'A responsible nuclear weapons power' – NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

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At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance.

Jawaharlal Nehru
Tryst with Destiny
August 14, 1947

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I

Introduction

OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

> *But I am confident that India will enter the next millennium with its head held high, a strong and prosperous nation, proud of its past and confident of its future as a leading member of the comity of nations.*
>
> Atal Bihari Vajpayee[1]

India has de facto possessed nuclear weapons for the last nearly 35 years. This capacity and capability has been manifested in the 1974 peaceful nuclear explosive, Pokhran I, in the series of five nuclear detonations in 1998, Pokhran II, and in developing the *Agni* and *Prithvi* ballistic missiles. Over her half century of independence India has nevertheless not been able to resolve the questions of poverty, illiteracy, and backwardness that plague the nation.[2] The gap between Mohandas Gandhi's and many Indians' moral principles of non-violence and the actual policy of the state has sometimes seemed to be widening instead of closing. Ancient Indian scripts provide two opposing views on the role of force: it is at the same time considered a necessity and denounced. Another gap has been that India had nuclear weapons and thus a sort of deterrence for a long time without a specific nuclear doctrine or a strategic or operative command and control system. A demonstrative capacity without a written nuclear doctrine has characterized Indian nuclear strategy, and confronted the nuclear legacy of the five established nuclear weapon states and the theories behind or deduced from this experience. Simultaneously the Indian state has also faced differing desires and interests that have been reflected in the nuclear policies. Domestic actors and factors together with international pressures and bilateral conflicts have all had their say in nuclear issues. Indian voices concerning such issues as whether to acquire

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[1] *Frontline* 1997, vol 14, no. 16.

[2] India accounts for about one-fifth to one-third of all poor people in the world. See e.g. Deanton & Kozel 2004 or *The Times of India*, August 27, 2008. The Human Development Index (HPI-1) estimates that about 31% of the Indian population live below the threshold level (HDI).

nuclear weapons, to negotiate and sign nuclear non-proliferation regimes, and to constitute threat perceptions and their responses have been many. Often the Indian diversity in this respect, too, had led a questioning of the real motives, intentions, and purposes of New Delhi's policy makers.

The political decision-making on foreign policy and security policy issues is concentrated in the hands of the Prime Minister and high-ranking Cabinet ministers. Despite the existence of cabinet-level institutions like the Defence Committee of the Cabinet, the Political Affairs Committee of the Cabinet, or the Cabinet Committee on Security, strategic planning and decision-making has been haphazard, fragmented and bureaucratic. The National Security Council, established in 1999, replaced the Political Affairs Committee but it is yet to change the true nature and form of Indian security policy. It is the Prime Minister with his or her closest ministers, advisors and trustees who make decisions, though often the ones participating in decision-making have no political status or responsibility, and the decisions are not based on long-term analyses. A major flaw in Indian security policy has been the total absence of long-term planning and analysis.[3] Reasoned public discussion in the Parliament and in the media is also said to be lacking in India.[4]

In analysing and clarifying mixed messages and competing interpretations this research intends to shed light on the interrelationship and dynamics between the United Progressive Alliance government's foreign policy and its nuclear (weapons) policy. The purpose of the study is to situate nuclear policy within a foreign policy framework, and the fundamental research problem is thus *how does the Indian nuclear policy reflect and respond to the Indian foreign policy?* This question is based on the general (and Western) assumption of the dominating and guiding role of the foreign policy over the subordinate nuclear policy.[5] However, theoretically speaking this relationship has three alternatives: the two fields of policies and their respective purposes and intentions are separate, overlapping or integrated.

To achieve my purpose the following primary questions need to be answered:
(i) *How are the intentions formulated in the Indian foreign policy represented and presented in Indian nuclear policy?*

(ii) *Are there other than foreign policy-related intentions in the Indian nuclear policy?*

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[3] H. Kapur 1994, pp. 49-50.
[4] Cortright & Mattoo 1996, pp. 5-6.
[5] Following von Clausewitz's recognition of the political character of war (von Clausewitz 1992 (1832), book 1: chapter 1, book 8: chapter 6).

(iii) *Are these (possible) other intentions commensurable or incommensurable with Indian foreign policy?*

Responding to these questions also provides answers to the following secondary questions:

(iv) *Does the Indian National Congress Party-led United Progressive Alliance government differ from its predecessors, most notably the Bharatiya Janata Party-led National Democratic Alliance government in its foreign and nuclear policies?*

(v) *What does this Indian experience add to the existing body of International Relations literature on foreign and nuclear policies, both general and specifically Indian?*
and
(vi) *What explains Indian foreign and nuclear policies?*

Foreign policy and nuclear (weapons) policy are defined according to dominant practices and discourses in India. Thus the relations with neighbouring countries, the Great Powers and international organizations as well long-lasting Indian objectives or principles comprise foreign policy. The field of nuclear policy in question covers the issues of disarmament, the international nuclear regimes (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) and Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT)) and the development of an Indian nuclear doctrine.

Ontologically, what I have presented above would seem to represent a rather conventional approach. It is true that the study differs from e.g. constructivism, which focuses on agency, structure and mutually constituting processes of identity formation or securitization. In this thesis the main focus is on the output of this process and the input and the process itself have a lesser role. My approach differs from postmodernism in that it explores official Indian policy rather than searching for silenced stories. This is after all, a study of (one particular) official India. The state of India or the Union Government is nevertheless not considered to be monolithic but is seen as being constituted of several actors, forces and ideas. My analysis distances itself from such mainstream schools of thought as Realism, Liberalism, or Neo-Realism. My approach is to relate policy articulations to their broader discursive contexts from which the actors and performative forces gain their power.[6]

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[6] Stritzel 2007, pp. 359-360.

What is said and what do the words and sentences actually mean is, however, not sufficient for the purposes of the study. Therefore the language used will be (re)analysed, and the analysis I provide will hopefully offer a wider political perspective and a deeper meaning of the politics. It should be mentioned that answering to the five questions I have proposed could lead to predicative and probabilistic conclusions of future developments in these fields. This is not, however, the main purpose of my questions.

Answers to my questions outlined above are based on the interpretation of political texts and speeches. This linguistic perspective does not look for facts or proofs in the positivist sense, or use hypotheses that are to be verified or falsified. Neither does my approach agree with the hermeneutic promise of complete commensurability between the present and the past, the scientist and the evidence, so that a researcher could grasp the meaning of a political act by reading and re-reading it again and again until it reveals its secrets. Nor do I propose that my analysis should only be guided by and focused on the words of texts alone. On the contrary, my intertextualizing approach place the political acts (texts and speeches) within their contingent intellectual and political contexts, thus providing me with the cognitive criteria to develop and forward my thesis.[7]

This thesis focuses on the texts, speeches and statements of Indian authorities between 2004 and 2008. The Prime Minister, the External Affairs Minister, and the Defence Minister are the principal political actors that are in the limelight. Speeches and addresses that are analysed are chosen according to their assessed importance, the content and context of the texts being the principal criteria in this respect. No other predetermined set or principle has been applied in the choosing of the texts: the texts and the texts as political acts are the determining criteria.

Other representatives that speak and act for the Indian state and government are also included in the analysis. The Indian Ambassador to the Conference of Disarmament, the high-ranking military officers of the Indian Armed Forces as well as the high-ranking civil servants of the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Defence Research and Development Organization represent most notably these other primary sources. Some previous documents that the current government has explicitly or implicitly subscribed to are also taken into consideration. The draft Indian Nuclear Doctrine is the most obvious example in this respect.

What was said, what was done by saying and what were the intentions in doing and to do are asked of every chosen text, speech or statement.

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[7] Skinner 1988, pp. 246-248; 2002, pp. 40-42, 100-102; Pocock 1989, pp. 28-36.

Conclusions are then mainly drawn from the utterances' different levels of intention. Though the theoretical concepts of locutions, illocutions and perlocutions are utilized in the analysis the focus is on the political interpretation of the utterances. The applied research design is given in the following figure, where the texts and the research questions (situated on the left hand side) and the theoretical foundations together with the analytical questions (placed on the right hand side) are related to each other.
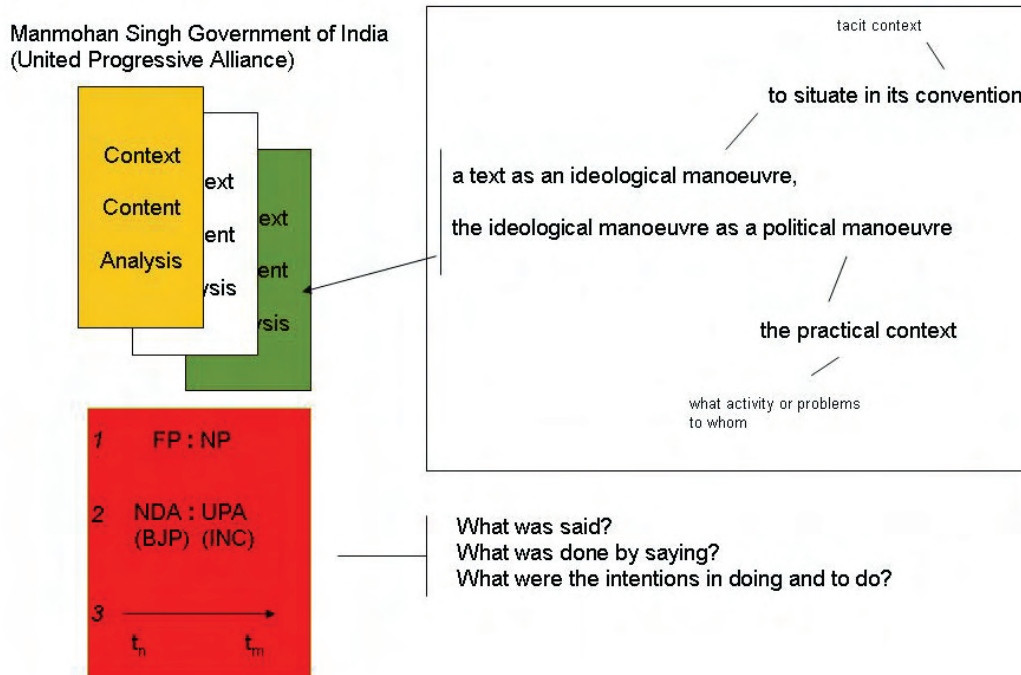
Figure no. 1. Research design.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

On the Theoretical Foundations of International Relations

The discipline of International Relations contains various ontological and epistemic commitments or paradigms. These primarily philosophical points of departure come to determine how the researcher sees the world: what are the actors, forces, structures and issues, which are relevant or worth studying?

International theories can be analysed and categorized according to the different sociologies they contain. Their distinct features stem from their ontological and epistemological commitments and structural assumptions. An ontological continuum of material or ideational reality, concerning the beliefs of what constitutes the world, material factors or social consciousness, draws a distinct line between different schools. Materialists claim that material forces like technology or capabilities, guide social forms – it is reasonable to argue that they exist, but at the same time that in fact they only explain a little about international politics. Idealists, on the other hand, believe that society and its structures are constituted more by ideas than by material things. Similarly, the modes of explanation are different; materialists tend to prefer causal, and idealists constitutive, relationships and explanations.[8]

A second dichotomy concerns of agents and structures. Here the question is what difference does structure make in social life, the two essential opposing poles being individualism and holism. Whether or not social structures can be reduced to individually existing agents and their interactions is the key question. Individualism ascends from ontologically primitive individual agents, while holism descends from irreducible structures. As individualism is usually linked with a causal, bottom-up effect on an agents' behaviour this does, it is claimed, make it compatible with the causal, top-down, effects of the structure on the agent. What is ruled out in individualism is the constitutive effects of the structure. Again it is rational to believe that the structure (of an international system) has both a causal and a constitutive effect (on state identity).[9]

Some scholars urge us to concentrate on the core subjects of the field and to the subject matter of the international relations. Such voices wish to distance the discipline from the Third Debate, namely questions about the epistemological value of and approaches to social studies.[10] However, certain epistemic choices ought to be explained as implicit and unconscious epistemic commitments can lead to undisciplined research with illogical and unintended implications. In this quest scientific theories and political theories should not be mixed.

Epistemic and ontological commitments to issues like subjectivism or objectivism and materialism or idealism divide the approaches within the

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[8] Wendt 1999, pp. 22-25, 95-97, 109-113. It should be noted that this idealism is not Idealism of the International Relations, which could have a normative, non-realistic or even naive character.

[9] Wendt 1999, pp. 26-28.

[10] This is primarily K.J. Holsti's desire. Wendt, as well as Puchala, share his distaste for questions of epistemological value (Holsti 1995, pp. 2-20; Apunen 1991, pp. 18-20; Wendt 1999, pp. 38-40; Puchala 2003, pp. 14-32).

discipline of international politics basically into three: traditional, behaviouristic, and dialectic. Traditional approaches, or better, Wisdom orientation, studies politics from a philosophic-historical perspective that places current questions within their traditional contexts. Essential to the Wisdom tradition is its mentalist character, so that knowledge is seen as being dependent on the meanings it is given. Each approach contains competing, and often overtly and sometimes mistakenly antagonistic aspects. Within the Wisdom tradition the antagonists are Realism and Idealism, which differ in their ontologies but share the same epistemic orientation.[11] Behavioural Science approaches follow a realistic-materialistic ontology, utilizing empirical and analytical methods that observe, measure, and classify (assumed) concrete issues of the real world. What is seen crucial to science is its subsumptive nature: single cases or incidents are classified within the larger categories or principles of laws and theories. The methodology used is based on the verification or falsification of theoretical statements and hypotheses. The competing schools within Behavioural Science approaches are Neorealism and Liberal Internationalism, which share an individualistic approach to structure but differ in their views of its constructive nature.[12] Radical/Marxist approaches or a Dialectic orientation or the Discursive tradition have in common an emphasis on logical and often rhetorical analyses and the constructive nature of the world. Yet within this general orientation competing schools differ in their views on materialistic (e.g. Marxism) or ideational ontology (World Society) or even in their individual (History school) or holistic (English school) approaches.[13]

Constructivism is said to bridge rationalist/positivist and postmodern/critical theories. This claim is based on the ontological and epistemological commitments some forms of constructivism have, namely a mutual, even realist ontology and a relativist, especially social epistemology.[14] The notion of a realist ontology, based on scientific realism, is strongly contested by radical and critical constructivism which both deny empiricism, and place epistemology before ontology.[15] What is nevertheless common to perhaps most constructivists is the claim that

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[11] Apunen 1991, pp. 18-20; Wendt 1999, pp. 29-33; Williams 1998, pp. 204-206, 216-218. Apunen follows the typology of Alker and Biersteker, but prefers to name them differently (Wisdom orientation instead of Traditional approaches, an Analytic-Empiricist orientation instead of Behavioral Sciences approaches, a Dialectic or Discursive orientation instead of Radical/Marxist approaches, and Marxism and Critical Theory for proletarian internationalism and contextual nationalism, respectively).

[12] Apunen 1991, p. 21; Wendt 1999, pp. 30-31. Williams, however, denies this materialistic ontology to Neorealism, as he argues against the materialist and empiricist sense it is often said to contain (Williams 1998).

[13] Apunen 1991, p. 20; Wendt 1999, pp. 22-33.

[14] Adler 1997, pp. 319-363; Wendt 1999, pp. 22-33..

[15] See e.g. Zehfuss 2002 or Hansen 2007.

interpretations produce social reality. Within this reality both structural continuities and processes of change are based on agency that in turn is influenced by social, spatial and historical context. Most importantly, one of the central claims is that agency and structure are mutually constituted. This ontological claim relies on the components of intersubjectivity, context and power.[16] Rules, norms, language, meanings, ideologies and cultures are social phenomena that operate within the aforementioned contexts. Particularly Guzzini emphasizes the role of language as the powerful intersubjective tool of interpretation that socially constructs reality.[17] Social phenomena are mediated, interpreted, internalized, and developed mostly by linguistic practices.

International Relations as a discipline thus has a number of differing assumptions concerning its ontological, epistemological, and methodological foundations. There are, for example, opposing perceptions about the very nature of existence, and the role it has on the individual agent in political life. Are material facts and factors actually real, or are they just ideas constructed by and in the human mind? This ontological question raised in connection with a phenomenon of specific importance in international politics, nuclear weapons, offers contrasting views. For some a nuclear weapon is something you can, if you wish, touch, it has certain physical dimensions, length, weight, range, and yield. Its very existence as a physical entity is caused by factors and laws. For others a nuclear weapon represents an idea, a perception of technological, military or political supremacy over something defined, i.e. the other, the enemy. It exists as a meaning-giving thing as it is constituted to be such. For the purposes of IR the concepts of, and the barriers between, ontology and epistemology could be diluted. The result could then be following the logic of Wittgenstein's *On Certainty* or *Philosophical Investigations*, not to focus on a single meaning but on many meanings and to language games and multiple forms of life.

Despite the abovementioned differences, and in fact taking advantage of them, a modern concept of science seen (mostly) from a philosophical point of view could be characterized by a set of features and statements. The following characterizations are an illustrative rather than an exhaustive collection of thoughts, which are seen to be applicable in the realm of International Relations.

Concerning the concepts of truth and knowledge it is clear that the notion of a single and absolute truth disappeared many years ago. Laws, certainty and invariance are worth pursuing but especially within International

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[16] Klotz & Lynch 2007, pp. 3-11.
[17] Guzzini 2000, pp. 147-182.

Relations they are somewhat utopian. Truth will be and has always been based on accordance, on the acceptance of an authoritative political, religious or intellectual community on the basis of the beliefs, tradition, culture or styles of reasoning that the community holds dear. Political activity and its words and deeds, are concerned with rhetoric invoking values and summarizing information for many different purposes. Such activity is not an objective whole independent of the human mind for its paradigms operate in many simultaneous contexts.[18] The shift is from metaphysical realism or externalism to internalism,[19] and from reductionism to contextualism.[20] Inevitably this makes knowledge contingent, conceptual and constructed, and paradoxically this is also the case with the causal knowledge. Realism, as well, is relative, and truth claims are at best probabilistic.

If truth and knowledge are unreachable then the role and nature of science cannot be realistic either. Theories and propositions are not either true or false descriptions of reality; at best they are rational, or functional, helping us "*to adapt to the social contexts in which we find ourselves*".[21] Science is only a tool, an instrument to try to control the reality of the world we live in.

For the purposes of enquiry this leaves many doors open. It is not only traditional approaches, or quantitative research or causal explanation that are suitable and acceptable in IR. However, some criteria for both theories and knowledge seem to be needed; an anything-goes mentality and unbridled relativism would damage the credibility of the discipline. Admittedly, ensuring credibility through the use of criteria suits well with the ideals of both Positivism and Hermeneutics. The criteria sought need not be as rigorous as a perfect procedural epistemology would expect.[22]

Postmodernism denies the fundamental assumptions of knowledge the Enlightenment has made, and on which positivism and hermeneutics with their explanations and understandings lean. Postmodernism borrows from analytical philosophy such notions as the rejection of correspondence theories of truth and of the neutrality of scientific enquiry. This radical anti-foundationalism together with an emphasis on rhetoric, the importance of dialogue and conversation, and the disappearance of a knowable transcendental subject – "man" – are said to be the hallmarks of

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[18] Pocock 1989, pp. 17-18.
[19] Sivonen 1984, pp. 29-30.
[20] Apunen 1991, p. 20.
[21] Puchala 2003, p. 49.
[22] On criteria, see e.g. Elgin 1998; Palonen 1988, pp. 49-60.

postmodernism.[23] Jameson introduces an important distinction between the modern and the postmodern; the latter is an attempt to think "*the present historically in an age that has forgotten how to think historically*".[24] This formulation seems most suitable in the case of India, where the project of modernism, started after independence, sought to build a *Homo Indicus*, an Indian citizen free of the burden of history and guided by reason.

The re-readings and intertextuality of texts are the focal points of postmodern "method". A traditional conception of knowledge is understood to consist of the knowing subject, man, the object of knowledge, the phenomenon, and the propositions, words, laws and theories produced by this man to describe the phenomenon; that is, subjects produce texts, which represent objects. However, this kind of strict correspondence is rejected in postmodernism; saying that a text represents an object is saying no more than that it is a useful way of approaching the object. Another approach then is structuralism, which stresses that meaning does not emerge from the relationship between the subject and the object but in the relationship between the different subjects, the signifiers. And finally, what remains are the texts themselves, no longer objects nor subjects, but intertextual texts, which are understood in relation to one another.[25]

This leads to the notion of the death of the author, and the idea that the texts once written are autonomous. An author understood in a conventional way may have authority over his writings, but from a postmodern perspective, firstly, every text is in fact a product of previous texts. Secondly, an author may have control over what she writes but she certainly does not have it over her readings. Thirdly, this authorial control can also be doubted, questioning the self-awareness and the knowledge of self-expression a human being can possibly have.[26]

Quentin Skinner, whose ideas on intertextual interpretation have been adapted in this study, is criticized for having an overly traditional author-subject approach in that he accepts the authoritative force of texts and acts, and looks for the meanings, intentions, and rationality of the author herself. Yet Skinner's point is not to pay attention to individual authors, but to the more general discourse of their times. Rationality is to be found from the *inter-textual* relationship, not from the researcher's preoccupations or entirely from the act itself, therefore the author has a say as she has done

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[23] C. Brown 1992, pp. 208, 211-212. Brown is following Rorty's and Foucault's views when introducing the key ideas of postmodernism.
[24] Jameson 1991, p. ix.
[25] C. Brown 1992, pp. 212-213.
[26] C. Brown, 1992 pp. 214-215.

something in doing or writing something.[27] To claim otherwise leads either to complete relativism, that there is nothing more to truth than acceptability, or to strong logical empiricism.

On Understanding Political Behaviour

Giambattista Vico (1668–1744) can be said to be one of the main philosophers and thinkers behind the idea of intercultural and human understanding. This is based on three claims: that we understand the world (only) in terms of what we are able to make or construct; that different cultural institutions sustain fundamentally different ways of thinking, and the styles of thinking; and that these institutions are not hermeneutically sealed but are each a product of constant development and change and are affected by the previous institutions.[28] The first claim contains the strongest argument for the possibility of understanding or for the scientific: Vico identified the "true" with the "made"; what human beings have made, others can understand; "*Verum est ipsum factum*".[29] This makes it possible for a even geographically or chronologically distant researcher to grasp meaning.[30]

This is where Berlin gives much credit to Vico. In Vico's work it was not the revival of the old maxim of knowing only what one has made, and applying this to mathematics, mythology, language, but "*uncovering the sense of knowing which is basic to all humane studies*". The sense in "*which I know what is it to be poor, to fight for a cause, to belong to a nation, to join or abandon a church or a party, to feel nostalgia, terror, the omnipresence of a god, to understand a gesture, a work of art, a joke, a man's character, that one is transformed or lying to oneself*".[31] Berlin offers three explanations how this knowing is achieved; firstly, by personal experience, of being more a participant than an observer, secondly, as the experiences of others are sufficiently similar to and interwoven into one's own to be grasped, and thirdly, by the working of the imagination. What it is not is knowledge of "seventeen being a prime number", it is not knowing logical truths, or knowing how "to ride a bicycle." As knowledge is based on experience, memory and imagination it is not easily analyzed or

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[27] Skinner 1998, pp. 255-257; 2002, pp. 51-53, 100, 117-118.
[28] Tiles & Tiles 1998, pp. 426-432.
[29] "The true is precisely what is made." Giambattista Vico (1710), "De antiquissima italorum sapienta ex linguae latinae originibus eruenda," *Opere* vol. 1, p. 131, quoted in Berlin 2000, p. 123.
[30] Berlin 1990, pp. 59-65; Collingwood 1983, pp. 218-226.
[31] Berlin 1981, p. 116.

explained except by examples, on the fact that we know what men are. And yet it is the basis of understanding something outside one's own reach.[32]

Two different epistemic approaches, or senses of reality, have developed from of these ideas: the humanist and the history argument. The humanist argument, or the hermeneutic tradition, emphasizes ideas, meanings and linguistic practices in studying and explaining human activities. Mental structures are seen to construct, not to reflect, the reality in which we live.[33] Therefore a researcher cannot be separated from his object, nor the past from the present; subject and object are inseparable. To understand social/political actions and systems one has understand their conceptual basis, the political culture and the underlying meanings. This can be achieved by expanding the reach and meanings of the original act by reading and re-reading it.[34]

The history school emphasizes that ideas and acts should be understood in their own and in particular contexts. Therefore the subject (the researcher) and the object must be kept separate, and that one's own concepts or prejudices should not be added to the investigated acts or texts.[35] Meaning is thus historically constructed, and there are no perennial questions, only contingent and time-bound actions, rationality, and intentions.[36] It should be noted that historically constructed meaning or reality is not right or wrong, true or false as there are no such dimensions in knowledge. Rationality should replace the question of truth, it is at best rational to have a given view or pursue given politics. The paradigmatic nature of this rationality owes a lot to Kuhn's work on the history and structure of science.

Skinner in particular argues that research based on hermeneutic understanding is historically absurd. He considered it impossible to study what an author really says without using the researcher's organizing models and preconceptions that determine both what we think and perceive, and what we think others might have thought or perceived. He recognizes four sets of misleading thinking that result in mythologies, not histories. The mythology of doctrines consists either of mistaking odd remarks for a doctrine one sets out to find, or of criticizing the actor for falling short of his duty of having such a doctrine. The mythology of coherence occurs when a researcher himself provides the acts and texts with a coherence they otherwise lack. The mythology of prolepsis accounts for the object by in the light of later developments, which gives it a

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[32] Berlin 1981, pp. 105-106, 116-118; Jahanbegloo 2000, pp. 79-80.
[33] Dilthey 1988, pp. 77-96.
[34] Tiilikainen 1998, pp. 4-12; Skinner 2002, pp. 67-68.
[35] Tiilikainen 1998, pp. 8-11.
[36] Skinner 2002, pp. 88-89; Pocock 1989, pp. 12-15, 39-41.

retrospective significance it never actually possessed or was meant to have. In the mythology of parochialism the observer misuses the vantage point he has either by mistakenly supposing some influence between two texts or acts, or by diluting its elements, which for the observer are alien.[37]

Skinner also criticizes the context-oriented approach that it is unable to grasp and understand the essential aspects of acts and texts. Instead, he emphasis the importance of the general discourse of a given in grasping the meaning of a text, of not recovering motives by studying the context of social rules but by decoding intentions by situating their action within a larger structure of values and practices. One has to focus on prevailing conventions that define the issue, and on the mental world of the author. Both the words and concepts and their use must thus be known.[38] For Skinner an individual text or a text in isolation does not possess force or meaning or reveal intention in doing. On the contrary these materialize in relation to social context.

An illuminating example supporting this methodological claim is the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's speech at the Indian Parliament after returning from his official visit to the United States on August 3, 2005. Dr. Singh told the Parliament that he had not signed a military alliance with the United States; "*we are not part of any military alliance*".[39] Without a proper Indian historical, ideological and political context this utterance could be interpreted either as politically absurd ("who could have believed that India would ever sign a military treaty with the U.S?") or vague ("India and the U.S. did not sign a military treaty although they could have done so"). A more rational meaning is revealed when the Indian historical, ideological and political context is known and when the speech/text is treated as an act or a move.[40]

The concept of doctrine is another essential point of departure for this study. This is not to say that any coherent or particular political or military doctrine will be detected in Indian policies. The concept of doctrine does help combine two realms that are often considered as being different: the discipline of International Relations and linguistic-rhetorical methodology. Generally a doctrine can be understood as a set of principles and rules that reflect the outlines and outlook of a given policy. Their primary functions are to guide and reform one's own policies and activities (the structural role or function), to gain public acceptance (the legitimizing role) and to justify, inform and signal one's intentions and behaviour to internal and external

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[37] Skinner 1969, pp. 32-49; 2002, pp. 58-79.
[38] Skinner 1969, pp. 56-60,63-67; 1976, pp. 77-78, 283; 2002, p. 142.
[39] PM Singh, August 3, 2005.
[40] See Chapter 6 *The Government of India and Indian Foreign Policy*, and the section "Global Relations: The United States" for this discussion.

audiences (the instrumental role), both allies and adversaries.[41] Therefore it can also limit decision-making and help predict actors' behaviour.

Official foreign policy doctrine is similarly a set and system of shown ideals, attitudes, and beliefs of the international system and the nation's role within it. It contains both normative and descriptive elements of one's international and foreign policy environment.[42] How strict or loose, public or secret, written or unwritten a doctrine is, is dependent on the political culture and the practices of a state. The Monroe Doctrine, its South Asian equivalent, the Indira Doctrine, and neutrality are examples of political doctrines. Militarily doctrine can be defined as the "*fundamental principles by which the military forces guide their actions in support of objectives. It is authoritative but requires judgment in application*".[43] NATO's *Allied Joint Operative Doctrine AJP-01(A)* is an example of a multinational and thorough doctrine that primarily guides the Alliance's planning and activities both within its command structure and in the member nations.

Following Katarina Brodin doctrine can be operationalized into two main lines: strategy and argumentation. Strategy consists of general recommendations on ends, ways and means that are chosen to achieve the objectives and practical goals of the desired policy. Argumentation justifies the rationality of the policy, and expresses the overall objectives, the worldview, and the sense of reality of the policy and policy makers.[44] Strategy thus can be said to primarily have a structural role, whereas argumentation has both instrumental and legitimizing functions. Ashley Tellis similarly departs from the narrow tactical understanding of doctrine and sees doctrine "*rather as a* Weltbild *that defines, first and foremost, the core question of what purposes are served*" [by the acquisition of nuclear weapons] whereas force posture, concepts of operations and weapon employment are subsidiary questions.[45] Strategy (and argumentation) expressed in a higher-level doctrine will form the basis for subordinate doctrines and documents. Political and military, and supreme and subordinate doctrines and their strategies and argumentation are, or should be, linked and synchronized. This interaction is presented in Figure no. 2. The arrows in the figure show the structural function of doctrines in guiding, reforming and providing feedback.

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[41] Apunen 1972, pp. 1-20.
[42] Brodin 1977, pp. 22-26.
[43] *NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions* 1995.
[44] Brodin 1977, p. 27.
[45] Tellis 2001, pp. 16-17.

Doctrine₁

Strategy₁   Argumentation₁

Doctrine₂

Strategy₂   Argumentation₂
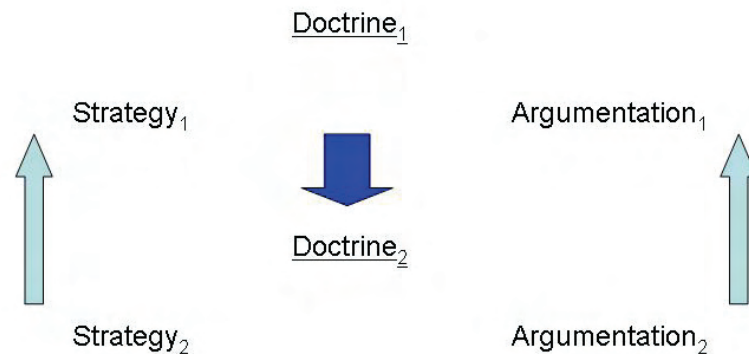
Figure no. 2. Hierarchy and interaction between different levels of doctrines.

A political or military doctrine, like *any other linguistic act,* operates within the prevailing conventions (a constructivist demand) – otherwise it could not be recognized and understood. Similarly, as it is to be executed its ends, ways, and means must be of this world (a realist demand). Doctrine contains elements that are either scientifically legitimate or ideologically/politically justified; a doctrine is therefore situated in between the science of a theory and the bias of an ideology.[46] Thus the *Brahmin* advisor Kautilya to the King Chandragupta Maurya did not and could not write in *Arthaśastra* (ca. 300 B. C.) of a submarine-based second-strike force and counterforce deterrence – neither did von Clausewitz in the early 19th century. And even though we could grasp the language and meaning of a doctrine on the use of elephants in battle, its value is questionable in warfare today. Doctrines like any policy or language are time bound, not perennial or universal, either. Acts of writing, speaking of, and executing a doctrine are not bound by existing conventions but are constantly shaping them. Otherwise the 'progress' from elephants to a hydrogen bomb would not have been possible in the first place.

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[46] Tiilikainen 1998, p. 12.

As there is no written public or accepted foreign or nuclear policy doctrine in India, speeches, drafts and statements will be situated to discern strategies and argumentation. The notion of doctrine is thus widened to cover, if not all, then most political texts and speeches. Moreover, the prevailing conventions where this language and its concepts operate are constituted by the Indian political culture and its orientations[47] and by International Relations theories. These thus form the conceptual and operative environment for Indian actors and policies, the object, and the researcher, the subject.

The Skinnerian "method[48]" of decoding the agent's intentions puts the focus on the meanings of the texts. Every concept and any language we use has different and differently relevant meanings.[49] Elucidating the meaning of utterances is a key move in this process. The first meaning, $meaning_1$, concerns the meaning of a particular word or concept. "China" then means a specific country that in English is called "China". $Meaning_2$ on the other hand says what the word or a text means to a person. For some "China" means pleasant memories of their visits, for someone else torture and famine. This basically phenomenological meaning could be called a reader-response approach to interpretation. Both $meaning_1$ and $meaning_2$ are less relevant in understanding the intentions of political activity. They are useful especially in focusing on the changing semiotic, personal or public meanings of words, concepts and texts. $Meaning_3$, what does a writer or speaker mean by what he or she says in a given text, is the key to grasping the intentions of an act. Knowledge of $meaning_3$ is equivalent to knowing the intentions.[50] "China" spoken by an Indian prime minister is not only about the name of a country but, for example, a rationale and legitimization for developing nuclear weapons (to deter the country to which India lost a brief war in 1962, and the ideologically and culturally different regime that possesses nuclear weapons).

What is essential in grasping the $meaning_3$ is the identification of the context, conventions and standards of a given social situation. Two sets of questions are then posed. The first question is the text's linguistic or ideological context in order to determine its character as an ideological manoeuvre. This situates the text in terms of convention; relevant linguistic

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[47] The collective sentiments that "*govern the public's general outlook toward politics as a field of practice, as an abstract science, and as a general guideline for the attainment of community or national power*". (Kamrava 1993, pp. 136-139)

[48] The word "perspective" could be used instead of "method" as Skinner's approach is not methodologically rigorous or technical. However, for the purposes of this paper "method" describes the idea and intention how Skinner's perspective or approach could be applied.

[49] The concept of meaning should not be confused with interpretation.

[50] Skinner 2002, pp. 91-93, 100-101, 116.

commonplaces uniting a number of texts. Shared vocabulary, principles, assumptions, criteria for testing knowledge-claims, problems, and conceptual distinctions are examples of these conventions.[51] Conventions can be seen as minimal linguistic-social contracts among a given epistemic community. Despite the psychological and semantic difficulties in fully understanding what any other person means, the different levels of intention, meaning$_3$, can be revealed as time, place, and prevailing conventions are grasped.[52] This requires an analysis of what others have written in the same context.[53]

The second question relates to of the ideological manoeuvre as a political manoeuvre, and concerns the practical context of the texts, namely the political activity or problems the text addresses or to whom it addresses.[54] A relevant concern here is how is a political actor constructing a political problem; how is that actor forcing an issue to appear on the political agenda?

This methodology distances itself from traditional and rigorous explaining-understanding debate. The form of explanation is non-causal as it is a re-description of the characterization of the linguistic action in terms of its ideological and political points and not in terms of an independent variable. What is nevertheless explained is the intention in performing a linguistic action.[55]

The approach does not take concepts or meanings for granted or consider them to be eternal. However, it has been criticized for having a traditional author-subject approach, and for accepting the author's perspective. The significant issue here, though, is not about the factual truth or the constant rereading of the texts, but the debate in which linguistic and political actions participate. Texts contain authorial intentions but not truths. The rationality of an author supersedes both the truth-value of a text and the interpretations of individual scholars.[56] In fact a lie or a totally irrelevant utterance is as valuable as the noblest truth.

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[51] Tully 1988, p. 9. Here the context and convention is sought in the defined Indian strategic culture.

[52] Skinner 2002, pp. 102, 116.

[53] Palonen 2003, p. 45.

[54] Tully 1988, p. 10.

[55] Tully 1988, p. 10; Holsti 1995, pp. 251-252. Holsti speaks of the "*importance to place ourselves in the positions of the policy makers and identify their intentions and purposes*" and of the unsatisfactory nature of "*monocausal explanations*". He argues that an important line or action of foreign policy is "*seldom chosen for a single reason or purpose*".

[56] Skinner 2002, pp. 31, 33-34, 117-118.

Mark Bevir criticizes both Skinner's and John Pocock's contextualism or 'conventionalism' for its convention-heavy approach. He questions whether the logic of meaning is dependent upon linguistic convention and argues that language can be used in unconventional or innovative ways. Bevir stresses that understanding is always individual and intentional and not 'conventional'.[57] This critique, however, misconstrues the interrelationship between meaning and conventions. Firstly, the relationship is not a determining one. Secondly, as Dominick LaCapra in his critique points out, conventions are selected,[58] thus inevitably several possible conventions and several parallel conventions exist. Linguistic change or unconventional use of language is possible if and when people borrow ideas, concepts and ways of thoughts from simultaneously existing conventions and apply and adjust their language and modes of thinking according to these 'new' concepts. Contexts and conventions are constantly being developed by social action – otherwise linguistic, scientific or political development would not be possible in the first place. In fact, what is 'unconventional', is recognized as such when it is in contrast with the prevailing conventions. Context is never fixed or closed. These dynamics that are elaborated in detail in the next chapter "Culture as Context", also respond to LaCapra's demand that we need to explain how a text relates to, transforms, or reworks the contexts of its production and reception.[59]

Elizabeth A. Clark in line with Jacques Derrida and Michael J. Shapiro argues that even politically innocent actions are the effects of power and authority and that a critique should seek for gaps and absences in the texts. Determining a context is thus always political.[60] Nothing in contextualism, however, points to its alleged neutrality or innocence. The political nature of speaking (writing) and conducting research together with determining a context or convention is in-built in the logic of contextualism. Conventions are similar to meanings in that both are highly influenced by context; again one needs to stress that they are not rigid, closed or fixed but offer and open up new interpretations. That the researcher either explains her choices in detail or elaborates the context at adequate length helps the reader to follow the researcher's line of argumentation and then agree or disagree with her. Power and authority found especially in feminist literature and critical theory leads one to remember Wittgenstein's "looking for red, seeing red" metaphor – commitment to meta explanations like power, material gain or national interest reduces social action to mechanistic behaviour which is alien to human beings. Skinner remarks on the impossibility of studying (historical) texts without being affected by one's own

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[57] Bevir 1999, pp. 38-42, 45-46.
[58] LaCapra questions the criteria for selecting a context (LaCapra 1989, p. 203).
[59] LaCapra 1989, pp. 205, 430.
[60] Clark 2004, pp. 142-143, 176.

organizing models and preconceptions together with his view of speech and texts as actions rather than mere utterances, emphasize the intentional/political nature of speech acts.

