INTRODUCTION

In the wake of the Cold War and the disintegration of its bipolar structure, the long-standing debate has intensified about which type of polarity distribution - unipolar, bipolar, or multipolar -- is the most stable. One interpretation holds that there were periods when an equal distribution of power between contenders actually existed...but these...were the exception rather than the rule...closer examination reveals that they were periods of war, not peace.\(^1\) If this view is accurate, then peace will occur when one hegemonic state acquires enough power to deter others' expansionist ambitions. If we think of the United States as the hegemonic power in the post-World War II system, this seemingly plausible conclusion about the stability of unipolar systems does not bode well for peace in the future. If present trends continue, the so-called "unipolar moment" of unchallenged U.S. hegemony\(^2\) will pass and, without a dominant global leader, the twenty-first century will be increasingly disorderly.

In contrast, a second school of thought\(^3\) maintains that bipolar systems are the most stable. According to this line of reasoning; stability, ironically, results from "the division of all nations into two camps [because it] raises the costs of war to such a high level that all but the most fundamental conflicts are resolved without resort to \(^4\) under such stark simplicities and balanced symmetries, the two leading rivals have incentives to manage arises so that they do not escalate to war. These who believe that a bipolar world is inherently more stable than either its unipolar or multipolar counterparts draw support from the fact that in the bipolar environment of the 1950s, when the threat of war was endemic, major war did not occur. Extrapolating, these observers\(^5\) reason that because now a new multipolar distribution of global power makes it impossible to run the world from one or two centers, disorder will result:

It is rather basic. So long as there were only two great powers, like two big battleships clumsily and cautiously circling each other, confrontations

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\(^4\) For a detailed discussion, see Bueno de Mosquita, "Measuring Systemic Polarity", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol.22 (June 1975), pp.187-216.

or accidents -- were easier to avoid. Now, with the global lake more crowded with ships of varying sizes, fuelled by different ambitions and piloted with different degrees of navigational skill, the odds of collisions become far greater. 6

A third school of thought argues that multipolar systems are the least war-prone. While the reasons differ, advocates share the belief that polarized systems that either concentrate power, as in a unipolar system, or that divide the world into two antagonistic blocs, as in a bipolar system, promote struggles for dominance. 7 The peace-through-multipolarity school perceives multipolar systems as stable because they encompass a larger number of autonomous actors, giving rise to more potential alliance partners. This is seen as pacifying because it is essential to counterbalancing a would-be aggressor, as shifting alliances can occur only when there are multiple power centers. 8

Abstract deductions and historical analogies can lead to contradictory conclusions, as the logic underlying these three inconsistent interpretations illustrates. The future will determine which of these rival theories is the most accurate.

Diplomacy is basically the management of international relations by negotiation. In general sense, international relations is totality of relationship among states. The management dimension is reflective in diplomacy while analyzing personalities, leadership, issues, values, ideology etc. And when it comes to the main tool of diplomacy, i.e., negotiation it can be said that negotiation as most preferred way of conflict resolution. Persuasion and bargaining are the essence of negotiation. Negotiation can be ranged from internal, horizontal, vertical, bilateral to multilateral. The proper understanding of the process and outcome of negotiations mainly involve multiple issues, multiple stakeholders, divergent interests and positions, vested interests, stable agreements. The main negotiating techniques and bargaining strategies in respect are the threats and bluffs; incentives versus sanctions; signalling, deadlock; deadlines and ultimatum; alliances and coalition-building. Non-verbal communication and role of culture are equally important in negotiation -- along with actors in diplomacy. From a

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state perspective, diplomacy is concerned with the means by which States through their formal and other representatives articulate, coordinate and secure particular or wider interests, using correspondence, private skills, exchange of views, lobbying, visits, threats and other related activities. In this context, international peace and security have traditionally been a concern of diplomacy. National interests and foreign policy are generally part of the 'central' preoccupations of most States.

