CHAPTER-V
CONCLUSION

In the era of globalisation it is indeed a reality that no nation can survive in isolation. It has to interact with various countries to fulfill its interests. Major powers increase their influence and try to dominate others. They attempt to change the behaviour of other states to pursue their domestic and external objectives. United States as super power has throughout adopted such a foreign policy. United States pursues its policy while invoking lofty ideals of establishment of democracy, nuclear non-proliferation and fighting terrorism. US hegemony became most pronounced after the collapse of the Soviet Union. India remained a centerpiece of American foreign policy although they differed with each other in many ways. India had never come under pressure by any nation while making its foreign policy. India always remained firm in its independent foreign policy. It refused to join any block in Cold War period. Inspite of divergence, there are many similarities on key issues, which played important role to tie them with each other. India wants United State’s economic support for its developing economy and political support to counter its rival neighbours. India is also important for United States because it is the only stable power in South Asia to serve United States interests. Indian economy and market always remained important for US. In Cold War period their relations remained strained on many counts. India was tilted towards USSR while United States gave military aid to Pakistan which was being used to counter India. America was aware of it but was unwilling to check Pakistan. United States always helped Pakistan on various occasions, United States foreign policy remained focused on containing the spread of communism and supported friendly governments with aid, arms and troops and Pakistan belong to such a category. This was the major reason that India could not establish good relationship with United States. United States used nuclear non-proliferation as a tool to secure its interests and to preserve its global hegemony. America emerged as a strong power on the globe since the acquisition of nuclear technology. It took many steps to monopolize the nuclear technology, for maintain the hegemony. United States scared the world by dropping nuclear bombs over Japan and therefore, other major powers sought to acquire the technology to ensure their security. United States wanted to check the spread of nuclear weapons through international agency which can inspect the development of nuclear weapons. Bernard
Baruch had played an important role in this regard. US officials thought that this agency would help to stop the production of bombs and nuclear energy would be used for peaceful purposes under an international organization. International Atomic Energy Agency started its business in 1957, but till then, Soviet Union and Britain had acquired the nuclear technology. United States monopoly over the nuclear weapons ended with this.  

To check the further proliferation US held negotiations with various countries, but its efforts failed and nuclear technology came in the hands of France and China. Nuclear proliferation had increased due to sense of insecurity among nations. Harmful effects on the atmosphere were well known, so some efforts were made to control the nuclear testing. In outer space and under water testing were banned. The US had latest technologies through which they could test their weapons in laboratories but other countries did not have such kind of techniques. Pace of nuclear proliferation was reduced but non proliferation started in real sense with Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty has been the mainstay of the nuclear non-proliferation regime and the key international standard setting document for conduct in the nuclear era. The significance of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty for nuclear non-proliferation regime is seen as a global instrument through which non nuclear weapon states could make a legal commitment not to acquire ultimate weapons. It was designed by nuclear powers to secure their interests. It was a controversial treaty because article IX (Part III) of the treaty divided the world into two parts i.e. haves and have nots. The nations which did not possess nuclear weapons came in the category of non nuclear states and five nations which had the monopoly of weapons fell in the category of nuclear power. This treaty was designed to prevent other nations from possessing nuclear weapons. Article VI of the treaty deals with disarmament. Existing nuclear weapons states would reduce their weapons at an early date. It was an important step towards elimination of existing weapons. United States and Soviet Union reduced their weapons through various treaties. Many countries had signed Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. United States efforts of non proliferation partially met success. The countries like India, Israel and Pakistan were keen to acquire nuclear weapons. United States framed the treaty particularly to shut down the nuclear programme of these countries. But these countries refused to sign the treaty. US non-proliferation regime through NPT had not worked in the regions where it was most urgently required. India did not sign the treaty because of its
discriminatory nature. India is in favour of proliferation of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes without any discrimination but against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Refusal to sign the treaty by threshold countries was a major set back to non-proliferation efforts of United States. Countries like Brazil, Argentina, South Africa ended their nuclear weapons and allowed international inspection regime. Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus had nuclear weapons after the disintegration of Soviet Union, but they signed the treaty and returned weapons to Russia. Some countries gave up their programme to have nuclear weapons due to United States security assurances. NPT was debated many times in Indian Parliament. When it was debated for the first time, the then Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi assured the people that India refused the treaty due to security considerations. Nuclear powers wanted to retain monopoly over nuclear weapons as well as nuclear technology and continued testing and refinement by latest techniques but did not provide the same right to other nations. United States never favoured total disarmament. It wanted nuclear weapons for some responsible powers to deter a conventional war in future. But India did not support United States for such designs. India was in favour of total elimination of nuclear arms. United States and USSR reduced their nuclear weapons under the disarmament treaties but the arms of other three powers remained untouched. India was not for giving up its right to develop nuclear technology.