One should here keep in mind that though the Skinnerian approach is indepted to J.L. Austin's speech act theory and to his *How to Do Things with Words*, this analysis does not as such focus on the philosophical dimensions or even the technical use of language. Thus locutionary use of language, illocutionary force or perlocutionary effects of (the) texts are only implicitly examined. Locutions ('what was said'; **"*He said to me 'Shoot her!' meaning by 'shoot' shoot and referring by 'her' to her*"**.), illocutions ('what was done by and in saying'; "*He urged me to shoot her*".) and perlocutions ('what was intended to achieve by saying'; "*He got me to shoot her.*") are simply tools to understand politics and its intentions. The performative characteristics and qualifications of the acts, i.e. texts as political moves, are the main.[61] Those, like Derrida, Judith Butler or Ole Weaver, who emphasize the always political and indeterminate nature of the speech act event and its independent power and authority, are implicitly critical of Austin's context-heavy approach.[62]

The Skinnerian understanding of politics as activity and the method of intertextual interpretation constitute social and political worlds. Political reality is constituted by political performances, of which linguistic actions are an essential part. A text and a context are not seen as separate entities as a realistic ontology would claim. Neither is a text chained or determined by its context as suggested by contextual methodology.[63] They interact in a manner which shapes them both; "*our social world is constituted by our concepts, any successful alteration in the use of concepts will at the same time constitute a change in our social world*".[64] Context is thus a framework of possibilities, and resemblance to the ontological and epistemological commitments of critical realism is significant.

Lene Hansen presents a similar approach when speaking of different intertextual models and their research agendas. She distances the intertextual approach from the "usual" or "conventional" foreign policy analysis drawing on policy texts stipulating official policy and emphasises a need to situate official discourse inside a "larger intertextual web". In her first model, which most closely resembles the approach of this study, the analytical focus is on official discourse and texts. The other models widen the

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[61] Austin 1975, pp. 94-108; Palonen 2003, pp. 30-35, 134-137. The 'shooting' examples are Austin's.
[62] Stritzel 2007, pp. 361-362, 375.
[63] Skinner 1969, pp. 59, 64; Palonen 2003, pp. 38-39.
[64] Skinner 1988, p. 276.

focus to foreign policy debate, to cultural representations and to marginal political discourses.[65]

The contextual/conventional approach finds support in current research on Indian political thought and foreign policy. Myron Weiner emphasizes the existing societal and religious links between the past and present Indian societies and concludes that contemporary Indians are more akin to their ancestors in some respects than they are to their foreign contemporaries.[66] Amrita Narlikar in her study of Indian negotiating style argues that Indian (international) behaviour is largely a product of India's perception of itself and its place in the world.[67] Rashed uz Zaman strongly claims that understanding of [*Arthaśastra* and Kautilya´s] ideas is useful in *deciphering* Indian strategic culture and behaviour.[68] W.P.S. Sidhu emphasizes that not only traditions, norms, law books, military strategies were passed on by word of mouth for several centuries but also that Indians knew their history well.[69] Holger Stritzel in his analysis of a theory of securitization concludes that an actor and a speech act could not have an impact without a situation, "*the embeddedness in social relations of meaning and power*", that constitutes them as significant.[70] The contextual approach is applicable in understanding art as well. If one looks at, for example, Rembrandt's *Company of Captain Frans Banning Cocq and Lieutenant Willem van Ruytenhurch*, also known as *The Night Watch,* what one sees in the painting is not the same as what one understands given the context and conventions of that particular work, time and place.[71]

CONCLUSION

The following summary characterizes the methodological choices and deductions made from the elaborated scientific foundations:

Ontology and Epistemology
1. Reality exists independently of the mind or language (realist ontology) but it is known, becomes understood and is cognitively constructed by linguistic practices and interpretation (relativist epistemology). Thus an Archimedean point outside of language does not exist.

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[65] Hansen 2007, pp. 55-64.
[66] Weiner 1984, p. 113.
[67] Narlikar 2006, pp. 59.
[68] uz Zaman 2006, pp. 232-233, 246-247.
[69] Sidhu 1996, p. 177.
[70] Stritzel 2007, p. 367.
[71] Rembrandt can be claimed to be both commenting the *conventional* way of gestalting prominent people in contemporary paintings and mocking bourgeois that wants to present themselves as soldiers and as guardians of the city of Amsterdam.

Politics as Social and Linguistic Action

2. Linguist theories suggest that social action is constituted by linguistic action, i.e. the language used and its paradigms, conventions and contexts.

3. Texts are political acts, and the essence of politics can be derived through them.

4. Politics and policies are primarily (and by definition) social activity, and can thus be understood if the language of its discourse understood. This is the case because most political activity is set down in writing and is constituted by concepts, and because the past is almost entirely experienced literally.[72]

5a. Every social/political act is rational and intentional. This is not to suggest that rationality and rational decision-making should be understood in terms of realism or rational choice theories; rationality is first and foremost cognitive action and can be based on e.g. beliefs, emotions as well as on calculation. Rationality and intentionality are the essential foundations of being an agent who is able "*to intervene in the world, or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs*".[73]

5b. Every social and political act is contingent (specific to time and place) yet not self-constituting.

Methodology

6. To understand contingent social/political acts and their rationality and intentions one needs to understand the words and concepts used, the intellectual and political paradigm and conventions in which they were used, and the meaning(s) of the use. Both texts/acts and their conventions count.

7. The two sets of questions posed call for the text's ideological-linguistic context that situates it in its convention, and for the text's political manoeuvre, i.e. its role and position in and as political life.

8. International Relations theory together with a body of work on societal and cultural research can provide an essential intellectual and political context and framework for a study that deals with issues and questions of an IR nature. In this thesis the framework and convention is understood to operate under the concept of strategic culture.

9. This understanding enables one to seize not only what was said and what was meant by saying, but also what was meant in saying something in a particular and contingent way.

10. Accepting the contingent and unique nature of acts and policies, it is possible to understand not only the political culture one is focusing on, but also the culture and era one is living in.

Although the linguistic approach is most commonly used in studying ancient or historical texts like Plato, Machiavelli, or Burke, these is no a

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[72] Kurunmäki 2001, p. 143; Palonen 2003, p. 58.
[73] Giddens 1986, p. 14.

priori assumption that prevents one from widening its use. Moreover, a more detailed method derived from this approach can also be applied in the field of International Relations, which tackles more recent acts and questions. What is investigated here are not history-of-ideas topics, such as the use of the concepts of liberty, property, or republicanism in 18th century English literature, but for example, words, concepts or doctrines such as security, deterrence, or no-first-use, and their use, meaning, rationality, and intentions in early 21st century Indian foreign policy. Language constitutes political reality, and political reality is reflected in language.

Despite a strong belief in the methodological legitimacy of the linguistic approach it is understood to offer only a partial explanation of the policies examined. Thus this thesis should be viewed as complementary and offering tentative suggestions rather than strong claims to scientific purity. Another type of empirical study could reveal verified reasons thus enabling one to establish causal connections between the facts and courses of political action.[74] However, it is argued that the presented methodology of trying to identify the policy makers' intentions and purposes offers a more holistic view of policies and the social, political and intellectual factors which affect them.

Theories that are considered vital for the actual process of intertextualizing will not be explicitly discussed in this study. To refer to or repeat what is said about Political Realism or Neo-Liberalism in textbooks is not considered necessary, nor need one engage in the First debate. This is not the purpose of the research; instead the enquiry "*operates from phenomena, not from models*".[75] The basic assumptions of the IR canons are nevertheless widely utilized along the way. More emphasis is naturally put on specific Indian IR thought, where that can be traced, and on nuclear-related theories on e.g. deterrence and non-proliferation.

In short, the method of grasping the meaning of policies to be used in this research can be described as follows:
1. One begins with identifying and delineating the communication that was performed on a given and similar occasions.[76] This includes knowing what was said, and understanding what the actors' norms and belief systems were.

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[74] George Perkovich's study *India's Nuclear Bomb (*Oxford, 2000) and Ashley J. Tellis' *India's Emerging Nuclear Doctrine: Exemplifying the Lessons of the Nuclear Revolution* (NBR Analysis, Vol 12, No. 2, May 2001) are fine examples of well-documented, well-organized and conducted and Wisdom oriented empirical studies on Indian nuclear policy.

[75] John Pocock (referring to Skinner's "*The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*), quoted in Palonen 2003, p. 67.

[76] Skinner 1988, p. 246; 2002, pp. 40, 82-83; Pocock 1989, pp. 25-26.

2. What was said and believed is taken at face value. This rather odd sounding principle prevents one from jumping directly to premature causal explanations that try to rationalize or apologize for a certain behaviour or vocabulary. If India claims that China is threatening her this is accepted as a statement which is only later evaluated to be rational or not, but it is not regarded as right or wrong. No external or researcher's rationality is allowed to influence the outcome.[77] Serious doubts are thus raised on both the existence of the Archimedean point and the functionality of the hermeneutic circle. Here the applied method distances itself from both positivism and hermeneutics.

3. To evaluate the rationality of political acts one finally has to recover "*a very precise context of presuppositions and other beliefs*"[78] that help one to move forward with statements. This context is not a determinant but rather a tacit assumption of the possible. It is limiting only in the sense that utterances being illocutionary acts and understood presuppose a certain socially and historically existing convention.[79]

4. The taken rationality of the statements is then evaluated with the help of the established political, historical and intellectual context, convention and paradigmatic texture.[80] This is found in various studies, textbooks, and histories that obviously cover a longer time span than the actual focus of this study. An act or statement can be rational by its original face value or be rational by some other criteria.[81] "China" might be found to be threatening India, or the rationality of such a statement can be found in the domestic or administrative value-oriented discourse of the speaker; again neither evaluation is right or wrong, only at best rational.

5. Finally the two domains of foreign and security policy and certain nuclear questions are placed in intertextual juxtaposition with each other. Simply put, the revealed intentions, *what they are doing in their doings*, are compared to draw conclusions on the role of nuclear policy in Indian foreign policy.

It might be doubted whether a method constructed for historical study is suitable for a study of international relations. In particular, a method which analyses the history of the use of concepts and the rhetoric of historical situations might seem inappropriate. However, as conceptual history

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[77] Skinner 1969, pp. 44-46; 1988, p. 246; 2002, pp. 37-41.

[78] Skinner 2002, p. 42.

[79] Skinner 1969, p. 49; Palonen 2003, pp. 38-42.

[80] Skinner 2002, p. 42; Pocock 1989, pp. 29-31.

[81] This concept is used and should be approached with caution. It is not to be confused with any strict set of rules. Pocock, a strong linguistic contextualist, even talks in this context of a verifying hypothesis (Pocock 1989, pp. 30-31). Skinner, a less committed linguistic contextualist, warns of strict context-oriented interpretation and criteria, and argues that the author's intentions in doing what he did should be the centrepiece (Skinner 2002, pp. 98, 101, 118, 124-125).

considers the interplay between the individual and structures, it provides insights and interpretations that are of interest to political scientists. The question is not, or should not be, about the method or research strategy but about the purposes of and the questions asked in the research.[82] These determine whether a study and its conclusions reflect the words, concepts and languages or the actual situations in which they were presented, and determine what kind of study is actually being presented. The history of the use of concepts and ideas is not the primary goal and purpose of an IR-related study. A point-explanation can, however, be a suitable tool to understand politics from below and within.

The relationships between politics and language and politics and history also support the use of rhetorically and historically oriented research strategy. Politics can be understood to almost always possess a set of textual references, which ought to be identified and specified.[83] To go even further, there would be no politics without language. Politics even understood as acts and doings is nevertheless based on various texts, speeches, programmes, or doctrines. Besides, such a narrow interpretation of politics undermines its basic discursive and persuasive nature. The political is thus linguistic and rhetorical. Discourse contributes to the formation of political reality, and political reality affects discourse.[84] The constitutive powers act both ways; from above as the political and social environment directs the political activity, and from below as political speeches constitute the environment where politics operate. This is a dynamics that is lacking from the either-or approaches of a holistic and individualistic character.

A text can be interpreted as political in three ways: firstly by the very content that is chosen; it is political as a locution. Secondly, as an illocutionary act, identified by the intentions in doing it. And thirdly, by its perlocutionary intentions, what was intended to be achieved, which for even non-Skinnerians are political.[85] This approach can contribute to the development of IR theory by penetrating political agendas and by revealing intentions to do and intentions in doing. Furthermore as politics – both words and deeds – takes place in time and place, it is necessarily historical and culturally constructed. Certain similarities between policies and ages can be found, but one cannot speak of dateless wisdoms or universal ideas;

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[82] This study differs e.g. from Hansen's intertextual approach ("model 1") as the analytical purpose here is to grasp the intentions of the utterances instead of investigating constructions of identity and intertextual stabilization.

[83] Palonen 1988, p. 20; Kurunmäki 2001, p. 143 (on the linguistic and textual character of politics).

[84] Iggers 1997, p. 127.

[85] Skinner 1972, pp. 98-99, 108-109; Palonen 2003, pp. 43-44, 57.

languages and activities are always products of history.[86] The idea of contingent politics is parallel with Kuhn's proposition about the historical character of science. Political conventions might nevertheless prove to be of shorter duration than scientific paradigms.

The combination of domestic politics agenda and IR has traditionally been missing from the International Society approach that has focused either on the higher structures of international affairs or on the individual in world politics. Domestic politics can be understood to construct international relations, not necessarily to cause certain activities but to make them understandable. Arguing from the opposing direction, international relations can be seen to form one set of prevailing conventions that affects the domestic front. The domestic agenda in question, foreign and nuclear policies, have endogenous links to the international relations level of analysis as the issues are international in nature.

Without taking part of the discipline's first and second debates, this study is a contribution to the existing literature on nuclear weapon issues in national and international politics, offering an additional perspective of the South Asian experience to the primarily Anglo-American body of literature. Similarly, Indian experiences and choices offer an alternative view on the role of nuclear weapons and doctrines in the post-Cold War era and in the developing world.

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Outline of the study

Following the logic of the outlined methodology the next part of the study focuses on the political, historical and intellectual context and conventions that are seen both to shape political behaviour and to be constituted by that behaviour.[87] Without such conventions political events lack meaning, thus the meanings of political events are revealed in intertextual and hermeneutic interplay between the context and the events. The second section of the thesis explicates what is called "Indian Strategic Culture". It looks at a social complex composed of actors, regulative and constitutive rules, resources and practices,[88] i.e. the Indian political and strategic community, the ideas that matter and the institutions that act.[89] Seemingly these issues do not bear any direct connections with Indian nuclear weapons policy, but their relevance stems from the methodology of intertextualism and the analytical goal of understanding the meaning of utterances and policies. In

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[86] Pocock 1989, p.12.
[87] Gray 1999a, p. 50.
[88] Patomäki 2002, p. 119.
[89] Gray 1999a, pp. 51-56.

the first chapter of section two the concept of culture as a context is discussed and outlined. The second chapter then elaborates constituting rules and regulations in India. It starts with the Constitution and moves through some key ideas, ideals and values to form a complex picture of what could be called an Indian identity. The third chapter introduces the actors of the Indian Security Community and analyses their functions, relations and ideologies.

The third section of the thesis takes a closer look at Indian foreign and nuclear policies between 1947 and 2004. This analysis, which builds on the existing body of literature, is necessary in order to construct the historical convention in which the current policies operate and also to outline the origins of Indian foreign relations and nuclear policy.

Following from this analysis of the political, historical and intellectual context the fourth section of the thesis examines the foreign and nuclear policies of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's government. The approach is to look first at what has been said, and why. With the help of the notions of context/convention elaborated in the second and third section of the thesis, the intentions behind the statements are then analysed.

The examination of Indian foreign policy covers the areas essential to Indians as they themselves define them and as far as these areas are forwarded by the Indian government. The chapter on nuclear policy covers Indian action regarding disarmament, major nuclear regimes and Indian nuclear doctrine. These accounts should not be regarded as offering a complete picture of Indian foreign relations to any particular country or to cover all aspects of their nuclear policy. The approach or methodology is primarily historical but the focus is political.

In the fifth and final section of the thesis the two domains of foreign and nuclear policy are combined and discussed in relation to each other. In addition, the foreign and nuclear policies of the Singh, Vajpayee and Nehru governments are compared. The final remarks evaluate the scientific importance of the results and the relevance of the approach taken.

II

Conventions: Indian Strategic Culture

1 CULTURE AS CONTEXT

Elaborating 'Indian strategic culture' creates the historical, political and intellectual framework necessary for the above-described methodology. As the notion of strategic culture might bear several disturbing and competing connotations one is obliged to explain the content and the use of the context in this research. The concept gained ground when researchers began to recognise each country's unique way of interpreting and acting in the international environment. Jack Snyder was one of the first to define and use the concept. Strategic culture according to Snyder consists of "*ideas, conditioned emotional responses and patterns of habitual behaviour that members of a national strategic community share regarding nuclear strategy*.[1] As his definition was broad some scientists and even he became frustrated how widely and loosely this concept was used. Culture was, perhaps deliberately, understood as vague and foggy or as a meaningless meta-explanation when everything else, i.e. realist and rational explanations had proven fruitless.[2]

Alastair Iain Johnston speaks of an integrated system of symbols, pervasive and long-lasting preferences, and the concepts of role and efficacy of military force in interstate political affairs. These strategic preferences are rooted in the formative experiences of the state and are influenced to some degree by the philosophical, political, cultural and cognitive characteristics of the state and its elites. What he specifically urged was firstly a narrower understanding of the concept and secondly a testable theory.[3]

Much of Johnston's critique was aimed at Colin Gray, who had accepted a wide concept of strategic culture and had boldly claimed that "*all dimensions of strategy are cultural*". One of the dividing lines in the literature on

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[1] Snyder 1977, p. 8.
[2] This critique was first made by Ken Booth (1979) and later by Alistair Iain Johnston (1995) (Sondhaus 2006, pp. 1-7, 123, 126).
[3] Johnston 1995, pp. 32-34, 46.

strategic culture is the culture-behaviour relationship. Johnston did not subscribe to Gray's ideas-and-behaviour nexus. On the contrary, he considered it to be tautological and more confusing than clarifying.[4] Problematic for Gray were Johnston's positivist notions, especially the disjuncture between behaviour and culture. Gray went on to define strategic culture later referring to ideas and behaviour that influence political events, specifically behaviour relevant to the threat or use of force for political purposes. The utility of the very concept lies "*in how it can help us understand observed behaviour in the present rather than predict future behaviour*".[5]

Kerry Longhurst argues that strategic culture consists of the components of underlying foundational elements, observable regulatory practices and the governing security policy standpoints. She defines strategic culture as a distinctive body of collectively held beliefs, attitudes and practices regarding the use of force which rise gradually over time through unique historical processes.[6]

Kanti Bajpai has adapted Johnston's conception of strategic culture to inform his inquiry into Indian strategic culture. Firstly, he refers to Johnston's term *central strategic paradigms* to elaborate three thought patterns, *Nehruvianism*, *Neoliberalism* and *Hyperrealism* which both constitute and guide Indian politics. Secondly, from these patterns he delineates *grand strategic prescriptions*, i.e. the preferred means to make India secure. Bajpai however departed from Johnston on several key aspects. Methodologically Bajpai acknowledged that there was a need to show that in canonical texts a set of strategic preferences that are constantly valued more highly than others. In India, however, he argued that "*there are no canonical texts across which one would test for consistency of preference ranking*".[7] Earlier he had stated that *Arthaśastra* was an exception, though he comes to the conclusion that it lacks the status of the Western or Chinese military classics. Johnston's conceptions, on the other hand, emphasise the role and deployment of force, whereas in the Indian case economic, cultural and other non-military instruments were more essential. Similarly, India had been more preoccupied with internal security threats than the ancient China Johnston had examined and used to formulate his thesis. Finally, in the modern security environment of the past four centuries major threats to Indian states, societies and identity have usually been seen to have come from distant countries and not from neighbouring states.[8]

These above-mentioned conceptual disagreements about the roles of

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[4] Johnston 1999, p. 520.
[5] Gray 1999a, p. 50. Also in Gray 1999b, pp. 129-133, 135-136.
[6] Longhurst 2004, pp. 17-18.
[7] Bajpai 2002, 249.
[8] Bajpai 2002, pp. 245-250.

context and behaviour are also of utmost scientific importance for International Relations theory. They raise the question whether there are idea-less independent variables or factors or whether everything is contaminated by context/conventions and ideas all the way down? Culture can be understood either as an exogenous factor to or an integral part of the events-producing (political and strategic) social community. In Gray's words culture/context is either "out there" as a cause or it "weaves together" as a social construction or both.[9] Another difference is how strong a role or impact is the strategic culture supposed to have. For Johnston it only plays a limited role; for Booth strategic culture is shaping but not determining factor, whereas Gray find it expressed in distinct patterns and Longhurst considers it is embodied in observable regulatory practises.[10]

What is, however, common to these scholars is their perception that strategic culture is generated and sustained by distinct groups of individuals who belong to political, military, scientific and intellectual elites. These elites deal with questions of security and foreign policy and the use of military power.[11]

The invention of the concept of strategic culture replaced rational-strategic and universal logic with the particular, the contingent and the historical. Initially, culture was not considered a precise enough entity or factor for academic studies. Subsequently, however, the scope of the concept was enlarged. It could, for example, be used in analysis of non-nuclear issues. In this thesis another enlargement takes place. Strategic culture could be considered a relevant avenue of approach to questions other than those concerned with war and the use of force. Foreign and security policies are here understood to be constituted by collective ideas and beliefs, shared traditions and identities and by regulatory practices.

The basic ontological and epistemological commitments of this study, namely a realist ontology and a relativist epistemology, favour the context-oriented approach. Reality even widely understood usually exists independently of the observer, but our knowledge of reality is always culturally biased. There might be cases where action is caused by other-than cultural or contextual factors but if one accepts and focuses on intentional political behaviour lasting for a long period of time random a-cultural cases are not particularly significant. Admittedly, strategic culture as understood here does not cover all possible contexts or cultures, and one has to accept the possibility of multiple, interpenetrating and inconsistent contexts. Foreign and nuclear policies offer no exception to this rule. As Gray argues, culture

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[9] Gray 1999a, pp. 50-51.
[10] Gray 1999b, p. 133; Longhurst 2004, p. 48.
[11] Sondhaus 2006, pp. 125, 127.

is context and without a context events lack meaning.[12] Here Gray is in line with the methodological approach that seeks to identify meanings of political action by intertextually juxtaposing political speech with context and conventions. The crux in the exogenous/endogenous question is to distinguish action as one of the necessary social components of the context from the logics, reasons and effects of that action. Whatever the context it does not as such determine the action, as the actor could have done otherwise.[13]

Strategic culture in this study is not the same as political culture or military culture or their combination. These concepts refer to sets of specific political or military complexes that consist of certain actors, regulative and constitutive rules, resources, practices and action, and the performance itself.[14] Strategic culture covers hierarchically the highest echelons of national political and military planning and decision-making and horizontally the decision-makers, their regulative and constitutive rules, resources, practices and action. This differs from the concept Gray uses, but does not confront it, as his standpoint is the classical strategic one stemming from the Clausewitzian reading of strategy.[15]. Strategy is for Gray about achieving political ends by military means, thus his definition of strategic culture as the "emotional and attitudinal environment within which the *defence community* [author's emphasis] operates".[16] His dimensions of strategy, the clusters of 'People and Politics', 'Preparation for War', and 'War Proper' underline this assessment. It is noteworthy that he speaks of *strategy*, the action, and this chapter of my thesis of the *strategic*, the qualitative distinction that specifies a certain level of action and the focus on mostly political security related issues. Therefore in Gray's security community there can be several strategic cultures,[17] whereas in this thesis the *strategic* culture is the overriding concept consisting of e.g. the security community. The notion of a strategic culture or community covers mainly strategic issues, the military culture mainly military issues and the tactical culture mainly tactical issues. Similarly, a community operates within a culture, and does not in itself constitute a culture. Gray is right in arguing for the persistent nature of culture and that changes are slow.[18] However, it is correct to claim that cultures, even strategic cultures, evolve. Although specific

[12] Gray 1999a, p. 62.

[13] Patomäki 2002, pp. 112, 119-120.

[14] This formulation follows Heikki Patomäki's concept of causal and social complex. Although the causal dimension of Patomäki's concept is not essential here, his understanding of social action and the complexity of this action provides a suitable framework for the concept of strategic culture (Patomäki (2002), p. 119).

[15] Strategy being for von Clausewitz the art of employment in battles in order to gain the ends of war (von Clausewitz 1992 (1832), book 2, chapter 1 and book 3, chapter 1).

[16] Gray 1999a, pp. 58, 63-64.

[17] Gray 1999a, p. 54.

[18] Gray 1999a, pp. 51-52.

moments in time cannot always be specified, one must assume that change is a constant factor, though the speed of change is rarely even. Therefore the interplay between a (more persistent) culture and a particular moment (political action/behaviour) has both a conceptual and a temporal dimension. The following figure illuminates this idea. There is necessarily a difference of time between the shaping function of the culture (t_1) and the constituting function of the behaviour (t_2). Otherwise either cultural change would not be affected by behaviour at all or cultures would change overnight. The context-action/ideas-behaviour nexus operates over time in time.
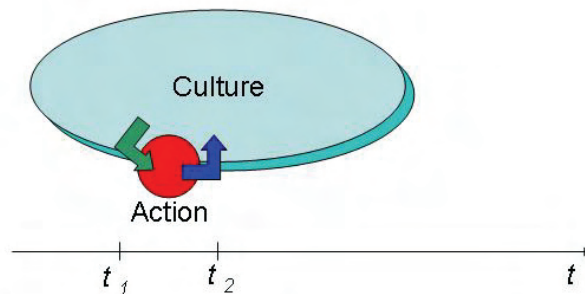
Figure 3. Culture-action nexus over time in time

Following the sociological approach presented in the previous chapter one can thus say that Indian strategic culture comprises i) the Indian security community (actors; practices; resources), ii) the ideas and rules of that community and affecting that community (rules), and iii) the political action that the community performs with its resources (action). The Indian, that is the national-level, security community consists of the highest political, diplomatic, administrative and military, even technical officials and institutions that act in the name of and on behalf of the Indian Union. Their action is defined and legitimized by the constitution and laws, or is grounded in political and administrative practices.

What then are the rules and regulations of India? Here the study looks deeply into the belief systems and shared ideas, identities and institutions

that constitute the nation, the country and the politics. It is a sociological and political journey into the Indian landscape. As culture is something learned, transmitted and historical one should examine the history of that given culture. The history of Indian strategic culture is then the historical performance and experience of the community. It is the history of the issues engaged in by the culture and the community, and also covers the action of the actors. It is the history of Indian foreign policy and it is the history of Indian nuclear policy.
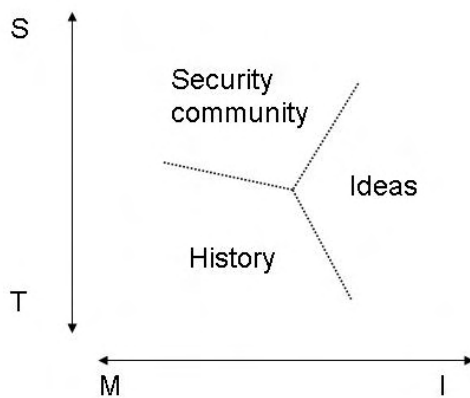
Figure no. 4. Conceptualization of the Indian strategic culture

Figure number 4 illustrates the above-described conceptualization. Here the spatial-temporal (S-T) and the material-ideational (M-I) dimensions of the Indian strategic culture are added to the framework. The security community is the most spatial and material element, while ideas are the most ideational and temporal; historical/political action takes place in time and uses both ideational and material resources.

Finally, before entering into an examination of Indian strategic culture, one has to tackle the question of cultural relativism versus the ethnocentrism of the Western academic community; is the strategic community a particular or a universal experiment, and on what terms? The particular interpretation emphasizes the importance of e.g. local traditions, religion, moral philosophy, national taboos and geographic factors. It is rather tempting to claim that 'they', the 'Other' operate on different terms and conditions, and that 'our' way is purely rational, strategic and well calculated. In the case of

rules and regulations concerning India one should avoid mystifying the Indian experience. This warning is valid for other nations as well, but in the case of India with her rich cultural, religious, ethnic, linguistic and artistic contexts such cautiousness is perhaps more needed. Amartya Sen speaks of three distinct Western approaches to or interpretations of India and her traditions, namely exoticist, magisterial and curatorial. The first approach is particularly keen on detecting the different, the mystical, and the strange in India. The second category continues with the imperial/colonial tradition of treating India as an inferior. The curatorial approach is the widest. It relates to systematic curiosity with a general interest in seeing India as special and particularly interesting. Sen points out that the overall impact of these three approaches has been to exaggerate the '*non-material and arcane aspects*' at the expense of the '*rationalistic and analytical*' elements.[19]

The fundamental question is naturally whether there are universal values and if so, what values are universal and what are particular. In his discussion of human rights Isaiah Berlin has bluntly stated "*Do not ask me what I mean by decent. By decent I mean decent - we all know what that is*".[20] The point is that neither local nor global values, cultures or identities should *a priori* replace practical reason and political and social relevance in political decision making.[21] Vico has in his *Scienza Nueva* (1710) expressed the philosophical and practical base for interhuman and intercultural understanding. A human being understands what he has made; *Verum est ipsum factum*, truth is precisely what is made, and political activity belongs to our domain.[22] Accordingly we can imagine and understand what other human beings must have thought when we experience similar feelings and share similar thoughts. Practices and the extent to which these common values are expressed naturally differ spatially and historically, but the case for particular values is weak.

The universalistic view considers that human logic and the values which affect (strategic) decision-making are shared and similar enough to override particular anomalies. It should be possible, however, to value the importance of particular political, domestic, military or economic factors and avoid mystical labels and abstractions. It is obvious, for example, that the domestic politics and traditions of the Federal Republic of Germany accounted for the reluctance to send German troops to international crisis management operations in the 1990's, or that Ayatollah Khomeini considered nuclear weapons were immoral in an Islamic country. But it is also clear that both these stances were changed, too. The evidence regarding Indian behaviour does not to support the culture-heavy thesis. On the

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[19] Sen 2006a, pp. 140-160.
[20] Berlin in Jahanbegloo (2000) , p. 114.
[21] Sen 2006a, pp. 137-138.
[22] Pompa 1982 pp. 50-51, 59-60.

contrary, Indian behaviour and argumentation bears a resemblance to Western or Soviet/Russian foreign and nuclear policy.

In case of India and many other cultures, distinctiveness is often exaggerated. There is no single or united Indian way or view, and even if such a perspective existed it could be characterized by such terms as complexity, multi-layered and heterodoxy. Local communities and regional entities have interacted with each other and across geographical barriers like the Indian Ocean or the Himalayas for centuries. Not only goods but also Gods, ideas and identities have been exported and imported. The religious impact is quite obvious, but one should point out that scientific, mathematical and astronomical exchanges have also taken place between Indians, Arabs and the Chinese in the first millennium.[23]

Intellectual trade has continued and globalization has intensified its scope and importance in recent years. Accordingly one can expect similar ideas and patterns of political behaviour to exist in both India and in the Western world. Realism, rationalism, idealism, bureaucratic politics, pork-barrelling, etc. have either already existed in the 'Indian' political/strategic culture or they have been imported and established there. In the field of what is now known as International Relations one can cite the Brahmin councillor Kautilya's treatise *Arthaśastra* (fourth century B.C.) in which he guides the ruler on the political economy, governance and geopolitics in rather Realistic terms and way.

If strategic logic or the logic of strategic assessment and decision-making is universal, cultural context would not considered to play a particularly significant a role nor would it in anyway determine political action. Political behaviour is, however, conditioned and affected by local and contingent factors as suggested by e.g. Booth and Gray. Without any cultural context certain actions might not be correctly understood. Any aspect of the cultural/contextual background will not suffice, however, for it should be relevant to the issues in question and rationally justified. This follows the elaborated epistemological outlook, which argues that external-to-culture factors do not exist and everything is influenced by the cultural lenses, concepts and perspective. My purpose in this study, however, is not to take sides on this issue, but to further a more balanced view. Either-or-solutions give an over simplistic picture of a complex social situation and phenomenon. The Scylla and Charybdis here are on one hand the ultra-modernist and positivist interpretations of Indian reality and on the other the over-mystical and cultural interpretations. India as a subject of study should be treated like any other subject, in which due attention is given to the particular. The following chapter begins this analysis. It intends to look at the

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[23] Sen 2006a, pp. 56-57, 175-178.

rules and regulations together with the ideas and identities that operate in and affect political/strategic behaviour.

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RULES AND REGULATIONS; IDEAS AND IDENTITIES

Following the logic and the framework presented in the previous chapter, the writing and the execution of the Constitution can be seen as action that is shaped by the cultural context and that in turn constitutes the culture. The content of the Indian Constitution is firstly analysed in the light of the research problems posed by this study. Then the key ideas and values reflected in the Preamble are examined. Paul B. Brass names the following eight ideas as the leading ones of the nationalist elite of the independence movement: sovereignty, unity, order, a strong state, secularism, democracy and parliamentarism, economic self-sufficiency and social and economic reform.[1] Here the ideas regarding unity, statehood, secularism and social and economic reforms together with the principle of non-violence will be examined. The basic methodological argument is that the described context makes it possible to decode the agent's intentions. Judith M. Brown claims that institutions, ideas and the nature of society are essential to understanding the origins and viability of any political system.[2] Thus even the values, which might seem to operate at a distance from foreign and nuclear policy, can be of importance.

Generally value is understood as a conception of the desirable that influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action. They are a set of abstract and concrete ideas that give meaning and provide guidance to humans operating in the social world.[3] The ends, ways and means of a given policy reflect values that by definition are rather constant beliefs about preferred goals and procedures. Societal belief-systems and political behaviour are grounded in cultural norms reflecting or embodying the culture's values. It is obvious that values are seldom absolute or ultimate; they are culturally conditioned and relative since the standpoints differ and evolving over time.[4] For Satish Saberwal, who sees the Indian state in terms of a value, a value is that which is regarded as something that must be sustained and defended. For the purposes of the state-level approach an ultimate value implies a set of operating principles and a set of desirable behaviour patterns which, if followed, serve the ideal order and

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[1] Brass 1994, pp. 10-12.
[2] J. Brown 1994, p. 2.
[3] Following Clyde Kluckhohn's authoritative definition. See also Giddens 2001, pp. 22-23; Rieke, Sillars and Peterson 2005, p. 142.
[4] Giddens 2001, p. 23.

give the individual a sure sense of contributing to its realization.[5]

As the current politicians, officials and scientists, i.e. the Indian security community, have lived under the influence of the post-Independence value system, it can be claimed that they have at least partly internalized these values and identities. As state servants it is their particular responsibility to follow and execute these ideals. Naturally the cultural context that is constructed here should resemble the ideational, intellectual and political context the decision-makers have.

The Constitution

> *We, The People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens: Justice, social, economic and political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation; in our Constituent Assembly this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.*[6]

The Constitution of India provides a proper starting point to study the Indian constituting rules, regulations, ideas and identities. It contains both the legal and ideational framework for the analysis of the Indian strategic culture. In the Preamble to the Constitution the aims, objectives and philosophy of the Constitution are summarized and reflected. It also reflects the ideas and ideals of the Indian National Congress which were set up in the Objectives Resolution of Jawaharlal Nehru and adopted by the Constituent Assembly on January 1947.[7]

The then dominant Congress Party, however, had not unanimously supported Nehru and his ideas for India. Mohandas Gandhi yearned for a stateless state, an India of villages; the Party chairman Vallabhbhai Patel wanted the state to express and support the existing pattern of India's conservative, hierarchical and authoritarian society whilst Nehru wanted to

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[5] Saberwal 2000, pp. 66-67.

[6] Preamble, *The Constitution of India*. The Constitution came into force on January 26, 1950. The terms 'socialist', 'secular' and 'integrity' were added to the Preamble in 1976 when Indira Gandhi amended the Constitution (Amendment no. 42). The Constitution is downloaded from the website of the Ministry of Law and Justice (Legislative Department) [http://lawmin.nic.in/coi.htm].

[7] Das Basu 2005, p. 203.

reform society by means of a reformist, modern and industrialized state. The modern versus pre-modern debate is highlighted in the debate between the Swami and Mahatma paradigms. The Swami paradigm named after Swami Vivekananda equated India with spiritualism, recognized Indian backwardness and accepted the material progress of the West. Thus the model and the tools of modernity would help India to overcome her backwardness. Indian spiritualism was considered positively as a force that could be exported to the West. The Mahatma paradigm, on the other hand rejected modernity and Western materialism and wanted to preserve and forward the non-state social realities of Indian society.[8] The post-colonial elite did not question the existing social, economic, or even the religious rule, only the political one, arguing that Indians should decide and govern, not the British colonialists.[9] In fact the dominant paradigm built on Vivekananda's and Nehru's ideas is still the dominant one – though Nehruvian socialism along with state planning has been substituted by a more open market economy. Modernity, economic growth and high technology are considered essential for India's prosperity.