The central issue is to be addressed throughout the thesis which mainly relates to the unprecedented proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). The WMD mainly consists of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. The principal thrust is on the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). As far as diplomacy of the CWC is concerned, the relevance of the study lies on the complete ban on chemical weapons. This is a great challenge for diplomacy. The main analysis revolves around the 'multilateral diplomacy'. Is multilateral diplomacy more result oriented vis-à-vis bilateral one in respect to disarmament? If we take the Cold War period, most of the arms control negotiations and disarmament diplomacy yielded positive results at bilateral level. A decade after the end of the Cold War, at the threshold of the 21st Century, the fabric of international security is showing new signs of unravelling. The global regimes to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction are under siege. What does make this study more demanding and relevant that the years of relentless effort have not eliminated the clandestine WMD programs of the most determined proliferators.9 And deterrence between the United States and the Soviet Union was often fragile and came close to breaking down on more than one occasion. It took decades for the two countries to build robust capabilities that provided a clear picture of the other side's forces, promoted control against unauthorized use, and promised sure and devastating retaliation even if the other side struck first. The US-Russia nuclear disarmament process is stalled, with adverse consequences for the global disarmament agenda.

The situation in Asia is volatile portending negative changes for disarmament and non-proliferation in coming decades. The major undercurrents in this thesis while addressing the WMD issue relates to major powers, a primary factor in world order, are crucial.

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to the future of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. The first chapter entitled, "India’s Diplomacy on WMD Negotiations: A Backdrop" analyzes the entire set of India’s WMD negotiations at different multilateral forums since Independence. The proper background information on entire aspects of arms control, proliferation and disarmament are essential and necessary to give freshness in outlook on WMD issues while taking into consideration the present reality and world order. As per the United Nations definition, the WMD mainly consists of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Hence, the troika of weapons of mass destruction employ for the purpose of inflicting massive damage, including the killing of large numbers of civilians. The concept "weapons of mass destruction" consolidates the above-mentioned trio of weapons of mass destruction into one category because despite differences in their effects and use, they share enormous lethality and symbolism. The WMD is an open-ended concept potentially allowing for the development of their technologies of mass destruction. "Mass destruction" is a relative term. A single WMD then, can cause damage equivalent to that of hundreds of thousands of conventional high explosive or incendiary weapons. The main objective the this chapter is to trace the whole set of WMD negotiations specially from India’s disarmament diplomacy over the decades. The conceptual and teleological analysis is inevitable for the proper understanding of the technical terms and key concepts such as proliferation, arms control, disarmament from a critical perspective. Are these concepts sufficiently give more insight and incisiveness for a critical analysis?

While analysing the trends and developments, the historical approach is indispensable tool. The historical approach generally gives an overview of "understanding ourselves" for a particular period of time. Then the question of time and space context becomes more relevant. The question is that "Can history be objective?". The contention is one’s perspective, thinking level mainly influenced by one’s background, brought up environment, values, culture, education and so on. To some extent, the element of objectivity should be main tool for analysis for the proper, critical understanding of a theme. Pertaining to disarmament diplomacy, it is quite evident that the negotiating behaviour of individual countries substantiate the above-mentioned aspects. Moreover, historical perspective should have present linkages. In this pursuit of analysis the evolution of contemporary diplomacy should be well-taken. Then the debate of modern diplomacy versus contemporary diplomacy arises. The comparative approach is equally
relevant and constitute one of the significant methodological framework. The role of non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations (NGO) also receive attention.

To establish the diplomatic linkages on WMD issues while tracing the genesis of WMD negotiations at bilateral, multilateral level give India's approach towards disarmament. In this respect, the values such as peace, security and disarmament may explain the ultimate objective towards peaceful world order. The personality aspect of Jawaharlal Nehru during the initial decades of disarmament efforts is subject to a detailed analysis. There seems to be nuclear diplomacy, perhaps got much attention, it may not necessarily mean that biological and chemical talks are sidelined those times. In essence, it is extremely difficult to draw demarcation of the negotiations of WMD ranging from nuclear, chemical, biological to radiological weapons. The ultimate goal at the multilateral level was the General and Complete disarmament. While taking the track record of India's disarmament diplomacy India have been participating in a meaningful manner to address all security issues. During Nehruvian period, the pursuit of peace, security and international cooperation was a cornerstone of India's diplomacy; it has a highly philosophical connotation while explaining the problem of disarmament. This chapter also explains the Nuclear Non-Proliferation (NPT) regime, Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT) during the 1970s, Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) of 1991, Pokharan I and II of India, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty of 1996, Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), proposed Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty, and Biological Weapons Convention (BWC).

