textit{India’s Nuclear Diplomacy After Pokhran II} (New Delhi: Dorling Kindersley Ltd., 2009).

view that India’s nuclear, missile, and space establishments provide a domestic stimulus which neither the majority of political parties nor voters are likely to oppose. Though it is one of the pioneering works ever accomplished on India’s nuclear posture, he focuses more on proving India’s nuclear posture in light of threats from within the region i.e. Pakistan and China as if there would be no threat from the other parts of the world.

Ashok Kapur\textsuperscript{34} has examined India’s nuclear position in the context of its domestic politics, exploring how the position challenged India’s interests and values within the regional and international environment. The author, while pointing towards the militarization of Indian nuclear and space science, argued that external pressures stimulated Indian nationalism and led to a dramatic change in Indian political and social thought about strategic affairs. He has also asserted that the new Indian approach is to specify Indian strategic priorities and agenda, demonstrate political will by military and political action, bear and inflict costs on rivals and engage the world through power politics rather than disarmament talks. But he has not focused on the pulls and pressures of coalition members as if there were none, the experience shows that the role of Communist party and certain regional parties has not been very supportive to India’s nuclear military programme.

Bharat Karnad\textsuperscript{35} has critically examined India’s evolution as a nuclear power while analysing India’s nuclear policy, doctrine, strategy and posture along with deterrence which is core of India’s nuclear decision making and deterrence system and reviews the international security milieu in the directions in which the US, Russian, Chinese, French, and British nuclear policies, strategies and arsenals are moving and the reasons why lesser nuclear powers and non-weapon states try to imitate them. Karnad has also discussed the changes taking place in thinking, about the use of nuclear weapons and the relevant strategies and tactics of Indian military especially with regard to ‘limited war’ ‘pre-emption’ and ‘preventive war’. He has focused more on issues favouring disarmament goals, realpolitik and less on India’s interactions with technology denial regimes. Though he doubted fundamental assumptions about nuclear


\textsuperscript{35} Bharat Karnad, \textit{India’s Nuclear Policy} (Westport, USA: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008).
policy, he had reservations about the Indo-US deal. His views are more of pacifying nature and do not align with main line of thinking on nuclear issues.

**Baldev Raj Nayar**\(^{36}\) has examined Post-Pokhran II international diplomatic strategies of major powers i.e. the US, Britain, France, Russia, Japan, Germany and China and our own country India along with the issues of nuclear weapons, strategic interests and common position of these major powers vis-à-vis India. Nayar has elaborated on the Indian perspective towards would be opposition from major powers on the India becoming Nuclear Weapon State (NWS), however, later on each major power will take stance in accordance with its own strategic, economic and ideological interests for the integration of new nuclear state. But strategic interests will weigh heavy in their priority for adopting particular stand.

**Brahma Chellaney**\(^{37}\) made a comprehensive comparison between the U.S and India, World’s two largest democracies. The author has discussed the areas of conflict between both the countries like in case of Non-Proliferation and Safeguards issues. He has examined the impact of US Strategies on India to contain the Proliferation of Nuclear, Chemical and Biological Weapons and the Ballistic Missiles to deliver them.

**C. Raja Mohan**\(^{38}\) has discussed the uncertainties of the early 1990s to a more self-assured diplomatic posture by India at the turn of the century. Mainly the author has focused on the changing philosophical premises of India’s engagement with the external world. This book also provides a record of India’s diplomatic history at a critical moment in its national life.

**Carl Paddock**\(^{39}\) addressed the broad-ranging issues regarding the Indo-US Nuclear Deal. The author gave a critical assessment of India's energy policy, he has described in detail the agreement with IAEA, NSG waiver, the political fallouts of the deal, its implications for South Asia, and the China factor.