As defined by the Indian Constitution "*India, that is Bharat, shall be a Union of States*".[10] Although India is federal in structure and is constituted of 'states'which have both executive and legislative powers, by choosing to use the word 'union' the early legislators wanted to make a certain point. Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, explained in 1948 that the Indian federation is not a result of an agreement by separate units and that such units have no freedom to secede from it.[11] Seen from the viewpoint of rules and regulations the point of the Constitution was to emphasize the desired unity, even the eternal nature, of the nation. It is no coincidence for a country that consists of great diversities to try to embed the local within the centre and expand the centre into the local. Indians themselves often speak of 'Unity in Diversity'. This practical and political desire is written into the Preamble and the Constitution itself.

Like in any federal structure the distribution of powers between the federal (Union) government and the state governments is of interest. The federal character of the Indian political and administrative system was introduced in the 1935 Government of India Act set up by the British Parliament. Hitherto the colonial system had been a centralized though fragmented one. The Provinces began to exercise limited legislative and executive powers. They, nevertheless, did not become sovereign states, like for example the states of the American Union. The federal system also remained incomplete

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[8] Raghuramaraju 2006, pp. 40-60.
[9] Khilnani 1999, pp. 26-28, 33-34; Wolpert 2005, pp. 224-225.
[10] *The Constitution of India*, Article 1(1).
[11] Das Basu 1997, p. 50.

in another way as it was voluntary for the existing Indian States whether they joined the system or not.[12] The 1949/1950 Constitution sought to unify the status of the parts of the Indian Union. The idea of a united India took a step forward as the federal system, namely the Union Parliament gained powers to reorganize the states and alter their boundaries by a simple majority.[13] The President was also empowered to withdraw to the Union both the legislative and executive powers of a state, and to appoint the (executive) governors of the states. The governor on the other hand has powers to dissolve the State Legislative Assembly. The Constitution thus provides the Union effective means to control the states and territories and, if necessary, to limit both legislative and executive powers. Brown argues even that the President's rule has potential "*for coercion and authoritarian rule as stern as anything the British had produced*".[14]

The Constitution divides legislative, executive and financial powers between the Union and the states. Only the judicial power remains undivided, as there is a common judiciary for both entities. There are three subjects of legislation, namely federal, provincial and concurrent. The Legislative Lists of the Constitution distributes them as follows:

- List I, the Union List: 99 subjects over which the Union has exclusive power of legislation including defence, foreign affairs, banking, insurance, currency and coinage, Union duties and taxes
- List II, the state list: 61 items over which the state legislature has exclusive power of legislation including public order and police, local government, public health and sanitation, agriculture, forests, fisheries, State taxes and duties
- List III, the concurrent powers to the Union and state legislatures over 52 items, such as criminal law, marriage, economic and social planning.[15]

The executive powers generally follow the scheme above. In general the division follows the Guptan imperial rule where the central administration collected the taxes and maintained security against foreign invasions.[16] Under some exceptional circumstances like in the name of national interest, or under a proclamation of emergency, or by agreement between states, or to implement treaties, or under a proclamation of failure of constitutional machinery in the states, the distribution of power is either suspended or the powers are extended to the Union.[17] If the centre's interventions in state politics are frequent the federal aspects of the political system tend to

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[12] Das Basu 1997, pp. 53-54. There were in British India 565, some say 570 to 600, recognized princely states.
[13] *The Constitution of India*, Article 4(2).
[14] Brown 1994, p. 357.
[15] *The Constitution of India*, Schedule VII.
[16] Wolpert 2005, p. 39.
[17] Brass 1994, p. 63; Das Basu 1997, pp. 312-315.

become eroded,[18] thus undermining another central aspect of the Union.

The Union has a firm grip over the states, and it is the intention of the Constitution to enhance and ensure the cohesion of the Union. However, there has been and there still are some exceptions to this ideal. Firstly, not all parts of the country are treated equally. There were in the original Constitution three categories of states; Part A, the old provinces; Part B, the old Indian states; and Part C, centrally administered first by the President and later becoming the 'Union territories', which still remain outside of the state-system.[19] Major state border reorganization took place in 1956, but the process is constantly ongoing as political, economic and linguistic pressures force the Union government to rearrange the system. Several Union territories have been 'elevated' to the status of a state, for example Mizoram in 1986 and Goa in 1987. Secondly, the state of Jammu and Kashmir has the right to define its own state-level constitution. The provisions of the Constitution do not directly apply to the State but depend upon an order by the President in consultation with the state governor.[20] Though the Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly has in the course of time ended the princely rule of the Maharaja (1951) and ratified the state's accession to India (1954), and despite the demands by the Bharatiya Janata Party to abolish the special status, the relationship between the state and the Union has remained more federal than in the cases of other states. The Constitution also legitimizes the Union to absorb other areas by referring to "other territories as may be acquired" by India. It has in the cases of Pondicherry (1954), Goa (1961) and Sikkim (1974) acted under the provision.

The Constitution provides the centre with strong instruments to intervene if the unity is threatened by e.g. external threat, internal unrest, a dissident state, or incompetent local administration. Brass argues even that in all dealings with dissident domestic groups two rules have been followed: first, no secessionist movement is entertained, weak groups are ignored and strong ones crushed; and second, concessions concerning any form of political recognition of a religious community are prohibited.[21] Given the size and diversity of the country it is sometimes considered the norm that New Delhi has problems with administering the state.[22] One could of course, pose another question and ask whether the Union is too large and diverse an entity to be united and properly administered.

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[18] J. Brown 1994, p. 369.
[19] E.g. Delhi and Andaman and Nicobar Island.
[20] *The Constitution of India*, Article 370.
[21] Brass 1994, p. 7.
[22] J. Brown 1994, p. 33.

State, Society and the Individual

Historically, India has been governed through a hierarchy of kingships. Various conceptual approaches have been developed to provide models for the role of the state, the degree of central authority and the role of religious institutions. Indians view history as an endless series of cycles. The first imperial ruler Chandragupta Maurya managed to unite the northern parts in 324 B.C. and his heirs ruled until 184 B.C. The most notable of the Mauryan rulers was Ashoka, who introduced the ideas of non-violence, unification, and religious tolerance, even a vegetarian diet, into Indian thought.[23] He also helped to consolidate the tradition of open discussion on contentious issues by establishing 'Buddhist councils' to settle disputes between different parties.[24] A period of political fragmentation followed for 500 years until the Guptan dynasty unified the north again c. 320-550 AD. The Mughal monarchs, who ruled for 200 years before the British, perhaps left the most lasting marks. In order to be able to control the mostly Hindu population the Muslim rulers, especially Akbar, encouraged accommodation toward their subjects.[25] In the south, where Dravidian civilizations had existed, the Tamil-speaking Cholas founded the last regional dynasty and dominated the area of the current state of Tamil Nadu from the first century to the late 1200's.

Concerning medieval India, various models have painted a picture that represented either a strong, even despotic, centralised state, a weak and decentralised kingdom, a strong developing state or a state with strong patrimonial administration at its centre. What is essential here is not the particular models but how state, communities and religion developed as a central value. Also it is important to notice that the model that emphasized a unitary, centrally organized and territorially defined state with a strong bureaucracy had its strongest influence during the time of the Indian national freedom movement. This model values the periods of the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire and sees them both as monolithic states. It should be noted that recent theories agree that the pre-modern state in India was only lightly bureaucratized and that the degree of centralization was spatially and chronologically differentiated.[26]

Pre-colonial India was not a single political entity – either socially, administratively or territorially. Power was not embodied in the concept of the state but the identity of human beings was constituted by the existing social

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[23] Wolpert 2005, pp. 34-37; Sen 2006a, p. xii.
[24] Sen 2006a, p. 15.
[25] Wolpert 2005, pp. 40-41. The Mogul ruler Babur defeated the Delhi Sultanate at Panipati in 1526. Muslim rule in the north lasted altogether 500 years.
[26] Kulke 1997, pp. 1-5; Brown 1994, pp. 11-17.

order.[27] Religion, whether the majority Hinduism or a minority one, was both an essential bonding and dividing factor between groups and people. As regional patterns and practices differed no homogenous social order could be distinguished in India, or within Hinduism, either. Within the Hindu majority one social group, the Brahmins, dominated, and had the monopoly of literacy; oppressive in the economic sense, they nevertheless cultivated a high tolerance for diverse beliefs and religious practices. Hinduism does not enshrine a well-worked theory or practice and it thus lacks an orthodoxy.[28] Different philosophies, truths, and practices have been accepted and established. Owing to this heterodoxy, one could say that scepticism describes not only Hinduism but also Indian thought in general.[29] Regional and religious variety is common for Islam, as well. Its belief system is nevertheless clearer and stricter than in Hinduism. The religious differentiation between the Self and Other is clearer than in Hinduism, where the importance of the other is discounted. The regulative effect on the individual's life in Islam is also strong.[30]

Historically orderliness has been sought through the local community and the caste order. Indian society has rested on three pillars, the family, *jati*[31] (literally 'birth'), and the village.[32] The caste order has played a dual role: its presence inhibited the state from intervening in social matters in to the social and simultaneously made the state less necessary. The individual was encapsulated by his *jati*, which also maintained order and social control within its boundaries. For many centuries a stronger state was less possible in the subcontinent as the loyalties of an individual were held by his family, *jati*, or caste – a phenomenon that continues in modern India. This state of affairs has even became more marked as non-secular or local or caste-based parties have become more influencial.

The village and its form of community, *jati*, resisted the fundamental changes that successive rulers imposed. What unified the *jati*s was a kind of common culture, similar belief systems, myths and rituals, or a social-moral ideology.[33] The *jati* and *varna* both separate and unite Hindus. The Hindu life centres on the family and the caste leaving the individual a

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[27] Khilnani 1999, pp. 17-20.

[28] Khilnani 1999, p. 19; Ahmad 2000, p. 161.

[29] Sen 2006a, pp. xi-xii, 34-35, 42, 69; de Bary 1958, p. 212.

[30] J. Brown 1994, pp. 26-28; Ahmad 2000, p. 161; Wolpert 2005, p. 98.

[31] The caste system can be understood to comprise two dimensions: when caste is identified with one's profession, the concept of *jati* is used; caste is also identified with the major castes, the four *varnas* of Brahmins, Khastriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. *Jati* is a local and Indian social system, whereas the *varma-dharma* functions as its religious legitimization (de Bary 1958, p. 213-215; Tamminen & Zenger 1998, pp. 62-64).

[32] Brass 1994, p. 155; Saberwal 2000, pp. 64-66.

[33] Saberwal 2000, pp. 66-67.

limited realm.[34] This is even further intensified, as the social mobility within the caste system is group mobility. A *jati* can raise its status, and as the society changes, new *jatis* are formed and old ones are reformed.[35]

Hinduism is not the only caste system in India. Indian Muslims, Sikhs and Christians all have similar, though not as strict or structured, social systems. The Muslim *ashraf* resembles the *varna* institution as the society is divided into four main "castes". Similarly there are different Muslim *jatis*. Christian *jatis* are common in India and Catholics being divided into four main castes in the state of Kerala.[36] One explanation for the existence in India of caste systems in non-Hindu religions is that most Indian Muslims, for example, were originally Hindus. Keeping the existing social structure intact has either helped people to maintain their social status or has enabled them to ascend the social ladder. Changing beliefs is easier than changing social status in India.

One's caste rules and regulates societal and religious behaviour, but the hierarchic structure of the caste system and its accompanying religious practices make every caste necessary in society. The system has helped to maintain integrated continuity and the existing power structures; it is both pluralist and elitist. Even Gandhi insisted that caste is a natural reflection of human differences.[37] The tradition of doing one's duty and knowing one's place has a long history India.

On local and state elections caste has a direct influence on electoral behaviour. Caste-based ambitions are embedded in the local and regional politics as parties are eager to take advantage of the existing caste and communal customs. The electorate's identity is still connected to village, locality, and caste; the use of caste names and linkages is important in orienting people to political identities and behaviour. Due to the vast spatial, horizontal and vertical diversity it seems, however, unlikely that narrow caste-oriented politics can win a nationwide constituency.

Despite the intentions of the Constitution access to the society's institutions of power is blocked both at higher levels by the system of governance, and at lower levels by the system of social control. Indian society has, nevertheless, never been static, but changes have occurred at one level or have been spatially limited, and have thus not affected and changed society as a whole.[38] Since independence no single common ideology has been identi-

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[34] J. Brown 1994, p. 27.
[35] Khilnani 1999, pp. 18-19; Wolpert 2005, p. 119.
[36] Tamminen & Zenger 1998, pp. 72-74.
[37] Wolpert 2005, p. 118.
[38] J. Brown 1994, pp. 5, 11, 24.

fied concerning the defence of the state.

The difference between the Indian and Western experience is significant. In Europe the state as an institution managed to maintain its significance despite the fall of Imperial Rome. The Catholic Church provided kingships with political insurance and resources from counselling to literate manpower. The Church also managed to constitute a relatively homogenous society where equality was at least theoretically possible. Both the Church and the law provided universalistic impulses that enhanced the emergence of the institution of the state. Later the institutional differentiation between the Church and the kingships, and the proliferation of institutions made civil society and the state even stronger – especially in Sweden during and after the reign of Gustav Vasa.[39] In India a strong social order kept both individuals and the state at bay.

British Utilitarians, Positivists and Evangelical missionaries introduced the idea of representative government into India in the first decades of the 20th century.[40] As demands rose the British gave the right of political representation to religious communities, not to individuals as such. This created a framework for communitarian competition and literally divided people into majorities and minorities. The Indian nationalist movement began by demanding equal privileges, and by the 1920s started to claim possession of the state and its territory. Liberty was understood not as an individual right but as a nation's collective right. Individualism never won any significant ground in India or in the Congress Party: Gandhi dreamed of direct self-rule, an India of villages, while Nehru and previous Party President Subhas Chandra Bose urged a strong state where socialism not liberal democracy would have been the dominant idea.[41]

If the state emerged as a shared value, it would require firstly, the possibility of access to the society's institutions of power. This would give social groups and individuals a stake in the state, and the state would become something worth sustaining and defending. Secondly there should be a shared idea or ideology for the management of power. This would provide a body of ideas to regulate the state. Thirdly the state should perform key functions sufficiently well to secure the relatively durable loyalty of groups and peoples.[42] It is quite obvious in the case of India that all three criteria have not been fulfilled. Despite the ideals set in the Constitution equal access to educational, economic, legal or political systems has not material-

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[39] Saberwal 2000, pp. 70-71; Kerttunen 2005, pp. 147-150.
[40] Wolpert (2005), pp. 202-203. This is not to claim that democracy, tolerance or pluralism as such or later on the sovereign state were the gifts of Western thought but to specify the ideational foundation of the representative model.
[41] Khilnani 1999, pp. 26-27; Wolpert 2005, p.62.
[42] Saberwal 2000, pp. 63-65.

ized. On the contrary, the social system, consisting of one's family, *jati* and village, still rules. It can be argued that this communitarian centre of gravity has inhibited the state from gaining significance as a value. This reflects the low legal and practical significance of the individual in defining key values and the relative insignificance of the individual in Indian communities. The state is still separate from the individual and vice versa. The project of modernizing India with its emphasis on national unity and social and economic reforms has tried to construct a shared ideology and to enhance all-India loyalty.

Unity

The post-independence unity project has tried to overcome the societal identity and avoid a new partition of the territorially defined country. It is fundamentally connected with the Indian National Congress-led independence or nationalist movement, which sought to convince people of the need for a nation. Indian nationalism describes the intellectual and cultural movement that was inaugurated in the late nineteenth century. It should not be understood as a unifying and subordinating thought that did not tolerate difference.[43] On the contrary, the Indianness it represented was inclusive; regions, languages and religions as well as nationalist or revivalist Hinduism, Gandhian traditionalism, Nehru's modernism and Muslim thought were all harboured within the Indian National Congress. The common intention was to remove the yoke of colonialism. It was essential for nationalistic purposes to find a more common understanding of what India really was. Each main actor and each main group had its own vision of the past and the future.

Past experiences in Indian history do not fully support nationalist ideas of a single nation in the subcontinent. There have been few examples of regional nationhood to provide a model. It is also clear that only in times of imperial rule was India partly unified.[44] As a consequence individual historic narratives have been remembered and emphasised. Indian history has been divided according to religious periods. The origins of 'the real' India were said to lie in the ancient Hindu cultures, the Vedic culture and the Gupta Empire; Buddhist and Muslim rules were of lesser value. Harmony was destroyed, so the national narrative goes, by the Muslim Period, which made subcontinent an easy target for the British. Finally, superior Indian nationalism overcame the colonial rule. According to this narrative Hinduism has transferred to a history of territorial origins instead of rituals, gods and practices of a local kind.

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[43] Khilnani 1999, pp. 25-28,
[44] Kulke 1997, pp. 1-5; Wolpert 2005, pp. 34, 44.

By 1928 the Congress had come to advocate a strong central government that could "*alone safeguard national interest and reconcile conflicting claims between provinces*". Supporters of decentralized government and a loose federation of independent countries changed their minds, but not all. The Muslim League in its defence of Muslim rights turned to the notion of an independent Muslim state. One reason for this was the Congress's failure to win Muslim support as Muslim voters were ignored in the 1937 election campaign. Another reason was that although Congress leaders were committed to secularism, the rank and file of the party was not. This became evident during the Congress governance in the provinces after the 1937 elections.[45]

The question of who should govern after the British rule further differentiated the Congress and the Muslim League. The British and the Congress had accepted partition but it did not resolve the question. On the contrary, partition has kept the question of a successor to the British open ever since independence.

A glorified Hindu history was vital for Hindu nationalists. They equated the Hindu with Indian. Geographical origin, racial connection and a shared culture based on Sanskrit made the difference. Their *Hindutva* belief came to define India. Hindu chauvinists like Vinayak Damodar Savarkar were in fact the prime movers for partition, and it was only a question of time before their exclusive advocacy would lead the Muslim League to argue for a separate Muslim state.

Gandhi rejected the idea of past history determining present or future choices. He did not rely on written history but on living traditions. He replaced common history with a religious morality that affected people of all origins. Gandhi's conservative identity built on everyday life in the subcontinent, its habits and symbols and on his universalistic belief system.[46] Yet he acknowledged the centrality of the myth of Ramayana in Indian folklore: the epic story of King Rama's journey in search of his abducted wife Sita.

Nehru, on the other hand, made historic necessity the fuel for nationalist fervour.[47] His theory of history contains and combines the following three patterns: the belief in perpetual progress, the significance of 'great men'

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[45] Mehra 2000, pp. 123-129; Wolpert 2005, pp. 66-68.
[46] Næss 2000, pp. 14-44; Sen 2006b, p. 166.
[47] Nehru's interest in history is clearly visible in his *Glimpses of World History*, published in 1934.

and Marxism-inspired sociological analysis.[48] It was given that a civilization like India should become free and sovereign, be unified and take its place in world history.

Nehru, like Gandhi, understood that India should nurture many cultures and communities; Indianness was about pluralism and tolerant codes of conduct, a dualistic concept containing both distinctiveness and resemblance. India was a society of interconnected difference, not of liberal individuals or exclusive communities. He differed from Gandhi in his belief that a strong, modern state would be the territorial and institutional framework for these purposes, and he in fact claimed that organized religion tended to be the enemy of man's best interests. The rich history of India should consequently coexist with a modernist idiom for the future.

The traumatic experiences immediately after independence help to explain the emphasis on unity. Many Indians, first and foremost Gandhi, but in the beginning also Jawaharlal Nehru, had hoped for the independence of a single and united India. The Muslim League and its leader Mohammed Ali Jinnah, on the other hand, wanted Indian Muslims to have an independent state of their own, Pakistan, 'Land of the Pure'.[49] Partition took place with heavy political, economic and human costs, and it still casts its shadow. One can argue that for the Nehru-Gandhi family in particular and for the Congress in general, national unity became a value as such, an issue that should be defended.

The Indian Independence Act left the princely states legally independent. Their rulers were given the choice freely to accede to either India or Pakistan, or remain independent. They were asked to consider geographical and ethnic issues before they made their decision. Some princely states or their rulers were hesitant to join the union. Most of them who hesitated were coerced or persuaded to join the Union, for example Hyderabad with a Muslim ruler but a Hindu majority, or Travancore with its recently discovered uranium deposits.[50] In the cases of Kashmir, Goa and Sikkim the process took both time and effort.

The question of Kashmir is a crucial case. On the state level it concerned the secular/sectarian identity and future of the successor states of the British Raj. The Indian Union is by definition and by its constitution a secular state. Kashmir belonging to Pakistan or as an independent state would undermine that policy and principle.[51] Furthermore, Indians argue,

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[48] Brecher 1962, p. 62.
[49] Ziegler 1985, pp. 367-369; Brass 1994, p. 21; Wolpert 2005, p. 103.
[50] von Tunzelmann 2007, pp. 218-226.
[51] Rizvi 1993, p. 62.

such a development would lead to the marginalization of the Muslim majority, would cause another Hindu-Muslim bloodbath, and would encourage other separatist movements to increase their struggle against the central government in New Delhi.[52] For Pakistan the opposite is true. The nation's existence was built on the idea of a separate country, a homeland, for the Muslims of British India. Many Pakistanis sincerely believe that India does not accept the two-nation theory of their founding father Ali Jinnah. Pakistan would not be complete without Kashmir, and she has constantly refused to turn the Line of Control into an international border.[53] The state and future of Kashmir is seen as a litmus test for both a secular India and a sectarian Pakistan.

Immediately after independence and partition a sense of unity was needed as communal violence and refugee resettlement were tearing apart the nation. Violence over partition increased fears of the further disintegration of India, and the nation-building and unity project came to defend national integrity. This was manifested in the Constitution where individual and communal rights are shadowed by strong central powers.

Unity is also often considered vital to keep a country of India's size and diversity together. On the other hand, the management of diversity could lead to harmonious and interdependent coexistence amongst different groups and communities, which for their part could maintain their own unity and identity. This idea follows the experience of pre-modern India and in fact honours the still existing diversity. Putting too much emphasis on the unity of diversities can easily be understood as 'mainstreaming' the subcommunities. This would in turn lead to mistrust, distrust, anti-state movements, and demands for autonomy. [54]

For the Indian nation-state the management of diversity has been a prioritized project. Given the demographic, religious, ethnic and linguistic facts this is hardly surprising. Indian diversity is manifestly evident with her 4599 separate communities, 325 languages and dialects, 12 distinct language groups and some 24 scripts, and her distinct regions from the Himalayas to jungles and deserts. There were approximately 30 languages with over one million speakers in 1971.[55] The twenty-two official languages do not include English which "*shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union*".[56]

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[52] Thomas 1993, pp. 29-32. New Delhi has been fighting against local and regional movements in Assam, Punjab, Sindh, Andhra Pradesh, and Arunachal Pradesh.
[53] A. Gupta 1995, p. 53.
[54] Mehra 2000, p. 116.
[55] Brass 1994, pp. 158-160.
[56] *The Constitution of India*, Article 343.

One can ask why the many ethnic and religious groups that have settled in India have during the course of history have been able and have actually chosen to preserve their distinct identities. One reason for this is that Indian spiritual integration has been eclectic rather than proselytizing; there has been no single dominant and unifying theology or secular tradition; the existing social system has been highly differentiating and has lead to the coexistence of local and diverse subcultures and groups. The prevailing religious systems have been capable of accommodating, absorbing and adapting to new situations. Competition amongst these communities and their incommensurable demands can create conflicts, but has also strengthened their interest in the unity of the nation.[57]

Nehru succeeded in holding diverging interests together both within the Congress and in the nation. His power, prestige and popularity were superior to any party or local leaders' influence. The post-Nehru era has been marked with a rise in social and economic demand from the periphery. Language, religion and ethnicity have been the major organizing principals for these demands. The central government has centralized its powers for political, electoral and economic reasons, which have further intensified centre-periphery contention.

Social and Economic Reforms

The Constitution provides legal recognition to four specific categories: religion, language, region, and caste. Regional and linguistic identities specifically are accommodated. Similarly, and despite the egalitarian nature of the Constitution, collective communities and institutions like the autonomous village community and caste overshadow the individual. Secularism written into the 1976 amendment to the Constitution grants more equal rights and status to religious communities than restricts their activities and domain. The state's non-interference in religion, however, presents several problems: by privileging community rights over equal rights the existing hierarchies are reinforced and gender inequality is exacerbated.[58] Indian inequality is thus not only horizontal – concerning regions, religions, and languages – but is also vertical in relation to caste, gender, and class. Caste and 'untouchability' was made illegal,[59] and social practices that violated the principle of equality were banned, yet the existing habits were hard to forgot. Access was given to Scheduled Castes; seats

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[57] J. Brown 1994, p. 5; Mehra 2000, pp.119-121.
[58] Hasan 2000, p. 88.
[59] *The Constitution of India*, Article 17. The Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee Bhim Rao Ambedkar being Dalit, an 'untouchable' finally became so disillusioned about the lack of progress that he converted to Buddhism in the late 1950s.

were reserved in legislatures and government employment. These affirmative action policies have produced substantial redistributive effects, but not much has been gained in improving the basic facilities that alleviate life situations – mostly education and the health care system.

The Constitution promised free and compulsory education for all children in its Directive Principles. Reaching this goal is as elusive now as it was years ago when the Constitution was enacted. At the present only half of all Indian children receive some form of education. However, it could take another 40 years before every Indian is able to read and write as nearly half of the population remain illiterate.[60] Arguing from the structural point of view it can be claimed that education has nothing to do with poverty or economy. Like the question of child labour, it is perhaps the attitudes of state officials, politicians and the middle class that hinder decisive action. The belief system of the bureaucracy which has its roots in traditional culture and a hierarchical caste system, and elite scepticism significantly contributes to and maintains misery and inequality. [61]

Like questions of democratic and constitutional rule the economic path and model was heavily debated in the 1930s and 1940s, and no particular system or way was seen as an obvious choice. India had a huge agrarian economy alongside the widespread production of manufactured goods. At the same time the country was faced with poverty, famine, and economic inequality. The British Raj had kept economic interests divided and separated the economic interests of the countryside from the urban elite. Yet it had introduced a single currency, a single market, and a frugal administration and governmental system, a feature that continues even today as taxation in India is low by world standards.

Rural poverty became the dividing issue among the nationalists. Some favoured industrial modernity, while some rejected it. The modernists were further divided into three sub-currents. Indian industrialists advocated a paternal role for the state. It would provide an infrastructure, invest in the most expensive industries, and protect the economy from foreign capital. A more technocratic argument favoured a more planned economy with pragmatic boundaries between state and private action. The third argument came from the left wing of the Congress Party. This line gave a broader view of the political conditions necessary to maintain Indian independence. Without a strong economic base India would be vulnerable to foreign influence and economic imperialism. Nehru's and Bose's idea of economic development saw heavy industry as essential to building other industries and Indian self-defence. The founding fathers of modern India strove for an

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[60] Wolpert 2005, p. 147; Sen 2006a, p. 116.
[61] Hasan 2000, p. 93; Sen 2006a, p. 116.

industrialized state where heavy industry would provide wealth to the nation - not the other way around where an economically, educationally and socially restructured society could provide the basis for industrial growth. Economic progress was an essential cornerstone in Nehru's idea of modernizing India. Public ownership would ensure equal redistribution and security. Quite naturally, the upper-caste rural landlords and rich farmers opposed industrialization and nationalization. Gandhi was also of a different opinion. He rejected the whole idea of modernization and industrialization which he considered would threaten human soul and destroy all that was good and beautiful. He emphasized the importance of maintaining the village as a productive unit, as that would be sufficient to redress both social and economic inequalities.[62] When independence came the economic future of India was undecided.

In the 1947 Constitutional Assembly the provincial legislatures were given authority over land reform and agricultural taxation, a price Congress had to pay to get the support of the mighty landlords. Within the Congress Patel spoke for the industrialists, the socialists left the Party, and economic planning favoured by Nehru received little significant support. Only after Patel's death in 1950 could Nehru start to implement his economic ideas.[63] He hoped that India could follow three ideas simultaneously: industrialization directed by the state, constitutional democracy, and economic and social redistribution. These were the intrinsic values of modernity.

Nehru's economic ideas were a mixture of Marxist analysis of imperialism and the structures of world economy, and Keynesian ideas of the state's economic role in society. The state would actively create conditions for economic growth, investing in and directing the public sector in a mixed economy. As the state set taxes low, it would have to gather the redistributed resources through a productive public sector. In fact the private sector was "*to play a complementary role*".[64] Economic independence needed to be based on heavy and defence industry. In general Nehru's policy resembled the economic policies of social democratic governments in post-war Europe. The results, however, were not as good, and economic progress was slow. One of the main reasons was the unequal distribution of land-ownership and low level of productivity. This was defended by a powerful social order, and the inability and unwillingness of the Congress party to implement any land reforms. The provincial Congress leaders simply stopped any advance in this direction as they were allied with the landlords and rural elite. Nehru turned to civil servants in order to go round the

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[62] Brass 1994, pp. 32-33; Wolpert 2005, p. 62.
[63] Khilnani 1999, pp. 37-38.
[64] Isher Judge Ahluwalia, *Industrial Growth in India: Stagnation since the Mid-Sixties* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985), quoted in Brass 1994, p. 275.

obstacles his own party had raised.[65] Another reason was that perhaps the projects were overambitious regarding the nation's ability to execute them. Even today, despite the progress made in science, education and high-technology, heavy and defence industry tends to underperform and their products are often delayed or stopped.

The second wave of state policy in the sixties and seventies focused on agricultural production. Anti-poverty programmes were introduced in the eighties, and given the economic reforms of the early nineties it is doubtful whether government programmes had any real effect on poverty.[66] Also in this case the state's ineffectiveness has blocked the top-down approach and communitarian institutions the bottom-up. The state has been unable and unwilling to tackle the deep structures that inhibit the progress. Caste, illiteracy, still powerful landowners and regional inequality are but some of the obstacles in the way of modernity.

Paradoxically, it might turn out that the economic liberties introduced in the early 1990s that loosened state control on the economy in fact helped the individual to bypass communitarian and societal institutions and identify him/herself to the state. As economic growth enables or even demands a break with old value-systems, the possibilities of access to the society's institutions of power increase. Personal involvement increases and the state becomes worth defending, as a value. However, in the case of India linguistic and geographical factors may limit the new sense of identity to the state-level and an all-Indian Union-level of identity and unity is still hard to achieve. One of the values and tools that has helped the Union to become a shared value has been secularism.

Secularism

> *Our age is different one; it is an age of disillusion, of doubt and uncertainty and questioning.*[67]

Secularism tries to promote social transformation and avoid the religious issues to threaten unity and welfare. It has, nevertheless, created internal tensions as well. Though the term secularism was officially inserted into the Preamble by the Constitution (42nd Amendment) Act in 1976, secularism was adopted as a value and a policy frame at independence. The Constitution by nature is secular as it does not privilege any religion and grants freedom of religion to every individual. Secularism does not mean

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[65] Khilnani 1999, p. 38; Padover (ed.) 1962, p. xi.
[66] Hasan 2000, p. 96.
[67] Jawaharlal Nehru, "The Lesson of History" in Padover 1962, p. 293.

that India besides being communitarian in nature cannot also be a religiously pluralist society.[68] It means at its simplest that the policy of the State remain neutral in its treatment of different religions. The purpose was to control and calm down severe religious and communitarian aggression and create a common civic space for a modern nation.[69]

Understanding secularism as a value in itself and as a strategy based on other values is essential in examining its functioning. Seeing secularism as a value in itself also makes it an integral part of public ethics defined by public values. By seeing it as a strategy one does not detach it from moral and political values but instead makes it instrumental. Those who see secularism purely as a strategy with only instrumental significance and without any intrinsic value often understand the secular state as one where political and religious institutions are separated. The separation of institutions is only one feature of secularism, and one with two different approaches: the exclusion of religion from political institutions or a policy of neutrality. Instrumental secularism is commonly tied to three substantive values: the prevention of the regression of society into barbarism, religious liberty and equality, and especially equality of citizenship.[70] Secularism in India should be understood within the larger context of modernization, being a value along with values such as rationalism, individualism and democracy.

Secularism has its explicit origins in the rise of industrial European society. Indian roots albeit implicit were discovered in the Hindu tradition of tolerance and accommodation as tolerance of religious diversity and secularism were considered similar.[71] Even here the key figures in Indian history had different views. Gandhi accepted only the tolerance and accommodation aspects of secularism which were suitable to India, while Nehru hoped for a European style of secularism that could as an ideology transform society. The Gandhian view prevailed and the most common understanding of secularism focuses almost exclusively on equal treatment of all religions. Although resisted by Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League, and despite the experiences of partition, a true regression of society into barbarism, secularism survived. This is a consequence of the backing secularism has received in the long historical experience of the Indian people and society owning to their openness, tolerance and scepticism. Sen specifically emphasizes Indian heterodoxy and the role of the argumentative tradition in the interactive formation of values, in this case

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[68] J. Brown 1994, p. 18.
[69] Das Basu 1997, pp. 27, 111-113; Ahmad 2000, pp. 170-171; *The Constitution of India*, Articles 25-29.
[70] Bhargava 2000, pp. 102-105; Sen 2006a, pp. 19-20.
[71] Sen 2006a, pp. 16-19.

in the emergence of the Indian form of secularism.[72]

The ideal nature of secularism emphasizes how it brings different values together, structures them, makes distinctions of worth, and orders them. This ideal character of secularism has an identity-constitutive function. It makes the primarily public ideal valid to all individuals and otherwise it governs but cannot control public behaviour. Indians as individuals are far from secular, but society and the state are. Indian secularism is in practice contradictory as at a lower level it tries to bring together individual and community rights, and at a higher level the state's world view with the communities' views. Trying to connect seemingly incompatible values can be seen as its strength.[73]

Sen introduces six critical arguments presented about secularism in India. The 'Non-existence' critique claims that secularism does not have any real significance in India, and that Hinduism in particular dominates Indian life and society. The 'Favouritism' critique on the other hand points out that Muslims have a privileged position; this line of argumentation has been especially forwarded by the BJP when it has attacked the Congress Party. The 'Prior Identity' critique emphasizes the various religious identities Indian people have and which are more genuine and lasting than any single Indian religion. The 'Muslim Sectarianism' critique accuses Muslims of being sectarian and not identifying themselves with India or secularism. The 'Anti-Modernist' critique claims that secularism is part of modernism, which is seen as harmful and simply just a new justification of (Western) domination. Finally, the 'Cultural' critique states that India is in fact a Hindu country and it is wrong to treat all religions as equal.[74] Sen also evaluates the credibility of these claims. He points out that the problem is often how secularism is understood and that there are more important and relevant questions of equity that should be addressed than alleged religious imbalances. He similarly questions the Hindu identity placed on India as so many of its citizens are not Hindus and as the influence of other cultures, religions and identities is so obviously manifested in Indian history.[75] Secularism in Indian politics or society cannot, however, be taken for granted. The state has not translated the European style of secularism[76] or the good principles of statecraft and governance into Indian life. Criticisms of secularism point out that it undermines the positive role of religion in

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[72] Ahmad 2000, pp. 173-174; Sen 2006a, xi-xii, 14, 16-19. Sen mentions the Buddhist Emperor Ashoka's championing of public discussions together with the formal foundation of the secular legal structure laid down by the Muslim Emperor Akbar.

[73] Bhargava 2000, p. 111.

[74] Sen 2006a, pp. 297-300.

[75] Sen 2006a, pp. 301-306, 315-317.

[76] Here social classes and individuals would take their life into their own hands, and the state would act as the guardian of the public morality without direct interference.

ordering life and that it rejects the dichotomy of the religious and the secular. Here the critique identifies the political with the communal and the communal with the spiritual,[77] which gives a distorted picture of these domains in general and of Indian secularism in particular. What made secularism accepted in India is precisely its ambiguity, not its purity or European character.[78]

Religion is still on the Indian agenda today. It is there not so much for the personal-individual reasons but more as a collective asset. It is a source of self-orientation and communitarian reinforcement, and religious controversies have become part of popular polemics. The Pandora's Box was opened by Indira Gandhi when she sought for electoral support in the late 1960s and early 1970s and again in the early 1980s.[79] First and foremost it has been the BJP who has utilized religion and religious myths and symbols for partisan purposes. As Sen remarks, one has to distinguish between evident societal tensions between religiously identified communities and actual religious tensions[80]. The latter has little to do with the former.

At the same time, perhaps as a result of the modernity project, people increasingly expect that religious and communitarian commitments should not determine their opportunities in life. Similarly, they expect that the state or any other actor should not intervene in their religious and communitarian identifications, private or public. The return of religion should not be interpreted to mean that secularism as strategy has failed. The core problem is that secularism as a value has not been able to override sectarian purposes and the strategy of pursuing the political, social and economic good of the individual by religious means. An ideology of secularism which would ensure people "equal opportunities and access to social and economic assets without their religious faith or self-identification working as a negative factor against them" would be needed.[81] Unless that happens India is facing more communalism and religious fundamentalism. The secular and pluralist identity has often been taken over by particular and sectarian appeals.[82] For politicians seeking for a mandate the latter has often looked more likely to win support.

Alongside of the abovementioned instrumentalist view on the rise of religion and communalism, namely that politicians and the elites compete with each other by encouraging a sense of exclusive identity,[83] one might

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[77] Sen 2006a, pp. 306-310.
[78] Ahmad 2000, pp. 172-173.
[79] Khilnani 1999, p. 54.
[80] Sen 2006a, pp. 69-70.
[81] Ahmad 2000, p. 178.
[82] J. Brown 1994, p. 380.
[83] Brass 1991, p. 15.

also point out that modernity itself mobilizes these desires and attitudes. Sudhir Kakar also argues that 'primordial' attachments explain communitarian behaviour, seeing the modernity process as threatening the society and way of life people are accustomed to and forcing rapid societal and economic changes upon them. This makes them feel that their even implicit identity is threatened and they seek "*collectivities that promise a shelter*".[84] As Kakar points out the question of explaining approaches is not a matter of either/or; the rise of communal riots in India, for example, has taken place in times of rapid changes and uncertainty. The partition of British India is perhaps the clearest example; the rise of the *Hindutva* movement and the BJP in the wake of India's economic awakening in the 1990s is the most recent one. Changes, labelled in terms of independence, secularism or globalization, even modernity, have been harnessed to serve the instrumental interests of the elites and the emotional, albeit presented as the rational desires of the individual.