Article III of the treaty, deals with the role of International Atomic Energy Agency. Signatories of the treaty would have the right to import nuclear material, equipment and information from nuclear weapon states. All activities of non-nuclear weapon states would come under IAEA. They can use equipment and material for peaceful purposes. In NPT, the role of IAEA is also discriminatory. The peaceful activities of nuclear weapon states are not subject to supervision but all know how and other un-aided nuclear programmes of non-nuclear countries are kept under the inspection of IAEA.

United States, by NPT and IAEA tried to maintain its privileged position at international level. It tried to suppress the aspiration of other nations to acquire nuclear weapons. It organized international system in a way which can suit to its interest.

United States’ efforts for nuclear non-proliferation could not succeed due to unfair nature had United States applied fair and non-discriminatory approach, the world could have been free from nuclear weapons. If all nuclear weapon states would
have agreed to submit nuclear energy activities to IAEA, the non-nuclear weapon states could definitely accept similar controls on their nuclear programmes. India is in favour of fair approach and refuses to follow the discriminatory policies of United States of America. For its own security, India does not want its dependence on few privileged states. India does not want to give up its right to develop nuclear technology, when its rival state China had nuclear weapons. India had many compulsions which played important role in its decision making process regarding nuclear issue. Its relationship with neighbouring countries have not been cordial. It had to fight wars with its neighbour countries to secure its territory. China attacked India and claimed thousands of square miles area of Indian territory. It became militarily strong after acquiring nuclear capability, and had strong influence in South Asia. China was cooperating with Pakistan in nuclear technology. America, a great supporter of non-proliferation, closed its eyes when China was helping Pakistan.\textsuperscript{12} In early 70s China was developing ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads and it was estimated that it had stockpile of about 150 nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, with a capacity to produce forty weapons of 20 kilotons annually. Indian government was worried about Chinese medium range ballistic missile with a range up to 3200 km, which when operational was capable of reaching targets in India from launching bases in Tibet.\textsuperscript{13}

On the other hand America always adopted pro-Pakistan approach. United States strengthened Pakistan against India. United States gave huge packages of aid to Pakistan in spite of the fact that aid was being used against India. In 1965, American weapons were used against India and in 1971, America strengthened Pakistan with military aid which was used against India. The role of America was very crucial in Indo-Pakistan relationship.\textsuperscript{14}

India was highly insecure from Pakistan, China and this combined with United States approach compelled it to take firm decision for nuclear explosions in 1974.\textsuperscript{15} India satisfied its quest for international recognition, as nuclear capable state. India demonstrated its power through the nuclear explosions.

However, Indian government stated firmly that tests were for peaceful purposes and India had no intention to develop nuclear weapons.\textsuperscript{16} India strongly opposed the military use of the nuclear technology.\textsuperscript{17} International community criticized Indian nuclear tests. Canadian government alleged that its exported material was used for explosions.\textsuperscript{18} Soviet Union and France also took hard steps to
show their resentment. United States of America passed nuclear Non-Proliferation Act to control further proliferation. Additional measures were taken to tighten export by this Act. Recipient country of US exported material were required accept international safeguard system their nuclear activities. Indian nuclear tests had also affected Indo-US collaboration for Tarapur Atomic power stations. By interrupting the fuel supply for Tarapur, United States wanted to pressurize India to accept full scope safeguards for all its research centers. Indian ministers gave their statement regarding American policy. Rajya Sabha member had said that America was creating problems for India forcing it to sign Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and to accept full scope safeguards. American reaction was a major setback to nuclear programme of India. US wanted to curb the Indian aspiration to become a major power in South Asia.

