PREFACE
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India's nuclear policy since 1947 was never spelt out in clear and categorical terms. While successive Governments have declared its policy to be one of exploration of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, and championed the cause of nuclear disarmament at global level, they have at the same time nurtured deep interest in the development of a nuclear weapons programme as an insurance policy for the security of the country. India's first explosion in 1974 and the subsequent policy of restraint that it followed chimed well with this. But the second Pokharan blast in May 1998 and the enunciation of the new Nuclear Doctrine made India overtly nuclear and it became clearly a nuclear state despite refusal of Five Nuclear Giants to confer this status on India. To cap this, all along India is dragging its feet not to sign CTBT at the behest of Nuclear Giants.

The compulsions that impelled India to break its long icy silence were many and varied. While it was a master stroke of politics given the nature of the timing of decision, it was a well-thought out and deliberately calculated exercise in real politic that seeks to realize India's national interests in radically different balance of forces prevailing at regional and global level. The collapse of the Soviet Union and disintegration of the socialist States of Eastern Europe and the progressive extension of NATO into the heartland of Europe, the unification of Germany and rise of a United Europe and decline of the United States as a World economic power and the effort of the Western Powers, especially the Five Nuclear Giants to pursue assiduously CTBT and promote globalization have injected new dimensions into world politics. It's only implication is to freeze the existing distribution of powers among them and not to allow India to emerge
as a world power keeping Asia as a sphere of influence for China as Japan has refused to abandon its Goshada Doctrine to go in for militarization. At the same time, India is convinced that allurement of huge potentialities of Chinese market for the Western Powers in the wake of its market reforms will make it the undisputed leader of Asia to whom India will play only second fiddle, a proposition traditionally unacceptable to India which itself is now poised on the threshold of a world power by its increasing integration with world economy. Another stumbling bloc is Pakistan that has gone nuclear, which in its collusion with China will frustrate all efforts of India for rapid development. Besides, Kashmir with its tremendous potentialities of being the last surviving symbol of the tragic partition that resulted in "moth-eaten" Pakistan will remain an emotive issue in Indo-Pakistan relations in years to come, which will be exploited by the political and military leadership of Pakistan for their political dominance and survival in the political system.

In view of these developments, it is highly imperative to reassess our present nuclear policy that India only aims at achieving a minimum credible deterrent shorn of aspiration to become the Sixth Global Giant. In this context our Nuclear Doctrine and our opinion on CTBT needs clear and total in-depth analysis. While my earlier research on the subject heavily dealt on its historical backdrop and its evolution in the Cold War years, recent developments have injected new dimensions into policy casting new light on many technical and substantive aspects. This calls for further efforts of vigorous analysis for unraveling new insights that will emerge from the testing of many new hypotheses.

Historical and qualitative methods are followed for the collection and interpretation of data. Data is collected from policy statements of Governments, national and international journals, memories of notable Indians, Parliamentary debates, and interviews with
eminent experts in the field. However, analysis will be quantitative depending upon the unit of analysis if it is numerous.

I had to collect my material for research from the Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, SAPRU House Library, New Delhi, Parliament Library, Larrdis Press Clipping Section of Parliament, New Delhi, Foreign Services Institute Library, Akbar Bhavan, Chanakyapuri, New Delhi and National Institute of Advanced Studies Library, Bangalore. I am personally indebted to Hon'ble Sri Lalitendu Mansingh for giving me help to collect materials from the Foreign Services Institute Library. My thanks to Sri Anadi Charan Sahu, Ex-Member of Parliament for whom I could get access to the Parliament Library.

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I hereby declare that the said thesis is the original work of the undersigned and has not been submitted to any other University/Institution for Ph.D. Degree.