Non-violence and War

Several reasons suggest the need to elaborate the value or principle of non-violence in the case of Indian security. Firstly, India has a long tradition of non-violence. Secondly, this tradition was a vital aspect of the works of Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Finally, their example has led India not to have, as some argue, a "strategic culture" or at least the national leaders have not been accustomed to combine political, civilian and military planning and decision-making.[85]

The roots of non-violence lay in Jainism and Buddhism. The insistence on non-violence is one of the leading themes of Jainism, where it is the highest virtue for the individual following his or her religious-spiritual ideal. Violence ought to be avoided as it harms the individual who commits it. The Book of Good Conduct, *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, one of the most ancient texts of Jain literature, states that "*All things breathing, all things existing, all things living, all beings whatever, should not be slain or treated with violence, or insulted, or tortured, or driven away*".[86] Non-violence is also an essential and permeating element of Buddhism; not to kill is the first of the Five Precepts, the foundation of all Buddhist action.[87] Non-violence in

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[84] Kakar 1996, pp. 181-195.

[85] Kapila 2002; Vas 1999. The lack of strategic culture, as suggested by Kapila, should be understood as the Indian inexperience of strategic thinking together with the lack of formal structures. The question for him is one of competence. The strategic culture as conceptualized in this study does not need to have any explicit structure or perform in any particular and competent way to exist.

[86] de Bary 1958, pp. 50, 53, 58.

[87] Swearer 2004, p. 237. The precepts that should be followed by Buddhists and Bud-

Hinduism is based on a similar conception of non-violence, which is seen as the greatest (individual) virtue and ideal, the *dharma* that should be followed and not violated. The main difference between the three thoughts lies between strict Jainism, which makes non-violence a virtue or a goal itself, and the more pragmatic Buddhism, which conceive of *ahimsā* as an enabling virtue for higher virtues;[88] Hinduism, being a heterodox system, stands between the two. The impact of both Jainism and Buddhism on Indian thinking is reinforced by the fact the admired and remembered Emperors Chandragupta Maurya and Ashoka cultivated these beliefs, Chandragupta Jainism and Ashoka Buddhism.

Few Indian political thinkers or schools of thoughts explicitly denounced the use of force or war; quite the contrary, Jain political thinkers regarded warfare as a legitimate activity for a king. The ancient Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata* in the section of the *Bhagavad Gītā* presents the well-known moral dialogue between Arjuna the warrior and Krishna, Arjuna's charioteer and a divine incarnation. When Arjuna begins to question the right and the reason to fight instead of doing good Krishna replies

> *Further having regard to your own dharma you should not falter. For a khastriya there does not exist another greater good than war enjoined by dharma* and *But if you do not fight this battle which is enjoined by dharma, then you will have given up your own dharma as well as glory, and you will incur sin.*[89]

Without claiming that Krishna's utterance represents the only true message conveyed by the ancient epos it can be said to characterize one basic and lasting tendency in Hindu thought; one should follow one's dharma, one's inherited duty to "do the work that has to be done" as Krishna puts it. Fighting can be seen to be just. But as Sen points out, opposite views also prevail.[90] This is clearly presented by Arvind Sharma when he points out that the Hindu ethos provides two options: that whereas *ahimsā paramo dharmah*, non-violence is the same supreme *dharma, dharmic* violence is equally so, *dharmya himsa tathaiva cha*.[91] Katherine Young argues that the practise of *ahimsā* by elite castes, whose *dharmic* duty it was, was imitated by the lower castes thus resulting in non-violence having a strong foundation in Hindu society. For *ksatriya*, the warrior caste, however, fighting in war, if required, was a *dharmic* duty. Therefore, Hindu texts include both

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dhist laymen forbid killing, stealing, committing adultery, lying, and taking intoxicants.
[88] Gier 1996, p. 85.
[89] *Bhagavad Gītā* 2.31, 2.33, quoted in de Bary, p. 280.
[90] Sen 2006a, pp. 3-12. As though to underline the importance of dharma, *Chakra*, Emperor Ashoka's wheel of dharma is placed within the Indian flag. See Tamminen 2008, pp. 46-47, for an analysis of the notion of *dharma*.
[91] Sharma 1993, quoted in Young 2004, p. 281.

appraisals of non-violence and the acceptance of a just war.[92]

There are no explicit ancient Buddhist political texts justifying the use of (military) force, but in practice even Buddhist monks have raised and led armies in e.g. Tibet.[93] David W. Chappell recognizes two major models of Buddhist ethics, the one allowing the use of force when needed for "*the greater good, guided by utilitarian ethics and motivated by compassion*" and the second separating religious and political roles into the two wheels of *dharma* and relinquishing the use of force and violence.[94] Similarly to e.g. Christianity, religious ethics calling for non-violence and secular ethics accepting violence compete, and both are followed.

Seen strictly from the Western logic of either/or the principle of non-violence and the possibility of warfare seem incompatible. The domains, however, are different. Non-violence is the guiding principle of individual behaviour in personal relations, and to follow a king's *dharmic* warfare is for that individual but one choice among others. There are not one but many different *dharmas*. Indian, that is mostly Jain-based thinking also recognizes not only two but seven possibilities of prediction, and similarly seven ways of approaching an object of knowledge;[95] thus what seems incompatible is actually understandable for many.

For Mohandas Gandhi non-violence, *ahimsā*, was both a pragmatic and political tool and a spiritual and moral principle. Non-violence is a useful method of solving not only individual but also social and political conflicts. For Gandhi *ahimsā* was not just absence of violence (*a-himsā*) but a deeper commitment, a renouncement of hate.[96] However, there were exceptions to the rule. The principle as it was forwarded by Gandhi is a flexible one; not all killing is *himsā* as he once wrote. Defending truth, perhaps Gandhi's ultimate value, might require sacrificing the (lesser) principle of non-violence.[97]

There is, however, one treatise in Indian literature that offers a worldview and practical guidance in the same manner as Thucydides, Machiavelli or Hobbes in the Western literature, or Sun Tsi (Sun Tsu) in the Chinese namely Kautilya's *Arthaśastra*. Whether Kautilya ever existed or wrote the book has been contested,[98] but it is nevertheless generally recognized as the

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[92] Young 2004, pp. 287, 300-301.
[93] Gier 1996, p. 85.
[94] Chappell 2004, pp. 213, 232.
[95] de Bary 1958, p. 70.
[96] Næss 2000, pp. 22-26, 36-40.
[97] Gier 1996, pp. 86-87.
[98] See Prasad 1989, pp. 42-45, for an analysis of Kautilya's authorship. Also uz Zaman 2006, pp. 233-234.

most important written account on statecraft, foreign relations and war ancient India has produced. Kautilya was the key advisor to the King Chandragupta Maurya (c. 317–293 B.C.), who by defeating the Nada kings and by stopping the advance of Alexander's successors managed to unite almost the entire Indian subcontinent. Only Kalinga on the east coast and the kingdoms of Cholas, Satyaputras, Pandyasi and Keralaputra in the south remained independent.[99]

The very name *Arthaśastra* has various translations. As the Sanskrit, and Hindi, word *artha* means wealth, finance and object, whereas *śastra* means science, discipline or body of knowledge.[100] The *Arthaśastra* has been called a "science of politics"[101], "treatise on polity"[102], "treatise of material gain"[103], "science of polity"[104], "science of political economy"[105] and "economics" and "the discipline of material prosperity".[106] Given the content of the fifteen books in English translation covering issues from the autocratic management of a strong state and a solid economy, and the duties and obligations of a king and the administration, to issues such as the examination of sudden deaths, the elements of sovereignty and peace and war, the science of polity seems the most relevant label. The *Arthaśastra* is first and foremost about administration, law and justice and foreign relations. For the purposes at hand the most relevant in the *Arthaśastra* are Kautilya's thoughts on state power, foreign relations and the questions of peace and war. The *Arthaśastra* recognizes the army as one of the most important elements of sovereignty. War is a means to impose one's will over others; a tool for a ruler to compel others to accept his supremacy.[107]

The *Arthaśastra* is a book about political realism, describing how the political world governed by self-interest, the maximization of power and by warfare works.[108] Kautilya introduces three theories that explain how the king, the state and foreign policy operate in this anarchical environment in order to preserve the state and gain material and economic wealth: the *Saptanga* theory of sovereignty, the *Mandala* theory of geo-spatial relationships between states, and the six-fold theory of peace.

The *Saptanga* theory deals with the seven elements of sovereignty, the

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[99] Prasad 1989, pp. 17, 56-60; Boesche 2003, pp. 10-12.
[100] *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary* 1993, pp. 56, 945-946.
[101] Kangle 1992.
[102] Basham (Boesche 2003).
[103] de Bary 1958.
[104] Prasad 1989 and uz Zaman 2006.
[105] Boesche 2003.
[106] Sen 2006a.
[107] Prasad 1989, pp. 78-83, 164.
[108] de Riencourt 2006, pp. 75-77; Boesche 2003, pp. 14-17.

king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army, and the friend, which are also known in Vedic literature.[109] All these elements are essential for the state to function for the welfare of subjects, and to maintain cohesion and spatial integration.[110] This ancient and rather materialistic list speaks for a centralized and strong state. The king and the minister are, however, not simply autocratic rulers; they have obligations towards their subjects and are bound by *dharma* like any other human being.

The *Mandala* theory or doctrine expresses state-to-state relations in locational terms. The idea of the doctrine is based on a geopolitical circle of neighbouring states whit oneself situated at the centre; the immediate neighbours are considered enemies but the state next to the immediate neighbour is likely to be a friend: "*One with immediately proximate territory is the natural enemy*".[111] The *Mandala* doctrine is regarded as the Indian equivalent to the balance of power theory.[112] Boesche, however, does not share this assessment. He points that whereas the balance of power doctrine suggests that a nation can arm itself to ensure peace, to balance a threat by arming and thus maintaining the *status quo*, Kautilya encourages his king to attack the enemy and conquer the world, in this case the subcontinent.[113] The system of circles of states, too, is not originally Kautilya's idea but is also found in e.g. *Mahabharata* and *Manu*.[114] Like in the case of *Saptanga* this fact does not diminish the *Arthaśastra's* value, on the contrary together with its societal descriptions and rules it shows how deeply embedded the treatise is in the ancient root of Indian society.

The six-fold policy, *shadgunya*, is the only way the ruler can succeed in the anarchical *Mandala* system of states. It consists of foreign policy methods to do with peace, war, neutrality, marching on one's enemies, seeking alliance and double policy (making peace with one party and waging war with another).[115] The ruler must use whichever method is most appropriate to pursue his goals of wealth and conquest; Kautilya offers a number of techniques to implement these methods. They include conciliation, gifts, dissension, deceit and open attack.[116]

Rashed uz Zaman, who defends the relevance of the *Arthaśastra* in today's India, reminds us of the problems of demonstrating the usefulness of

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[109] *Arthaśastra*, book VI: chapter I.
[110] Prasad 1989, pp. 178-179.
[111] *Arthaśastra*, book VI: chapter II; Prasad 1989, pp. 157-158, 178; Boesche 2003, pp. 18-20.
[112] Prasad 1989, pp. 157, 171.
[113] Boesche 2003, pp. 19-20, 28; *Arthaśastra*, book VII: chapter IV.
[114] zu Zaman 2006, p. 236.
[115] *Arthaśastra*, book VII: chapters I and II; zu Zaman 2006, p. 237.
[116] uz Zaman 2006, p. 238.

Kautilya's teaching in today's India. He points out that non-violence was never in practice thoroughly followed in Indian history. Kautilyan *Realpolitik* was implemented time after time when Buddhist, Muslim or Nehruvian rulers expanded and defended their domains. uz Zaman even concludes that the utility of Kautilyan thinking becomes more significant when one "*traces the rhetoric of Indian policies and their actual implementation*".[117] The connection between cultural traits and behaviour that Johnston seeks and even questions is in fact a problem which is solved in this case. It does not matter if the previous generations have not read the treatise, as they could not have done, as long as it lives today. For Indians, who are proud of their traditions and live their history, the re-emergence of the *Arthaśastra* a hundred years ago has become a part of national lore. The connection between the cultural trait of the *Arthaśastra* and actual behaviour has existed: Indian society as shown above has exhibited many features that existed when Kautilya was writing his thesis and even before that. Given the oral tradition of disseminating knowledge, that both Sen and Sidhu emphasize, it is not unlikely that basic assumptions were passed from generation to generation. If this was not done directly then the heroic stories of both Chandragupta's and his grandson Ashoka's achievements carried the seed of the *Arthaśastra* with them. In fact de Riencourt claims that Indian politics replicated the lawless world of the jungle and Indian philosophy was never being "*able to overcome the cynicism of Kautilya's Arthaśastra*".[118] One can therefore argue that Kautilyan realism is not unknown to Indians. This is not to say that it determines any particular form of behaviour but it does contain a worldview and a pattern of state behaviour that is shared, for some reason or another, by many within the Indian strategic community.

Kanti Bajpai, as mentioned above, follows Johnston's conception of strategic culture, and argues that the broad approaches to International Relations that in fact operate in other countries influence the Indian mindset and strategic thinking. Local and regional traditions and belief-systems, political and administrative systems and geographical characteristic have formed these thoughts but have not changed their basic tenets. For him the *Arthaśastra* has little relevance, and proving otherwise would be difficult. Bajpai elaborates the Indian strategic culture and security policy using the concepts of Nehruvianism, Neoliberalism and Hyperrealism. As these three schools are more or less grounded in the International Relations schools of Idealism (with a socialist twist), Institutional Liberalism (with a capitalist twist) and Political Realism (with a chauvinist twist), respectively, it is not necessary to elaborate their basic assumptions here.[119] In my later analysis I

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[117] uz Zaman 2006, pp. 241-242.
[118] de Riencourt 2006, p. 131.
[119] Bajpai 2002, pp. 245-246, 250-257.

shall nevertheless return to these concepts.

Indian Identities – and Values

Our mind has faculties which are universal, but its habits are insular.[120]

In painting a picture of India, one has to find a balance between diverse details and simplifying stereotypes. Both are provided by historical events and experiences, by films, books, or predominant personalities; the vast size, scale and diversity of India do not make it any simpler. To tackle India, and the core of what is original and traditional on the subcontinent, one has to make but a methodological presumption: there is no single, static, or unchanging India to be discovered, but there is instead a state and nation that comprises diversity and change. Even the pre-colonial era and society cannot provide a solid description, model, or theory of India. By denying the possibility of a single explanation, and accepting plural explanations, one can discover some essentials of Indian life, society, and politics.

Indian society is complex and multilayered. A starting point to understand this is to remind oneself of India's geographic, demographic, linguistic, and religious diversity. The concepts of individual, and class, which are useful when analysing a Western society, have not had much significance in India. Some changes are surely on the way, but the society is still very much organized along religious and local sets of rules.

Identity and loyalty in India has traditionally been local and religious. This is true even today; Indian is not an ethnically united nation – few, in fact, are. Secularism or ideological traditions have not altered the impact of societal and economic forces in political behaviour. The doctrine of *Homo Indicus* implies that the integrity of the Union is found in the rejection of the particular. This suits the doctrine of *dharma* in Hinduism, which emphasizes the necessity of performing the duties peculiar to one's caste, and thus links one to the central *dharma* of existence, but fails to recognize that this causes stasis in a modern state. The local and economic man has increasingly replaced the patriotic citizen thus undermining the central doctrine of the (newly) independent India.

In fact, it seems that local, religious, and regional commitments are on the rise challenging the dominant modernity-narrative of the independent India. Constitutional and legal measures to get rid of societal and economic inequalities have not succeeded. Caste restrictions have been loosened,

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[120] Rabindranath Tagore, quoted in Quayum.

governments have invested in education and healthcare, but some problems sit fast. Partly this is due to the Indian National Congress's reluctance to tackle sensitive issues that could have jeopardised or questioned its coherence. Partly it is due to the Centre, which was also reluctant to solve certain socio-economic issues, and gave the powers to state legislatures and administrations. They have been both unable and unwilling to legislate and implement laws designed to forward major social reforms. Land reform, i.e. the equal distribution of land and ceiling legislation, and the question of the 'untouchables', their status and affirmative action policies, are the clearest examples of the strength of social and economic forces and the state's and administration's impotence to overcome them.

At the basic social level of the village – the *jati* level, politics adds a multi-layered administrative system. The local political and administrative system, the *panchayat raj,* is a three-tiered system consisting of elected committees that run the village at the district level. Regional state-level legislature and administration is an increasingly important institution. Its powers stem from the Constitution and the current political situation in which the central governments have been dependent on the support of regional parties. The centre-periphery relationship has always been problematic. The central ruler, whether a Mogul Emperor, a British Viceroy, or an all-Indian prime minister, has had little direct impact on the lives of the local population. Local societies have had their own value systems, which modern politics has not profoundly penetrated. Similarly, every state has its own party system.

The Constitution gave the Indian state an identity but created tensions between the centre and the provinces. Foreign policy, and military and fiscal powers were the responsibility of the Centre, while matters of social and economic reform concerned regional legislatures. The latter was needed in order to win the support of the upper castes of rural India, which held significant electoral powers and financial resources. A second tension concerned citizenship. A principle of positive discrimination, namely affirmative action, was introduced, which gave certain rights to the members of certain communities. Rights were tied to collectivities, not to the liberal rights of an individual. The Constitution thus reinforced community identity, and in a way continued the policy of the Raj.

Indira Gandhi tried to establish a direct link between herself and the people when she broke and reformed the Congress Party and its regional structure, and bypassed its local leaders by using independent power.[121] Her father, Jawaharlal Nehru had outmanoeuvred the Party by increasing the reach of the state and civil servants. But his daughter's manoeuvres and the later

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[121] J. Brown 1994, p. 373.

advocating of religious values did not serve the idea(l) of unity in diversity: the Centre, then represented by the Congress, lost its local and regional significance enabling regional, religious, and caste-oriented identities and parties to rise on the political arena. Populist and particularist appeals rather than serious and long-term policies often characterize their politics. Contrary to European politics where parties often try to win elections by seizing the middle ground, in India the opposite might be true. It can be an advantageous move for a local or national politician to exploit sectarian or communitarian passions. The gradual degradation of India's political institutions and practices, and the Centre's interventions and coercive responses to state politics have led some groups to dissociate themselves from democratic politics and take direct, violent action in order to achieve their goals.

Similarly, for the last three decades successive Indian governments have not had the ability to peacefully manage and resolve regional or religious demands. These demands are often interpreted as threatening the unity and identity of India, and are therefore violently answered. Given the fact that many of the previous regimes began to break down from within rather than due to external pressure, not to mention the diversity issue, the unity project would appear rational one. As the historical experience and example of a unitary, centrally organized and territorially defined state with a strong bureaucracy as advocated by the nationalist movement seldom existed in Indian history, this return to more local and regional political identities is understandable. On the other hand, the exclusive *Hindutva* movement started to rewrite and recreate a united view of India's history. This BJP and Sang Parivar-led rewriting differs from the previous Congress-led enterprise in that it favours an internal and external isolation thesis, namely that India and Hinduism has had very little to do with the outside and inside others, such as Arabs and Muslims.[122]

Another development is a growing disappointment with the inclusive identity of secularism. Secular and modern identity dictated by the independent movement did not last and develop as they were planned to do. Secularism was thought to work for social and economic reform and transformation. Just as there has been a gap between plans and performance in the developmental, industrial, and economic spheres, an identity gap has existed between the desired identity and the real one. India has different identities rather than a single, unified identity. The question is whether they will develop into exclusive identities? This trend is implied by the rise of Hindu nationalism, communalism, and group centred politics.

Despite the fact that in India the idea of non-violence is widely expressed,

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[122] Sen 2006a, pp. 62-65.

internal and communal violence has torn and continues to plague independent India. Communal violence closely linked to the independence struggle and particularly to Partition seemingly disappeared for decades but gained momentum in the 1990's. Current communal violence is most notably a tool of Hindu nationalist, right wing, zealots who have sought to forward their cause by harassing and murdering mostly Muslims but increasingly also Christians.[123] On the other hand, one can generalize that Muslim, Marxist (Naxalite), regional and local organizations and movements[124] fight particularly against the Indian state and Western values, not necessarily targeting their violence against any given religion or specific group of people.[125] Similarly, the Indian state fights these movements in e.g. Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Nagaland, Bihar and Orissa. It has used counter-insurgency methods that have led to increased demands to respect basic civil rights. That violence is widely present inside the Indian society underlines the UPA Government's and its successors' efforts to maintain political control and to enhance social and economic development.

Hindu nationalism and Muslim extremism are especially alarming as both try to differentiate, alienate and demonize the major Indian folk groups as well as try to hinder India and Pakistan from finding mutual understanding through negotiations and peaceful solutions. Internal unrest, stemming either from local or regional, political or ethnic or secular or sectarian grounds, signifies that Indian nation-building is still not universally accepted. Diversity has persisted despite the unity project.

Factious developments directly affect domestic policy. Local and regional issues tend to dominate politics on the state and national level, whereas larger political, economic and strategic questions do not attract people and parties. This has always been the case, and foreign, security, and nuclear politics have traditionally had low salience in Indian elections. The growing public support for nuclearization has not been transferred to electoral behaviour; Indian public opinion has had the same ambiguity and moral aversion towards nuclear weapons as their political leaders have had.[126]

Regarding the basic values and ideals expressed by the nationalist move-

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[123] See the following chapter for the discussion on the *Hindutva* movement.

[124] South Asian Terrorism Portal lists 174 "terrorist, insurgent and extremist" groups operating in India (SATP).

[125] At least before the November 26, 2008 attacks in Mumbai, where attackers targeted Israeli, British, U.S. citizens.

[126] Those strongly in favour primarily lived in New Delhi and were usually well-educated; those against lived in other major cities or were under the poverty line. According to the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies one year after Pokhran II tests about 53% of the Indian electorate had never heard of the tests (Frey 2006, p. 193). See also Cortright & Mattoo 1996, pp. 5-17; Mattoo 1999, pp. 11-15.

ment in general and written into the Constitution in particular, the following conclusion can be made. Democracy and parliamentarism lie on solid ground despite the fact that the Union or all its Prime Ministers have not been able to fulfil set ideals or given vows and promises. These failures have narrowed the content of democracy to heated debates, elections and voting in which private interest, favouritism, corruption and nepotism have often preceded and resulted from the elections. Such noble ideas as equality, liberty and fraternity that are tied to democracy have withered. Parliamentarism, however, has been honoured. Even the parties that have often been labelled and even called themselves 'nationalist', 'communist' or 'right-wing' parties have obeyed the rules set up by the Constitution. The Army has remained loyal to the politicians. Some minorities have nevertheless chosen the bullet instead of the ballot, but the overall record is positive.[127] Sectarian ideas have gained ground from secular ideals. The unanswered question is how will the battle between the traditionally strong social order and the administratively strong state turn out in the future. Globalization, economic development, a more open society and local ambitions challenge the centralized state. In sum, the question is about inclusion versus exclusion and global versus local orientations.[128] The following figure illuminates Indian identities in terms of these dimensions.

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[127] In fact one could therefore question whether the Indian case proves right the claim that for a stable political community a citizen's identification with the polity is more crucial than a national, i.e. socio-cultural identity, see Andrew Mason referred to in Abizadeh 2002, p. 507.

[128] One should notice that the dimensions are not intended to be masculine or feminine or restricted to Western/white/male/Christian or native/black/female/Islamic/Hindu/ Atheist/Jewish/Buddhist orientations. See Ling 2000, pp. 242-252 for an argument that claims e.g. that 'the global' serves as a "code for the masculinised, progressive Western Self of colonial lore". Jawaharlal Nehru with his global orientation certainly fulfilled the category of "Cosmopolitan", could hardly be considered to represent Western colonial thought. A global orientation and the current (post-colonial or not) globalization ought not to be confused. A global orientation can in fact pay attention to the particular, minority, human rights or ecological issues.
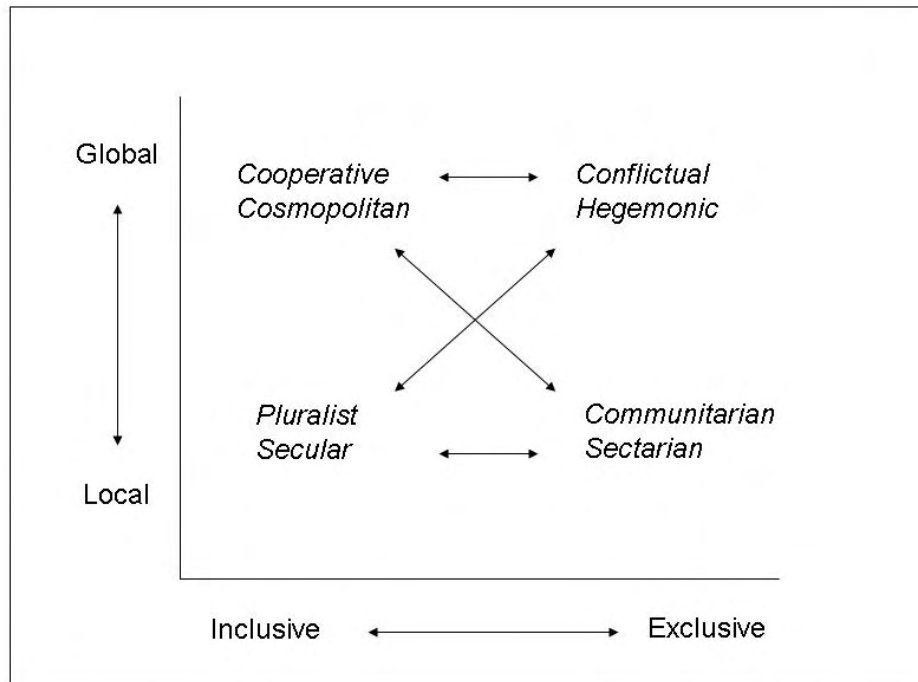
Figure no. 5. The Inclusive-Exclusive and Local-Global Dimensions with the Opposing Discourses of Indian Identities.

An identity which is local and inclusive could largely be seen as pluralist; here local ideas and practices are honoured and not much emphasis is given to external factors. It can as well be called secular in the Indian sense of the equal treatment of all religions. Local and exclusive identity on the other hand can be characterized as communitarian and sectarian, as distinctiveness, e.g. local, racial or religious, would constitute and separate entities. A local and exclusive identity is the most withdrawn and fragmented form of identity. An exclusive identity which focuses on the global scale can be described as conflictual and hegemonic. Accordingly a global orientation with an inclusive mind-set would be cooperative and cosmopolitan; this is the most all-embracing form of identity. The figure also shows the opposing values or identity discourses of secular-sectarian, pluralist-hegemonic, cosmopolitan-communitarian and cooperative-conflictual. That global and local identities do not necessarily compete within the inclusive and exclusive domains underlines the dominant position of these dimensions. The following chapters examine Indian foreign and nuclear policies by means of these dimensions and characterizations. This is considered essential for assessing the political actions.

To identify a common Indian identity, or an identity for India, is therefore more a populist and political task than academic one. Nevertheless two common denominators could be detected in the above-described hetero-

doxy. As regards the notion of Indianness, one could claim that "civilizational thinking" exists among most of the mainstream political and religious schools of thought. This thinking both looks backwards to the various Golden Ages and forward to a more prosperous future that Indian people and peoples are destined to have. Secondly, Indianness might be more appropriately seen as 'spiritual' rather than 'religious'. Spiritualism has penetrated all religions in India and it affects everyday life through a vast number of religious festivals. Even Indian politics is influenced if not by religious ideas then by astrology.

The question of particular Indian or even Asian values should be assessed in this context. Several Western writers have wished to distance Indian from the Western values and culture in the colonial era. The colonial context together with sheer ignorance explains this perspective. Karl Marx, for example, wrote an extensive study of particular Asiatic despotism in India. It may have been a flaw in his general theoretical approach or the fact that he never visited India, or Asia, that led to his distorted picture.[129] But quite obviously it has been those who have wanted India to represent 'the other' who have most often looked for differences and exaggerated them. These include colonial rulers and religious and political competitors. What is rational has either been neglected or has been replaced by the mystical and exotic.

Current voices that distance nations, cultures and civilizations include e.g. scholars like Samuel Huntington, political ideas and movements like *Hindutva*, neo-conservatism or Islamic fundamentalism and politicians like the Indian BJP politician and former Home Minister L.K. Advani, the former U.S. President George W. Bush or the former Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong. For them their own values and cultures are superior to the others' – even to extend that political behaviour is grounded on this value difference. The result of this attitude has often been excluding, excruciating and expeditionary, and even missionary politics.

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[129] Kulke 1997, pp. 3-4.

3

THE INDIAN SECURITY COMMUNITY

The security community is understood to be an element of strategic culture.[1] It is considered to consist of the highest echelons of national political and military planning and decision-making. In the case of India the President, the Prime Minister, the Government and its Departments, the Houses of Parliament and the armed forces together with the scientific community form the major actors in the security community. One specific feature of the security community will also be examined, namely the Indian strategic elite or enclave, which has a considerable status and impact on current Indian strategic thinking. As this study focuses on the foreign and nuclear policies of the United Progressive Alliance coalition government led by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, the Indian National Congress together with its main political opponent the Bharatiya Janata Party are included in the analysis.

The concept of security community should not be confused with a political system, which can be understood to include the "*interactions which affect the use of or threat of use of legitimate physical coercion*".[2] A political system is also a considerably wider concept consisting of e.g. political parties, elections and legislative agencies which are here considered external to the narrower and issue-specific 'security community'. A security community can also be characterized as more abstract, while a political system is a more concrete phenomenon.

Political Actors and the Security Administration

The Parliament of India consists of the President and two Houses, the lower House, the House of the People, *Lok Sabha*, and the upper House, the Council of States, *Rajya Sabha*.[3] The Council of States is composed of the President-nominated members and the elected representatives of the States and the Union Territories. The *Rajya Sabha* does not possess the powers of

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[1] To avoid, the confusion reader should be reminded that this use of the concept of security community differs from the most common definition offered by Karl Deutsch. Deutsch's security community consists of group of integrated nations whose security concerns and solutions cannot be separated from each other (Deutsch 1961, pp. 98-105).
[2] Robert Dahl, quoted in A. C. Kapur 1996, p. 60.
[3] *The Constitution of India*, Article 79.

e.g. the American Senate but has a more important role than the British House of Lords. In principle the two Indian Houses are equal, yet in practice the *Lok Sabha* is the supreme legislative body in India.[4] Its functions follow the features of a parliamentary system and consist mainly of legislation and financial, political and administrative control by the Government.[5] According to the Constitution Article 246 it has powers to legislate on "*all matters which bring the Union into relations with any foreign country*".[6] Also several parliamentary committees, such as the Departmentally-related Standing Committees (DRSC) on External Affairs or Defence tackle security related questions. Their functions include considering the demands for grants and annual reports of the Ministry in question, and the national basic long-term policy documents presented to the House. The committees may also avail themselves the expert or public opinion and select any subject for examination arising out of the annual reports. For example the current *Lok Sabha* Standing Committee on External Affairs has been briefed on the issues of e.g. Indo-Pak talks and Indo-U.S. defence cooperation and presented reports on e.g. the "Situation prevailing in Pakistan occupied Kashmir and Northern Areas".[7]

The Parliament's actual room for manoeuvre depends on the current political situation and especially on the expertise of the executive. Jawaharlal Nehru can be said to have dominated the scene. Since his tenure the Union Governments have become weaker and the domains of foreign, defence and nuclear issues have become highly politicized, and thus debated in the *Lok Sabha*. Parliament has nevertheless not become a real political instrument in these questions, and its role can be described at best as informal.[8] This on the other hand follows and underlines the theoretical and constitutional distribution of powers.

The President of India is the head of the executive power of the Indian Union as the Constitution states that the "*executive power of the Union shall be vested in the President*".[9] However there are constitutional limitations that restrict the President's domain. He or she must obviously exercise the powers according to the Constitution. More importantly for the purposes of this study he or she must exercise the executive powers "*in accordance with*" the advice of the Council of Ministers.[10] Though the

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[4] Brass 1994, p. 50.
[5] Vanhanen 1973, p. 18; A.C. Kapur 1996, pp. 545-550; Das Basu 1997, pp. 197-198.
[6] *The Constitution of India*, Article 246.
[7] *Lok Sabha* DRSC 2007.
[8] H. Kapur 1994, pp. 161-166.
[9] *The Constitution of India*, Article 53.
[10] *The Constitution of India*, Article 74 (1) ("*There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President who shall, in the exercise*

latter was explicitly amended to the Constitution by the 42nd Amendment in 1976 the President never had the executive powers of e.g. the American or the French Presidents. The Indian Union President thus does not have any powers over the political and administrative activities of the Government,[11] and in this respect the Indian President resembles the Queen (or King) of England.[12] The President is the titular Supreme Commander of the Defence Forces but without any real executive powers.

Both Houses of Parliament, the legislative assemblies of the States, and the Union Territories of Delhi and Pondicherry, select the President.[13] Compared to a direct election the indirect election of the President was seen as more practical given the size of the Indian electorate. It was also considered appropriate not to involve the people as the President does not possess any significant power.[14]

The legislative powers of the President consist most importantly of his or her right to veto a Bill becoming an Act of the Indian Parliament. Withholding Presidential assent from a Bill will annul it. Similarly, the President has the power of disallowance or return for reconsideration of a State Legislature Bill. If both Houses agree the Parliament can override the former veto, while the latter is an absolute veto without any mechanism to bypass the Presidential decision.[15] If Parliamentary action is impossible the President has the power to legislate by Ordinances.[16] This power is only to be exercised on the advice of the Council of Ministers, and should be laid before the Parliament when it reassembles and even with its approval will automatically cease to have effect six weeks after the reassembly. If both Houses are in session it is not possible to exercise the Ordinance-making power in the first place.[17]

Formally, the President has powers to select, appoint and remove e.g. the Prime Minister, other ministers, the State Governors and other high-level officials. Concerns have been raised that a President might actually use the powers especially under politically sensitive circumstances when the Prime Minister or the Government does not have a majority in the Parliament. The President is, for example, the sole judge whether or not the circumstances require promulgation of an Ordinance a government wants to

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of his functions, act in accordance with such advice").
[11] Das Basu 1997, pp. 168-169.
[12] Vanhanen 1973, p. 22.
[13] *The Constitution of India*, Article 54.
[14] Das Basu 1997, p. 163.
[15] Das Basu 1997, pp. 174-177.
[16] *The Constitution of India*, Article 123.
[17] Das Basu 1997, pp. 177-178.

introduce. Therefore it is not unimportant, especially for the Prime Minister, who is the President or from which party or region he or she comes. As the Congress Party has lost its dominant position and the Indian political system has become more volatile the institution and the election of the President has become more politicised.[18]

The Prime Minister is selected and appointed by the President. Obviously, the person who has or is in a position to get a majority in the parliament's lower house, the House of the People, will be selected. The Prime Minister then has the power to select the Ministers and he or she allocates the duties amongst not only the ministers but also amongst the Departments. He or she chairs the Cabinet meetings and supervises over the executive institutions.[19] The Constitution in this respect followed the British model of governance by granting the Prime Minister the leading position and the Cabinet the collective responsibility.[20]

The Council of Ministers consists of an unspecified number of constitutionally equal ranked ministers. However, the ministers of the Council are divided into three categories: Ministers in charge of a Department (Ministry), Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers. The Ministers in charge of a Department form the inner circle of the Government, the Cabinet, which shapes the policy of the Union Government. Despite the fact that the Ministers are collectively responsible to Parliament individual Ministers are formally responsible to the President, and in practice to the Prime Minister.[21]

The Indian National Congress won the largest number of seats in the *Lok Sabha* in the 2004 elections. Rajiv Gandhi's widow, Sonia Gandhi, who was the Congress leader in 1998, but she did not, perhaps due to her Italian origin or because of her troublesome family history, become Prime Minister. Dr. Manmohan Singh, the former finance minister of Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao's Government in 1991–1996, formed the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) Government and was sworn-in on May 22, 2004. The UPA coalition consists of altogether of 14 political parties of which the Indian National Congress is the largest in the *Lok Sabha* with 145 seats of the Alliance's 218 seats. The four main leftist parties, including the Communist and the Communist (Marxist) parties support the Government.

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[18] Brass 1994, pp. 45-47; Wolpert 2005, p. 200.
[19] Das Basu 1997, pp. 186-187.
[20] *The Constitution of India*, Article 75 (5); M. V. Pylee (1965) in Brass 1994, pp. 47-48; the British example is also emphasized by Vanhanen 1973, p. 23 and Das Basu 1997, pp. 32, 186, 189, 198.
[21] Vanhanen 1973, pp. 18, 23.

The Council of Ministers consists of 32 Cabinet Ministers and 46 Ministers of State.[22] Prime Minister Singh is also in-charge of the several Ministries or Departments, most notably the Ministry of Planning, the Department of Atomic Energy, the Department of Space and the Ministry of Finance. Of the executive institutions relevant to this study the Ministry of External Affairs has three main tasks: routine decision-making regarding foreign relations and diplomacy, regional foreign policy, and global issues like disarmament. The first task can be described as bureaucratic, and the Ministry is the principal actor. The second task is the most political, and the third the most technical. In the third task the Ministry supports the Government in decision-making and implementation on issues where other Ministries or Departments have a role to play.[23] The Ministry of Defence (MoD) frames policy directions on defence- and security-related matters and communicates them for implementation to the armed forces and other establishments and organizations. The MoD consists of four departments in which the Department of Defence deals with the Headquarters Integrated Defence Staff (HQ IDS) and the three services and is responsible for e.g. defence policy. The Department of Defence Production deals mainly with defence production and equipment. The Department of Defence Research and Development advises the Government on scientific aspects of military equipment and formulates research, design and development plans for equipment. It contains the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO), which in its various laboratories and establishments designs and develops weapons and other defence systems, including ballistic missiles. The Department of Ex-Servicemen Welfare is the latest department within the MoD.[24]

The independent role of the Ministries and the Departments should not be overemphasized. The Prime Minister has a pivotal role in strategic decision-making and the key posts are manned with his or her trustees. Quite often Indian Prime Ministers have also held the External and Defence portfolios: Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi and Atal Bihari Vajpayee all did this at least for a while.