International community adopted tough stand against India's nuclear explosion. But these tests had shaken their position so they tried to shut down Indian nuclear programme by various ways. India did not change its policy of developing atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

In 1980 nuclear non proliferation became the fundamental objective of foreign policy. It wanted to check the proliferation at any cost, so it undertook many steps to implement its objectives. President Reagan gave stress that nuclear weapons and prestige issue should not be attached. There were many countries which sought to acquire nuclear weapons for increasing their prestige at international level. Instability also enhanced the proliferation. States which have tensions with its neighbour countries, would try to acquire nuclear technology to deter other states. So, President of the United States urged the Congress to reduce the motivation for having nuclear technology by improving regional and global stability. United States tried to ensure friendly states that their long term security interests would not be taken care of. Unites States assured other states of their energy needs so that they did not try to acquire nuclear capability for their economic development. Many countries were opposed to Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty due to its discriminatory nature. As a result, the United States accepted international safeguards for its own facilities and tried to limit its weapons through various treaties. To further check the proliferation United States made IAEA more strong. If non-nuclear weapon state acquired nuclear technology for peaceful purposes it had to accept international safeguard system.
India appreciated United States efforts of for nuclear non-proliferation. It also welcomed US and USSR's efforts for disarmament. Then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi stated that United States efforts for non-proliferation could lead to the elimination of nuclear weapons, but non-proliferation efforts of United States would only be implemented if United States adopted a fair approach. It was restricting nations from developing the technology for peaceful purposes while it was upgrading its nuclear arsenals. United States tried to prevail on India to sign NPT and accept IAEA safeguards, but it ignored Chinese support for the development of Pakistan's nuclear technology.

In 1993, when Democrats came to power after twelve years, it was thought that good relations would be built up between the two countries. President Bill Clinton was considered well versed with foreign policy. However, it was soon discovered that President's foreign policy was based on two important issues i.e. human rights and nuclear non-proliferation. He took firm stand against India regarding Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Some official of the Administration had experience to handle issues of cold war, so they were working with the same attitude in President Clinton Administration. That situation had affected President's thinking against India. President Bill Clinton and his top officials had made critical remarks against India on various issues, which indicated that chances of improvement in Indo-US relations were dim. United states adopted pro-Pakistan approach and criticized India on violation of human rights in Kashmir while developing good relationship with China, in spite of its bad records of human rights and suppression of democratic aspirants. Nuclear non-proliferation became highest priority of US Administration. President expressed his views in United Nations regarding the danger of nuclear weapons. He emphasized that nuclear weapons would be first controlled and then eliminated. A local conflict could be changed into a regional or global war by the use of nuclear weapons. To control the development of nuclear weapons he stressed the strengthening of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Nuclear weapons were also seen as dangerous for the environment. To implement non-proliferation policies, he focused to control the stockpiles of material like enriched uranium and plutonium. Existing material was to be kept under supervision and production of new material be banned through various treaties. These could lead to elimination and stop production of weapons. To ensure the elimination of nuclear weapons he stated that there was need of comprehensive test ban. For non-proliferation, President was ready to work
with United States adversaries like Russia. He knew that non proliferation could not be achieved by United States alone.  