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George Perkovich has given comprehensive analytical history of India’s nuclear explosion program from its inception in 1947 to May 1988 nuclear tests. In his well-researched and documented study, the author has concluded that India’s Nuclear Program was not solely the result of military need, but the efforts of, Indian scientists and engineers who secretly developed nuclear weapons and ballistic missile capabilities, and extremely small number of politicians in Indian leadership including several Prime Ministers who played an important role. Perkovich has focused more on the external factors which have shaped India’s nuclear policy and has missed on the accounts of role of the coalition politics. He has interwoven the complex relationship among India, the US, Pakistan, and China regarding nuclear bombs, pointing out that none remained steadfast to its principles. According to author moral and political doubts, domestic turmoil, and compelling national and international priorities were also major factors in shaping up of India’s Nuclear Policy.

Harsh V. Pant in his edited book has made an attempt to explore the multidimensional nature of the Indian foreign policy by adding various articles relating to major themes in Indian foreign policy, various articles concerning the bi-lateral relations with major global powers, and finally another category of articles with regard to regional policy concerning South Asia, Middle-East, Central Asia and East Asia.

Jaswant Singh has mainly provided an account of foreign policy followed by the NDA government and this book is an outcome of various experiences of Jaswant Singh as a Former External Affairs, Defence and Finance Minister of India. It was in the tenure of NDA government only that India conducted its nuclear test. So this book describes the conditions and circumstances that forced India to conduct a nuclear test which led to imposition of global sanctions upon India.

Jawaharlal Nehru\textsuperscript{43} one of the major drafters of Indian politics predicted the starting and making of Indian Foreign Policy in this book. This book basically contains the speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru during different conferences and sessions in parliament from the time period of September 1946-April 1961.

Kanti Bajpai and Amitabh Mattoo\textsuperscript{44} have provided an essential intellectual Guide to the cooperative bilateral relationship between India and U.S which is critical for the stability of the International as well as the regional system at the world level. The authors explored the diverse and multidimensional relationship between India and Untied States with a shared commitment to democratic and secular values, growing economic interdependence and signs of convergence of key strategic uses, India and United States are poised to emerge as key partners in the 21\textsuperscript{st} century.

N. Jose Chander\textsuperscript{45} has focused on the Indian polity and argued that it was moulded on British pattern, but the societal forces shaped it, particularly in the areas of parliamentary performance and of the party system. The present research focuses on the demand, stresses and constraints of coalition politics in the changed circumstances and covers political development.

“People, Progress, Partnership: The transformation of U.S. India Relation”\textsuperscript{46} published by Public Affairs section of the embassy of the United States of America talked about emerging trends in Indo-US relations, the areas of conflict and conversions. It also tried to show the gradual change which has emerged in the Indo-US relationship whether it is in the political diplomacy or in economic sphere.

S.N. Yadav\textsuperscript{47} has made a comprehensive attempt to look into India’s approaches and strategies towards nuclear questions since independence. He has also examined the

\begin{itemize}
\item Jawaharlal Nehru, \textit{India’s Foreign Policy} (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1961).
\item S.N. Yadav, \textit{India’s Nuclear Policy: Compulsions, Commitments and Constrains} (New Delhi: Jnanada Parkashan, 2009).
\end{itemize}
ideological foundations of India’s nuclear policy and its relevance in the post-cold war era. Also India’s policy of nuclear disarmament has been examined from the perspective of establishing an entirely nuclear weapons free world.

Scott Douglas Sagan\textsuperscript{48} has examined the domestic political interests, power relations, and bureaucratic processes that contribute to policy choices in South Asia. The various factors he has discussed in the book India’s nuclear test in 1998 includes-the broad political support of BJP towards nuclear weapons, intense rivalry between India and Pakistan, and the perceived threat to their respective national securities and the lack of trust amongst each other causing insecurity in Asia. This literature also examined the nuclear proliferation of the Asian subcontinent and it is comprehensively argued that presence of nuclear weapons in South Asia has increased the frequency and propensity of low-level violence creating destabilization in the region. He has focused less on India’s ideological and civilizational concerns for emerging powerful country and how they played important role behind the decision of India going nuclear.