Decision-Making in Security-Related Issues

Decision-making in security-related issues in principal consists of three tiers: the political decision-making bodies within the Cabinet, the Ministries and Committees providing administrative support, and the executive

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[22] As of December 31, 2006.
[23] H. Kapur 1994, pp. 154-155.
[24] MoD Report 2007.

branch of various authorities such as the armed forces, the Atomic Energy Commission and the Defence Research and Development Organisation. The reality however, is not this clear-cut.

Indian national-level security decision-making has been heavily criticized. There was widespread disappointment with the way Prime Minister Nehru handled the 1962 crisis with China, with the engagement of the armed forces in police and paramilitary operations and with the way Indian troops were deployed in Sri Lanka in 1984. It was felt that national security management needed long-term thinking, planning and coordination and a watchdog function to monitor the implementation of security decisions.[25] Common to most observations are firstly the lack of collective assessments and long-term strategic planning, and secondly the almost total exclusion of the armed forces from decision-making.[26]

The wide powers granted in the Constitution to the Prime Minister have led Indian national decision-making to be further concentrated in the hands of very few people. Within the Cabinet Prime Ministers have usually constituted several committees to concentrate on specific issues. Prime Minister Singh established the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs (CCPA) and the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) in the beginning of his tenure. The former takes crucial and overall political questions, whereas the latter focuses on security. By constituting the CCPA PM Singh revived the arrangement PM Rao had had in the early 1990s that the CCPA is the forum to deal with political questions. During PM Vajpayee's tenure the CCS became the body to handle questions of a political nature. The Prime Minister is the chairman of the CCS and the additional members are the Ministers of Defence, External Affairs, Home, and Finance together with the National Security Advisor. The latter post was long manned by the Prime Minister's principal secretary.[27] Prime Minister Singh's pivotal role is further intensified by the fact he is also amongst other things the chairman of the Planning Commission and in charge of the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE). The DAE Secretary chairs the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), which is the main authority on atomic energy and nuclear questions. The DAE/AEC has been the tool for successive prime ministers to control the nuclear weapons programme[28]. Other AEC members include i.a. the National Security Advisor, the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, the Cabinet Secretary and the Director of the Bhabha

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[25] Raman 1998.

[26] Kapila 2000; Tellis 2001, pp. 36-38; Babu 2003, pp. 215-230; Frey 2006, p. 49.

[27] *The Hindu* June 11, 2004. For Prime Ministers Indira and Rajiv Gandhi the Congress Party Parliamentary Board was the principal forum of political decision-making.

[28] Tellis 2001, p. 38.

Atomic Research Centre. Atomic scientists and technicians have had and continue to have direct links with the highest politicians since the establishment of Indian atomic institutions in the 1940s and 1950s.

In order to improve both planning and implementation in security-related issues the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance government in accordance with the BJP 1998 election manifesto established the National Security Council (NSC) in November 1999 and set a Group of Ministers to study the reform of the national security system.[29] The NSC replaced the Defence Committee of the Cabinet (DCC) that in fact had worked well during the Indo-Pak War of 1971[30] but which lacked executive support. It should be mentioned that the Prime Minister Vajpayee made perhaps his most crucial security decision concerning the May 1998 nuclear test explosions on the advice of scientists and civil servants lacking constitutional responsibility. The Prime Minister is the chairperson of the NSC and the additional members are the same key ministers as in the CCS (Defence, External Affairs, Home, and Finance), the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and the National Security Advisor.[31] The National Security Council is to assist and advise the Prime Minister in these matters. Furthermore it could help to formulate national security strategies and national military strategies.

The NSC has a broad agenda covering i) the external security environment and threat scenarios ii) threats involving atomic energy, space and high technology iii) economic threats in the fields of e.g. energy and finance iv) internal security including counterterrorism, counterinsurgency and counterintelligence v) patterns of alienation in the country vi) trans-border crimes such as smuggling, drugs and narcotics and vii) coordination of intelligence.[32]

The Strategic Policy Group (SPG) assists the NSC. The Group undertakes long-term strategic defence studies and reviews India's strategic aims,[33] and thus does not participate in the final formulation of national policies. The three service chiefs are members in the Group together with the high-

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[29] The group consisted of Defence Minister George Fernandez, Finance Minister Jaswant Singh, Foreign Minister Yaswant Sinha, and was chaired by Home Minister L.K. Advani, all powerful BJP ministers.

[30] Prime Minister Indira Gandhi held informal meetings of the DCC with the three service chiefs attending during the war. After the war no such formal meetings of any kind were held by the DCC.

[31] Frey 2006, pp. 48-56. The Kargil Review Committee considered it necessary to have a full-time National Security Advisor (MoD Reform, Annexure B).

[32] Vas 1999.

[33] Vas 1999.

est civil servants of several ministries or departments, such as foreign, defence, home and defence production and supplies, the scientific advisor to the defence minister and the director of the Intelligence Bureau. The National Security Advisor is the SPG chairperson. Frey mentions that the SPG was established to improve the interaction between political decision-making and the military, but Tellis argues that given the Cabinet Secretary's (now the NSA's) dominant role the SPG keeps the armed forces away from the political decision-making.[34] India still lacks a formal body for the nation's highest politicians and military officers to evaluate security-related issues. (See Figure no. 6 for a very broad description of the Indian national security apparatus where e.g. the President, the DRDO, the DEA/AEC and the intelligence services are left out.)
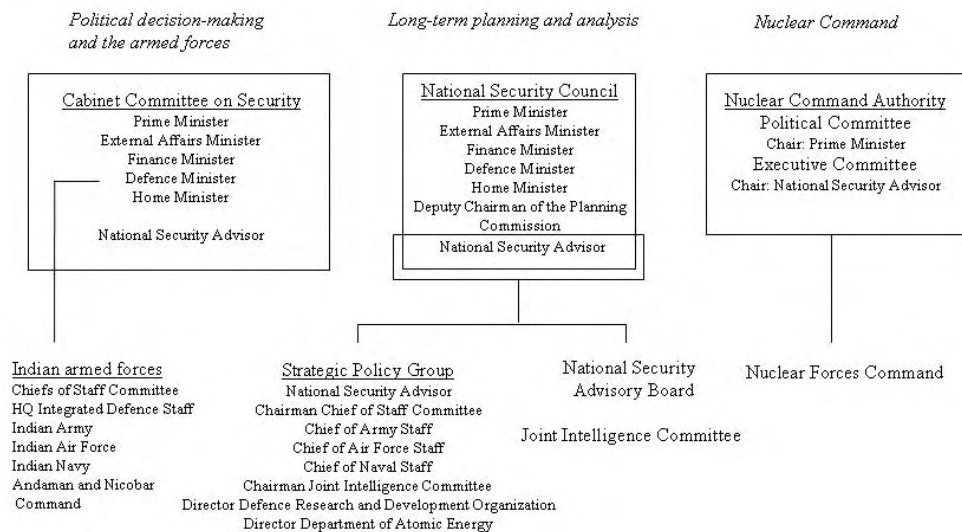
Figure no. 6. Indian national security apparatus.
Compiled from: Tellis 2001, pp. 35-37; *The Hindu* June 11 2004; Frey 2006, pp. 55-59; Pant 2007, pp. 245-249.

The Vajpayee government also established the National Security Advisory Board (NSAB) to provide the Security Council with expert advice. The NSAB is chaired by the National Security Advisor and consists of members of the Indian security community elite. The Board that was set up in December 1998 issued a Draft Report on the Indian Nuclear Doctrine in August 1999.

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[34] Frey 2006, pp. 56-57; Tellis 2001, p. 37; Pant 2007, p. 246.

This gap between the political and the military bodies is further enlarged by the fact that India does not have a single Armed Forces Commander, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff or Chief of Defence though all services have their Chiefs of Staffs. The Group of Ministers concluded in April 2000 that the Chiefs of Staff Committee system had failed to provide the Government with single-point military advice. The Group recommended the establishment of the post of Chief of Defence Staff (CDS), an integrated defence headquarters and a Strategic Forces Command. The CDS was needed to provide military advice to the Government, to administer the strategic forces and to enhance inter-service planning and cooperation.[35] Tellis is sceptical whether the CDS post would actually improve anything in Indian decision-making. The new CDS would replace the chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee without providing any operative command over the services, not to mention over the nuclear forces.[36] The decision to create the CDS has been taken not by the NDA or the UPA Government, "*as yet pending consultation with political parties*";[37] the three services also resisted this move correctly fearing that their autonomy would be jeopardized.

The NDA decided to establish the Nuclear Command Authority (NCA) in January 2003. The NCA is comprised of a Political Council and an Executive Council. The Political Council is chaired by the Prime Minister and "*is the sole body which can authorise the use of nuclear weapons*", the CCS informed in its announcement.[38] The Executive Council, chaired by the National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister, accordingly "*provides inputs for decision making by the NCA and executes the directives given to it by the Political Council*".[39] Information regarding the compositions of these NCA Councils is classified, but it is fairly safe to assume that the NSA Ministers man the Political Council and that the bulk of the SPG officials man the Executive Council.

The CCS also approved the appointment of the Strategic Forces Command (SFC) with a Commander-in-Chief Strategic of the Nuclear Forces who would be responsible for the administration of all nuclear forces. The SFC was established to create a responsible commander for nuclear deployment and response.[40] C. Raja Mohan expressed his satisfaction by stating in *The*

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[35] GOM 2000, pp. 97-103.
[36] Tellis 2001, p. 41.
[37] MOD Reforms 2008.
[38] CCS January 4, 2003.
[39] CCS January 4, 2003; Frey 2006, p. 58.
[40] Frey 2006, p. 58; Pant 2007, p. 249.

Hindu that "*these administrative arrangements form the crucial link between the civilian and military leadership on nuclear decisions and their execution*".[41] The comment was premature as the establishment of the NCA and the SFC further distances, if possible, the military chiefs from nuclear decision-making. They did not have a say in developing the armament,[42] neither will they have a say in its deployment.

Following the Group of Ministers recommendations the Headquarters Integrated Defence Staff was established as well as i.a. the Defence Intelligence Agency[43] and the Andaman and Nicobar Command, the first tri-service command in India. The HQ Integrated Defence Staff is the first real trial to coordinate long-term plans, annual budgetary proposals, and the acquisition of military material. It is also to prepare joint doctrine. The Chief IDS is to render advice to the Government on "*prioritization for developing force levels and capabilities*" and for "*evolving responses to non-conventional and unconventional threats to national security*".[44] The HQ IDS is responsible for the "*management of defence*" but not for the "*management of war-fighting*". The latter is in the hands of the service chiefs. The only exceptions are, "*perhaps*", tri-service out-of area operations. The HQ IDS's role in nuclear issues is not revealed.[45] The three services are likely to maintain their autonomy in the coming years and at least as long as the powerful CDS post remains to be created. The joint command in Andaman and Nicobar is only a modest step. It signifies not only the importance of the Indian Ocean and the sea lines of communication but also the desire to transform Indian armed forces according to Western military thinking.

It has been argued that given the predominant role of the military or security personnel, threats to national security could be exaggerated and the political feasibility and acceptability of the public and political opinion might be dismissed.[46] However, one can question whether the national security policy system can fulfil the expectations that were laid on it if the input the armed forces could offer remains sporadic and dispersed. If the armed forces are included in national strategic-level decision-making only

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[41] *The Hindu* January 5, 2003.

[42] The crucial role of civilian institutions and organizations in developing nuclear weapons will be elaborated in Part III, Chapter 6 on Indian Nuclear Policy.

[43] In the Kargil Review Committee's Recommendations the Committee criticized India for having no institutionalized mechanism for coordination or interaction between intelligence agencies or any overview of the functioning of the agencies (MoD Reform, Annexure B).

[44] MoD 2007.

[45] HQ IDS.

[46] Raman 1998.

in times of acute crises one can ask whether this is too late a phase. The above-mentioned organizational reforms do not represent a change from the criticized Indian practice. There is no single body where the political masters and their military servants could meet and consult. That the MoD and the Armed Forces do not have a significant role in policy formulation not only signifies the absolute civilian control over the military and scepticism towards the use of force, even towards the armed forces,[47] but also ensures that the top brass has little experience of tackling strategic questions. This disconnection might result in similar dissonances between the desired political effects and executed military operations as witnessed several times in Indian modern history.[48]

When speaking of the concept of the Indian security community and the practice of actual decision-making mention should be made of the concept of the strategic elite. The concept the of strategic elite, or enclave, refers to the number of influential analysts, journalists, scholars and retired foreign service, defence management or armed forces personnel who actively participate in the Indian security debate and most notably have taken part in strategic planning and decision-making. Frey distinguishes three sections within the Indian strategic elite: scientists representing the nuclear establishment, 'politico-strategists' with political, administrative, academic or journalist backgrounds, and finally retired officers and other strategists reflecting the views of the armed forces.[49]

Nuclear scientists have had a profound influence on Indian nuclear policy. This has not been limited to scientific and technical issues but has expanded to strategic decision-making, too. Scientists like Homi Bhabha, Raja Ramanna and Abdul Kalam have had direct access to their Prime Ministers (Nehru, I. Gandhi, and Vajpayee, respectively) and they "rose" from the nuclear to the political establishment as well. Nuclear scientists had a monopoly in public opinion leadership on the nuclear issues until the late 1960s when the IDSA began to gain impetus. The influence of the scientific enclave eroded in the 1990s as the political and security arguments presented by the other two sections were considered more important.[50]

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[47] Tellis 2001, pp. 36-39.

[48] This is elaborated in Part II, Chapter 6 and 7 on Indian Foreign Policy and Indian Nuclear Policy, respectively.

[49] Frey 2006, p. 193. Perkovich speaks of the 'nuclear establishment' and the 'strategic enclave', the former being identical with Frey's nuclear scientists, and the latter with 'politico-strategists', while Kampani (2003) distinguishes between 'the strategic enclave' [nuclear establishment], 'strategic analysts', and the Armed Services as the 'stakeholders' in the Indian strategic missile programme.

[50] Frey 2006, pp. 194-195.

The influence of politico-strategists became to rise in the mid-1960s. As both Jawaharlal Nehru and Homi Bhabha passed away at the same time as the Indian security environment changed considerably there was both an opportunity and a need to discuss and institutionalize strategic issues. The government established the Institute for Defence and Security Analysis (IDSA) in November 1965. The Ministry of Defence finances the Institute, and the Minister of Defence is the head of the Institute Executive Council. The IDSA is a forum used in India for giving official speeches in the field of foreign, security, defence or nuclear policy.[51]. IDSA directors have been among the most influential strategic analysts in India. The first director Major General Som Dutt published his analysis of Indian deterrence in 1966. The second director Dr. K. Subrahmanyam, "*the strategic doyen of India*"[52], has arguably been the most active participator in security, nuclear and defence issues since 1964. He served first as a Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Defence and urged the Government to study the implications of the Chinese atomic bomb. Later as the IDSA director he campaigned for the independent Bangladesh and for India to exercise its nuclear option. The Janata Government appointed him Chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee, and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi took Subrahmanyam, now back at the IDSA, into his 1984 inter-disciplinary study group on security issues. The NDA Government needed Subrahmanyam to chair the National Security Advisory Board that formulated the Draft Nuclear Doctrine in 1998-1999. His successor at the IDSA, Air Commodore (retd.) Jasjit Singh has followed the practice of being active in public.

Of other military officers who have been active in strategic affairs, a domain that does not actually belong to the armed forces, one should mention Army General (retd) K. Sundarji, Admiral (retd) Raja Menon and Major (retd) Bhrama Chellany. General Krishnaswami Sundarji (formally Sundararajan), the commanding officer of the notorious *Operation Bluestar* in Amritsar in 1984, became a nationally known figure and thinker during his army career. He continued his strategic and defence analysis after retirement in his articles for *The Times of India* and in co-authorship with K. Subrahmanyam. As strategic planning and analysis is gradually becoming institutionalized retired armed forces officers are giving way to active service officers who participate in various groups and committees. Retired officers nevertheless still influence public opinion, an essential factor in modern Indian politics, with their comments and analysis.

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[51] The IDSA is considered the leading think tank in India and is appreciated in international ratings as well (McGann 2007).
[52] Jasjit Singh 1998, p. 6; Pant 2007, p. 246.

More important than the composition of the strategic elite is the worldview and lines of argumentation it has offered to public debate and political decision-makers. The nuclear establishment has fought for recognition. As will become clear in the following chapter on Indian nuclear policy from 1947 to 2004 they wanted their work to be appreciated and identified their prowess and achievements – and organizational status – with the future of India. Nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles were perceived as the supreme symbols of power and post-colonial sovereignty.[53] As international nuclear regimes threatened their work they countered with a normative stand that combined normative values such as sovereignty, non-discrimination and racial equality with nuclear policy. Of the Indian strategic elite the nuclear establishment held the most uncompromising position.[54]

What is common for politico-strategic analysts is their Realist, or better Neo-Realist worldview. The Indian strategic posture is as seen being determined by material facts where a real nuclear capability is the key element. Strategic analysts have in general advocated an overt nuclear posture, the majority and the most prominent being satisfied with a credible minimal deterrent which the post-Pokhran II governments have suggested.[55] Such analysts consider that nuclear weapons guarantee Indian security vis-à-vis China and Pakistan. For them deterrence as such matters more than warfighting capabilities and international prestige.

The armed forces worldwide have had ambiguous stands on nuclear weapons; they have not been uncritical nor necessarily proponents of nuclear weapons. Indian armed forces and the three services make no exception. It is safe to argue that Indian armed forces as an institution have a Realist worldview. This does not, however, determine the outcome of concrete political, administrative and doctrinal questions. What can be considered more important is the organizational imperative. Kampani argues that the introduction of a credible nuclear deterrence has led to bitter rivalry between the Army and the Air Force for the control of nuclear delivery systems. The Army controls the *Prithvi* ballistic missile system, whereas the Air Force has nuclear-capable fighter-bombers. The NDA government's decision to establish the separate Nuclear Forces Command was a disappointment for both services.[56] For the Navy, the development of a nuclear triad as suggested in the 1999 Draft Doctrine would inevitably

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[53] Kampani 2003, p. 62.
[54] Frey 2006, p. 194. For an example of this position, see e.g. Subrahmanyam 1977 and 1998.
[55] Kampani 2003, p. 63.
[56] Kampani 2003, p. 64.

mean a increase in size and prestige. The Navy would get nuclear weapons and new weapons platforms, ships and submarines with cruise and ballistic missiles. The institutionalization of strategic planning and analysis has not only professionalized the system but has also opened the door for new organizational powers to pursue their interests. What India therefore needs is a Chief of Defence Staff that could lead, harmonize and control the Armed Forces. This would be in line with the Indian desire to have and maintain ultimate political control over the military services.

The Main Political Parties

Indian National Congress Party

The Indian National Congress Party (INC) has had several ideological transformations. It was founded in 1885 to promote nationalist ideas and the independence of India. It began as a mass movement combining people and groups of different outlook. It had a rather liberal agenda in the beginning but gradually became radical – both politically and ideologically. However, the kind of liberalism the INC represented emphasized societal and national rather than individual rights.[57] Jawaharlal Nehru's influence in particular made the party formally omit socialist ideas and ideals from the 1955 Avadi party session.[58] Along with mild socialism the party has emphasized democracy and parliamentarism. In fact unity, secularism and modernity through economic and social reforms characterise the Congress as much as the Indian Union.

The Congress has always been fractionalized.[59] Its internal conflicts have mostly affected the party organization and local, i.e. state politics, but indirectly they have changed the Party and Indian politics as well. While Nehru was able to mediate and control factional and regional disputes within the Party his death was followed by an intense struggle for power. Under Indira Gandhi's rule the Party became dependent on her popularity and populist leadership to win elections and became less concerned with

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[57] Khilnani 1999, pp. 26-27.

[58] Vanhanen 1973, pp. 33-34; Brass 1994, p. 69.

[59] The Indian National Congress Party is also known as the Congress (I) Party where (I; Indira) refers to the party and the faction that remained loyal to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi after the National Emergency in 1975-1977. After the INC split in 1969 Indira Gandhi formed a party that became known as Congress (R) (R; Reform) while the original INC was known as Congress (O) (O; Organisation). Congress (O) later merged into the Janata Party. After Sonia Gandhi was elected the INC President a faction broke away and formed the 'National Congress Party'. Alongside the INC there is the Congress Parliamentary Party (CPP), which consists of the INC parliamentarians.

ideology and with the local party organization.[60] This gradually changed the political landscape in India firstly by opening doors to the opposition to win the national elections in 1977 and secondly it led to the rise of so-called Hindu nationalism in the 1980s and 1990s. This rise can also be explained by the general disappointment with Congress-led social and economic reforms, which did manage to alleviate poverty or break suppressive societal structures.

Another disturbing development has been that the INC has become a party dominated by the Nehru-Gandhi family. If one does not count Lal Bahadur Shastri's tenure of office in 1964–66, Narasimha Rao was the first Congress President and Prime Minister outside this family – after Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated in 1991.[61] His son Rahul is now entering national politics. One-family dominance makes the Congress vulnerable to the Party leader's personal charisma and relegates the importance of political questions in the national elections.

The Nehru-Gandhian and Congress Party dominance is based on the historical significance of the party and the popularity of its leaders but also on the fragmented party system in India.[62] Only the Janata party coalition in 1977 and the Bharatiya Janata Party in 1996, 1998 and 1999 have managed to beat the Congress Party in national elections. In state elections the Congress Party has become one party among others and in fact failed badly in Uttar Pradesh, the largest state of the Union.

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao together with his finance minister Manmohan Singh began to open up the Indian economy in the early 1990s. This move marks the latest transformation of Congress Party politics. Socialism and state-centrism forwarded by Jawaharlal Nehru was overtaken by the market economy and private enterprises. Brass gives several reasons for the departure from Nehruvian economic politics, the ideological reason being commitment fatigue where leftist politics is concerned. The public sector had become a "burden on the economy" rather than its motor. The external factors leading to liberalization were first and foremost the collapse of the Soviet Union, India's major trade partner, and the terms laid down by the International Monetary Fund when Manmohan Singh appealed for a large loan as India was on the verge of economic collapse.[63]

The INC still highly values Gandhi and Nehru, its former Presidents. Their

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[60] Brass 1994, pp. 71-72.
[61] In 1992 Rao became the first elected Congress Party President in twenty years.
[62] Brass 1994, pp. 74-75.
[63] Brass 1994, pp. 287-288.

examples are often remembered in the political statements the party and its leaders give. In general the 21st century speeches remind one of the ones Nehru gave, "*India's external strength will derive from our internal cohesion, the manner in which we nurture our secular values and strengthen our capacity to manage our diversities in harmony*".[64] Social and economic questions are likewise important and the Party wants to maintain and reinvigorate public systems[65] in order to expand welfare and equality in the society; economic growth is still an instrument of social transformation.[66] Yet as mentioned the Party has come the acknowledge to role of private initiatives, investments and enterprises.

The INC criticized the BJP-led Government for "*grave failures*" in foreign, security and defence issues in its 2004 election manifesto. Indian foreign policy related to Pakistan had been "*a saga of contradictions and confusion*" while U.S. relations were characterized by a "*lack of transparency*". The list included failures to reform and reorganize the defence forces and to modernize its equipment. The Congress on the other hand promised i.a. to reform defence organizations, to integrate the Defence Ministry with the Headquarters of the three services and to give officers a participatory role in the formulation of defence policy. In foreign policy the most important task was said to be retaining India's freedom of options, the "*essence of India's foreign policy on which Jawaharlal Nehru built a national consensus*". The new albeit conservative policy was to follow political realism.[67]

Today there is not much left of either Gandhian traditionalism or Nehruvian utopian socialism in the Congress Party. One hundred years of *Ahimsā* is commemorated but the 2004 election manifesto does not speak of it. Instead it promises more financial resources for the defence of the country and reiterated its commitment to "*maintaining a credible nuclear weapons programme*".[68] Building a higher command for nuclear and missile forces is but one example of the Congress' faith and commitment to nuclear deterrence.

Bharatiya Janata Party

The Bharatiya Janata Party has its organizational roots in Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS; National Volunteer's Organization) founded by

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[64] INC Economic Agenda 2004; quotation S. Gandhi 2006.
[65] S. Gandhi 2006.
[66] INC Economic Agenda 2004.
[67] INC Security Agenda 2004.
[68] INC Security Agenda 2004. This is repeated in the INC document *India's Nuclear Energy Programme & the 123 Agreement with the United States* (INC 123).

Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar in 1925. He had became worried about the security and rights of Hindus during thet communal riots in his hometown of Nagpur in Maharashtra. Together with organisational (man)power, the RSS built on the revival of Hindu tradition, reinterpreting Indian and Hindu history and first and foremost on nationalism. During the Indian independent movement the RSS advocated independence. But after the assassination of Gandhi by the former RSS member Nathuram Godse, the RSS was banned in 1948, though the Supreme Court lifted the ban in the following year. On account of these events it was considered necessary to form a political organization, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) party, to promote the political objectives of the RSS movement. The BJS grew gradually from a regional political force to a national force as the Congress lost support in the late 1960s and early 1970s. After the Emergency the BJS took office as part of the Janata Party coalition. Of the BJS leaders Atal Bihari Vajpayee became External Affairs Minister and L.K. Advani information and broadcasting minister. The BJS departed from the Janata Party and the Bharatiya Janata Party was formed in 1980. It gained nationwide support in the 1989 and 1991 general elections, becoming a major political force in national politics. It won three consecutive general elections in 1995, 1998 and 1999, and stayed in office from 1998 to the general elections in 2004.[69]

The BJP has its ideological roots in the doctrine of *Hindutva* developed by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. *Hindutva* is distinct from Hinduism, the system of religions Hindus follow, and it encompasses not only the religious but also cultural, linguistic, social and political aspects as well.[70] For its followers national unity is one of its most vital values. However, it is also criticized for homogenizing an originally pluralist Hinduism and Indian society and for being fascist, communal and religiously fundamentalist. The same labels have been applied to the BJP. Accusations stem from demonizing the Muslim faith and population and are encouraged by the cult of Rama-inspired communal and religious riots that do take place from time to time. Ayodhya, where the Muslim mosque of Babri Masjid built in the birthplace of Lord Rama was destroyed in 1992, represents these sentiments.[71] The military organization and practises of the RSS also helped to create the image of totalitarian ideals. Yet religion and culture are for the BJP more tools of political change than objectives as such. The BJP

[69] *BJP History*; Tamminen & Zenger 1998, pp. 112-117; van der Veer (1996), pp. 84-86.
[70] Savarkar in Raghuramaraju 2006, p. 78; Berglund 1997, p. 87.
[71] The town of Ayodhya was originally known as Sāketa. Scholars disagree whether Ayodhya can actually be equated with Sāketa. The cult itself supports right-wing nationalism as its political symbology centres around kingship and patriarchy (van der Veer 1996, p. 136). It therefore appeals to the conservative sentiments of the electorate. On the other hand, as stated before, Gandhi also drew from the Ramayana myth.

advocates, as did Savarkar, for a modernized, industrialized and militarily strong India. Its official goals are modern – including secularism – and nationalistic, and it follows parliamentary principles and practices.[72]

The party and its more moderate members try to emphasize the cultural dimension of *Hindutva* and downplay the religious-political exploitation of religious and communal differences and disputes. Jaswant Singh, External Affairs Minister from 1998 to 2002 and Finance Minister in from 2002 to 2004, explains that within Hinduism, a name he finds misleading, exists "*an almost unbelievable tolerance of varieties of both beliefs and practices*". The *Sanatan* ('eternal', 'for all') thought that he represents and identifies with Hinduism is inclusive and gives India its all-inclusiveness – and is at the core of Hindu nationalism and *Hindutva*.[73] Singh's reading of Hinduism/*Sanatan* thought is correct in its emphasis on plurality and tolerance. This is what Sen has said elsewhere. Where Singh gets lost is the linkage of the religious to the political. The very practice of *Hindutva* narrows this tolerance to something like fundamentalist behaviour. Here the belief of the majority overrides the rights of the minorities. The BJP thus delivers mixed messages.

One of these mixed messages is the attitude towards Muslims and other religious minorities. The BJP often reminds the electorate that it does not have anything against Muslim Indians and considers the majority of the Muslims as converts through force of circumstances, that they are Hindus "*in many essential ways*".[74] What is more problematic for minorities than this implicit insult to their faith are the communal riots and violence stemming from this emphasis and belief in a better and particular identity. That they historically date to British *divide et impera* politics and to the 1930s and 1940s cannot obscure the fact that they are often inspired by Hindu-only attitudes exploited by the party and its supporters. Thus, for the Congress the BJP represents the Other, not only because it is the only nationwide competitor, but because of its exclusiveness and communal tenets. The BJP for its part does not value the Nehru-Gandhi family and its achievements.[75]

Naturally one has to distinguish the ideology of the BJP and the politics the

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[72] Brass 1994, pp. 88-89; Raghuramaraju 2006, pp. 66-68, 77. See also the BJP election manifesto on the BJP homepage [www.bjp.org].
[73] Jaswant Singh 2006, pp. 33, 83-89.
[74] *BJP History.*
[75] For example, Jaswant Singh speaks of "*the baggage of Nehruvian legacies*" in which idealism and ad hocism has obscured national interests (Singh 2006, pp. 144-145, 160-164); Talbott 2004, pp. 133-134.

Party follows, or is able to follow, in coalition governments. The former is influenced by conservative or right-wing values and thoughts linked to the RSS, including its violent tenet. The latter is conducted according to, and limited by, partisan and parliamentary concerns and calculations. It is typical for the Party that in Union politics and national elections it has a rather modest, at least pragmatic, agenda but on the state-level its ideology comes to the surface. It would seem that the religious-nationalistic[76] ideology has reached its peak, and in order not to alienate the growing Indian middle-class the Party has to distance itself from its ideological roots. This not only makes its policy more moderate but also might repel some of its hard-line supporters. Therefore the BJP has to balance between *Hindutva* righteousness and political pragmatism and to try to include them both.

In foreign policy the BJP has been a staunch advocate of Indian sovereignty. Its supporters have opposed any foreign influence on Indian politics. Russia and China are also countered for ideological reasons and for regional security concerns. The United States is seen to have seriously undermined Indian national security by supporting Pakistan and posing nuclear and economic sanctions against India. Especially the BJP, like many Indians, are bitter at the U.S.-sponsored indefinite extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the pressure the Americans have exerted on India to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Needless to say, the BJP has been the strongest champion of Indian nuclear status. The Party nevertheless managed to develop Indo-U.S. relations and mutual understanding after the 1998 nuclear tests. This move exemplifies the Realist worldview and the pragmatist approach the Party has on quite a number of international issues.

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[76] This characterization is also found in e.g. Berglund (Berglund, 1997, pp. 78-79) and van der Veer (van der Veer 1996, p. 131).

III

Indian Foreign and Nuclear Policies 1947–2004

4 INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

When examining foreign policy a choice can be made between several competing and complementary perspectives and frameworks. Without returning to the scientific and especially ontological debates presented in the introduction some differing perspectives will be elaborated here.

The first question concerns the scope and essence of foreign policy; what is foreign policy? Discussing aspects of foreign policy, Kalevi Holsti mentions ideas and actions designed to solve a problem or promote some changes in the actions or attitudes of another state, in non-state actors, in the international economy or in the physical world. He sees four purposes common to all (contemporary) states: security, autonomy, welfare, status and prestige. Holsti's view is rational-strategic; states and governments act in order to promote their purposes, and the study of foreign policy involves looking at behaviour of these states and governments.[1] Hakovirta on the other hand understands foreign policy to mean the deliberate influence on external factors that affect the actor's goal and purposes.[2] One systemic alternative analysis could thus include external factors, the domestic context, the decision-making process and the actions taken.

Similarly, one could take a closer look at one particular element of what has been described above or of another framework. Robert Dahl defines the political system in terms of control, influence, power or authority,[3] and these elements could form analytical tools in an analysis. David Mitchell, for example, has looked at different managerial styles in foreign policy decision-making.[4] A.C. Kapur, for his part, does not explicitly define foreign policy but considers that the conduct of foreign relations includes

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[1] Holsti 1995, pp. 83-84, 250-253.
[2] Hakovirta 2002, p. 152.
[3] Dahl 1995, p. 12.
[4] Mitchell 2005.

the reception and dispatch of diplomatic agents, and that the essential ordering principles and conditions are sovereignty, independence and mutual dependence.[5]

David Campbell criticizes contemporary and conventional foreign policy analysis for being too state-centric, understanding foreign policy as "*an internally mediated response to an externally induced situation of ideological, military and economic threats*". He distances himself from Rosenau's metaphor of foreign policy as a bridging discipline, bridging states to other states and states to international system, a contemporary approach also represented by e.g. Kalevi Holsti and A.C. Kapur. Campbell, on the contrary, claims that the essence in foreign policy is the discourses of danger, emphasizing the foreign that is seen as threatening us, drawing lines and boundaries instead of connecting people.[6]

The key point is firstly the operationalization of the concepts and contents chosen, and secondly the research question. Operationalization both narrows and focuses the scope of the study, revealing the ontological assumptions the researcher has. Such assumptions ought to be in line with the purposes of the study, otherwise one is not studying the issue, subject or phenomenon one is claiming to examine.

The following examination of Indian foreign policy has a rather conventional approach. Its point of departure and the principle of operationalization is how Indian politicians and scholars themselves have understood foreign policy, its goals and objectives, as well as the ways and means of implementing it. This is not to claim that dissident voices are not represented in India – indeed, the truth is very much the opposite – but the chosen ontology is seen to be in line with the research question. My thesis question is thus concerned with the contents of Indian foreign (and nuclear) policies as argued by Indian politicians. If these arguments then contain, and the analyses reveal, ideas or action that follow, say, Political Realism or discourses of fear and exclusion remains to be seen. No possible interpretation is excluded *a priori*.

Jawaharlal Nehru described Indian foreign policy as an attempt "*to combine idealism with national interest*." He went further to list the main objectives as the pursuit of peace, the liberation of subjected peoples, the maintenance of freedom, the elimination of racial discrimination, and the elimination of war.[7] Nehru often returned to the idea of combining realism

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[5] A.C. Kapur 1996, p. 585.
[6] Campbell 1998, pp. 36-51; also Walker 1993, pp. 60-66, on (troublesome) sovereignty, spatial resolution and the distinction between the domestic and the international.
[7] Nehru at Columbia University on October 17, 1949, quoted in Berkes and Bedi 1958, p. 1. These objectives later came to be known as the "cardinal principles".

and idealism in foreign policy, but came to the conclusion that at the end of the day "*all foreign policy concerns itself chiefly with the national interest of the country concerned*".[8]

Nehru had high ambitions for India's role in the world, his model for international role-playing having three components: rhetorical, emulative and mediatory.[9] The rhetorical component was manifested in India's desire to speak on behalf of other subjugated nations. Especially colonialism and racism were heavily attacked. The emulative role was possible as many newly-independent nations were interested in the Indian model of non-alignment and an active foreign policy. Finally, due to her non-alignment India was both eager and able to offer good offices and mediate in the handling of international crises.

Examining the first sixteen years of independent Indian foreign policy R. Bhaskaran has stressed both its continuity and its philosophically rooted approach that makes it different from the Western model.[10] Paul F. Power mentions six ideological currents that operate within Indian foreign policy: anti-imperialism, neutralism, neo-Marxism, Gandhism, liberal internationalism and Hindu nationalism.[11] Both emphasize non-alignment or neutrality as the leading principle of the Nehru-Gandhi era.

Harish Kapur in his analysis characterizes Indian foreign policy according to four persistent goals, namely the quest for security, the diplomacy of development, regional hegemony and the search for an international role. The quest for security is concerned with external threats, the internal or domestic context and the strategic environment. The diplomacy of development is based on the need to guarantee stable economic development in the country. Regional hegemony, on the other hand, recognizes the importance of the subcontinent and India's neighbours in its foreign policy. Kapur also refers to India's size and technological achievements that are congruous with her role as a regional hegemon. A larger international role is considered desirable as India has perceived herself to be a major actor in the international forum. This goal has evolved through the years, and has been shared by all Prime Ministers.[12] Sujit Dutta mentions the "inter-related goals" of Indian foreign policy as being an autonomous, independent role in world affairs, the industrial and scientific conditions for real independence and security, and ensuring security and the rightful place in the global structures and regimes.[13] P.L. Bhola, for his part, outlines the

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[8] Nehru to Michael Brecher (Brecher 1959, p. 217).
[9] H. Kapur 1994, pp. 124-130.
[10] Bhaskaran 1977, pp. 15-20.
[11] Power 1977, pp. 22-36.
[12] H. Kapur 1994, pp. 10, 17-18, 55, 120; H. Kapur 2002, pp. 247, 353.
[13] Dutta 1999, p. 46.

general foreign policy framework according to the following objectives: i) to safeguard territorial integrity, national sovereignty and political independence ii) to promote international peace, security and cooperation so that a congenial environment is created for developmental activity and iii) to achieve a status and to articulate a role both regional and global commensurate with India's size, population and resources.[14]

The Indian National Congress in its 2004 election manifesto follows many of the above approaches. It lists the "abiding principles" of foreign policy as equality among states, commitment to peace, attention to economic well-being and the defence of the country. Following these principles, Indian foreign policy is pursued though a number of actors and important issues. The major powers of the United States, the European Union, the Russian Federation, China and Japan are of importance to India as well as the ASEAN, the SAARC and the UN. Specific issues that are considered vital to the foreign policy agenda of the Congress Party include non-alignment and nuclear weapons together with nuclear-related confidence-building measures.[15] Not surprisingly, the Ministry of External Affairs in its reports sees foreign policy in terms of neighbours, major powers, regions and organizations.[16]

In the following analysis of Indian foreign relations before the Manmohan Singh United Progressive Alliance Government, foreign policy is discussed from the perspective of the above-described general terms. The analysis now focuses on the main areas and issues of Indian foreign policy as defined by Indians themselves. The main dividing line is geographical proximity. Both regional and global issued are considered. Regional issues include bilateral relations with neighbouring countries, most notably China and Pakistan, whereas global issues include relations with the major powers together with the Indian policy in the United Nations. Relations with the United States are emphasized because whereas China is an existential factor in Indian *nuclear policy* the United States plays an active role that New Delhi has to take into account. In fact, one could tentatively suggest that Indian nuclear policy is conditioned by her relations to the U.S. Any regionally ordered analysis would inevitably contain elements relevant to several regions; especially wars and other major turning points tend to include many players. To some extent regional and global issues will overlap in my analysis, but this is necessary in order to gain a wider picture of Indian foreign policy.