Second and third chapter broadly analyze that the dimension of the "Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) Negotiations" and "India and Chemical Weapons Convention" respectively. In any area of scholarly inquiry, there are always several ways in which the phenomena under study may be sorted out and arranged for purposes of systemic analysis. The responsible scholar must be prepared to evaluate the relative utility --

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10 Whether he/she selects the micro or macro level of analysis is ostensibly a more matter of methodological or conceptual convenience. Yet the choice often turns out to be quite difficult, and may well become a central issue within the discipline concerned. As Kurt Lewin observed in his classic contribution to the social sciences, "The first prerequisite of a successful observation in any science is a definite understanding about what size of unit one is going to observe at a given time", *Field Theory in Social Science*, New York, 1951, p.157.

First of all, it is the most comprehensive of the levels available, encompassing the totality of interactions which take place within the system and its environment. By focusing on the system, we are enabled to study the patterns of interaction which the system reveals, and to generalize about such phenomena as the (continued...)
conceptual and methodological -- of the various alternatives open to him, and to appraise the manifold implications of the level of analysis finally selected. So it is with international relation. So it is with diplomacy too. The starting point of analysis *The International System as Level of Analysis*. The CWC is not an exception in this respect. Beginning with the systemic level of analysis, we find in the total international system a partially familiar and highly promising point of focus.

In disarmament diplomacy, the CWC as a case study is subjected to a comprehensive analysis. A large literature on the case-study method has appeared in recent years, but that remains spotty. No complete catalog of research designs for case studies has emerged. Even no textbook covers the gamut of study design considerations. We have two basic ways to test theories: experimentation and observation. *Case-Study Analysis*, the analyst explores a small number of cases (as few as one) in detail, to see whether events unfold in the manner predicted and (if the subject involves human behaviour) whether actors speak and act as the theory predicts. What is the ultimate aim of any study? To build a better value system for the benefit of human being. Hence,

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10(continued)

creation and dissolution of coalitions, the frequency and duration of specific power configurations, modifications in its stability, its responsiveness to changes in formal political institutions, and the norms and folklore which it manifests as a societal system. In other words, the systemic level of analysis, and only this level, permits us to examine international relations in the whole, with a comprehensiveness that is of necessity lost when our focus is shifted to a lower, and more partial, level. For descriptive purposes, then, it offers both advantages and disadvantages; the former flow from its comprehensiveness, and the latter from the necessary dearth of detail.


12 For a detailed discussion, see, Robert K. Yin, Case Study Research: Design and Methods, 2nd edn. (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE, 1994), pp.18-19. Observational tests come in two varieties: large- and case study. Thus, overall we have a universe of three basic testing methods: experimentation, observation using large-n analysis, and observation using case-study analysis. Large-n, or "statistical", analysis involves a large number of cases -- usually several dozen or more -- is assembled and explored to see if variables (a concept can have various values, e.g., the "degree of democracy" in a country or the "share of the two-party vote" for a political party) covering as the theory predicts.
theory is a set of values or a set of principles offered to explain a particular phenomena. The key terms of values are desirability, goodness and worthiness - it is for the pursuit of human happiness. In case of the CWC, the values are-peace, security, disarmament. Which testing method is best? Is case study inferior to other methods? One of fairly strong methods case study offers is "process-tracing". For instance, the CWC negotiations. It offers a backdrop of fairly uniform, case conditions. One of the shortcomings of case study is the results cannot be generalized to other cases. The CWC is to be known as one of the best model convention the world has ever negotiated may not be applicable to a Nuclear Weapons Convention. The reason is fairly uniform case conditions. How does case study operate? Even single-case studies can give clear answers. Case studies can be best if we want to infer or test explanatory hypotheses, or if cases have been unevenly recorded -- a few are recorded in great detail, many in scant detail. There is no uniform answer to the question "which method is best?" The case method is strong method of testing theories. In case of CWC, the CWC and international security implications come into picture.

The second chapter traces the entire gamut of the chemical weapons disarmament talks. The efforts to ban chemical weapons dates back to 1874-Brussels Declaration prohibiting employment of poisoned weapons and the use of poisons in warfare. However, this Convention did not cover the kind of chemical warfare which took place in World War, where lethal gas was dispersed and left to drift with the wind. A declaration signed at the major Conference in 1899 condemned the use of projectiles which diffused deleterious gases. On 17th June 1925, the most important legal instrument in the field of chemical weapons came into being -- Protocol for the Prohibition of Use in War of Asphyxiating Poisonous or Other Gases and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare. In brief, the 1925 Geneva Protocol. It was signed in Geneva on 11 June 1925. The Protocol had no verification or control provisions. India is a signatory to the Geneva Protocol. The first violation of this Protocol occurred when chemical weapons were used against Ethiopia in 1935-36. The limited scope of