Stephen P. Cohen\textsuperscript{49} has discussed the various prospects for South Asia which appears to be gloomy at once but still hopeful. He has also discussed the important perceptual obstacles associated with America's involvement in South Asian affairs. The author has tried to explore the diversity of policy perspectives in Indian, Pakistan and the U.S.

Stephen P. Cohen\textsuperscript{50} has talked about strategic and political ties between India and US developing slowly. He threw light on India's relationship with its neighbouring countries, how it is perceived internationally-among several other things. The new social and economic ties epitomized by the million-plus Indian American community with its growing political clout and India’s highly publicized successes in software and high technology are giving some real content to the relationship existing between the two. Basically he has focused on major three issues from where the foreign policy of India has evolved i.e., conflict with Pakistan over Kashmir, the humiliation of having

China occupying India’s northern borderlands in 1962, and the further embarrassment of the intrusion of the U.S. aircraft carrier Enterprise into the Bay of Bengal in 1971.

Strobe Talbott⁵¹ has given a great insight into international diplomacy in general, and between India and the US in particular. He has provided an inside perspective on the groundbreaking efforts to build a cordial relationship between India and U.S. Mainly the author pointed towards the sharp focus of Indian effort on its national interest.

Sumit Ganguly and S. Paul Kapur⁵² have focused on the impact of nuclear weapons proliferation on the South Asian security environment. The authors discussed both the perspectives of the scholars who believe that nuclear weapons have created stability in the subcontinent, and those who believe that nuclear weapons have made South Asia more conflict and nuclear war threat prone.

The book edited by Atish Sinha and Madhup Mahota⁵³ Indian Foreign Policy Challenges and opportunities foreword by Pranab Mukherjee Ministers of External Affairs analyses the foreign policy considerations, India’s Global Profile and international priorities, regional foreign policy, bilateral relationship between India and various countries, national security and foreign economic policy considerations and various articles relating to India’s Nuclear energy and Disarmament policy. This book contains certain articles of various scholars and diplomats dealing in different spheres of foreign affairs.

V.V. Chaturshrenii⁵⁴ has analysed the relationship between the two countries United States of America and India. His has emphasized the determinants and objectives of Indian and American Foreign Policy. He also tried to draw similarities and dissimilarities between the two largest democracies of the world.

⁵³ Atish Sinha and Madhup Mahota ed., Indian Foreign Policy Challenges and Opportunities (New Delhi: Foreign Service Institute, 2007).
Vinay Kumar Malhotra has examined the trends of the Post-Cold War era and developments in the 1990s. He has covered the various points of convergence and divergence in Indo-US relations. This study also covers events of Clinton’s administration in context of Indo-U.S relationship.

ARTICLES

Arun Kumar in his article entitled “Not in Our Interest” in The Tribune of August 3, 2008 provided a comprehensive argument against the Indo-US Nuclear Deal. He has opined that the nuclear deal is not in the interest of India and it aims only to promote US designs. The further problem with the deal he discusses is that neither nuclear energy nor technology is its crucial aspect. He has asserted that unlike Russia, the US has not given us the technology in the past and is unlikely to give us advanced technology now. Expensive Nuclear energy is hardly a strategic interest of the nation.

Ashok Sharma in his paper entitled “Indo-US ties: An Overview of Emerging strategic and Defence cooperation” published in World Focus, November-December 2008 edition analysed the position of Indo-US defence and strategic cooperation in the 21st century. He has also described the period of strategic partnership between the two countries in the post-cold war era.