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[14] Bhola 2001, p. 2.
[15] INC Security Agenda 2004.
[16] MEA Annual Reports 2000-2006.

Regional Relations: Pakistan and China

Pakistan

The diversity of India-Pakistan issues is vast, including partition, nuclear weapons and environmental questions. At the core of the India-Pakistan relations is the question of Kashmir.[17]

Kashmir the former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir consists nowadays of several administrative regions. The regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh are on the Indian side of the Line of Control. The districts of Mirpur and Muzzafarabad (also called Azad Jammu and Kashmir) and the Northern Territories are on the Pakistan side.[18] The Kashmir issue is a complex one, and no common ground for naming, interpreting or solving it has yet been found. The major concerns about Kashmir focus on India's or Pakistan's historical and constitutional right to the region, or on the desired autonomy or independence of the people living there.

The ongoing crisis stems from the partition of British India in 1947, yet it contains features of a battle between a remote area and the central government. The Indian Independence Act left the princely states legally independent and their rulers were given the choice to freely accede to either India or Pakistan, or to remain independent. However, geographical and ethnic issues should have been considered before the decision was made. Maharajah Hari Singh, the Hindu ruler of the mostly Muslim-populated Kashmir, did not exercise the option immediately, and soon faced open revolt, the intrusion of tribal and regular Pakistani troops, and increased pressure from New Delhi to join the Union.[19] The Maharajah signed the Instrument of Accession (to India) on October 26, 1947, and the Indian troops entered the region and began to engage in fighting with the intruders. There are reasonable claims that the Muslim majority of the region would have wanted to join Pakistan, and that the Indian troops had already entered Kashmir before Hari Singh signed the Instrument. A more practical

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[17] Again, words and speech are important. Pakistan speaks of the "core issue of Kashmir", emphasizing the importance of solving the "Kashmir issue" first, and enhancing her relations with India later. My choices of words, phrases or names do not intend to promote any claims or statements made by the involved states, organisations or individuals. Indians have countered the Pakistani position on Kashmir by stating that Kashmir "lies at the core of India". South Asia, or the Subcontinent, contains other areas of tension, like Sri Lanka, and Nepal, but they are not elaborated in this thesis.
[18] Cohen 2001, p. 212. Both administrations' views and official statements on the situation are available at: http://jammukashmir.nic.in/ (Indian) and at: http://www.klc.org.pk/ (Pakistani). To further complicate the picture, one has to keep in mind that China is directly involved in the region, as there is a contested border between China and India.
[19] Rizvi 1993, pp. 45-46.

and political problem is that the region's incorporation into the Indian Union was to be subjected to a plebiscite. This is yet to be held despite the United Nations Security Council Resolution on August 13, 1948 calling for it. The resolution has three parts, the first determining the cease-fire between India and Pakistan, the second is a truce agreement which also provides the mechanism for the plebiscite, and the third concerns both countries' reaffirmation to determine the wish of the people. To follow the mechanism for referendum would oblige Pakistan to withdraw all its troops, and India to withdraw the bulk of its troops from the region. Under the continued and current mistrust between the nations this cannot be obtained. A further complication is that the Kashmiri people might actually want independence – which both governments would veto.[20]

The question of Kashmir is mostly matter of identity. On the state level it is about the secular/sectarian identity and future of the successor states of the British Raj. The Indian Union is, by definition and constitution, a secular state, and Indian politicians themselves emphasize the nation's "unity in diversity". Kashmir belonging to Pakistan, or as an independent state, would undermine that policy and principle.[21] Furthermore, Indians argue, such a development would lead to the marginalization of the Muslim majority. It would cause another Hindu-Muslim bloodbath, and would encourage other separatist movements to increase their struggle against the central government in New Delhi.[22] For Pakistan the opposite is true. The nation's existence was built on the idea of a separate country, a homeland for the Muslims of British India. Many Pakistanis sincerely believe that India does not accept the two-nation theory of their founding father Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Pakistan would not be complete without Kashmir, and the Pakistan government has constantly refused to turn the Line of Control into an international border.[23] The state and future of Kashmir is a litmus test for both secular India and sectarian Pakistan.

India and Pakistan have fought three wars, of which the wars of 1947–48 and 1965 had a direct bearing on and consequences for the Kashmir question. In the 1971 Indo-Pakistan war, the main focus was on East Pakistan, but this on account of the 1965 war.[24] The most recent state level conflict concerning Kashmir took place at Kargil in May-July 1999. Some 2000 militants from Pakistan crossed the Line of Control and occupied high

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[20] Numerous studies and memoirs have been written about partition and the Kashmir issue. See, for example, Schofield 2000; von Tunzelmann 2007; or Ziegler 1986.

[21] Rizvi 1993, p. 62.

[22] Thomas 1993, pp. 29-32. New Delhi has been fighting against local and regional movements in Assam, Punjab, Sindh, Andhra Pradesh, and Arunachal Pradesh.

[23] Gupta 1995, p. 53. See also Nehru 1947, speaking of "*brothers and sisters who have been off from us by political boundaries*" [and who] "*are of us and will remain of us*".

[24] Rizvi 1993, p. 74.

ground, thus threatening the only road between the state capital Srinagar and the town of Leh, and the line of communication to the Indian troops deployed on the Siachen Glacier in northeaster Kashmir. India responded by ground force attacks and air force strikes and by preparing for a counter-offensive in Rajastan. Indian troops however, limited their operations to their side of the Line of Control. Air strikes and skirmishes lasted some ten weeks. International pressure, mostly from the United States, finally forced Pakistan to ask the 'Kashmiri freedom fighters' to withdraw. It was alarming that both India and Pakistan were preparing their regular units for further offensive actions.[25]

What were the reasons, and ambitions, behind the militants' or governmental activities is not clear. For the purposes of this paper it is sufficient to mention both India's doubts about the involvement of the Pakistani military, especially the then Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan's reluctance or inability to control and stop the various militant movements, and India's steadily increased paramilitary and military activity in Kashmir. It is one thing that the situation between the two countries is severe, but as the conflict has continued, the life and economic wellbeing of the Kashmiri people has deteriorated. The nature of the conflict has changed. What, for the first four decades, was mostly a political conflict between two states and their armed forces, has since the end of the Cold War become linked to matters of culture, religion and ethnicity. Human rights abuses and cross-border terrorism testify to that.[26]

What makes conflicts like Kashmir disturbing is their possibility of escalating into full-scale wars. On the subcontinent the likelihood of this happening is clearly present. This is not to claim that either Indian or Pakistani leaders are irrational warmongers, but antagonism does exist, and domestic support for offensive actions can be gained. This climate of opinion helped trigger events like Kargil, the December 13, 2001 terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament, and Operation *Parakram* that followed the attack. Given the possession of nuclear weapons, unspecified nuclear doctrines and underdeveloped nuclear command and control relations and systems, the consequences of another Indo-Pakistan war could be devastating. The risk of an accidental or unintended use of nuclear weapons is considered to be high as well. Prestige and domestic and internal political issues also seem to outweigh security considerations in decision-making in nuclear-related questions.[27]

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[25] Synnott 1999, pp. 35-37; Sagan 2002, p. 200; Talbott 2004, pp. 156-169 ; Jaswant Singh 2006, pp. 204-209. For General Musharraf's narrative, see Musharraf 2006, pp. 87-98.

[26] The local battle for the independence of Kashmir that goes on alongside the international territorial-constitutional-juridical dispute will not be discussed in this thesis.

[27] Perkovich 2000, pp. 446-455.

To solve, or at least control, their disputes, India and Pakistan frequently engage in high-level talks and dialogue. These dialogues usually take place after a certain crisis, as suggested by negotiation theories. Crises challenge established core values, attitudes and beliefs, make decision-makers re-think, and are thus part of the learning process that might lead to changes in behaviour.[28] Concrete progress in the case of Indo-Pakistani talks is often hard to see, but participation – social interaction – is a value in itself. Although largely ineffectual in practice, one of the most far-reaching political agreements to be signed is the 1972 Simla Agreement. In the Simla Agreement on bilateral relations, which was signed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the countries agreed to solve their differences by peaceful means and through bilateral negotiations. It also lists steps to be taken to restore and normalize bilateral relations.[29] The Agreement itself has become a political tool, but not a practical roadmap for the two governments. New Delhi constantly refers to the Agreement as it implicitly denies the involvement of any third party and recognizes each other's territorial integrity. Islamabad has often denounced the Agreement as it was signed when Pakistan was at her weakest after its defeat in the 1971 war. It nevertheless offers a basis for improving relations – whenever the political climate for that exists.

One of the most recent political initiatives began in January 2004 when Prime Minister Vajpayee and General Musharraf issued a Joint Statement establishing an eight-point Composite Dialogue. The agenda covers Peace and Security, including CBMs; Jammu & Kashmir and Siachen; Sir Creek; Tulbul/Wullar, Baglihar and Kishenganga; Terrorism & Drug Trafficking; Economic & Commercial Cooperation; and Promotion of Friendly Exchanges in Various Fields. The concrete results of the ongoing dialogue are first and foremost continued dialogue and meetings between various politicians, officials, experts and the military. This dialogue concerns proposals on confidence-building, friendly exchanges, and enhanced trade and economic co-operation, as well as and the establishment of a new category of visa which would promote group tourism. The countries seem to have reached an understanding on issues of common interest like nuclear and conventional confidence-building measures (CBMs), counter-narcotics and the Iran-Pakistan-India pipeline. However, interests are divided they remain divided. All territorial questions are difficult to tackle. India would settle for piecemeal solutions but Pakistan is suspicious of Indian commitment to find lasting settlement. For example Jammu & Kashmir-centred CBMs would undermine the Pakistani position and create a situation

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[28] Hampson 1999, pp. 34, 73.
[29] The agreement is available e.g. at:
http://www.stimson.org/southasia/?sn=sa20020114291 or at
http://www.indianembassy.org/policy/Kashmir/shimla.htm (September 9, 2004).

favourable to India, thus making her lose interest in settling the crisis. Similarly, India has refused to demilitarize the region and put it under joint management as Pakistan proposed.[30]

India and Pakistan nevertheless announced in September 2004 their determination to solve the Kashmir issue according the to letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement as well as settle all bilateral matters.[31] Cricket and bus connections were established earlier. It might be significant in the long run that the nations have allowed journalists from the other side of the borderto visit their administered areas and meet people. This could hopefully help to rewrite the national discourses on the central issue of Kashmir.

In the aftermath of the severe crisis of the 1983-84, 1986-87 and 1990, and the 1998 nuclear test explosions, the two countries have developed and established some new confidence-building measures and started to engage in nuclear risk reduction measures (NRRMs). These include non-attack agreement concerning each other's nuclear facilities,[32] non-intrusion of air space, establishment of communication links between field commanders along the Line of Control, and prior notification of certain military exercises and troop manoeuvres. The development, production, acquirement, or use of chemical weapons is prohibited as well.[33] The most impressive list of NNRMs is included in the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed by the foreign secretaries during the 1999 Lahore summit. In addition to the general commitment to bilateral consultations on security concepts, nuclear doctrines and the development of CBMs, the MoU contains the following points:
- [both sides] undertake to provide each other with advance notification with respect to ballistic missile flight tests, and shall conclude a bilateral agreement in this regard
- undertake national measures to reduce the risks of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons, with a promise to notify each other immediately in the event of any such event
- continue to abide by their unilateral moratorium on conducting further nuclear test explosions
- shall conclude an agreement on prevention of incidents at sea
- shall review the implementation of existing CBMs
- shall review the existing communication links
- shall engage in bilateral consultations on security, disarmament and

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[30] Manjunath, Sridhar & Anand 2006, pp. 1-5.

[31] *The Dawn*, September 9, 2004.

[32] In the mid-1980s that India Pakistan feared would have wanted to follow Israel's example from 1981 when she attacked and destroyed Osiraq, Iraq's nuclear reactor construction. Kahuta, the Pakistani enrichment facility would have been a similar strategic target for the Indian Air Force.

[33] The Henry L. Stimson Center 2004.

non-proliferation issues.[34]

Nevertheless, the fundamental dilemma is the same: in order to proceed one has to trust another. This trust is hard to earn as positive experiences are few and are overshadowed by a negative history and bad practices. As Michael Krepon states:

> *Rhetorical pronouncements have usually been advanced to place "the other" at a political disadvantage. The impulse for negotiating CBMs has usually followed wars or crisis on the Subcontinent and waned after a crisis has passed.*[35]

One needs only to point to the 1999 Lahore Declaration where the letter and spirit of Simla were reiterated and where the parties agreed to intensify their efforts to solve all issues, Jammu and Kashmir included. All these efforts were made one and a half months before Kargil. On the other hand, the most important points of the Lahore MoU, prior notification of ballistic missile flight tests and a unilateral nuclear test explosion moratorium have been fulfilled despite the lack of any formal agreements.

If anarchy is what states make of it, and is not a given, it is, nevertheless, a persistent state of affairs. Indo-Pakistani security system can be described as "competitive", or to quote Wendt's famous 1992 article in such a system:

> *states identify negatively with each other's security that ego's gain is seen as alter's loss* [thus] *collective action is nearly impossible in such a system because each actor must constantly fear being stabbed in the back.*[36]

Relative, not absolute gain is important as states compare and compete with each other, and not only on the cricket field. One can also argue that the nation-building processes of both India and Pakistan have created and fostered negative perceptions of each other.[37]

Regional co-operation is needed to increase trust and change perceptions and practices on the both sides of the border. Regional initiatives and co-

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[34]"Memorandum of Understanding" 21 February,1999.

[35] Krepon 2001, p.11.

[36] Wendt 1992, p. 400.

[37] Even then Pakistani president General Zia ul-Haq seemed to agree with the importance of images and identities as he stated in 1982 that *"The political leadership as well as the media on both sides have a vital role to play in educating public opinion on the right lines. Facts, responsibly presented, would automatically correct the distorted images seen through the emotional looking glass"* (Chari 1999). See also Cohen 2001, pp. 198-200.

operation that focus on the infected issues (with their infected history) has led to only minor achievements, where deadlocks are more common than the implementation of existing treaties and agreements. Instead, competition has been rewarded and altruism punished. Co-operation outside the sub-continent might prove to be mutually beneficial as well as possible and feasible. The negative experiences of the past should be replaced by the positive enterprises of the future.

South Asian nations' co-operation is, by nature, excluding and security oriented. It focuses on the exclusion of one's potential opponents and mainly achieves only relative gains. To strive for more, at least in military matters, would be premature in the current political atmosphere of distrust and suspicion; comprehensive confidence-building measures with their openness and transparency are merely wishful thinking. Competition is more important than mutual co-operation. Given the existing and pre-scribed energy needs throughout South Asia, it should be possible to find a common interest in energy issues. Oil, gas, and pipelines could form a basis for interregional co-operation that could provide all participants with absolute gains.

If the needs for energy, especially carbohydrates, are growing, the obstacles to reaching it are enormous. Plans have been made to construct pipelines from Chardzhou in Turkmenistan to Mumbay and Kolkata in India and further to Bangladesh, as well as from Asaluyeh in Iran to India.[38] However, the rationality and feasibility of these various proposals is affected by a series of technical, economic, political and security calculations. The shortest distance from both Central Asia and Iran to India goes through Pakistan, a fact that seriously affects decision-making in New Delhi. The question is not so much whether to build the pipelines or not, but where and when. The shortest route from Iran to India would naturally be the cheapest and easiest pipeline to build as it would pass through relatively flat areas. Another option is to lay the pipeline either on the edge of the continental shelf off Pakistan or on the seabed of the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean. The price of these underwater options would be considerably higher, and the construction more difficult.[39] Another solution is to haul liquid natural gas in tankers.

Transporting energy via Pakistani territory divides views in India. Security concerns focus on Pakistan as a reliable partner and on the internal situation in Pakistan. Various international and technical arrangements have been proposed to guarantee that India will actually get gas and will not be

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[38] Kiesow 2003, p. 42.
[39] According to the 2004 estimates the price of these options would be approx. US$ 10-12 billion instead of the US$ 3.5 billion for the overland option.

blackmailed. The pipeline could be owned and operated by an international consortium, American companies could participate, India would pay only for delivered gas, and the spigots would be based in Iran and India, not in Pakistan.[40] As Pakistan would receive up to US$ 500-600 million per year in transit revenues, she would also benefit from the functioning pipeline. Naturally, Pakistan would get her gas at a lower unit price if both countries were customers. However, even if Islamabad guaranteed to obey the agreements, the same could not be said of various non-state actors, both in Pakistan and elsewhere. The pipeline would be an ideal target to terrorists and criminals of all kinds, from those opposing local politicians to those fighting against world capitalism and the United States. Therefore strong voices are heard for the underwater options.

The benefits of building, and having, a pipeline would nevertheless be huge and not only economically. A joint project involving primarily India, Pakistan, and Iran, primarily, and secondarily the United States and the international community, would be an opportunity to break free from troubled and paranoid perceptions and constructions of the enemy. As Indo-Pakistani relations have improved, the project has gained fresh impetus, and Pakistan in particular is keen to make progress on the project. A single project of this calibre could neatly bypass Islamabad's traditional "Kashmir first" position vis-à-vis India.[41]

As stated earlier, the security system in South Asia could be characterized as competitive. Mutual trust is lacking, and co-operation for joint gain is difficult. Nevertheless, a common ground for co-operation in the form of the Simla Agreement, and the Lahore Declaration and its MoU has been cleared. If the outcomes of co-operation were positively interdependent, and potential gains could not be achieved without it, then the necessary conditions for co-operation would exist. And co-operation, according to a constructivist analysis, helps to transfer the identities and interests of the participants. They would internalize new understandings of self and other, acquire new role identities, and would encourage trust. The first step in the transformation process is the breakdown of consensus about identity commitments and established patterns of thinking;[42] for India a break with her paranoid fear of encirclement and conspiracy, and for Pakistan her Islamic front-state image. This step would be followed by critical examination of these longstanding ideas of self and other, and the interaction that had maintained these ideas.[43] "Kashmir" is the common nominator for both states in this respect. It could be argued that the Indian position to accept the Line of Control as the international border and the current Pakistani

[40] Sengupta 2004.
[41] *The Hindu*, September 9, 2004.
[42] Wendt 1992, pp. 416-418, 420; Hampson 1999, p. 34.
[43] Wendt 1992, pp. 420; Hampson 1999, pp. 25-26.

view to offer the hand of co-operation is a result of such a critical examination and rethinking, implicit but nevertheless practised. Finally, such rethinking would be extended to the ideas and identities about the other. Transformative practices would teach other states that one's own state can be trusted and should not be seen as a security threat to others.[44]

In the case of the "pipeline of peace", the Indo-Iranian-Pakistani pipeline, India has a key role in defining whether her potential gains could be realized by unilateral action, that is excluding Pakistan. Her share of the economically most lucrative overland option would be approximately 20 percent (US$ 650 million) compared to paying the majority of the costs the more expensive underwater projects. New Delhi also has to clarify whether it prioritizes relative or absolute gains, whether it is more important to defeat Pakistan even with minor victories or to gain maximum absolute benefit. Pakistan is not in a position to decide for India, and her ability to establish such a project unilaterally is questionable. President Musharraf and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh were at least on the right track at the September 2004 United Nations General Assembly when they stated that (the gas project could) "*contribute to the welfare and prosperity of people of both countries and should be considered in the larger context of expanding trade and economic relations*".[45] A remote and theoretical possibility to build a pipeline from Central Asia to Pakistan exists, but it would require pacification of Afghanistan and the route would pass mountainous terrain.

One problem with identity transformation is that it is time consuming and there is also a risk of a negative identification. The problem with the identity transformation is firstly that this takes time and secondly that negative identification is similarly possible. The phenomenon of path-dependence, the persistence of a previously-followed line of action also makes institutional changes and the breaking of mental maps difficult, or at least slow. Early parts of a sequence seem to matter much more than later ones, therefore the question of timing and sequencing is crucial for success. Though this line of argument is most applicable to economics it can arguably have some relevance in political science and International Relations, as well.[46] To keep the process of identity transformation positive unilateral initiatives with low start-up costs and self-binding commitments are needed. In fact, path-dependence and positive feedback could actually hasten the process.[47] The pipeline project offers the two nations a history-

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[44] Wendt 1992, p. 421.

[45] BBC, "*'Historic' S Asia meeting hailed*" (September 24, 2004). It should be mentioned that Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf was born in Delhi and the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh was born near Islamabad.

[46] Pierson 2004, pp. 11, 30-44.

[47] Wendt 1992, p. 421. This is similar to the tit-for-tat strategy of traditional game theories. These theories, however, focus almost entirely on the behaviour and products

free chance to engage in such actions, to improve their self-and-other images, and to learn to trust.

China

Of all India's foreign relations those with China would seem to have fluctuated most. After an initial period of in which the relations between the two newly-formed states were established, a period of deteriorating relations followed from the mid 1950s onwards which lasted for two decades. When the Janata Party came to power in 1977 it deliberately began to strengthen India's relations with her neighbours, including China. Finally after the Cold War both countries were faced with new mostly economic challenges and opportunities and they have become competitors in many fields, not least in attracting Western investors.

Despite the disputes, both countries have much in common. They have shared similar views on principal issues of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-interventionism. They have emphasized equality, sovereignty and integrity. Quite often they have been staunch opponents of the U.S.-led Western world or Western opinion. Yet in practice the countries have had problems connecting with each other. One of the reasons has been the Great Game for supremacy the three superpowers played during the Cold War; another reason is the geopolitical thinking in both India and China hindered them from normalizing their mutual relations. Moreover, the sheer size of both nations easily turns them into competitors as neither resources nor prestige cannot be equally shared between them.

Naturally, China and India have interacted with each other well before Indian independence and the Chinese revolution. One cannot speak of foreign relations in the sense the term is usually understood but more of the cultural, scientific, religious and commercial influence and interaction between the Indian and Chinese peoples. The spread of Buddhism from India and Nepal to China and Tibet might be the most illuminating example. Sen recognizes the importance Buddhism had in establishing Sino-Indian relations, but wants to highlight the role of trade and commerce and the intellectual exchange of ideas and scholars.[48] In this equation China seems to have had a surplus of goods and India a surplus of intellectuals.

During the British rule in India Sino-Indian relations were subject to Imperial needs and governed by Her Majesty's Government in London and the Viceroy in New Delhi. When the Chinese Republic was established in 1911 a new opportunity for the Indian nationalist movement (the Indian

and do not recognize the socially constructive nature of cooperation.
[48] Sen 2006, pp. 161-169.

National Congress) arose to find partners in opposing imperialism and colonialism. When the Japanese invaded China in 1937 the Congress declared their support for China and sent a medical mission to there.[49] However, one should remember that within the Indian nationalist movement some backed the Japanese invasion of Burma hoping that it would hasten the demise of the British rule in India. When the People's Republic of China was established India was one of the first to recognize the Communist Government. Given the main objectives Nehru had in mind this recognition as well as the later recognitions of decolonialized countries is understandable. India continuously supported Beijing's accession to the United Nations.[50]

One of the first tests of Sino-Indian relations was the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950. India was forced to apply the Nehruvian combination of idealism and realism in its reactions to the Chinese ambitions. She defended the right of the Tibetan people to be heard, but at the same time never denounced Chinese suzerainty over Tibet.[51] China and before that the Nationalist China had accused India of having ambitions in the regions or only serving the interests of the Western countries. When the Tibetans accepted this in May 1951 it ended the balancing act New Delhi had tried to maintain, and Sino-Indian relations started to advance. Bindra gives two main reasons for the change: Beijing responded to India's friendly policy and changed its approach to international affairs.[52] The countries signed an agreement on trade and exchange between India and Tibet in 1954. In the agreement India gave up all extra-territorial rights and privileges held of the British Government in Tibet and recognized Tibet as part of China. This was *Realpolitik*, though in the idealistic preamble of the agreement the countries listed five principles[53] that would guide their mutual relations. They promised to respect each other's territorial integrity sovereignty and to follow the principles of non-aggression, non-interference, equality and peaceful co-existence.[54] This lasted for some three months.

China began to accuse India of violating the Sino-Indian border. The essential question is which part of the border. The border between the countries is 4,248 kilometres long. It can be divided into the western section between Afghanistan and Nepal, into the central section between Nepal and Bhutan[55] and into the eastern section between Bhutan and Miyanmar. There were two main areas of contention: Aksai Chin in

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[49] Bindra 1984, p. 89.
[50] Berkes & Bedi 1958, pp. 31-32; Bindra 1984, pp. 87, 92.
[51] Bindra 1984, pp. 93-95.
[52] Bindra 1984, p. 96.
[53] Also know as *Panchsheel*.
[54] K. Singh 1998.
[55] This includes Bhutan as her external relations and defence is subject to Indian control.

Ladakh in the west and Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh in the east, also known as the North-Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA) (and now known as the State of Arunachal Pradesh). There have been at least two opposing interpretations of the correct boundaries. These resulted from imprecise surveys and maps and from the lack of explicit agreements between the predecessor states.[56]

China gradually strengthened her position in Tibet and started to build a military highway across the disputed Aksai Chin area in 1956. She also deployed troops in the region and along the McMahon line in the east. Nehru responded by adopting the determined foreign policy of sending Indian troops to patrol and build check-posts in the regions, even in Chinese territory. The Governments accused one another of violations, exchanged notes but refused to negotiate. India acquired military equipment from the Soviet Union, Nehru believing that if his determined policy did not succeed then the Indian army would repel intruders. Confrontation and skirmishes led to a war in September 1962, and fighting took place in Aksai Chin and in NEFA, but nowhere else along the borderline. The Indian army found itself outmanoeuvred and was pushed back behind Chinese claim lines. Beijing announced a ceasefire after some 40 days of fighting; Nehru did not publicly confirm the ceasefire though he privately agreed to it.[57] China kept what she had considered strategically vital for her, Aksai Chin surrounding her line of communication, though was returned to north of the McMahon line.

The 1962 war humiliated India and Prime Minister Nehru. India was forced to ask the United States and Britain for arms aid, the war revealed how weak the Indian Army was, and it seriously diminished Nehru's belief in peaceful co-existence and the peaceful solution of conflicts.[58] The defeat also showed that the determined, even aggressive foreign policy Nehru tried to pursue could not succeed if the armed forces were so weak and neglected as they were in the early 1960s. More seriously, the war led Pakistan to assume that India was weak and to consider military means to gain Kashmir. After the war India began to proceed on two fronts: she started to upgrade her armed forces and sought for a military alliance with the only possible partner left, the Soviet Union.

Many Indians have believed that China's foreign policy in South Asia and

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[56] Calvin 1984. In Aksai Chin the competing interpretations were the Johnson-Ardakh line (Indian) and the MacDonald- McCartney line (Chinese). In NEFA the question concerned the McMahon line from 1913-14, which China had never recognized.
[57] Calvin 1984.
[58] Nehru had a strong distaste for armed forces and for military means to try to solve disputes (Cohen 2001, p. 128).

concerned India was intended to flank her.[59] New Delhi has been very cautious whenever the Chinese collaborate with India's neighbours. China in fact settled border issues and signed agreements with Nepal (1960), Burma (1960) and Pakistan (1963), and from the late 1950s onwards became a closer ally to Pakistan. One of the threat scenarios was that China might have cut off NEFA by making an offensive through Sikkim to the Border of East Pakistan, while India would have been engaged with West Pakistan in Kashmir and in the west. India on the other hand has wanted to have a buffer zone between herself and China. India's strategic and military position did not improve when China detonated her first nuclear devise in 1964. This made Indians even more determined to strengthen their armed forces and continue with nuclear research, albeit at least officially for peaceful purposes only.[60]

After the victorious 1971 war with Pakistan, in which Pakistan was partitioned into two independent countries, and after the Simla Agreement with Pakistan Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi considered it time to normalize relations with China, too. In 1974 India conducted a 'peaceful nuclear explosion' test, and Mrs. Gandhi was again elected, and in 1975 she decided to restore diplomatic relations with China. She nevertheless felt it necessary to draw a line. According to this stand, which became known as the Indira Doctrine, no foreign power would be allowed to cross the crest of the Himalayas, and India would consider the presence or influence of an external power in the region as adverse to its interest, unless that power recognized Indian predominance.[61] Though this doctrine warned any external power against intervening in e.g. Kashmir, referring to the crest of Himalayas sent a clear message to Beijing.

The Janata coalition won the next elections in 1977 and it too felt it necessary to normalize relations with China. The then Foreign Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee repeatedly referred to the five principles of *Panchsheel* that should guide their relations.[62] Besides diplomatic and trade relations and the visits of both countries' foreign ministers, no formal agreements were signed nor was the border issue settled in the talks and negotiations in the early 1980s. India followed a sector-by-sector approach in the talks while China offered a comprehensive package, which India found unac-

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[59] See e.g. Mohan 1999, p. 89; Bhola 2001, pp. 4-15, 13.

[60] The nuclear consequences of the 1962 war and the Chinese 1964 test will be elaborated in the section covering Indian nuclear policy. It ought to be remarked that China's nuclear status is widely believed to have been the main driving force for Indian nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs.

[61] Cohen 2001, pp. 137-138.

[62] Vajpayee 1979, pp. 55, 69. Two speeches were given by Foreign Minister Vajpayee, one in 1977 and another in 1978, on this theme.

ceptable.[63] It took another ten years before the countries managed to sign an agreement on the border issue. In the Sino-Indian Bilateral Peace and Tranquillity Accords negotiated in 1993 and 1996 China recognized Sikkim as belonging to India and India the Tibet Autonomous Region as belonging to China. The agreement does not explicitly tackle the disputes over Aksai Chin or NEFA.

The disappearance of the Soviet Union and the rise of the U.S. to a dominant position made New Delhi and Beijing continue their low-key rapprochement. The Clinton administration began gradually to view China as its strategic competitor, and China decided to oppose efforts to bring about a unipolar world order. This suited India well. Common ground was found in multilateralism,[64] particularly in opposing U.S.-sponsored interventions like Kosovo in 1999 and Iraq in 2003. The countries signed a series of economic and scientific agreements in the 1990s, but the border and territorial issues remained unsolved. Indian nuclear tests and ambitions raise suspicions in China, but the countries have managed to deal with their disagreements; they seem to have agreed to disagree. Beijing continues to support Islamabad, albeit guardedly, does not support India's permanent membership in the Security Council, and is wary of the Indo-U.S. partnership. India for her part monitors the U.S.-Sino relationship with caution; neither a new Cold War between them nor a build-up of a strategic condominium is desirable to New Delhi.[65]

Along with the border dispute, Chinese nuclear and missile cooperation and Indian nuclear ambitions condition the Indo-Sino relationship. New Delhi considers that China has provided considerable help to Pakistan in developing both nuclear devices and ballistic missiles. Some even hint that the nuclear test at the Chinese Lop Nor test site in 1983 was actually a Pakistani test.[66] What also bothered the Indians was the nuclear imbalance between China and India. Though the Chinese nuclear arsenal is modest by numbers when compared to the U.S. or the Soviet Union/Russian Federation it is both quantitatively and qualitatively superior to theIndian. In Indian strategic analysis and political comments China is therefore often mentioned as the real adversary to which India ought to be compared.[67] The Indian arsenal should accordingly have been developed to reach and threaten major Chinese cities. Immediately before and after the 1998 Pokhran II tests the comments Defence Minister Fernandes and Prime Minister Vajpayee made concerning the perceived Chinese threat put Sino-Indian relations to the test. However, permanent harm seems to have not

[63] Bindra 1984, pp. 33-35.
[64] Mohan 1999, p. 89.
[65] Mohan 1999, pp. 91, 95.
[66] Menon 2000, pp. 95-97.
[67] Frey 2006, pp. 117-119.

been done to the relations after the first verbal salvos were fired. Indian nuclear deterrence was probably already taken into consideration in China[68] and the 1998 tests did not change Beijing's calculations.

As the communist economy in China and the socialist one in India have opened up to foreign investors and have adjusted to the needs of markets and globalization, the countries have became competitors in the economic field. Whether the main question is to satisfy the needs of their vast populations, to ensure economic growth, or to maintain the ruling party in power, both countries need foreign investments, energy and other raw materials. In order to secure their own financial and material needs, besides the domestic and legal actions needed to create an environment attractive to foreign capital, both countries have sought to strengthen their positions in the external domain as well. Trade partners are sought in West Asia, Africa and South America, economic cooperation with the European Union has been enhanced, and the military presence in the South China Sea, the Indian Ocean and in outer space has increased.

A Place in the Sun: Non-alignment and the Great Powers

Non-Alignment

It could be claimed that the first four decades of Indian foreign relations were subject to relations between superpower and that the major foreign policy decisions were made in response to the actions of the superpowers. When the United States began to support Pakistan in order to contain the Soviet Union, India turned to the Soviet Union; when president Eisenhower was to visit India, China became suspicious, and when the United States and China began to normalize their relations (with the help Pakistan), New Delhi signed a friendship treaty with Moscow. India even tried to balance Chinese military supremacy in the field by considering allowing Washington to station U-2 surveillance aircraft in India, and as the Russian invasion of Afghanistan had indirectly made India's strategic position worse, she began to arm herself. This action-reaction behaviour was not the intention of the newly-independent India and her Prime Minister.

Nehru wanted India to be non-aligned, to stay outside of Great Power rivalry and alliances. He wanted to preserve India's valuable independence by an independent policy. Any commitment to a political or military alliance would have undermined Indian sovereignty and freedom of movement. Non-alignment enabled India to receive aid and assistance from both directions: economic and developmental assistance from the West, and industrial and military assistance from the East. Nehru also feared that

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[68] Jaswant Singh 2006, pp. 148-150; Frey 2006, p. 120.

building military alliances would prevent developing countries from receiving support and the means of peaceful social and economic development as both developed and developing countries would enter a costly arms race; the Cold War and military alliances would "*nourish the idea of war in the minds of men*" – they would not help to create the climate of peace.[69]

India was the founder member of the Non-Aligned Movement and has played an active role in strengthening the Movement. The Movement has gained impetus among the developing countries. It was considered useful as it offered an opportunity to strengthen these countries' positions in international and domestic domains. One reason for its usefulness is its broadness and flexibility which allows a large number of countries[70] to be members and work within it. On the other hand, the fact that the Movement lacks coherence, rigidity and a clear ideology makes it less effective in the actual implementation of the desires expressed in statements and protocols. Flexibility rather than a rigid ideology, however, has enabled the Movement to survive after the Cold War. Though it has few clearly identifiable objectives it does on the following areas: decolonization, disarmament, development, détente, and dissemination.[71]

For India the Non-Aligned Movement is still a useful international forum to identify and express views on the issues central to its foreign policy such as multilateralism, international law, and the rejection of coercion and unilateral military action. She has tried to make it an "effective voice in representing the collective aspirations and interests of the developing countries" on issues like development, peace and stability;[72] this is also in line with the Movement's ambitions to "*enhance its role at the international level*" and to reinforce "*its ability and capability for initiative, representation and negotiation*".[73] Yet it is hard to believe that the Movement could bypass the national and tacit interests of its diverse memberstates and become an effective actor in world politics. The most important stands and decisions on Indian foreign policy were and are taken elsewhere.

The United States

Indian relations with the United States can been characterized as problematic and promising. Problems have risen in times of wider political crisis, both regional and global. New Delhi and Washington have often presented

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[69] Nehru in the United Nations General Assembly on December 20, 1956 (Shivam 2001, pp. 24-27); Cohen 2001, pp. 271-272. On non-alignment's philosophical, religious and practical grounds, see Bhaskaran 1977, pp. 17-20.

[70] At the moment it has 112 members. For more information see NAM.

[71] Misra 1982, pp. 62-64.

[72] Ministry for External Affairs 2007.

[73] NAM 2004.

opposing views and solutions to issues like Cold War confrontation, Pakistan, Palestine or non-proliferation. On the other hand both nations have shown a constant interest, even admiration, towards each other. For both the Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh governments U.S. relations have been of importance, and the countries have found new common interests.