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13 Case studies can serve five main purposes: testing theories, creating theories, identifying antecedent conditions, testing the importance of these antecedent conditions, and explaining cases of intrinsic importance. The first four purposes are similar in their logic and are realized using the same basic methods. For another typology of case-study formats see Lijphart, "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method", American Political Science Review 65 (September 1971), pp.682-93. He distinguishes six types of case study (p.691) (1) atheoretical, (2) interpretative, (3) hypothesis-generating, (4) theory confirming, (5) theory informing, and (6) deviant.
the Geneva Protocol, the increasing number of alleged violations of its provisions, and
the spread of chemical and biological weapons horizontally and vertically have led to
efforts to seek a comprehensive ban on such weapons which would outlaw their
development, production, stockpiling, transfer and use. The most substantial part of
multilateral negotiations in this context since the Second World War has taken place in
the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

As a first step, a comprehensive ban on biological weapons was reached in 1972 and
negotiations aiming at the total prohibition of chemical weapons have continued ever
since. Until 1979, those efforts were not pursued in systematic way and with the
necessary determination. Discussions took place only in plenary meetings of the CD and
during informal consultations. Negotiations began to accelerate in 1980 when a special
subsidiary body of the CD was established, and in 1984 when agreement on the
structure of a joint preliminary draft text for the projected Convention was reached.
Work has continued on this so-called "rolling text" since then. The Geneva Protocol
of 1925 and the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972 are relatively simple as far as
their content and mechanisms of implementation are concerned. It became increasingly
clear at the beginning of the 1970s that such a simple approach to a comprehensive ban
on chemical weapons was not acceptable to some countries, particularly the United
States and the United Kingdom. One of the reasons given was that chemical weapons
had a higher military value than biological ones. They had repeatedly been used in
armed conflicts. These are explained in detail in the second and third chapters. Western
countries believed that international verification of compliance with a total prohibition
of chemical weapons should be more intrusive in order to ensure the security of all
parties to the agreement. This postulate rapidly increased the number of issues to be
considered by the negotiators.

A significant development in 1980 was the decision of the Geneva body to establish a
subsidiary ad hoc working group on chemical weapons with a mandate to define through
substantive examination issues to be dealt with in the negotiation of a multilateral CWC.

The "rolling text" is the continuously updated version of the joint preliminary and non-binding draft
Convention on Chemical Weapons which is being negotiated in the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical
Weapons. It reflects the preferences of delegations to the Conference on Disarmament at the end of each
session. It is included in the report of the Ad hoc Committee to the CD, and in the report of the latter to
the UN General Assembly. If there is consensus, on the working of a provision, it is included in the rolling
text.
In 1982, the former Soviet Union submitted a document on the basic provisions of Convention banning such weapons. In 1984, the US submitted a full text of a "Draft Convention on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons". Since then the negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament (CD) on a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons have intensified. In 1984, the Ad Hoc Committee of the Conference on Chemical Weapons was able to agree on the need to produce a document which would be the basis for further negotiations. Some doubts and disagreements persisted on the question of verification these were clarified in the 1985 negotiations. In 1987, an agreement was reached that all chemical weapons would be destroyed, i.e., no chemical warfare agents could be diverted to other uses, and all chemical weapons should be fully declared and verified. The matter of clandestine production was also taken up to find a solution. In 1988, in Geneva, a number of confidence building measures to facilitate such negotiations was take up: declaration of possession, non-possession of chemical weapons; more active involvement of representatives of chemical industries in the negotiating process; trial inspection and exchange visits to chemical facilities and so on. Some problems still persisted as the order of destruction of stocks and production facilities, effective monitoring of civilian chemical industries to ensure non-production of chemical weapons without jeopardizing commercial interests, and detailed procedures for the conduct of on site inspections. The Paris Conference of 1989 adopted a comprehensive document which laid down specific guidelines for all matters pertaining to chemical weapons. In 1990 US and Soviet Union submitted a joint proposal according to which existing chemical weapons possessors should be permitted to keep two percent of their arsenals for retaliatory capability until all chemical weapon countries adhered to the Convention. Finally, the CWC opened for signature. It is formally known as 1993 Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction, entered into force on 29 April 1997.