Baldev Raj Nayar has explained in his article the rise of BJP and its claims about its distinctive character by comparing its characteristics with Congress party in terms of economic policy. He gave two-fold explanation of similarity of economic policy of BJP and Congress in the centralist tendency of Indian political system from internal side and centralist tendency in contemporary international system of world economy from external side. He has assessed economic performance of BJP from the point of view of limits and possibilities it had and it exercised during its short tenure of 13 months. He has enlisted three factors for the dismal economic performance of BJP,

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nuclear tests in May 1998 and its fallout. Other two factors are political instability due to coalition mismanagement and lack of experience on the part of ministers. He has concluded that there is significant impact on the party system of India's immense social diversity that has made the reaching of concrete policy decisions difficult and the considerable institutionalization of its democratic political framework. However, he has not focused on the issues that coalitions have helped or can play larger role in preparing India for any bigger responsibilities at the world level.

C. Raja Mohan\(^{59}\) has tried to highlight the role of China in opposing the Indo-US Nuclear Deal and the he has also emphasized the role of CPM with regard to IndoSino relation in this article. While after the completion of nuclear negotiations with U.S, India was busy in drafting the India-specific safeguard agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency and the endorsement of the NSG, China emerged as the biggest opposer. China was the only nuclear weapon power that expressed reservations against the Indo-U.S nuclear deal. He has argued that Chinese opposition to the Indo-U.S deal only confirmed the thesis that Beijing is determined to perpetuate “nuclear parity” between India and Pakistan. Talking about CPM he stressed that it is the only force that can prevent a needless crisis in Sino-Indian relations.

Daniel S. Geller\(^{60}\) has investigated the effects of possession of nuclear weapons by India and Pakistan and also using Power Cycle Theory the writer assesses the international ramifications of arms race in South Asia. The author has explained the Power Theory in a very impressive manner by giving examples of India, Pakistan and China as how their respective nuclear strategies and arms stockpiling are influenced from one another’s latest move on that take in terms of using one against the other for tilting power balance. He has argued that military competition between India and Pakistan may result into shifting the distribution of nuclear capabilities in the whole of Asia pushing China through a critical point in its power cycle.


Deepa Ollapally and Raja Ramanna\textsuperscript{61} have highlighted in their study the continuing misperceptions in Indo-U.S ties due to India’s own independent nuclear policy guided by its sovereign foreign policy. They maintained that though relations between India and the U.S have improved considerably since the end of the Cold War, they are still punctuated by controversies over nuclear non-proliferation. Which, they believe to be the result of American beliefs that India is obstinate about not signing Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Apart from projecting India’s image as a power to be reckoned with, the authors have also shown how the present balance of nuclear weapons is tilted in favour of China which is using Pakistan as an instrument.

Harish Khare\textsuperscript{62} in his writing “France backs India’s quest for energy” has elaborated the role of France on behalf of the European Union on the event of ninth India-European Union Summit. France, according to the author welcomed India’s emergence out of the nuclear denial regime. The French President Nicholas Sarkozy praised India’s access to the nuclear energy, the cleanest form of the energy. This article also highlights the focus of the summit, which was mainly the cooperation of energy, clean environment and climate change.

Michael A. Levi and Charles D. Ferguson\textsuperscript{63} have explained the implication of the Nuclear deal for both the US policy towards India and the US non-proliferation policy. They have proposed a focused set of non-proliferation bottom lines that the US-Congress should enforce through its legislation. The authors have recognized that Indo-US nuclear cooperation is a step towards countering Chinese hegemony in the Asian region so ultimately giving more benefits to the US. Hence, they argue that members of the US Congress from both parties expressed a desire to find a strategy that improves relationship with India without sacrificing American non-proliferation interests. The authors have mainly stressed on US policy towards India and advised the congress to concentrate on preventing Indian Nuclear testing and fundamental changes in Indian Nuclear strategy, rather than on blocking simple growth in the Indian nuclear stockpile.