U.S.-Indian relations could have been cordial from the very beginning. American liberals, including President Franklin D. Roosevelt, supported the Indian independence movement, Indian spiritualism and its moralistic views, and India's commitment to democracy was valued in the United States. Yet as the Indian National Congress decided not to support the British – and Allied – war effort and launched its Quit India Movement in 1942 Washington had to choose Britain before India.[74] Similarly, wider strategic interests hindered the U.S. administrations from seriously focusing on India. During the Cold War it was either the Soviet Union or China that was seen as the key target of American foreign policy. As Nehru wanted the newly-independent India to be truly independent and sovereign and to stay away from Cold War confrontation and containment, there was no comfortable place for India in U.S. strategy. In fact, the American zero-sum logic of the Cold War interpreted Indian non-alignment as pro-Soviet.[75]

What further annoyed the Indians were the developing U.S.-Pakistani relations. Pakistan joined the Baghdad Pact (later CENTO) and SEATO,[76] and received U.S. economic and military aid from 1954 to 1965, and again after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. This not only increased Pakistan's military capacity to resist possible Indian actions but was in India seen to militarize domestic politics in Pakistan.[77] As the Nixon administration normalized relations with China, with the good offices of Pakistan, India felt herself contained by hostile powers. Three single incidents help to explain this perception. When Nehru turned to American support during the 1962 Sino-Indian war the Americans responded after the war with an initiative to settle the Kashmir dispute. Despite this good intention the Indians felt that the Americans tried to take advantage of India's vulnerable position.[78] Then as a response to India's support for Hanoi and to her economic policy the Johnson administration suspended

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[74] Brecher 1962, pp. 110-111; Cohen 2001, p. 269; the resolution did not explicitly take the Japanese side but instead contained the offer that a free India would join the Allies and mobilize her forces against the Japanese. On friendly and cordial Indo-American people-to-people relations, see Wolpert 2005, p. 247.
[75] D.K. Singh 1995, pp. 4-5; Wolpert 2005, p. 248.
[76] The Central Treaty Organization, and South East Asian Treaty Organization, respectively.
[77] Cohen 2001, pp. 273-274.
[78] Perkovich 2000, p. 55.

the long-term PL 480 Food for Peace food assistance to India in July 1965, eventually forcing New Delhi to change her agricultural policy. As this political and economic pressure took place in a time of famine it seriously damaged U.S.-Indian relations.[79] The third incident, the deployment of the aircraft carrier *USS Enterprise* to the Bay of Bengal during the 1971 Indo-Pakistani war, underlined Indian military and maritime vulnerability and signalled that America did not truly take India seriously.[80] Nixon and Kissinger decided to send the aircraft carrier group into the area in order to prevent a "Soviet stooge, supported by Soviet arms"[81] from overrunning Pakistan. A close China-Pakistan relationship was central to Nixon's wish to 'tilt' the U.S. towards Pakistan, in part to show Beijing Washington's commitment to support its allies.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 made the Afghan issue one of the centrepieces of Indo-U.S. relations. Indian opinion was divided. New Delhi tried to balance between her genuine wish for a Soviet withdrawal and her desire not to have a pro-Pakistan, pro-U.S., pro-China or fundamentalist regime in Kabul.[82] The again-elected Prime Minister Indira Gandhi even accepted the Soviet claim that Kabul invited the forces. India's position weakened dramatically as the United States began to re-contain the Soviets by re-arming Pakistan. This decision taken by President Carter and executed by President Reagan not only reinforced the long-term rivalry between India and Pakistan but made it easier for Pakistan to continue to develop her nuclear capabilities. U.S. sanctions were overlooked and the build-up of Pakistan's conventional capacity did not stop her nuclear ambitions.[83]

U.S. and Indian views have perhaps most principally differed over issues of nuclear proliferation and disarmament. Though Washington has since the early 1940s opposed any horizontal proliferation be it by a friend or foe,[84] its non-proliferation policy and the Indian disarmament policy have often collided. Indians have considered American initiatives superficial and counterproductive, serving only U.S. interests in maintaining and developing their own arsenal. The Indian disarmament policy in general and the nuclear policy in particular will be analysed in later sections, but to put them in context the American nuclear non-proliferation policy towards

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[79] Cohen 2001, pp. 278-279.
[80] D.K. Singh 1995, p. 25; Perkovich 2000, pp. 164-166, 177.
[81] Nixon on December 8, 1971 (U.S. Department of State 2005, item 252).
[82] D.K. Singh 1995, pp. 51-52.
[83] Perkovich 2000, p. 221. Given the rise of terrorism and fundamentalism, and increases in the drug trade and in nuclear proliferation, the Soviet invasion to Afghanistan can be considered one of the most harmful single incidents in recent international history.
[84] Gavin 2004, p. 111.

India and South Asia should first be elaborated.

The Indian non-proliferation stance that would last for decades was actually formed in 1948 as an answer to the American-proposed Baruch Plan to control fissile materials and nuclear facilities. Although India supported the principle of only the peaceful use of nuclear capabilities, she resisted such measures that would allow some countries to retain and develop nuclear weapons and deny others their full freedom to exploit their resources.[85] Similarly, Nehru resisted Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace initiative. Despite disputes over fissile material trade and international control measures South Asian nuclear non-proliferation was of lesser importance on the American agenda during the first years of the Cold War.[86] Nuclear non-proliferation became one of the major issues on the American agenda in the early 1960s, as Washington needed to ensure its allies of its commitments while preventing them, most notably Germany, Italy and Japan, and other countries from acquiring nuclear weapons. At the same time China's nuclear programme was advancing and the Americans feared the worst.[87]

Indian and American differences over non-proliferation and disarmament could not be highlighted better than with the example of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. India's comprehensive approach to peace and security which demanded for nuclear disarmament collided with the narrow and tacit American proposal. The Prime Minister's secretary L.K. Jha explained to Foreign Secretary John Foster Dulles that the major obstacles for India signing the negotiated treaty were the security issue with China and the fact that India had developed nuclear technology that would suffer from adopting the treaty. While other explanations such as the colonial nature of Western-sponsored initiatives, the maintenance of Indian sovereignty and the immorality of nuclear weapons were and are often mentioned, at the end of the day security concerns have been most essential for Indians.[88] The lack of explicit security guarantees together with the reluctance to narrow her freedom of action seems to have steered the Indian non-proliferation policy. As one can claim that external security considerations, domestic policy, industrial and technological interests and questions of status and prestige have affected Indian nuclear policy in general, one can similarly claim that in nuclear non-proliferation U.S. interests and initiatives have often formed the international framework where the aforementioned factors operate and have often been responded to.

The United States began to pay special interest to South Asian nuclear non-proliferation after the 1974 Peaceful Nuclear Explosion and during the

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[85] Perkovich 2000, p. 21.
[86] Perkovich 2000, p. 49.
[87] Gavin 2004, pp. 100-103.
[88] Perkovich 2000, pp. 103-104, 152-153.

Carter administration.[89] This involvement lasted for some 25 years and became a major determinant of U.S.-Indo relations.[90] Washington was careful not to pressure Indira Gandhi about further nuclear tests. The U.S. Congress, however, raised stakes by accepting the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act in 1978, making potential progress too costly for the genuinely peaceful Indian nuclear industry[91].

In assessing the American non-proliferation policy one should keep in mind that the White House is not the only player in this field in Washington D.C. Whereas the Gilpatric Committee in 1964 recommended a strict non-proliferation policy the State Department studied the possibilities of providing nuclear weapons under U.S. custody to friendly Asian countries, including India. The Gilpatric Committee identified that the more Washington emphasized counterproliferation the more valuable nuclear weapons appeared to smaller powers for use as political tools.[92] Providing nuclear weapons to other countries, it was believed, would have allowed the U.S. to use nuclear weapons against China without compromising American forces. At the same time the U.S. Atomic Energy Committee was opting to provide peaceful nuclear devices to non-nuclear weapon countries; this, it was thought, would work against nuclear proliferation.[93]

The U.S. Congress and individual senators have also been continuously engaged in non-proliferation, passing legislation that not only binds the President's administration but also foreign governments. The Mutual Defence Assistance Act of 1951 led Washington to threaten to cut aid programmes as India was about to sell thorium nitrate to China.[94] Later in 1976, the U.S. Congress enacted the Symington and Glenn Amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act, prohibiting military assistance to any country importing enrichment or reprocessing technology which was not an NPT signatory or did not have full IAEA safeguards for all its nuclear facilities. In the following decade the 1985 Pressler Amendment would force the Administration to cut any military assistance to a non-NPT signatory country possessing nuclear weapons.[95] Although the aforementioned Amendments eventually came to affect Pakistan, the major recipient of United States military aid and assistance, more than India, they along with

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[89] Cohen 2001, p. 283.

[90] "*Non-proliferation* [is] *the major issue in our relationship with both countries*" [India and Pakistan] (U.S. Department of State 1993, p. 2).

[91] Perkovich 2000, pp. 210, 225.

[92] Gavin 2003.

[93] Perkovich 2000, pp. 100-103.

[94] The thorium nitrate dispute was settled without explicit Indian acknowledgement of the binding nature of the American legislation, as the U.S. promised to buy all the thorium nitrate India wished to export.

[95] D.K. Singh 1995, p. 58; Perkovich 2000, pp. 22, 198, 217, 270, 297; Cohen 2001, p. 355.

tightened international nuclear regimes placed restrictions on the Indian nuclear programme as well. The following Reagan and George H. Bush Administrations, which had a more pragmatic approach to non-proliferation, and categorized countries rather by their political and strategic value than by their moral virtue, could not entirely bypass these domestic and often bipartisan ambitions.

As mentioned earlier, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the American response to it adversely affected the Indian strategic position. It was obvious that Pakistan was developing a nuclear device. Indian responded by acquiring large amounts of conventional arms, ammunition and material from the Soviet Union, by starting the Integrated Guided Missile Program, by considering a second nuclear test and by procuring heavy water. Although her security climate had worsened, she did not, however, rush into developing an overt deterrence.[96] At the same time she opted to improve her relations with the United States and sought for high-technology cooperation with the U.S.

Towards the end of the Cold War it had become clear that India and Pakistan had managed to develop the capability of manufacturing both nuclear devices and ballistic missiles to deliver such warheads. The United States became involved in conflict management and nuclear risk reduction. Especially the Indian nine-division-large military Exercise *Brasstacks*[97] in 1986–87 and the 1990 Indo-Pakistani crisis alarmed the Americans, who feared war and nuclear exchange. The latter made the George H. Bush administration intervene diplomatically by sending Deputy National Security Advisor Robert Gates to Pakistan and India. A direct consequence of the crisis was that President Bush informed the Congress that he could not guarantee that Pakistan did not possess nuclear devices thus invoking the Pressler Amendment that cut off economic and military aid to Pakistan.[98]

The first Clinton administration implicitly recognized the nuclear reality in South Asia and began advocating global, regional, as well as bilateral approaches to non-proliferation. In 1992 Washington launched a regional five-nation conference initiative. India welcomed the initiative at first as it included China, and so did Pakistan, who perceived it as an opportunity to diminish Indian strategic supremacy by means of negotiations. Prime Minister Rao finally rejected the initiative because it was felt to be too

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[96] Perkovich 2000, pp. 226-227; Cohen 2001, pp. 170-171.

[97] For a detailed account of the exercise see Bajpai et al. 1995.

[98] Perkovich 2000, pp. 309-312. See also Hagerty 1995, who argues that the existence of mutual deterrence prevented war between the two countries. Perkovich disagrees, arguing that neither side was planning a war and that India did not consider that there was any nuclear build-up on the Pakistani side, or at least it did not interpret the situation as being severe.

restrictive to meet the desires of the Indian polity and public.[99] The U.S. announced a significant change in the official U.S. non-proliferation policy in April 1993. Instead of complete rollback and accession to the NPT, the administration favoured an incremental process. The aim was to stop India and Pakistan short of weaponizing the opaque and in fact incomplete deterrence they had. The two states would have to engage in dialogue and establish formal agreements on the issue. The U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott initiated bilateral talks with India in 1994. The aim was to get India on-board on non-proliferation by finding a pragmatic solution to India's security needs. The U.S. wanted to ensure the indefinite extension of the NPT and offered India a tacit recognition of her existential deterrence.

In March 1994 the Clinton administration tried to urge both governments to ban unsafeguarded production of fissile materials. Pakistan would be left with the existing bombs and materials, and be rewarded with the delivery of the 28 F-16 fighters, an already paid purchase the Pressler Amendment had frozen. The Indian gain would be the recognition of her unchallenged dominant position. Another element of the initiative was a ban on deploying nuclear-capable systems. And finally, an international conference would be held where the nuclear weapon states, India, Pakistan, Germany, and Japan would consider regional and global arms control and disarmament proposals. In order to proceed with regional security the U.S. Senate, Pakistan, and New Delhi would have to abandon their traditional objections. Senator Pressler immediately publicized his objections, helping Indian opinion turn against the proposals. The Senate even toughened the U.S. legislation making it practically impossible for the administration to deliver the F-16s. Bhutto's government, for their part, would not agree to an inspection of its nuclear facilities.

Domestic obstacles hindered both India and Pakistan from moving forward. Pakistan's prime ministers, Nawaz Sharif as well as Benazir Bhutto, feared for their mandate. India's minority government reflected the basic Indian ethos demanding a larger conference that would include China as well. Facing pressure from the scientific community and the strategic enclave Rao rejected any restrictions on the Indian nuclear option. Scepticism over potential Pakistani promises and the lack of a U.S. commitment to promoting real nuclear disarmament kept Indians in their trenches.[100] The American initiatives also undermined Indian desires to gain recognition and prestige.[101] One should also keep in mind India's technical imperative to continue to fine-tune and test the rudimentary capacity she had managed to

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[99] Frey 2006, p. 148.
[100] Perkovich 2000, pp. 335-351.
[101] Frey 2006, pp. 149-150.

develop.

No U.S. administration or U.S. sanctions stopped the Indian or Pakistani nuclear programmes. They did, however, force India to engage in nuclear dialogue with the United States. Non-proliferation efforts were considered when major economic and commercial decisions were taken. Loans to India, the terms of these loans, as well Indian trade and commerce with possible proliferators like Egypt, Syria or Iran, came to viewed through nuclear lenses. More importantly, the fear of nuclear proliferation and confrontation directed many questions towards peaceful maintenance and the development of Indo-Pakistani and Sino-Indo relations. This might have been the real effect of the U.S. and Western non-proliferation initiatives and Amendments.

The Indian (and Pakistani) nuclear tests in May 1998 were condemned by the G-8 and the Security Council resolution urging the countries to refrain from further tests and the development of nuclear weapons. The tests shocked Washington because India conducted them *and* because the Americans had expected the Indians to mention them or inform them during the spring 1998 discussions.[102] President Clinton imposed a set of economic sanctions. Washington suspended all U.S. aid to India, barred the U.S. banks from granting loans to the Indian government and restricted U.S.-Indian export and import. As at that time Indian export and import constituted only 4% of India's GDP and as trade with the U.S. was only 10% of this total, the effect of trade-related sanctions was considered small by the U.S.[103] It is estimated that the total impact on India would have been 2.5 billion U.S. dollars.[104] India regarded these actions as harmful and underlined that Washington had not in the past given "sufficient weight" to her security concerns.[105] The tests actually forced the United States and India to engage in political and strategic dialogue, which helped the two countries to better understand their different stands.[106]

The envoys, Jaswant Singh and Strobe Talbott, focused primarily on the five benchmarks the Clinton administration had set. The American stand was based on the P-5 communiqué issued on June 4 and the UN Security Council Resolution 1172. It was demanded that India (1) refrain from

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[102] Talbott 2004, pp. 47-48, 114.

[103] *NWA* 2001.

[104] Perkovich 2000, p. 437.

[105] Jaswant Singh in *Newsweek* on June 15, 1998. Jaswant Singh was the External Affairs Minister and then Deputy Chairman on the Planning Commission. He was one of Prime Minister Vajpayee's main companions and closest advisors.

[106] The envoys, Jaswant Singh and Strobe Talbott, have written lengthy accounts of the dialogue. See Talbott's *Engaging India* (2004) and Singh's *A Call to Honour* (2006), pp. 270-325.

further testing and was encouraged to join the CTBT; India was called upon to (2) agree on the Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT), (3) refrain from attaching nuclear warheads to missiles or fighter bombers, (4) refrain from exporting nuclear weapons-related equipment, materials or technology and (5) was encouraged to address the root causes of Indo-Pak tensions.[107] The benchmarks reveal Washington's two primary concerns. The American's were worried about nuclear proliferation and wanted India (and Pakistan) to publicly adhere to international nuclear regimes, if not *de jure* then *de facto*. The acquisition of nuclear weapons ought not to attract any nation and their possession required responsible behaviour. Washington also wanted to lower tension in the Subcontinent.

Though the Americans considered that the benchmarks coincided with published Indian objectives, the Indians interpreted them differently. The whole concept, they thought, was patronizing. India refused to accept any international, not to mention any American demands. Although Prime Minister Vajpayee had proclaimed a unilateral moratorium on further testing the Clinton administration wanted a public and binding commitment to sign the CTBT. This was the key issue for the Administration but not for the U.S. Congress, which gradually began to withdraw its support from the sanctions and later refused to ratify the Treaty the President had signed. The BJP for its part was tied by the coming state and local elections and it could not look weak before the Americans.[108]

As India did not commit herself to signing the CTBT, President Clinton cancelled his trip to India and South Asia scheduled for November 1998. The countries continued the security dialogue, albeit with no success on the four benchmarks[109]. Progress was nevertheless made as dialogue was kept open despite the differences.[110] This helped the countries implicitly acknowledge their mutual security concerns and dynamics. The Americans, for example, shared their assessments on Chinese strategic capabilities and intentions with the Indians in January 1999.[111] The Kargil crisis in spring and summer 1999 became a turning point in Indo-U.S. relations. The United States condemned Pakistan's infiltration and publicized information that the Pakistani Army and not just local separatists was involved in the incident. President Clinton personally demanded Pakistan's immediate and

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[107] *Resolution 1172 (1998)*, June 6, 1998; Talbott 2004, pp. 75-76. The discussions on the benchmarks are analysed in detail in the next chapter covering Indian nuclear policy.
[108] Talbott 2004, pp. 97-98, 126-128, 130
[109] India has always refrained from exporting nuclear weapons-related equipment, materials and technology.
[110] Singh and Talbott met fourteen times and conducted nine rounds of meetings in 1998–2000.
[111] Talbott 2004, pp. 148, 176.

unconditional withdrawal. Indians noticed that Washington was willing and able to abandon its traditional stand and would tilt towards India if necessary. Indian and American interests did not necessarily need to collide. [112]

In the fallout of the October 1999 Pakistani coup and the U.S. Congress rejection of the CTBT, a day later President Clinton decided to visit South Asia. Talbott states that as the rejection had taken the CTBT demand out of his hands the President was now freer to do what he was best at: meeting world leaders. Clinton also wanted to take the opportunity to pressure General Musharraf to restore civilian government and to move against al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden.[113]

A clear evidence of the revival of Indo-U.S. relations was President Clinton's visit to India in March 2000. That the visit took place only 19 months after the Pokhran II tests tells of the mutual desire to enhance the relationship, and the mutual recognition of its importance. President Clinton's eloquent address to the *Lok Sabha* contained the elements Indians long wanted to hear from an American President. He gave credit to Gandhi, Indian democracy, diversity and innovation, and her economy. He stressed that only India can decide her own interests. He was careful to point out he was not there to mediate the dispute over Kashmir.[114] The two countries launched an institutional (political) and commercial dialogue, set up a financial and economic forum and a working group on trade,[115] and later a working group on counter-terrorism as well. India had become a partner to the United States.

India became a partner, but to what extent can this partnership be explained by the Indian nuclear posture in general and by the 1998 tests in particular? It is unlikely that the aforementioned acknowledgement was a direct result of the tests. Clinton's visit was originally to take place in November 1998, thus in fact the tests postponed much of this diplomatic praise and practical partnership. Clinton's administration had already decided to give India a prominent place in U.S. foreign policy,[116] but New Delhi did not share this view. For Americans the main reasons for a closer relationship were already there. Both, for example, were concerned with international, mostly Islamic, terrorism and the political, economic and military rise of China. Yet the tests made the Americans speak with the Indians, and more impor-

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[112] Talbott 2004, pp. 157-160; 175-176; Gupta 2005, p. 4; Jaswant Singh 2006, pp. 207-208, 222-225.
[113] Talbott 2004, pp. 180-181.
[114] Clinton on March 22, 2000 (MEA 2000). Clinton had previously been anxious to mediate in the dispute.
[115] Joint India-U.S. Statement (MEA 2000).
[116] Perkovich 2000, p. 421.

tantly to listen to them.[117]

Though the Singh-Talbott dialogue ended when the Bush administration took over in January 2001, the foundation for improving relations was laid. The Bush and Vajpayee administration had an increasingly similar world-view and even military cooperation was being encouraged.[118] The September 11th, 2001 attacks in New York, Washington D.C. and Pennsylvania again made the U.S. take Pakistan onboard, and President George W. Bush subsequently lifted the remaining sanctions against India and Pakistan. Pakistan offered her full support for the U.S. fight against terrorism, and India, also offering unconditional help to the U.S., was included to avoid resentment and accusations of one-sidedness.[119] Pakistan, however, for the third time had become a frontline country in a fight that was of the utmost importance to the United States. New Delhi again became concerned about American sincerity and intentions in South Asia,[120] and was worried that she would again be sidelined when Washington again treated Indian and Pakistan similarly.

The Americans gradually became more concerned about the rise of China. Amit Gupta argues that the second Bush administration considered that India would have an important role in future American Asia policy.[121] India was needed to at least counterbalance if not contain China. Indian military power and its presence in the Himalayas and in the Indian Ocean could someday become vital assets even for the Americans. Ballistic Missile Defence is but one example of mutual interests. As counterterrorism and non-proliferation would remain on the American agenda in the near future, Indian political example and moral leadership in the developing world and her commitment to fight terrorism are both appreciated in and necessary to Washington. Indian economic growth and her high-tech capabilities also made India a natural partner to the United States. Strengthening bilateral cooperation by the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NNSP) initiative announced by Prime Minister Vajpayee and President George W. Bush in January 2004 signified the common interests and the commitment to further develop the relationship.

The countries agreed to expand cooperation in civilian nuclear activities, civilian space programmes and high technology trade. Dialogue on missile defence was to be expanded and relevant laws, regulations and practices were to be strengthened in order to combat the proliferation of weapons of

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[117] Talbott 2004, p. 95.
[118] Gupta 2005, p. 5.
[119] BBC September 23, 2001
[120] *Frontline* Vol 18 Issue 22, 2001; Kapila 2004.
[121] Gupta 2005, p. 5.

mass destruction.[122] The NSSP thus clearly covers two areas: nuclear energy and non-proliferation. The first is essential to India, the second is vital for the U.S. The NNSP is neither a beginning nor an end; it is a step the countries have taken to journey to the "village" Singh and Talbott talked about.[123]

In the U.S.-Indian relation three different American models of behaviour can be detected. Firstly, the United States tried to balance between India and her neighbours, Pakistan and China, without preference. Any move towards India or Pakistan was balanced and compensated by a similar move towards the other. This was and is her most common policy towards South Asia. In this way the U.S. has tried to manage regional tensions, conflicts and confrontation. The ultimate purpose has been to prevent the two countries from waging war over Kashmir, either by conventional means or by weapons of mass destruction. New Delhi has viewed this policy with suspicion. It was not only seen to benefit Pakistan but to belittle India as the major regional power and as a serious global player. American aid and assistance was often condition on certain diplomatic or economic behaviour which usually did not suit India. The U.S. interest to manage South Asian conflicts continues, but at present it seems that India has increasingly become one of the United States' main means to maintain balance with a strengthening China in mind.

Secondly, Washington has at times ignored India and focused instead on the Soviet Union or China. This has occurred either when Washington has become frustrated with the subcontinental quagmire, as the Johnson administration did, when it cut military aid to both India and Pakistan. It also occurred when it was considered necessary to balance the Soviet power with the "Chicoms", Chinese communists, or with Pakistan. Nixon's and Kissinger's geopolitical emphasis together with their strong bias against India and toward Pakistan and China is a clear example of American indifference to Indian concerns.[124] The Carter and Reagan administrations turning a blind eye to the Pakistani nuclear programme and supplying her with weapons after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is another.[125] Quite naturally, the American lack of interest in India and her focus on Pakistan helped to strengthen Indo-Soviet relations.

Thirdly, Washington was occasionally ready to put India before Pakistan.

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[122] *President's Statement on Strategic Partnership with India*, January 12, 2004.

[123] They metaphorically spoke of their dialogue as a journey to a village. This is not to suggest that the NNSP or the later steps taken would have satisfied both of the envoys. Talbott had reservations about making a deal with India that would bypass the benchmarks. See Talbott 2004, pp. 87, 229-230.

[124] See e.g. U.S. Department of State 2005.

[125] D.K. Singh 1995, pp. 55-59.

President Kennedy was ready to do this but did not have time to pursue his intention, and after the 1962 war India even assumed that the U.S. would back her both diplomatically and militarily against China.[126] Perhaps now this strategic "tilt" has taken place though Washington continues to support Pakistan to keep the country somehow functioning. For most Indians this U.S.-Indian rapprochement would be the most natural choice: the world's two largest democracies should find each other, and more importantly India should be recognized and given the status she rightfully deserves. This development is subject, however, to global relations and the state of the world order. The demise of the Soviet Union forced India to open up her economy, making the Indian market, production and consumption lucrative to foreign investors. As this coincided with the rise of information technology India became not only a passive but an active partner with corporate America. Moreover, Islam-inspired terrorism, which targeted both New York and Mumbai, Washington and New Delhi,[127] eased cooperation not only on anti-terrorism but also on nuclear technology. South Asia is no longer a sideshow in American strategic thinking and India is a major force and key player both regionally and in world affairs. It can be claimed that without these changes in the world order, in strategic thinking and in domestic politics Indo-U.S. relations could not have developed in such a positive way.

Especially for the Indian left-wing and for traditionally-oriented politicians the major paradigm shift of a new world was hard to cope with. The simultaneous disappearance of the basis for non-alignment and key diplomatic, economic and military ally while the United States remained the uncontested super power, forced the state and the nation to reconsider its political orientations. For many challenging Western and U.S. leadership and the established balance of political power had meant a way of getting rid of colonial and post-colonial economic dependence.[128]

Despite the common political, security and economic interests globalization has simultaneously produced new areas of potential confrontation. Issues such as human rights, climate change, emission and resource management, U.S. aid and support for Pakistan,[129] and the solution of regional conflicts

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[126] Perkovich 2000, p. 163.

[127] Just as in the Western discourse "9/11" has become a symbol of the new wave of terrorism, "12/13" reminds the Indian audience of the threat of terrorism On December 13th, 2001 a group of Islamist gunmen attacked the Indian Parliament.

[128] Rizvi 1993, p. 23.

[129] It could be argued that U.S. interest in Pakistan has been first and foremost exogenous and instrumental, while at present the interest in India is endogenous. Pakistan was first a suitable tool to contain the Soviets then a useful way to approach China, a second-class substitute to the lost Shah's Iran, and finally a necessary partner and a terrain to tackle Afghanistan, whether the issue was the Soviets, the Taliban or the terrorists. For the moment it is in both Washington's and New Delhi's interests that

remain problematic but the principal differences of spiritualism vs. materialism, socialism vs. capitalism and non-alignment vs. containment are no longer hindrances to avenues of approach.

Similarly, different Indian models of political behaviour vis-à-vis the United States (and the Soviet Union/the Russian Federation) can be detected. India tried to avoid taking a definite stand, and wanted to stay outside the Great Power confrontation, neither engaging in the Cold War or the arms race. This made Washington suspicious about her real goals. An explicit Indian commitment to the U.S. is unlikely to materialize for both partisan and strategic reasons but a distinct move away from staunch anti-Americanism has recently taken place. However, India has been a close partner if not ally to the Soviet Union and continues to have close relations with the Russian Federation as well.

The Soviet Union/Russian Federation

Indian and the Soviet Union did not have close relations from the very beginning. It is true that Nehru had been inspired by Soviet social and technological achievements well before independence. After his visit to the Soviet Union in 1927 he wrote: "*Russia again cannot be ignored by us, because she is our neighbour, a powerful neighbour, which may be friendly to and co-operate with us, or may be a thorn in our side*".[130] Nehru's admiration and commitment to socialism did not automatically result in close relations with Moscow. Stalin's policy in the late 1940s was one of isolation and he did not have any interests in India.

Indo-Soviet relations began to improve when Stalin acknowledged India's constructive role in the United Nations during the Korean War. The post-Stalin Soviet leaders Bulganin and Khrushchev started to pay more attention to India in order to resist the American policy of containment and alliances. At first the Soviet support was economic and industrial helping India to develop the heavy industry – including the defence industry – which Nehru had opted for. Gradually, political understanding if not implicit cooperation took place. The countries supported each other in the United Nations – a feature that undermined Indian non-alignment in Western minds. The cases of Suez and Hungary in 1956 are illuminating examples of this behaviour. While India strongly criticized Britain and France for intervening in Egypt, Soviet intervention in Hungary although not fully accepted was nevertheless considered less reprehensible.[131] The Soviet

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Pakistan remains a functioning state and that her nuclear weapons and facilities are under Islamabad's or the Army's full control.

[130] Brecher 1962, p. 56.

[131] There is more on this in the next section, which deals with the India's role in the United Nations.

Union, on the other hand, supported India on the questions of Goa and Jammu and Kashmir, which were vital to New Delhi. This political support not only helped India to promote her regional interests but strengthened her position as the key nation in the developing world and the leader of the Non-Alignment Movement.

Indo-Soviet relations did not develop in a vacuum. Like U.S.-Indian relations they were highly conditioned by superpower relations. Moscow played the Indian card to promote her vital interests, first vis-à-vis Washington and later vis-à-vis Beijing.[132] An obvious reminder of *Realpolitik* was when the Soviet Union publicly rejected her previous position on the Sino-Indian border dispute (the McMahon line) while the two countries were on the brink of a war; the Soviet Union needed China to support her in the Cuban missile crisis which was taking place at the same time.[133] Only after the Sino-Soviet breakdown did the Soviet Union begin to increase her military aid and assistance to India. The considerably increased Soviet military aid and material helped India to overcome Pakistan in the 1971 war.[134]

A similar increase in materiel was evident in the early 1980s, as India became the world's largest arms importer of predominately Soviet hardware. Despite the fighter planes, armour, ammunition and spare parts which were needed to strengthen India's defence posture, Cohen finds the Indo-Soviet industrial defence relationship disturbing for the Indians. The Soviet Union never allowed New Delhi to sell Soviet-originated but India-manufactured war goods thus depriving India of hard currency. Secondly, large amounts of cheap but not necessarily state-of-the-art Soviet material reduced the incentive to develop an indigenous industry or to seek out other sources and better quality. The strong Indo-Soviet relationship also made Western suppliers wary of supplying technology to India. Finally, the dependency corrupted the Indian economy and the political system.[135]

A major political step was taken when the two countries signed the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation in August 1971. The Treaty declared in its Article ix that "*In the event that any of the Parties is attacked or threatened with attack*" the Parties "*will immediately start mutual consultations with a view to eliminating this threat and taking appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and security of their countries*".[136] The Treaty formally ended India's quest for support whether the adversary would have

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[132] D.K. Singh 1995, p. 6.

[133] Perkovich 2000, pp. 44-45.

[134] The Soviet Union even counterbalanced Task Force Enterprise by deploying her vessels in the Bay of Bengal.

[135] Cohen 2001, pp. 142-144.

[136] D.K. Singh 1995, pp. 19-21, Appendix 1.

been a local (Pakistan), a regional (China) or a global (U.S.) actor. Nehru had been anxious to avoid the subcontinent being dragged into the Cold War[137] but now the Great Power logic had overcome this legacy. This logic operated in two directions: the Great Powers needed regional supporters, and the regional players wanted to engage external actors in their regional disputes.

Immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union the Russian Federation obviously did not have the time, inclination or resources to focus on India or on the subcontinent. Political relations have, however, remained close and cordial. Yet as American influence and acceptance in India has increased, Moscow cannot readopt the position it had in India in the 1970s and 1980s. Nevertheless, Indian armed forces still use and heavily rely on Soviet and Russian weaponry, and will continue to do so in the foreseeable future. But arms and armament now come with a real price tag.

As Russian foreign policy has gained impetus during President Putin's tenure, Russia is returning to South Asia.[138] The Russia-India strategic partnership covers political, economic, nuclear and military issues, and the countries have found a common stand on many questions, both on matters of principle and practice. The Russian Federation supports India's candidature for permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council with full veto rights. Russia also supports the Indian civilian nuclear power sector by supplying low-enriched uranium and by offering other assistance within and in accordance with international nuclear regimes. These stands reflect a wider common understanding of the world order, the management of world politics and the importance of sovereignty in international relations.

The United Nations and the Maintenance of Peace and Security

Given the main objectives of Indian foreign policy and the in-built desire to change the world one might expect India to fully support an effective United Nations. Effectiveness can be defined to cover the areas of formal decision-making, the tools and machinery available, and the implementation of decisions and actions taken. Such effectiveness could be achieved e.g. by reviving the unanimity rule in the Security Council, by adopting legal standards and by creating and relying on coercive and enforcing mechanisms and practices. Such effectiveness could make it possible to bypass national sovereignty and integrity. India has resisted efforts to develop the United Nations in this direction.[139] Such an organization could

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[137] Rizvi 1993, p. 52.
[138] Kapila 2006 and 2007.
[139] Berkes & Bedi 1958, pp. 3-13.

easily have become even more the instrument of the superpowers, yet another excluding and dictating tool for the privileged. India, however, has emphasized equal treatment, inclusive practices and unanimous decision-making in the United Nations. India's representatives have continuously spoken of the importance of creating a climate of peace instead of a climate of war, that instead of building up a military capacity for the United Nations and for the maintenance of security the United Nations should "*turn its attention more constructively toward peace measures*".[140] The difference between the common Western approach and the Indian one is that while for the former peace is a function of security for the latter security could be pursued by peace.

The aforementioned principle guided Indian politics in the United Nations from 1945[141] until the mid 1950s. India pursued peace by trying to raise moral and philosophical aspects, by trying to harmonize opposing views and by trying to mediate between the superpowers. More actively and directly India spoke for the nations still under colonial or repressive rule. This behaviour suited and worked well for India as long as the opponents were Western states or their allies. India denounced the behaviour of the Netherlands in Indonesia and the intervention of Britain and France in the 1956 Suez crisis, but refused to do so in the case of Soviet intervention in Hungary in the same year. It is obvious that Nehru was fully responsible for the decisions and Indian statements in the United Nations.[142] India even voted with the Soviet bloc against a resolution calling for free elections in Hungary. Also in the cases of two other Soviet invasions, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Afghanistan in 1979, the Indian Government turned a blind eye. It should be noted that even the Janata Government followed the Nehruvian line concerning Soviet aggression.

Seen strictly from the political point of view there was inconsistency in Indian *voting* behaviour. However, adopting a realistic stance, India recognised that condemning Soviet aggression would only exacerbate the situation and while in the case of Britain and France or the West in general it might have beneficial results. One could also point out that even the United States refused to back its allies in Suez, and although it condemned the Soviet intervention it paid little but lip service to the Hungarian people. India, on the other hand, spoke out for human rights and freedom in both cases. Nevertheless, one should remember that some resolutions, such as the one concerning free elections in Hungary, which was proposed by among others Pakistan, could have worked against future Indian interests in

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[140] Indian Foreign Minister V. K. Krishna Menon in the Ninth Session of the UN Committee I in 1954, quoted in Berkes & Bedi 1958, p. 9.

[141] India was one of the founders of the United Nations in the 1945 San Francisco conference despite not being an independent state.

[142] Berkes & Bedi 1958, pp. 41-43, 48-51; H. Kapur 1994, pp. 124-126, 168-169.

Kashmir. The Indian interests are complex and are obviously subject to change and circumstance. As Berkes and Bedi conclude it might be better to be exploited by someone who shares your fight in most cases and for whatever reasons than being exploited by someone who often opposes your causes.[143] Statistics of or symmetry in voting behaviour or in taking a stand do measure political positions but do not explain them.

From the mid-1950s on India gradually became disillusioned with its careful balancing policy. She did not reject her moral and philosophical arguments but began to realize that the superpowers did not pay much attention to such a policy. India became more active, even aggressive, and practical, as the world became a more dangerous place. The United States had began to contain the Soviet Union and communism by building regional military alliances such as SEATO and CENTO in Asia and by offering military aid and equipment to individual countries, such as to Pakistan. The superpowers had developed more powerful nuclear weapons, especially thermonuclear bombs, and simultaneously become reluctant to commit themselves to disarmament. Instead they achieved a common understanding of the benefits of nuclear deterrence to avoid war.[144] Thus the peace-by-security approach was considered a necessity to avoid of a devastating war.

For the specific purposes of this study the issue of disarmament is of importance. The detailed policy covering Indian nuclear policy and questions concerning the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Partial and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaties will be elaborated in the next chapter. For the present, however, it is sufficient to analyse Indian disarmament views in general and as part of Indian foreign policy. When speaking about disarmament in an Indian context, one is actually speaking about several concepts that by definition are separate,[145] namely disarmament itself, arms control and nuclear non-proliferation.[146] The official line in India is that disarmament proper is the ultimate goal.

Some explanations why disarmament has been on the Indian agenda can be

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[143] Berkes & Bedi 1958, p. 205. This kind of argument in fact follows the context-oriented methodology of this study, though without the explicit intertextualization and emphasis on meanings and intentions.

[144] Berkes & Bedi 1958, pp. 70-79.

[145] Perkovich even speaks about the "lexicon and framework" when the Cold War major powers distinguished the concepts (Perkovich 2000, p. 7).

[146] *Disarmament* can be understood as the reduction and ultimate abolition of armaments and armed forces, *arms control* as the measures taken to limit, reduce, regulate and monitor the existing or negotiated levels of armament, and *non-proliferation* as the decision to forgo the acquisition of nuclear weapons or to eliminate or rollback the existing capabilities, or as the measures taken to prohibit the spread and development of nuclear weapons.

found in the spiritual and intellectual traditions of the country; Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism. A closer intellectual heritage stems from the two founding fathers of the Union, Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, the former building on tradition and the latter expanding it with socialist ideals. Non-violence and the peaceful settlement of conflicts were the guiding idealistic principles. Realism, the "national interest" Nehru referred to, also has a role to play. Given the extent of the country's social and economic needs a universal farewell to arms would sound beneficial. Similarly, given the country's geostrategic position, any reduction in arms and armaments would ease her pains.

The 1948 call for limiting the use of atomic energy to peaceful purposes only and the elimination of nuclear weapons from national armaments follows the general purposes of Indian foreign policy. Atomic energy was considered necessary in modernizing and industrializing India. A world without nuclear weapons would on the one hand free India from nuclear build-up and on the other ensure that her sheer size and weight would not be compromised by such weapons. As bipolarization and superpower confrontation deepened India did not settle for philosophical lecturing but began to seek out solutions. She responded to the ongoing arms race with a series of piecemeal arms control proposals calling for an end to all nuclear testing, then for a partial test ban treaty and for international negotiations on nuclear non-proliferation. She nevertheless never abandoned the idealistic goal of complete and comprehensive disarmament and began to advocate it more vigorously. India joined forces with countries that shared both her radicalism and the desire to act. One could claim that Gandhi's maxim of good means being as important as good goals, which Nehru often repeated,[147] lies behind this orientation. Mere arms control or half-hearted solutions (good objective) are not enough as they allow parties to keep and even develop arsenal (bad means).