One of the specific issues with the United Nations has been concerned since its very inception is disarmament. India played an active role in the three multilateral disarmament forums, viz., the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, the United Nations Disarmament Commission (UNDC) and the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly. In the negotiations on a global Convention on Chemical Weapons, India worked for a comprehensive Convention which would rule out
discriminatory and short term measures. India's diplomacy on Chemical Weapons Convention negotiations is subjected to an analysis in detail. One of the unique features of the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention was the participation of chemical industry in negotiations. India was also represented in the meeting with the chemical industry held in June 1990 in Geneva in the context of the Chemical Weapons Convention negotiations. As per the obligations of the Chemical Weapons Convention, India created National Authority for the effective implementation of the Chemical Weapons Convention. The role, functions, duties and powers of the National Authority have elaborately been laid down in the Chemical Weapons Convention Act 2000 which enacted by India as a part of obligation under the Chemical Weapons Convention. These aspects have been dealt with in the third chapter.

Some view the process of negotiation as a puzzle to be solved, others see it as a bargaining game involving an exchange of concessions, some consider it a way of reconciling differences within and between organizations, and still others think of it as a means for implementing governmental policies. A wide range of circumstances in which negotiation takes place. There are four ways of thinking about negotiation which have become dominant frameworks for research and theory development. They are: (i) negotiation as puzzle solving; (ii) negotiation as a bargaining game; (iii) negotiation as organizational management; (iv) negotiation as diplomatic politics. These four approaches differ in terms of their emphasis and complexity, but they also differ according to the particular processes they focus on moves and preferences, communication processes, intra and interorganizational processes, and an international system of diplomatic politics. The diplomatic aspect has a compelling relevance in the CWC study. Viewed as such negotiations are microcosms of international relations, where parallel interactions or cross-linkages among many types of diplomatic activities occur, each influencing the other. This is the perspective of policy analysts and international relations scholars who are interested in how a particular negotiation fits into a broadly conceived foreign policy. Then the question of "state" arises. Here, power is the key determinant and the political leadership exercises influence for the

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vested interests, and would it affect 'authority'? In simple terms, authority is legitimacy, moral sanction, and public opinion.

In simple parlance, national security refers to the defence of the country's borders. National security component of diplomacy is crucial in this study while explaining weapons of mass destruction terrorism. National security as a term, is of recent origin. "It was only after the Second World War that national security entered the strategic vocabulary in response to an awareness of a need for a new concept to replace old terms like military affairs, foreign policy and foreign affairs". The Second World War was a turning point in the history of warfare as war now impinged critically on every aspect of a nation's existence and national life. National Security is a composite of two words - 'national' and 'security', 'National' is easily understood, but 'Security' needs to be amplified. A meeting of international security experts at Tashkent in May 1990 agreed the definition of security:

Security is a condition in which states consider that there is no danger of military attack, political pressure or economic coercion, so that they are able to pursue freely their own development and progress.

Ever since independence, India has faced external aggression, insurgencies both within and from across the border, perennial internal disturbances and more recently vicious terrorist attacks with inspiration and active support from across the border. India lacks a strategic culture. However, no efforts have been made to sensitize the public or the political leaders on subjects like national security, strategic analysis, threat perceptions and threat assessments etc. The Second and Third chapter seek to explain the above-mentioned implications, their meaning, contexts and inter-relationships the CWC per se. Problems relating to national security have multiplied exponentially now. The government can no longer afford to take its own time to formulate policies and have a structured mechanism to deal with them. One example is the formation of a National Security Council which took shape in 1988 though the idea was being considered by successive governments since mid-eighties. A more recent example is the announcement of a command and control structure, four years after India declared itself a nuclear power. There is also a need to learn from past experience and discuss the issues openly.


without compromising our security. One classic example is the "Henderson-Brooks Report" on the 1962 debacle which is yet to see the light of the day. Inefficiency and failures can no longer be hidden under the cloak of secrecy. This is the age of information explosion. There should be a demand for more and more transparency and information relating to security. Hence, national security concerns assume principal thrust of the study.

To make right choices, we must seek information, advice and alternatives, and we must see that the actions our decisions generate are carried out properly. Who can aid in these tasks? Out of necessity, we must turn to those with the expertise we lack. In this respect, geo-political compulsions of individual countries are a matter of concern, and the role of coercive diplomacy is self-evident. The question is: What diplomacy can do? Do arms acquisitions promote war? How states make foreign policy decisions to cope with international circumstances should be taken into consideration the following factors -- the emergence of the modern state system, the international and internal determinants of states' foreign policy behaviour (levels of analysis, factors influencing foreign policy choices); the unitary actor and rational decision making; the bureaucratic politics of foreign policy decision making; constraints of foreign policy making involving problems and prospects. These aspects are relevant in respect to the CWC, India and China, India and Pakistan; and India and the U.S.