\textsuperscript{62} Khare Harish, “France backs India’s quest for energy,” \textit{The Hindu}, September 30, 2008.
Parkash Karat\textsuperscript{64} gave a critical assessment of the forgoing close strategic and military ties with the US and of course the Indo-US Nuclear Agreement. The main two questions he raised were- whether it is a nuclear cooperation deal or a part of a wider agreement? And secondly if so, does it protect our capacity for an independent foreign policy and how will it affect our sovereignty. He does not explain the behaviour of China when it extended its deeper arrangement with US decades ago.

Rajesh Rajagopalan\textsuperscript{65} has described the stability-instability paradox in context of nuclear scenario in South Asia, it is that the stability created by the probability of nuclear escalation of conventional conflicts discourages conventional wars but encourages support for sub-national guerrilla forces. He has also pointed out carelessness in usage of the concept of stability-instability in the literature on South Asian nuclear situation. He has traced two reasons as to why this concept is not applicable on South Asia, first misrepresentation of this concept in which original intent has been missing, second Pakistan’s support to Kashmir Problem cannot be linked with its being in possession of nuclear weapons. He has used notion of ‘brinkmanship’ in explaining the link between nuclear weapons and Pakistan’s support to Kashmir issue. He has concluded that Pakistan’s support for the rebellion in Kashmir was neither unprecedented nor unique as it would have been there even if Pakistan had not got nuclear weapons. He does not take larger threat like regional, global etc. into his consideration and at the same time the role of regimes has not received adequate attention.

Rajiv Nayan\textsuperscript{66} has discussed the various options which have emerged to define the relationship between India the NPT, putting it in international limelight. To him, the only solution is to accommodate India as a nuclear weapon country after revising or amending the treaty. Nayan stressed that in turn, India must contribute to the realization of the grand bargaining of the NPT. And if India agreed to sign the NPT it would be a


drastic step in the universalization of the NPT. He does not highlights how India has already emerged as a nuclear power, which has forced other powers to take cognizance of Nuclear India.

Sham Saran in his article “Nuclear Non-proliferation and International Security- an Indian Perspective” has focused mainly on the Indian perspective towards the non-proliferation. He talks about the various non-proliferation concerns of India in the changing global scenario, its attempt to put its feet in nuclear waters, the increasing aspirations to attain a status of Nuclear Weapon State (NWS).

Siddarth Varadarajan in his article entitled “U.S. officials feel NSG decision may take two sessions” has elaborated the arguments of the Indian officials that it is easier to work on the political side of the Indo-US deal than dealing with technical-level players. He has also tried to explain that Washington does not want the NSG to adopt rules which might place its own firms at a disadvantage. The big fear is enrichment and reprocessing equipment US has decided it will never give them to India. But if tomorrow the Russians or French throw in some ENR equipment as a sweetener for a reactor contract which US suppliers won’t be able to do they fear others will have a commercial advantage. Indian officials expressed the concern that while the country is self-sufficient in ENR technology it would be unfair to deny equipment and components for the dedicated reprocessing plant the US wants India to build in order to be able to reprocess American-origin spent fuel.

Siddharth Varadarajan in his article “India firm on unconditional waiver” has discussed the views of Mr. Anil Kakodkar, Atomic Energy Commission Chairman regarding India’s commitment to its voluntary moratorium. He has highlighted that just as in the 123 agreement with the US; there cannot be any explicit linkage to nuclear

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testing similar is the condition with regard to the NSG. He has strongly criticized that there should not be any advice or suggestion from any other states that India must join NPT or accept the conditions that non-nuclear weapon states are forced to accept. The NSG has to realize India cannot be treated as Non-Nuclear Weapon State (NNWS).