Opening of Indian economy in the early 1990 was seen favorably by the US. United States came forward with a new approach after economic reforms started in India to draw economic benefits from India, United States sought to expand relationship with India. US Commerce Department considered India to be among the major countries due to its huge market and economy. They appreciated India on various issues and expressed their will for further cooperation. President Clinton carefully observed the evolution of economic reforms in India. He wrote a letter to P.V. Narsimha Rao expressing desire to enhance the cooperation between the two countries. US pronouncements of cooperation with India clashed with its long standing ideology of nuclear issue, but the positive change in the relationship started. However, nuclear non proliferation still remained an issue of debate between the two countries. United States realized that it was not possible to ignore India. Chairman of the House of Foreign Committee appreciated India by saying that it would overtake China in near future. On nuclear issue India had given assurances to US, that it would not create any obstacle in the way to extend NPT indefinitely. It was an upward march in Indo-US relations. Many US companies invested in India. Bilateral trade grew up between the two countries. To boost the relationship, memorandum of understanding was signed by both countries. On the mean time Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was extended indefinitely without any condition. India was not a signatory of the Treaty but it did not create any problem in its extension. Extension of the treaty legitimized the possession of nuclear weapons by five countries i.e. U.S.A. Britain, China, France, and Russia. It became a milestone for the prevention and elimination of nuclear arms. President Bill Clinton appreciated Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for its efforts towards non-proliferation. Nuclear weapons states gave some assurances to non-nuclear weapon states at the time of extension of the treaty. United States undertook to provide security and support to the signatories of the treaty in case of any threat by nuclear power. United States wanted to take support of signatories and put pressure on non-signatures by these assurances. Some disputes emerged between the nuclear weapon states and non-nuclear weapon state at the time of extension of the treaty. Non-nuclear weapon states which were signatories of the treaty were demanding free exchange of technology for peaceful purposes as it was written in an article of the treaty, but in reality nuclear weapon states did not want
to cooperate with non-nuclear countries on this issue.\textsuperscript{46} On the issue of disarmament nuclear weapon states did not reduce their weapons beyond a limit as they committed in 1968 when treaty came into existence. Nuclear weapon states could not fulfill their commitment.\textsuperscript{47} In reality, NPT provided a legitimate base to their weapons, so the commitments regarding nuclear weapon free world could not be achieved. Nuclear powers were motivating other nations to sign the treaty so that nuclear technology did not spread from one nation to another, but they did not want any halt on their own testing. It was an important issue which was raised by some signatories at the time of extension of the treaty. Nuclear powers came into pressure to sign Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. United States of America started to negotiate CTBT to fulfill its commitment with non nuclear weapon state. CTBT was just a tool for United States to keep others silent. Because President Bill Clinton in a statement, cleared that United States national interest would not be compromised at any cost. President was committed towards intelligence monitoring verification system and upgradation of United States laboratories in which nuclear weapons could be tested. United States could check the reliability of their weapons in latest laboratories.\textsuperscript{48} By this Treaty United States wanted to prevent others from testing but did not want to shut down its own nuclear programme. Military of United States did not want comprehensive ban on the testing of nuclear weapons. Testing was necessary to check their capability and reliability. President made a provision for testing, in case of emergency to its national security. Other nuclear powers conducted many tests before being part of the Treaty.\textsuperscript{49} United States non-proliferation through nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was an effort to maintain monopoly over nuclear weapons. If it wanted non-proliferation and elimination of weapons that it should go for fair deal. After acquiring technology and conducting thousands of tests, they imposed these treaties to non-nuclear weapons to shut down their nuclear programme without putting a full stop on their own programme.\textsuperscript{50}

India is in favour of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. But discriminatory nature of NPT and CTBT provided enough reasons for India to believe that these two treaties were framed to prevent India to become part of the nuclear club.\textsuperscript{51} India has always been dissatisfied with non-proliferation regime because it denied autonomy to take foreign policy decisions. Indian point of view that an inequitable regime gave few countries the right to have nuclear weapons and denied others the right to acquire the same. This treaty strengthened the possession of nuclear weapons, by the five
nuclear powers who curbed the aspiration to acquire nuclear technology by non-nuclear countries. It is not tolerable for India to leave its security on the mercy of five nuclear states. United States justification that nuclear non-proliferation is necessary for the peaceful and secure future of the mankind, did not appeal India. India without being part of US non-proliferation regime, chose to exercise its nuclear option to meet its security problems.

United States non-proliferation regime had a major setback, when India conducted nuclear tests in May 1998. India took decision for tests at that time when nuclear non-proliferation was high on US foreign policy agenda. Then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee stated that India was in favour of total elimination of nuclear weapons. But Indian efforts and proposals for disarmament were ignored by nuclear powers. Prime Minister stressed that had India being taken seriously such an action would have been avoided.

The US anger was intense, because the tests were considered as a threat to US policy of non-proliferation. Non-proliferation regime came under tremendous strain. President Clinton expressed discomfort stating that Indian tests threatened the stability of South Asia. India was asked to sign Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty without any condition. He urged the Indian neighbours particularly Pakistan not to follow the suit. But Pakistan to match India too conducted nuclear tests. With this, nuclear proliferation increased in South Asia. United States reaction changed into action when mandatory sanctions were imposed on India under Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1994, by President. The sanctions could be imposed against any country that conducted nuclear tests. President had power to delay them, but President Bill Clinton imposed the sanctions without any delay.

