## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>i-ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgement</td>
<td>iii-iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>vi-ix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION  1-31

1.1 Constructivist Framework  8-11
1.1.1 Security Perceptions  11-12
1.1.2 Identity Factor  12-13
1.2 Review of Literature  13-21
1.3 Objective of the Study  22
1.4 Research Questions  22
1.5 Methodology  23-24
1.6 Significance and Limitations of the Study  24-25
1.7 Chapterisation  25
1.8 Organisation of the Study  26-28
   Notes/References  29-31

### Chapter 2: INDIA'S NUCLEAR POLICY: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS  32-64

2.1 Phase I: 1947-1964 Building Nuclear Infrastructures  34-38
2.2 Phase II: 1964-1974 Smiling Buddha (Pokhran I)  38-47
2.3 Phase III: 1975-1995 The Long Pause (Nuclear Ambiguity)  47-52
2.4 Phase IV: 1995-1998 Operation Shakti (Pokhran II) 53-57
2.5 Post Pokhran II 57-51
2.6 Conclusion 62

Notes/Reference 63-64

Chapter 3: INDIA'S STRATEGY FOR NUCLEAR DETERRENCE 65-89

3.1 India's Nuclear Doctrine 66-68
3.2 Use of Nuclear Weapons: The Policy of No-First-Use for Retaliation Only 68-70
3.3 Number of Nuclear Weapons: Credible Minimum Deterrence 70-72
3.4 Civilian in Control of Nuclear Weapons: Command and Control Structure 73
3.4.1 National Command Authority 73-74
3.4.2 Command and Custody 75
3.4.3 Command and Control 75-78
3.5 Abolition of Nuclear Weapons: A Doctrinal Aspiration 78-79
3.6 India's Nuclear Force: Position and Requirement 79-85
3.7 Conclusion 86

Notes/References 87-89
Chapter 4: INDIA'S NUCLEAR BEHAVIOUR  90-130

4.1 The Construction of National Interest  91-93

4.2 National Identity  93-94

4.3 National Interest and the Construction of India's Nuclear Identity  94-99

4.4 Nuclear Factor in India's Foreign Policy (1947-1998)  99-111

4.5 The Non-Proliferation Regime: India's Nuclear Behaviour  111-112

4.5.1 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)  112-115

4.5.2 NPT and India's Nuclear Behaviour  115-118

4.5.3 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)  119

4.5.4 CTBT and India's Nuclear Behaviour  120-123

4.6 The intersections of Economic Growth and Nuclear capability  123-127

4.7 Conclusion  127-128

Notes/References  129-130

Chapter 5: INDIA VS CHINA AND PAKISTAN: SECURITY PERCEPTIONS AND STRATEGIC OPTIONS  131-174

5.1 China's Nuclear Programme  131-134

5.2 India's Threat Perception about Nuclear China  135-144

5.3 Pakistan's Nuclear Programme  144-153
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.4 India's Threat Perception about Nuclear Pakistan</td>
<td>153-164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5 A Rationale for India's Nuclear Options</td>
<td>164-170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6 Conclusion</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes/Reference</td>
<td>171-174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter 6: INDIA AND GLOBAL NUCLEAR ORDER</strong></td>
<td>175-209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 India's Integration with Global Nuclear Order</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Indo-US Nuclear Deal</td>
<td>176-186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Implications of Indo-US Civil Nuclear Cooperation</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.1 Contentious Issues</td>
<td>186-191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.2 Potential Benefits of the Deal</td>
<td>191-194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 India and the International Export Control Regime</td>
<td>194-195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.1 India and NSG</td>
<td>195-199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.2 India and MTCR</td>
<td>199-202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.3 India and Australian Group</td>
<td>202-203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.4 India and Wassenaar Arrangement</td>
<td>203-206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5 Conclusion</td>
<td>206-207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes/ Reference</td>
<td>207-209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 7: CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary analysis

7.2 Key Findings and Future Possibilities

References

Appendices

Appendix I. Text of the letter by Indian PM Atal Behari Vajpayee to US President Bill Clinton on 14 May 1998

Appendix II. India's Draft Nuclear Doctrine, August 17, 1999

Appendix III. Text on Non Proliferation Treaty.

Appendix IV. India-US Joint Statement Washington D.C July 18, 2005