**Vijai K. Nair**\(^{70}\) in his work on Indian Nuclear Policy has traced the ambiguities on various issues in the official stance of India on nuclear weapons, their use, stockpiling and nuclear relations with other countries. He has argued that India as newly independent country after 1947 resumed nuclear weapons as destabilizing factor that threatens security environment globally. When China attacked India in 1962 and later on after two years it declared to have nuclear weapons that changed India’s perception. He has pointed out that nuclear disarmament has always remained bedrock of Indian policy and it is even to date also. Indian nuclear policy is guided by two important principles namely minimum deterrence and no-first use. According to him there are four main threats i.e. China, Pakistan, Counter proliferation and lastly Restrictions on Trade and Development. The chances of divergence Indo-US politico-strategic interests should have been highlighted more elaborately.

**Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu**\(^{71}\) in his occasional paper has discussed in detail the evolution of India’s nuclear doctrine since the conduct of first nuclear tests by India in May 1974. He has discussed the intent of Indian Political Leadership to have nuclear weapon. He has put forward the argument that the real intent of political class was to gain popularity rather than national security. He further holds the view that there is total lack of acknowledgement of any nuclear threat from any quarter on the part of military and technocrats engaged in slow-paced weapon development. Lastly, he has touched upon the military establishments in India, examined the nuclear threat in Indian case and the evolving nuclear doctrine.


HYPOTHESIS

India has been pursuing a mix of nationalism as well realism in its nuclear policy. It has developed its nuclear programme while remaining autonomous as far as possible. The domestic politics and national interest along with international institutions and their regulations affect decisions regarding nuclear programme of the country. In this regard the thesis will work on two hypotheses. First, is that India has exercised full autonomy keeping in view its national and strategic interest in pursuance of its nuclear programme and nuclear policy making, which has diluted the effect of international nuclear regimes. Secondly, the coalition governments of India have maintained continuity in pursuance of India’s nuclear policy which has not witnessed any major departures from past even under weak coalition governments.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In the light of above, it becomes imperative to raise research questions whose answers shall be found in the due course of the study.

1. How external determinants (global factors, major powers (5Ps), UN, nuclear regimes (like the IAEA, NPT, CTBT, FMCT, NSG, MTCR, AG, etc.), South-Asian regional factors) affect the Indian nuclear policy?

2. How has India enhanced its nuclear capability while facing pressures and strict guidelines of nuclear regimes?

3. How internal determinants (like parties, ideologies, security structures, media, intellectuals, policy makers, legislature) and their dynamics have shaped India’s Nuclear Policy?

4. How traditional values and principles have guided Indian Nuclear Policy since inception and off-late the Indian Nuclear Doctrine in the late 1990s?

5. How nature, functioning and compulsions of coalition governments at centre in India has made impact on shaping of India’s Nuclear Policy?

6. How the UPA government capitalized available opportunities in nuclear potential without moving away from their predecessor's stand by using active diplomacy in interaction with International Nuclear Regimes for India’s advantage?
Introduction

7. What was India’s dilemma in past when it used to oppose regimes and their discriminatory practices and now India using nuclear diplomacy to work amicably with regimes?

8. What are the challenges and prospects in front of Government of India vis-à-vis proliferation, technological and disarmament regimes?

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

On the basis of literature reviewed in the last section, the task of identifying the importance of the present study has become easier. This study helps in making an evaluation of the factors guiding evolution of India’s nuclear policy in the 21st century. The study becomes important as it discusses the factors shaping India’s response to the nuclearization of the region by highlighting the threats posed to India’s national security. The present study attempts to analyse India’s response to the US, global and regional pressures on her nuclear policy and also pressures imposed by nuclear regimes like the IAEA, NPT, CTBT, NSG, FMCT, MTCR, and various groups like Australia Group, Wassennar Arrangement, etc. The study brings out the factors which led to the enhanced level of strategic cooperation between India and the USA and circumstances that led to signing of nuclear agreement. It is important to know whether without the USA help India’s Nuclear Policy vis-à-vis nuclear regimes would not have witnessed historic transformation. It also looks into the reasons behind the changed behaviour of International Nuclear Regimes and the USA particularly which has made them to come forward for offering India a “full civilian cooperation” in spite of the fact that India is still not a signatory to the NPT and the CTBT. The study helps in assessing India’s capability in moulding the dominant behaviour of Regimes by being party to them and know the impact of Indo-US nuclear deal on its three stage indigenous civilian and military nuclear programmes. The study attempts to investigate and evaluate the continuities and inconsistencies in pursuance of country’s nuclear policy under various Coalition Governments during 1996-2011 and analyse the situation under which Indian Coalition Governments managed to take crucial decisions regarding India’s nuclear policy within the background of both internal and external factors which tended to influence the nuclear policy making decisions.
**OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS**