The two democracies were looking to buildup new equations after Cold War but Indian nuclear tests had changed the entire scenario. India justified its tests by saying ‘threat to its security’ from China. China's transfer of missiles to Pakistan and Pakistan's support to Kashmiri insurgents were major factors which forced India to take such a decision. At international level, environment was not in favour of India. Nuclear powers were violating article (VI) of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, no decisive steps were taken for total disarmament. Non-Proliferation Treaty was discriminatory in nature and legitimized to nuclear power's lust to possess nuclear weapons. So India had to take decision on nuclear issue.
After US reaction India tried to reshape United States policy towards India through diplomacy. So a change started in U.S. approach after Strobe Talbott and Jaswant Singh dialogue. Both leaders skillfully managed the whole scenario and convinced each other towards positive approach. After that United States non-proliferation issue emerged with different tone.\(^{59}\)

Clinton Administration intensified efforts for ratification of CTBT in Senate, so that India and Pakistan could be pressurized to sign it. US continued its efforts to persuade India to join international arms control treaties.\(^{60}\) It advocated that signing of CTBT and FMCT (Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty) by India and Pakistan would ease the nuclear competition in South Asia.\(^{61}\) After the dialogue between two diplomats, US Administration felt that it would not be possible to alter the defence programme of a country simple because the US wanted it. US accepted the South Asian security requirements.\(^{62}\)

United States business interests modified US non-proliferation approach towards India. Business lobbies in United States had increased pressure on Administration to lift the sanctions as the sanctions were affecting the US trade. Sanctions affect on Indian economy was minor but affects on American was severe. Sanctions were unilateral and there was no moral basis for the United States to impose the unilateral sanctions against a democratic country. When it has already conducted thousands of tests of its own and maintained nuclear weapons. If the sanctions were to be applied the initiative should have come from the United Nations Security Council, not the US that was responsible for Nuclear arms race. If there was a universal ban on the nuclear weapons, then the sanctions regime could be genuine. If a nation tried to maintained two-tier non proliferation system in which some nations maintain their weapons while denying this capability to others, there was no legal bases for sanctions on others.\(^{63}\)

Many Senators criticized the Clinton Administration for sanctions against India. Sanctions are not effective in changing the behaviour of target country. United States was criticised for supporting China, which was transferring nuclear technology to Pakistan, and Pakistan in tern was proliferating technology to others. On the other side Indian non-proliferation record was flawless. Instead of cooperating India, US should not deal with India on only one issue. Officials of the government of US realized soon that it would be very difficult for it to deal in Asia without a strong partner like India.\(^{64}\)
Some of the sanctions were waived by Clinton Administration. Republican came to power with different approach towards non-proliferation. After the 9/11, United states foreign policy underwent change in South Asia. India emerged important strategic partner for US to combat terrorism. Bush Administration also gave emphasis on tackling terrorism through Pakistan and therefore tried to strengthen its economy which was in a bad shape. United States pragmatically handled India and Pakistan during this phase of campaign against terrorism.65