The Fourth Chapter entitled "India and Chemical Weapons Convention Implementation Measures" explores that the composite implementation issues, organizational structure in the present context. Although verification, intrusion, on-site inspections, compliance mechanisms and intelligence aspects, receive a key attention in this chapter. This chapter explores that is the present organizational set-up well-capable while addressing the CWC implementation? A critical approach constitutes main framework of analysis related to one of unique features of the CWC i.e., organizational structure and implementation mechanism. India's diplomacy on the CWC has critically been explored pertaining to implementation measures. A legal-cum-scientific and critical approach requires for addressing the CWC implementation measures. The domestic implementation of the CWC by India, legal nuances, diplomatic niceties, and constitutional processes and treaty-making tried to fill the critical gap and to create awareness related to the CWC in this chapter. India and The Hague-based Organization
for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) gets focal attention while analyzing all implementation issues. What are hurdles? Does organization age matter? What diplomacy can do? These are the main concerns. There is no doubt that diplomacy ought to reflect an integration of proliferation concerns into the patterns of relations among states and groups. The developments in science and technology and issues concerning chemical industry and the role of diplomacy constitute the cornerstone of the chapter. Although the literature on this aspect are few and far between the issue of chemical industry would come up in future pertaining to implementation issues. The establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO), Intellectual Property Rights (IPR), the large network of pharmaceutical companies all over the world dual-use technologies are the principal areas of concern while addressing the CWC in future. In this respect, the role of India’s diplomacy is vital from the perspective of public and developing countries along with China. The chemical industry, the research and development (R&D) capabilities should have seen from a diplomacy point of view i.e., negotiation in respect to the CWC per se while implementing the CWC.

A perspective analysis offers and the entire gamut of philosophy behind diplomacy of WMD and international security. It mainly stems from the OPCW review document.\(^{17}\) The Agenda item 7(a) of the OPCW Review Document states: "The Role of the Chemical Weapons Convention in enhancing international peace and security". The implication is as simple as that -- the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production, acquisition, stockpiling, retention, transfer, and use of chemical weapons, and their destruction, are the essential safeguard against the future use of chemical weapons. In this pursuit, diplomacy is the main fulcrum in respect to the CWC. Moreover, the First Review Conference of the CWC\(^*\) recognized the essential contribution that the Convention has made to confidence-building and cooperation among the State Parties, to international peace and security, and to the national security of the States Parties. When it comes to confidence-building measures (CBMs), diplomacy becomes inevitable. The First Review Conference reiterated the

\(^{17}\) The OPCW Review Document, as approved by the First Special Session of the Conference of the States Parties to Review the Operation of the Chemical Weapons Convention (RC-1/COW.1, 9 May 2003).

\(^*\) As a part of the CWC’s fulfillment of obligation, the First Review Conference was convened in The Hague from 28 April to 9 May 2003.

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importance of the obligation of the States Parties to declare their chemical weapons. Furthermore, the Review Conference reiterated the importance of subjecting chemical weapons stockpiles to international verification by the OPCW, and to complete their destruction in accordance with the provisions of the Convention, including its time limits. The same applies to the destruction or conversion of chemical weapons production facilities. The efforts of India's diplomacy should make a difference in implementing the CWC. The adoption of political declaration is the remarkable aspect of the First Review Conference. How far the political declaration will provide for the fostering the international cooperation and assistance in the peaceful uses of chemistry? There have to be taken into consideration the ground realities. Verification, compliance, on-site inspections, national technical means, intelligence machinery are equally important and which has been mentioned in this respect. How does India's diplomacy cope up with the issues relating to implementation of CWC - is a crucial dimension. The evolving world order, the international system and regime-building are the main philosophical enquiries connotations for diplomacy. In essence, the main actor is state and the main villain is the proliferation of WMD. The main debate is on the virtue versus evil.

In the concluding chapter the whole emphasis is on the crystallization of major findings if the CWC is successfully brought into force by the international community, will it make a qualitative difference? If so, how do we place or fit India's diplomatic efforts into it? To a large extent, all depends upon situation to situation, place to place, time to time and person to person. Whether it is institutional diplomacy or bilateral or multilateral one, each of them has an equal firmer footing while addressing the CWC.