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Nuclear Policy under J.L.Nehru  
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India’s Nuclear Policy - Post Fukushima period  
Conclusion |
| Chapter VII: Conclusion | Findings of the Research |
CHAPTERISATION SCHEME:

The present study is completed by following Chapters:

**Chapter I: Introduction**

The introductory chapter includes the statement of the research problem, review of the literature, objective of the study, research questions, research methodology, significance of the study and sources used in the study.

**Chapter II: Conceptualizing Regimes and Coalition Governments**

This chapter covers the theoretical aspects and theories regarding the origin of regimes in general. It also briefly introduces various types of the nuclear regimes. All important Concepts/Terminologies are discussed in this section. Further the chapter also examines the origin, compulsions and explanations that support strengthening of coalition politics and a concise description about the pursuance of India’s nuclear policy under coalition Governments.

**Chapter III: India’s Nuclear Policy under Single Party Governments**

This chapter discusses the evolution of India’s Nuclear Policy especially during the initial years when India had single party Government of Congress. It gives a clear background to the nuclear power development in India. It highlights the nuclear policy of India under the Prime Ministership of Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bhadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi. It also talks about the consistent policy that India adopted with regard to the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (particularly in case of NPT) and the factors leading to the decision to develop nuclear weapons.

**Chapter IV: Nuclear Regimes and Nuclear Policy under Early Coalition Governments**

This chapter analyses the nuclear policy followed by the Janata Party Government. Further it looks into the circumstances which led the United Front Government under Prime Minister Deve Gowda and I.K. Gujral to come under the American Administration’s pressure exerted by President Bill Clinton for reverting and slowing down of India’s Nuclear Policy. It studies India’s relationship with various international nuclear regimes. It explores the factors and preparedness on part of the
United Front Government that helped India in boycotting Conference on Disarmament on issue of culmination of the CTBT under the aegis of United Nations and decision of India for not signing the CTBT. The study analyses the emergence of India’s Nuclear Policy in the light of internal as well as external determinants for shaping India’s Nuclear Policy under Janata Party, the United Front government, and the National Front government like party, media, intellectuals, and government policy makers and also the role of Parliament either in supporting or opposing India’s Nuclear Policy making.

Chapter V: Nuclear Regimes and Nuclear Policy Under National Democratic Alliance Government

This chapter describes the requirements and compulsions on India for going Nuclear; it analyzes all the factors that became responsible for making important departures from long practiced nuclear policy by declaring itself to be the Nuclear Weapon State. All factors that helped a weak Coalition Government in taking a historical decision of going nuclear and mustering enough wherewithal for withstanding various sanctions imposed by various regimes which had serious implications for the country’s economy shall be studied. The necessary internal as well as external determinants like the role of the US and other powers led regimes for shaping India’s new nuclear policy and nuclear doctrine are looked into. This chapter focuses on the circumstances that emboldened India from making departures on its nuclear front i.e., instead of maintaining ambiguity under the garb of keeping its option ‘Open’ it opted for ‘Closing’ the nuclear option under certain terms and conditions. In light of various external determinants like international nuclear regimes like the IAEA, NSG, MTCR, AG, NPT and CTBT and internal determinants like National Security Council, Role of various national and regional parties, coalition partners, media, intellectuals, Government Policy Makers, Parliament, Party forums etc., have been analysed. The chapter also assess the role of various structures and sub-structures involved in shaping and formulation of the India’s Nuclear Doctrine and steps to be taken for turning the doctrine into reality.
Chapter VI: Nuclear Regimes and Nuclear Policy Under United Progressive Governments