During President Bush Administration, it was easy for India to deal with United States, because Bush came with a different nuclear policy. President Bush was not in favour of CTBT and FMCT. He was opposing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty on the basis of reliability and safety of US nuclear weapons, as its military argued that there was lack in effectiveness and verifiable system in FMCT.66 Most importantly, George W. Bush pointed to the ineffectiveness of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was always seen as a cause for irritations between the two countries. President Bush realized that all articles of the Treaty were ineffective and they were violated by different countries. Even US have violated the Article-1 of the Treaty, by selling nuclear weapons to Great Britain. Russia was passing the technology to China. By this way Pakistan acquired it through Beijing and was spreading it worldwide. North Korea is trying to acquire nuclear weapons. Iran seems to be moving fast in the same direction. A.Q. Khan network sold uranium enrichment technology to Iran, North Korea and Libya. International inspectors are worrying over the fact that the Khan network may have sold blueprints of nuclear weapons. There is real danger of this technology falling into the hands of terrorist from global black market.67 Many of the signatories of the Treaty were cheating its provisions. Iran has used its right as a member of the NPT to not only use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes but also to move towards nuclear weapons. International Atomic Energy Agency is not in a position to catch the violators in time. Even after the collapse of the Soviet Union, nuclear weapons were not abolished. Nuclear weapons continued to be seen as a necessary elements between major powers Article X of the Treaty states that any nation can withdraw from the Treaty with a three months notice. This provision is a threat to international peace and security. President Bush said there was no relevance of NPT. He gave emphasis to create a new non-proliferation system to check further spread of nuclear technology.68 He underlined the need of proliferation security initiative for the prohibition of
international traffic in sensitive nuclear technologies and material. United Nations Security Council has to make proliferation activities a crime and tighten export control on sensitive technologies. A ban on the sale of technologies for uranium enrichment and reprocessing of plutonium is called for. India was never impressed with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. It always obeyed the objectives of non-proliferation. India gave its positive response to Bush initiatives for non-proliferation.\(^69\)

President George W. Bush lifted the remaining sanctions. It was the beginning of healthy relationship between the two countries.\(^70\) There were some divergent issues, but both countries were determined not to allow there irritants to block their long term strategic ties.\(^71\) China is growing very rapidly and becomes a greatest threat to United States in Asia. Only a powerful India would help United States to secure its interests in Asia. United States wants strategic partnership with India to counter China.\(^72\) High Technology Cooperation Group was constituted for discussing issues. Since India is not a signatory of Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, It could not receive certain US exports of high technology products. United States had to amend its law to sign a civil nuclear deal with India.\(^73\) It was a controversial deal for both India and United States. In India, there were controversy within the government over the deal. Indian government assured the people that deal cannot affect the Indian right to conduct the tests, no interruption in fuel supply and fuel reprocessing.\(^74\) The language of the ‘123 Agreement’ is designed in such a way that it can appeal to Indians.\(^75\) But in Hyde act it is mentioned that in case of explosion United States will suspend all exports and deal and nuclear trade will be terminated.\(^76\) Even US official said that India has a sovereign right to conduct the test but US President has right to terminate the deal as per its national law. US gave fuel supply assurances in case of market disruption and they are not legally bound to supply the fuel. P.M. Manmohan Singh set aside its coalition partners and signed the deal. This deal is beneficial for India, not only in terms of clean energy but it also opened the doors for India to deal with other Nuclear Supplier Group countries. With US initiative, Nuclear Supplier Group gave waiver to India.\(^77\)

United States did not compromise its non-proliferation agenda while signing the deal with India, but it managed to bring India into non-proliferation umbrella. Earlier all efforts failed to persuade India to accept non-proliferation norms. India did
not accept International Atomic Energy Agency's inspections. By this deal India came into the non-proliferation regime.\textsuperscript{78}

The deal would boost United States economy as India signaled to buy reactors from US. Deal would create opportunities for American firms to sell their nuclear equipments to India. This will create huge job opportunities in United States.\textsuperscript{79} India separated its civil and military nuclear facilities and allowed IAEA to inspect its sites. It was a great success to US non-proliferation efforts that a major power which is non-signatory of NPT agreed to accept non-proliferation norms.\textsuperscript{80} United States skillfully managed to bring India into its non-proliferation regime.
Notes and References


146
17. B.C. Mishra, Indian Representative’s Statement in Committee on Disarmament, *Foreign Affairs Record* XX: 5 (May 21, 1974), pp 167-68.


19. Ibid.


34. Kamath, n.32.
41. Kamath n.32.
43. Mahapatra, n.38, p.22.
47. Berhanykun, n.45.
49. Ibid., p. 554.


53. Mishra, n.51.


55. Mishra, n 51, p.84.

56. Ibid, p.84.


58. Mishra, n 51.


60. Seema Narain. n.57, p. 33.

61. Stobe Talbott, “Dealing with the Bomb in South Asia,” Foreign Affairs, Vol.78: No.2 (March/April1999), pp. 120.121.


65. Mishra, n. 51, p. 86.


69. Ibid, p.17.


73. Ibid.


79. Ramachandran, n. 77.