This chapter evaluates the prospects and challenges for culmination and operationalization of the Indo-US Nuclear Deal, characterized as the hallmark of the UPA Government’s nuclear policy for ending India’s nuclear apartheid at international level. The study also looks into the turnaround in India’s nuclear policy of embracing nuclear regimes led by the US and other powers, by getting necessary waivers and by making diplomatic efforts and mobilizing international and domestic support of various constituents for seeking the membership of these regimes. The work studies the intertwining of international, domestic politics along with the complex relationship between government, party and its coalition partners. It analyses various aspects pertaining to the compulsions which lead the UPA-II to start slowing down the process of embracing Regimes and particularly United States of America along with other powers. It looks into those factors which forced the government to make certain mid-course corrections towards these regimes in the name of regaining its autonomy in this crucial sphere. This chapter also makes an assessment of the changes in India’s nuclear policy in the post Fukushima period. It also comprehends the factors which lead to the adoption of a multipronged approach in UPA-II government’s nuclear policy.

Chapter VII: Conclusion

This chapter summarizes the research and highlights major findings with regard to the research questions formulated. It traces the hallmarks in India’s Nuclear Policy since the emergence of coalition politics in India and in the light of international nuclear regimes and other factors.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research work has made use of analytical and descriptive methods. The study is primarily based on document analysis and both primary as well as secondary sources are used for this. The data for the study is collected from different sources. The subject has been treated in a chronological order starting from the background and origin of India’s Nuclear Policy in initial years immediately after independence. An insight is made into reasons and development of India’s Nuclear Policy especially
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during the Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi Period. For this various parliamentary debates and speeches of the Indian Prime Ministers during their times has been referred to. Dealing with international perspective, the work discusses the basic idea “Why States go nuclear” in the light of various existing theories and models mainly given by Realists and Neo-Realists thinkers like Kenneth Waltz and Scott S. Sagan. Further in theoretical basis the reasons of emergence of International Nuclear Regimes are explored.

The study also throws light on how the politics of International Nuclear Regimes have affected proliferation, non-proliferation, and development of nuclear weapons along with transfer of associated technology among the new countries particularly in case of India. For this personal interactions have been made with officials of various organizations involved in the nuclear development process like Indira Gandhi Center for Atomic Research (IGCAR), Uranium Corporation of India Limited (UCIL), Bhabha Atomic Research Center (BARC), etc. The researcher also got an opportunity to interact with the Secretary and other members of Nuclear Law Association (India), which has global presence, to have understanding of the latest developments in nuclear law. To know process of nuclear power generation and latest safety measures, a personal visit to the Narora Nuclear Power Plant in Uttar Pradesh, was made as part of the Winter Course on Nuclear Law on 20th November 2013.

The study has studied various factors guiding evolution of India’s nuclear doctrine in the 21st century. National Reports of Government of India, White Papers, Official government announcements, party policy statements, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha Debates, manifestos of different national and regional parties, declarations and speeches, Foreign Affairs Record, interviews of various government officials, various conference proceedings, etc., are used for understanding the internal constraints, determinants, party politics of various coalition governments of India namely United Front Government, National Democratic Alliance, and United Progressive Alliance (UPA-I and UPA-II). A number of books, research journals, articles, newspapers, and primary sources like Annual Reports of Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, Annual reports of Department of Atomic Energy, IAEA Annual Reports, UN Reports, SIPRI Year Books, Reports of National Security Council, working papers, research
reports, Congressional Research Services (CRS) Records, Reports of US Think Tanks like Rand Corporation, Carnegie International Peace Endowment and their counterparts in India are used exhaustively. Several web documents/articles available on the websites are also used to complete the study.