Thus it was not only the idealistic Nehru who came up with radical disarmament proposals. The Janata government called for the prohibition of the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons in 1978. In fact as the tensions between both the U.S. and the Soviet Union and India and Pakistan rose in the early 1980s India again responded with a series of disarmament and arms control proposals. In 1982 India wished to prohibit the production of fissile material for weapons, the production of nuclear weapons and related delivery systems.[148] This initiative was clearly aimed at Pakistan. In June 1988 India put forward a comprehensive plan for the total elimination of weapons of mass destruction.

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[147] E.g. Nehru in the United Nations on November 3, 1948 and on December 20, 1956 (Shivam 2001, pp. 13, 28).
[148] PMIUN 1999.

Harish Kapur claims that it was Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi who designed a concerted attempt "to think out the issue, design a strategy" and "mobilize like-minded nations".[149] Rajiv Gandhi himself introduced a Plan of Action to the United Nations General Assembly in June 1988. He had prior to that arranged a series of conferences and summits where the six nations of Sweden, Greece, Mexico, Tanzania, Argentina and India had called for more vigorous efforts to end the nuclear race. His proposal included a three-staged plan for both global and regional disarmament. This dual focus appeared for the first time in Indian disarmament politics, as she had previously demanded the officially declared Nuclear Weapon States first to commit to nuclear disarmament. Rajiv even later proposed an Asia-specific disarmament plan that would have included negative security guarantees.[150]

Disarmament has remained on the agenda even after the Cold War. In 1996 India submitted to the Conference on Disarmament a Programme of Action calling again for phased elimination of nuclear weapons. When the 8-Nation initiative "Towards a Nuclear Weapon Free World" calling for nuclear disarmament negotiations was put forward in June 1998 India responded to it positively.[151]

The record of Indian proposals is impressive, but few of them have been adopted and India herself has not joined some of the regimes that she had called for, especially the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty or the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. One could therefore question the sincerity of the Indian initiatives as most of the disarmament goals were well-known to be unacceptable by the superpowers, thus making the basic argument unfeasible. India has responded to this criticism with two basic arguments. The philosophical counter-critique builds on the 1930 Salt March analogy. Gandhi marched nearly 300 kilometres in order to defy the British legislation that protected their salt monopoly. By picking up a pinch of sea salt Gandhi violated the law. By staying outside the nuclear regimes (and later by becoming overtly nuclear) Indian governments have wanted to demonstrate how unbearable, fragile and dangerous the nuclear situation is. Gandhi's demonstration actually worked. He was followed, and arrested, and by a pinch of salt he managed to inspire many Indians to struggle for independence. The Indian nuclear stands are mainly repeated by her adversary Pakistan. The discriminatory argument used reminds one how diluted and discriminatory these nuclear regimes are thus making it impossible for India to accept them. This argument also veils the Indian security and scientific considerations. The overriding foreign policy goals of national

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[149] H. Kapur 1994, p. 142.
[150] Perkovich 2000, p. 298.
[151] The eight nations were Brazil, Egypt, Ireland, Mexico, New Zealand, South Africa, Slovenia and Sweden.

security and political independence would have been compromised by joining the regimes. India naturally has not been the only nation that has had restrictions towards nuclear regimes; e.g. the U.S. allies Italy and Germany were sceptical about joining the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

India opposed making military forces available to the Security Council as mentioned in Article 43 of the Charter and as recommended in the "Uniting for Peace" resolution in 1950. Similarly she did not support the January 1952 resolution calling for the strengthening of the United Nations' ability to maintain peace and security. Indian voting behaviour can be explained by reminding ourselves that the UN should *"devote itself to study of measures for peaceful settlement and conciliation of disputes"* rather than studying possible coercive measures.[152] Nevertheless, in order to help manage international crises and to emphasize India's non-alignment, Indian troops have participated in several UN-led monitoring and peacekeeping operations since Korea in 1953. Monitoring and peacekeeping is of course less ambitious and less coercive than the originally thought tasks for the UN armed forces would have been, making Indian contribution possible.[153] One of the main guidelines of Indian participation has been adherence to the principles of the UN Charter, *"in particular the principle of full respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, and non-inference in their internal affairs"*.[154] The Indian record of service in 29 missions or operations shows the country's strong dedication to the UN system. Naturally as in the case of other developing countries, including India's neighbours Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal, the operations are economically beneficial not only to the solders but also to the contributing nations. Active participation in the UN is seen to enhance India's international image and identity.

It should be noted that though many non-member countries have participated in NATO and later also in EU-led operations in the Balkans or in Afghanistan, India has not done so. Two explanations can be put forward: first, India did not or was highly reluctant to politically support these military-heavy operations. India believes that development in general and economic development in particular are prerequisite for the "climate of peace" i.e. lasting international peace and security. Second, it has been more comfortable for India to follow her commitment to the UN than to

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[152] Carnegie 1958, pp. 143-146. The Indian stand was explained by the then Ambassador Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Nehru's sister.
[153] Ambassador V.K. Krishna Menon explained the Indian participation in the United Nations Emergency Force for Egypt by referring to the force not being *"the kind of collective force contemplated by the Charter"* but *" an ad hoc arrangement"* and to the task of supervising the ceasefire and troop withdrawal. (Ambassador Krishna Menon in the United Nations on December 6, 1956, a speech quoted in Shivam 2001, p. 192).
[154] Indian Army 2007.

support entirely Western organizations.

After the Cold War India has occasionally aligned herself with the West in questions of international peace and security. Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar backed the U.S.-led coalition in the 1991 Gulf War, and even provided refuelling facilities in Mumbai for U.S. military aircraft before the domestic opposition compelled an end to such support. The Vajpayee Government expressed its concerns over NATO air strikes on Kosovo and considered them violations of the UN Charter.[155] India welcomed the UN Security Council Resolution 1373 on September 28, 2001 calling states to work together to prevent and suppress terrorist acts. She was sceptical, however, about the need for military intervention in Afghanistan. During the second Gulf War in 2003 the same NDA government took a cautious stand, trying to balance between the demand that Iraq should fully comply with UNSC Resolutions and stating that the military action lacked justification, although it was careful not to mention the U.S. by name.[156] In 1991 India was forced to balance her support for the UN system and her economic interests, as over 3 million Indian workers and professionals work in the Middle East and Gulf countries, and as the region is important to India logistically and as an energy supplier. Iraq had also supported the Indian interpretation on Kashmir. NATO action against Kosovo in 1999 was easier to condemn as the Security Council did not support the strikes. However, when the Council failed to act collectively in 2003, India did not automatically took Iraq's side. By 2003 Indo-U.S. relations had risen to such importance that Prime Minister Vajpayee could state in the *Lok Sabha* that "*India's relationship with other nations could not be defined by a single issue*", later explicitly mentioning the U.S. and Britain.[157] Iraq had been demoted from a principal question to a single issue.

India has been cautious not to develop the UN beyond the Charter and its principles. She has rejected ideas that would have compromised state sovereignty, questioned the collective decision-making in the Security Council or abolished the veto. Such a development would have jeopardized the representative nature of the UN and could have turned it into an instrument of a single power bloc.[158] This international and supranational maintenance of peace and management of conflicts and disputes could, in turn, harm her regional interests. By emphasizing the importance of the representative character of the Council, its greater political authority and legitimacy and the adequate presence of developing countries[159] India pursues her *rightful* place in the UN structures, regimes and agencies. That place would be a permanent member's seat on the Security Council. This con-

[155] MEA, March 25, 1999 and May 11, 1999.
[156] MEA, March 18, 2003 and March 20, 2003.
[157] *The Hindu*, March 23, 2003.
[158] Carnegie 1958, p. 209.
[159] PMIUN 1999.

crete goal is supported by the Russian Federation but opposed by the United States and China. The latter do not want to grant such a position to their political, economic and regional competitor. The connection and correspondence between a permanent seat and nuclear status would become further strengthened.

Conclusion

Given the dualism of idealism and realism operating within Indian foreign policy one could characterize certain aspects of it in the manner presented in the following table. The table and its characterizations are by no means either comprehensive or exclusive, yet they are quintessentially Indian. Most of the individual concepts and characterizations could be applied to many other nations as well. The table emphasizes the fact that Indian foreign policy contains both idealistic and realistic thoughts and exemplifies this dualism, which is common to most if not all nations.

Aspects	Idealistic Discourse	Realistic Discourse
Theory	*Climate of Peace*	*Climate of War*
Ordering principles	*Cooperation* *Equality* *Inclusiveness*	*Treaties and Alliances* *Prestige* *Selectivity*
Methods	*Security by Peace* *Security by Development*	*Peace by Security* *Development by Security*
Position of a Country	*Secured by Sovereignty*	*Intervened if so Decided*
Tools	*Politics* *Ahimsā* *Settlement by Negotiations* *Disarmament* *Development Policy*	*Law* *Military Power* *Enforcement* *Arms Control* *Economic Development*
Decision making	*Unanimous decision*	*Majority vote*
Ways	*Morality*	*Legality*
Frameworks	*Non-alignment movement* *UN Charter*	*Neutrality, Great Power Game* *UN Security Council*

Table no. 1: Competing idealistic and realistic ontological and methodological discourses in Indian foreign policy.

It ought to be remembered, too, that though the concept of national interest is typical for the school of Political Realism, the objective of national interest can be advocated by both realistic and idealistic politics. One can detect in the table a dynamics operating in Indian foreign policy: most of the Indian leaders implicitly (Nehru, Rajiv Gandhi) or explicitly (Indira

Gandhi, Vajpayee) acknowledge the realist ontology but they differ in their principal choices of methodology, i.e. the means to change or escape from this ontology. For Nehru the tools in the left-hand column were most natural, whereas his successors, including his daughter, have been more pragmatic in their choices.

As stated in the beginning of this chapter Indian foreign policy can be understood to have the goals of security, economic and social development, regional supremacy or hegemony, and a recognized international role. As also mentioned the now dominant Indian National Congress Party with its abiding principles follows suit. Nearly 57 years of independence prior to the Manmohan Singh government have witnessed substantial changes in these areas. As both the external and internal security environment has worsened India has relied in her quest for security on self-reliance and non-alignment, sought political and military support mostly from the Soviet Union and developed military and nuclear capacity not only to enhance her security but to maintain regional hegemony. *Ahimsā* was replaced with armed diplomacy. It has been hoped that a recognized international role and status would follow from this might. Indian foreign policy contributed to economic development first by obtaining foreign aid and technological support in order to develop heavy industry, including the energy and nuclear energy sectors. As the Cold War, the ordering principle of the first 45 years or so of independence, disappeared Indian foreign policy was faced with new realities. International role-playing gradually diminished. One factor contributing to this was the changes in the international system which made it either unnecessary or impossible. International role-playing virtually disappeared as the Cold War came to an end and as India became preoccupied with her economic and domestic problems. Nor did the changed international situation need India's good offices. Indian behaviour during the Gulf War made it clear that India was no longer able to play a major part in international affairs; her leaders and politicians were more interested in economics or in their own survival.

The first post-Cold War decade saw India and many other nations, trying to adopt learned ways and means to the changed framework. India began to rearrange her relations with the United States, China and the Russian Federation, which might be called balancing. She also promoted regional economic cooperation and gradual integration in the subcontinent. At the same time India has been trying to establish a firm position in other regions, most notably in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf but also in Africa. The European Union, Japan and South Korea are becoming important partners as the Indian economy and industry is becoming truly modern. Perhaps only now is the new political framework of interrelated energy, economic, ecologic, military and social factors being analysed and correctly understood, and arguably the Manmohan Singh government is the

first to really govern according to this framework. Three new or at least modified aspects of the 21st century Indian foreign policy are: a shift from confrontational local to cooperative global power, an expanded regional sphere to cover the wider Indian Ocean region, and the enhancement of the Indo-U.S. relationship to a partnership.

The new in the framework might seem to undermine not only the relevance of the existing political conventions but also the relevance of the "Indian Strategic Culture" that is built on the particular, the previous and the historical. Perhaps now unconventional thinking is what is needed. It can, though, be argued that even current politics in the era of globalization is not immune to the past. Ideational and empirical knowledge and understanding do operate in the modern world thus making it possible to grasp the meaning of policies by means of intertextualization, a theme discussed in the Introduction.

5

INDIAN NUCLEAR POLICY

Political and Structural Realism are the main schools of thought that have dominated nuclear policy. Ontologically, though an average Realist would not be interested in this concept, this orientation has focused on the questions of national security, foreign powers and military capabilities. Especially in the Western literature the U.S.-Soviet confrontation has received the main attention with deterrence and arms control as the key concepts. Nuclear policy became identified with Cold War-type strategies such as calculations and other theoretical considerations of the best possible political, technological and military solutions to overcome the enemy and the fear of annihilation. Domestic and foreign domains were kept apart, and social forces were not considered. Put briefly, one could argue that immediately after the Second World War the U.S. nuclear policy or strategy focused on strategic bombing and total destruction, and only after both horizontal and vertical proliferation had taken place were more nuanced policies considered necessary.[1] Nuclear studies followed the general debates in post-war International Relations, and traditional approaches were partly replaced by scientific and behavioural methodologies, and later by the post-positivist and post-modern strands of IR.

The following is a short presentation of the major ideas and theories concerning the intellectual context of nuclear policy as it was established during the Cold War. How applicable time- and space-specific ideas and theories are, is in fact not a major methodological question but a practical question for decision-makers. These theories are used here to reveal the prevailing conventions and claims in order to draw an intellectual mindmap of Indian nuclear policy.

The most prominent, influential, and Realist nuclear scholars of the first two atomic decades include Bernard Brodie, Hermann Kahn, Henry Kissinger and Albert Wohlstetter.[2] Bernard Brodie pointed out in *The Absolute*

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[1] The first focus was understandable as there were no other nuclear weapons except atomic bombs. For a thorough analysis of nuclear policies and strategy see Lawrence Freedman's *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*.

[2] Among other theorists one could mention Raymond Aron and André Beaufre, who influenced French thinking. Their thinking is not elaborated in this study unless it bears some resemblance to Indian thoughts. Similarly issue-specific studies on e.g. decision-making in nuclear issues are not elaborated here or later unless they specifically refer to the Indian case.

Weapon (1946) that the atomic bomb is unique by nature and had revolutionized warfare. It was not feasible to wage war with these weapons but they were not nevertheless useless: they could avert wars rather than win them. To ensure [U.S.] security one had to guarantee the possibility of retaliation in case of enemy attack.[3] The logic of nuclear deterrence was thus written out. Henry Kissinger like Brodie emphasized the political element in a successful nuclear strategy. It would be unwise to rely on maximum destructiveness when the American nuclear monopoly had been superseded by the Russians and as they had developed the means to inflict damage on American soil. Limited objectives and limited nuclear strategies would require the introduction of political elements into the American concept of warfare. Kissinger's observations on limited (nuclear) war, e.g. the requirements it sets on the quality of the forces, the doctrine and the decision-making, have lost some validity in the U.S.-Russian context but are still relevant in the evolving South Asian nuclear environment.[4]

Hermann Kahn sought for the best ways to both deter the enemy and wage nuclear war. His main premise differed from Brodie's original thought: for Kahn even nuclear war was feasible and winnable. He believed that controlled behaviour could continue even when and after nuclear weapons had been used, and he became (notoriously) known for his escalation ladder of 44 steps to Armageddon. For him credible first-strike capability was essential.[5] Kahn's theories laid the basis for the doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). Another major theorist behind MAD was Albert Wohlstetter. His maxim "*to deter an attack means being able to strike back in spite of it*" summarizes the basic idea of deterrence. If one wants to avert nuclear war, one has to be ready to wage it, reminding one of Vegetius's classical *Si vic pacem, para bellum*. Thus second-strike capability is needed for a credible deterrence. Such a system, according to Wohlstetter, would require stable financing, survivability, the decision to strike back, sufficient range of the weapon system(s), and their ability to penetrate the enemy defence and destroy the target(s). Despite the cold and calculating style one should keep in mind that Wohlstetter's intention as well as Brodie's and Kahn's was first and foremost to avoid a general war. He believed, like President Eisenhower that the idea of a limited nuclear war was dangerous to world peace, thus only massively damaging and destructive capability would be enough to force human beings to remain peaceful.[6]

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[3] Brodie 1946, pp. 76, 88-91; Freedman 1989, pp. 43-44.
[4] Kissinger 1957, pp. 33-42, 128-148, 224-226.
[5] Freedman 1989, pp. 134, 216-217.
[6] Wohlstetter 1958. Wohlstetter in fact introduced the concepts of first and second strike.

It is important to notice that these and many other scholars of the first atomic decades were directly involved in the development of U.S. nuclear strategies. In the U.S., and in the Soviet Union, the theoretical ideas of first-strike and second-strike capabilities, as well as maximum destruction and limited war materialized in official policies and material capacities. The emphasis shifted as ideas were developed and as nuclear proliferation proceeded horizontally and vertically. It should be remembered that conventional capabilities were considered necessary since the outbreak of the Korean War. Nuclear weapons could not replace boots on the ground.

The actual war fighting theories introduced the concepts and strategies of countercity and counterforce. Countercity, also known as countervalue capability is both a strategy to target and a means to destroy the enemy's cities, i.e. its population and industry. As these targets are large even rudimentary capability is sufficient to execute the missions. In counterforce strategy the enemy's military or otherwise important targets are struck. It requires accurate intelligence, proper penetration and far better accuracy than the countervalue strategy. The development of missile technology gradually made counterforce strategy possible, but the targeting of population has remained an option. A counterforce capability is problematic because with it comes the inbuilt logic of a possible first-strike against the enemy command and control system and nuclear forces.

The quintessential concept in nuclear theories is deterrence. At its simplest it refers to abstaining from doing something in fear of military punishment. There are two major strands to deterrence, deterrence by punishment and deterrence by denial. The former refers to a strategy and effect that is based on retaliation and the great losses the adversary does not wish to suffer. The latter refers to a strategy and effect that focuses on the negative ratio of costs and benefits of violent behaviour. The concept of existential deterrence forwarded by McGeorge Bundy refers to the mere existence and uncertainty of what could happen that act as a deterrent. What is required is survivability of one's nuclear forces – and uncertainty concerning one's own ability to destroy the adversary's capacity by first strike.

Deterrence thus operates with a complex mindset of psychological and cognitive factors that make a person, the adversary, behave in a desirable way, i.e. it deters violent behaviour.[7] Deterrence is the desired effect of strategy:[8] in fact, if fighting breaks outs deterrence has failed. This very psychological dimension of deterrence, as Thomas C. Schelling puts it

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[7] Buzan 1987, p. 163; Harjula 1989, p. 29.
[8] Gray 1996, p. 31.

"*atomic blackmail*"[9], involves communication and rational calculation. The actual capacity to inflict damage is secondary to perceptions and the fear factor. Thus the idea of deterrence is always relative and not conditioned to specific capacity or an absolute value.[10] Communication should deliver the message of might and determination and help to create the idea of great risk.

Especially Schelling used game theory in his formal analysis. He emphasized deterrence and conflict as a form of strategic communication and bargaining, and thus game theoretical approaches seemed suitable.[11] They provide a lucrative opportunity to reduce complex strategic and social phenomenon to easily understandable and manageable forms, even to intellectual and mathematical duels between abstract opponents. Its logical reasoning is naturally highly dependent on the premises individual scientists choose to have. Game theory has been criticized for being based on unreal assumptions about conflict-prone and rationalist actors, for having too narrow a scope and for neglecting psychological, societal and cultural factors. Depending, for example, on how possible costs and gains together with their probability are valued, one gets differing results from a basically clear equation. Game theory nevertheless succeeded in contributing to rational arguments by replacing the first-strike option with stable deterrence based on survivable second-strike forces.[12] Another field where mathematical modelling was utilized was the bilateral arms control negotiations between the U.S and the Soviet Union.[13]

As technical development since the mid-1950s made it possible to build smaller nuclear devices and more capable counterforce arms systems, so war-fighting theories were developed which acknowledged these developments. Nuclear weapons were designed to destroy the enemy's offensive formations that had broken through one's own defensive lines, or the enemy's major reserve forces still waiting to do that. Tactical nuclear weapons – that is short-range ballistic missiles, gravity bombs, artillery grenades and nuclear mines – became additional source of weaponry. The concept of the "*deterrence-defence continuum*"[14] became to illustrate this expansion of the role of nuclear weapons to include both deterrence and war-fighting functions.

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[9] Schelling 1980, p. 119.

[10] Brodie 1959, pp. 274-275, Gray 1996, p. 33.

[11] See Schelling 1966 or 1980. For a short introduction to two basic games "Prisoner's Dilemma" and "Chicken" see e.g. Freedman 1989, pp. 185-189.

[12] Freedman 1989, pp. 182-184.

[13] For a study combining the notion of strategic culture and game theory, see Huiyun Feng, *Chinese Strategic Culture and Foreign Policy Decision-Making*.

[14] Elaborated by Glenn Snyder in 1961.

Of the mainstream IR theories Political Realism, with its doctrine of power maximizing, serves to explain the international nuclear order well. However, there is more to Realism than just brute power. Hans Morgenthau distinguishes three patterns of state behaviour: i) the preservation of power when a state is satisfied with its position ii) the increase of power when a state is dissatisfied and iii) the acquisition of power by demonstration, the policy of prestige[15]. Structural Realism is the main IR theory that tries to explain nuclear proliferation, particularly the acquisition of nuclear weapons. In fact, the Structural or Neo-Realism developed by Kenneth Waltz has stemmed from the international nuclear order.[16] For him the anarchic international structure is the reason for states maximizing their relative power and in particular increasing their security. Nuclear weapons are considered to be the great equalizers, providing security for states and stability to the international system; they "*induce caution in any state*". He claims that wars among nuclear adversaries become less likely or more limited as no one would escalate in fear of their own intolerable losses.[17]

Belief in the deterrent capacity of nuclear weapons has some flaws. Perhaps the single most heavily attacked issue has been the rationale of deterrence. Firstly, communication is never perfect, and especially in the case of nuclear matters, where high secrecy prevails, one cannot have a complete picture of the adversary's thinking and capabilities. One cannot rely on the fact that the one's adversary has received the messages or has interpreted them as they were intended to be interpreted, and that one's nuclear arsenal is counted in the political and strategic decision-making. As Brodie has stated, "*if we make the wrong prediction about ourselves, we encourage the enemy also to make the wrong prediction about us*".[18]

The second criticism is directed towards the assumption that one's adversary follows a rational and clear line of logic and will not attack or use nuclear weapons, while we allow ourselves to be irrational and use them. This problem culminates in the dilemma of the extended deterrence military alliances provide: is it rational to sacrifice, say, New York because Hamburg has been attacked? This question can be asked in other political contexts as well, especially when territorial disputes are involved in the equation. Is Kashmir a big enough issue to justify waging a nuclear war;

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[15] Morgenthau 1993, p. 84.
[16] As Waltz points out Structural Realism explains how external forces shape states' behaviour: it is not a theory of foreign policy as such. In fact, states and domestic actors are omitted from the theory (Waltz 2004, pp. 2-3).
[17] Waltz in Waltz & Sagan 2003, pp. 6-17, 33-37.
[18] Brodie 1959, p. 274.

what situation would justify and trigger nuclear exchange? The concept of strategic culture introduced by Jack Snyder tries to overcome the problem of misinterpretation. One should understand the other; in fact understand what is of utmost importance to one's adversary and what makes it behave in a desirable way. Only then would the messages be heard and correctly interpreted. Yet even then the outcome could be "irrational" or unpredictable. Those who believe in the logic of deterrence, however, point out that existential deterrence is a structural condition that deters nuclear weapon states from attacking each other. Less formal communication and limited transparency is enough to create the required effect of deterrence.[19]

Finally, one can argue that the possession of nuclear weapons – the very deterrence itself – actually encourages and enables low-scale and conventional conflicts deterring the other side from any decisive action. Especially in the case of Kashmir this question is of importance.

Feminism offers interesting and important insights on nuclear policy. There are many feminist schools of thought, e.g. liberal, psychoanalytic and existential, but what is epistemologically common to most feminist approaches is a different way of theorizing the act of knowing. Feminism thus expresses concerns and asks questions that would not otherwise be generally expressed or asked.[20] This different way of perceiving the world naturally affects the way feminism, but not necessarily women, relates to war and nuclear weapons. Feminism in general criticizes the way international/world politics is dominated not only by male decision-makers, but also by norms, values and concepts set up by men and men-dominated structures and social patterns. In order to emancipate oneself from these oppressive and destructive male practices the focus and the language of (world) politics ought to be changed. Thus *war* is no longer restrictively defined but could be seen as expressions of proving one's *manhood* and *national* prowess.[21] Feminism thus takes a holistic approach where social and societal practices and gender related structures are seen to produce certain behaviour.

The logic of feminism, both as a discipline and as action, can thus be summed up as follows: i) gender operationalizes society and politics in

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[19] Hagerty 1995, pp. 87-91.

[20] Peach 2004, p. 436; Crotty 2006, pp. 162-167; Kantola & Valenius 2007, p. 6. Whether women are psychologically different from men, as some feminists suggest, will not be elaborated on here. The author nevertheless believes that there is no ontology or epistemology particular to a single sex. Feminist agenda can be promoted and feminist research can be conducted by both females and males, though men have not personally experienced social patterns and masculine pressures the way women have.

[21] Pettman 2000, p. 15.

which male is seen as superior to female, ii) masculine practices and concepts maintain and reproduce this male power and dominance, iii) by focusing on gender issues it is possible to better understand (world) politics and break down suppressive practices. Masculine practices and concepts include political and academic expressions like 'realism', 'rationality' and 'security'. Feminine expressions and issues like 'emotions' or 'peace' are undervalued in the mainstream, masculine politics and discipline. One of the focal points in feminist critique and action is therefore these suppressive dichotomies. Militarism, weapons and nuclear weapons are similarly patriarchic/masculine practices that create, maintain and support male power.

Cohn and Ruddick represent the feminist tradition of "anti-war feminism" and regard violence and war as overestimated practices that are too easily applied, whereas non-violent alternatives are not properly explored. By offering four constitutive positions, the gendered character of war, the perspective of women's lives, a non-temporal and non-spatial conception of war and the inadequacy of dominant ways of thinking, they distance themselves not only from mainstream IR theories but also from theories of a just war and pacifism.[22] The gendered character of war builds mainly on the above-mentioned gendered identities and gender-coding that devalue feminine practices. Thus nuclear weapons and deterrence are male-coded, granting them higher status and leaving their actual meaning unquestioned. The other three positions challenge the ontological and epistemological commitments that gender-coded theories have.

Nuclear weapons are the ultimate expressions of unnecessary and harmful male practices that do not even answer the real security challenges. These are mostly domestic, economical, ecological and developmental problems rather than international military threats. The rationality inbuilt in deterrence theory is denied, and indeed it would be rational to abolish nuclear weapons. This argument is grounded on the human suffering and ecological damage that nuclear war would cause. Arundhati Roy's utterance exemplifies this approach:

> *Our cities and forests, our fields and villages will burn for days. Rivers will turn to poison. The air will become fire. The wind will spread the flames. When everything there is to burn has burned and the fires die, smoke will rise and shut out the sun.*

and she asks:

> *What shall we do then, those of us who are still alive?*[23]

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[22] Cohn & Ruddick 2004, pp. 405-412.
[23] Roy 1998, p. 2.

With its critical approach feminism can shed light on issues that mainstream IR research does not recognize.[24] It also offers alternative modes of interpretation to these questions. Most important is the expansion of nuclear epistemology. Nuclear weapons can be or ought to be studied and thought about not only from the perspective of the dominant "*technostrategic discourse*" but from the viewpoint of their wider political, social, societal, economic, psychological and moral consequences.[25] This enables one, for example, to investigate the reasons for acquiring or maintaining nuclear deterrence from alternative points of view, which can provide fruitful insights on the question.

Pragmatism and pragmatic feminism shares many features of the above-discussed anti-war feminism. These include *inter alia* the similar epistemological commitments that question the realist-rational paradigm and the engagement to solve social problems. Pragmatism and pragmatic feminism distance themselves from more hard-line approaches by affirming just war theory standpoints. War, nuclear weapons and deterrence can be found to be morally justifiable even on feminist grounds.[26] Pragmatic feminism, for example, does not endorse war, violence or weapons of mass destruction but, simply, refuses to condemn them *a priori*.

Nevertheless feminism as an approach is still has the role of the 'Other' to the established 'Self' of Western mainstream theories. One reason might be the openly political nature of feminism as a discipline.[27] The anti-nuclear movement, feminist or pacifist, has traditionally been most concerned about Western nuclear weapons forgetting the weapons of mass destruction the former Soviet Union, present-day Russia or Third World countries have possessed. Similarly, feminism takes a principled stand on non-proliferation which by questioning the concept itself[28] again puts the blame on the Western countries. This argument is the same India has used in order to justify her reluctance to join the Non-Proliferation Treaty and even her need to develop nuclear weapons. The holistic approach inbuilt in feminism overrides pragmatism and this in an imperfect world might lead to greater misery and suppression.

Feminism itself explains its secondary role by referring to the fear its

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[24] Though post-modernism in general and constructivism and critical theory in particular are doing the same.
[25] Cohn & Ruddick 2004, p. 412.
[26] Peach 2004, pp. 436-443.
[27] This naturally is a male-coded argument as objective and unsituated knowledge is denied within the tradition.
[28] Cohn & Ruddick, 2004, pp. 420-423.

power-reducing approach might cause in the ruling male political and academic elites. To deny feminism is to maintain one's own power position and masculinity. Another reason might be the doctrine of gender discourse systems and male-coding itself. The relation between war, aggression and masculinity has remained unclear and has perhaps been more political than scientific, the latter obviously being a 'male-coded' expression and argument according to the feminist discourse. Symbols of masculinity and sexuality, representing both sexes, have been linked to nuclear weapons[29] but what this practice actually says about international or world politics can be contested.

The Short Story of Indian Nuclear Policy

The existing literature on Indian nuclear policy contains at least three differing but overlapping approaches and narratives. First, there is what could be called the official story of the peaceful-purposes-only approach. According to this view the ultimate rationale of Indian nuclearization was social development for which atomic energy was the solution. Indian military capabilities were developed gradually and almost inevitably, an argument often repeated in official statements and documents. The second narrative interprets the nuclear history differently. Relying on the personal accounts of prominent scientists, technicians and administrators, security and military purposes are claimed to have really driven the progress. What is common for both approaches is their ontological and methodological commitment to the Wisdom tradition. The truth can be revealed if the right sources can be found. The forces and factors examined are both internal and external consisting of an analysis of the political, technological and military decision-makers and of the foreign powers with their national, political or institutional interest.

Several seminar publications and individual accounts represent this orientation. Of these one should mention *Nuclear India* edited by Jasjit Singh. The volume presents a series of rather pro-nuclear articles originally presented in the Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis' seminar right after the 1998 tests. One of the articles, Šumit Ganguly's "India's Pathway to Pokhran II", tries to explain the 1998 tests by historical contextualizing. Ganguly argues that fifty years of piecemeal political decisions and technical improvements together with an increased perception of threat, first from

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[29] The atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were named "Little Boy" and "Fat Man", respectively, and the concepts of "sex bomb" and bikinis have a direct link with nuclear weapons. The Hindi word of *śakti*, the codename for the 1998 tests, means both physical and political power and the female genitalia.

China and then from Pakistan, impelled India towards her current nuclear status.[30] Rear Admiral Raja Menon's *A Nuclear Strategy for India* is one the few public analyses of the military-technological aspects of Indian nuclear strategy. Menon casts doubt on the claimed technical efficiency of the Indian arsenal and comes to the conclusion that because of the slow technological development and the lack of financial means the Indian minimum deterrence will always remain "*barely above the poverty line*".[31]

One of the most authoritative and important accounts following a historical methodology in order to explain the Indian behaviour is George Perkovich's *India's Nuclear Bomb*, published in 2000. It depends heavily on the researcher's access to previously unknown sources and interviews with former and current high-ranking Indian and foreign experts and officials.[32] Perkovich, however, does not merely gather and list the Indian achievements but draws valuable conclusions for the field of International Relations, especially for nuclear proliferation. As he also recognizes the role of domestic forces and international status the influence of the Wisdom tradition in *India's Nuclear Bomb* should not hinder one from seeing the constructive in it.

Scott Sagan's influential article "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?" in *International Security*[33] set up an analytical framework for investigating the motives and forces behind nuclear decisions. He specifically took Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and India's Peaceful Nuclear Explosion in 1974 as the example for the influence of domestic politics and political calculations. Several studies and articles have followed suit and explicitly focused on explaining the Indian decisions to test in 1974 and 1998.

The third approach follows constructive and critical commitments. Instead of fact-based truths, constructive interpretations and relative epistemology guide conclusions. Here the questions and answers concerning ideas, identity, prestige and symbolism are of importance.

Itty Abraham's *The Making of the* Indian *Atomic Bomb* (1998) offers the reader a post-modern and discursive approach. Abraham argues that secrecy has been the main reason for the lack of critical studies of Indian

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[30] Ganguly 1999, pp. 148-149. For the debate on Ganguly's article, see Jones and Ganguly in *International Security*, Vol 24, No. 4. (Spring 2000), pp. 181-189.
[31] Menon 2000, p. 21.
[32] I have also had a chance to interview a number of Indian and Pakistani experts during international seminars and meetings. As they have expressed their wish to remain anonymous their remarks are not mentioned, though their views have however influenced my argumentation.
[33] *International Security*, vol. 21, no. 3 (Winter 1996/97), pp. 54-86.

nuclear policy.[34] This has lead to *"sanitized official narratives"* about science and a non-nuclear and non-aligned India. He therefore forgoes interviews and uses only public sources, most notably the *Lok Sabha* debates, which he interprets through sociological and other theoretical lenses. Abraham further argues that the political culture, theories of the Indian state and the meanings and values attributed to a political action are the keys to understanding Indian nuclear decisions and history. For him the post-colonial state project of modernity, where security and development are intertwined and epitomize the state's power, is the kingpin of Indian politics. Thus the modernity project required the Janus-faced atomic energy, and the atomic establishment needed the bomb option, to maintain its and the post-colonial state's legitimacy.[35]

Haider K. Nizamani in his *The Roots of Rhetoric* (2000) follows Abraham's approach but focuses on political and expert speeches and statements. Nizamani argues that the Indian and Pakistani nuclear programmes did not originate as responses to any specific security challenge but were instead born from visions of national identity. He particularly claims that bomb-advocating factions monopolized the language of national identity and patriotism thus making it practically impossible to resist their nuclear desires. Nizamani questions the use and usefulness of Western theoretical lenses, especially Kalevi Holsti's and Barry Buzan's notion of 'weak states', to analyse post-colonial and Third World security. He concludes by emphasizing how the Indian and Pakistani nuclear hawks have relied on Political Realism in their problem-solving theorizing.[36]

Karsten Frey widens the scope and methodology in his *India's Nuclear Bomb and National Security*, published in 2006. Frey's point of departure is Structural Realism and its ideas of structural forces conditioning international behaviour and the pursuit of security. He expands this assumption by introducing explanatory variables at the unit level, where the operating forces are related more to symbolic than strategic values.[37] Quite appropriately for the Indian case he emphasizes the role of the strategic elite in nuclear policy. For him the strategic elite consists of strategic thinkers and opinion leaders outside the official decision-making machinery.

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[34] Following Abraham's argument one could then ask whether he implicitly believes that the truth is "out there" if only all the sources were available, that reading the texts is only a substitute for written or oral sources.
[35] Abraham 1998, pp. 4-5, 12-21, 98-106.
[36] Nizamani 2000, pp. 2, 6-10, 138, 146-147.
[37] Frey 2006, pp. 5, 18.

The following examination of Indian nuclear policy combines the empirical and historical with the ideational, Realism with Constructivism. The empirical and historical examines what was done, by whom and why. The constructive interprets and gives meaning to these facts by using the contextual framework presented in the previous chapters. Attention is paid to the motives behind certain stands and decisions as well as the specific issues of international nuclear regimes and the Indian nuclear doctrine. Though the decisions and actions are fairly well recorded and studied the following interpretation is considered necessary as it constructs the convention needed for the method of intertextualizing.

The span of some 60 years of Indian nuclear policy is chronologically and empirically divided into four periods. The first section covers the years from 1947 to 1964 when the developmental needs were identified with the development of atomic energy establishment and industry in India. The second phase covers the years of changing domestic and foreign environment, namely from 1964 when Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru died and China detonated her first nuclear device, to the 1974 Peaceful Nuclear Explosion. This period also witnessed the birth of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. From 1974 to 1998 India restrained from following the 1974 test and acquiring an overt nuclear deterrence arsenal although she did develope the capabilities to do both. During this third period the question of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty came to dominate the political landscape. Finally the fourth period from the 1998 Pokhran II tests to the present day can be characterized as an era of overt nuclear capacity and implicit nuclear doctrine, or as Frey calls it a period of nuclear consolidation.

Chorology may be a helpful tool to grasp the subject, but it does simplify the pre-existing reality. Dividing diversity into specific eras raises the question of the validity of such dividing lines; on what grounds are the lines drawn? Perhaps the commonest approach in both political science and in political history is to categorize time, history and politics according to rulers, regimes and governments. In the case of Indian nuclear policy one could thus tackle the era of Jawaharlal Nehru and end up with the current Manmohan Singh government. A similar alternative would be to separate the Congress Party governments from the coalition governments. A qualitatively different approach would take certain political, ideological or theoretical thoughts to its point of departure. Then e.g. the doctrines of disarmament, peaceful nuclear explosions, covert nuclear capability or overt nuclear capability could form separate entities and enclaves. Domestic policy and public and parliamentary debates could accordingly help to paint a bigger picture.

Timelines in this thesis are drawn according to certain, dramatic events in Indian nuclear history that are seen to shape India's politics, policy and polity. Within each specific "historical pocket" ideational – political and theoretical – inputs are taken into consideration. Otherwise, one would lose the complexity of the phenomenon.[38] Drawing lines between the different levels of analysis and between the different administrative or political spheres simplify and clarify but also undermine. As will be shown the separation of the terms 'civilian' and 'military', 'security' and 'development' and 'foreign' and 'domestic' is at least in the case of Indian nuclear policy unnecessary. The broad approach is needed to grasp the broad context of Indian nuclear conventions. As stated in the Introduction, the truthfulness of different sources and approaches is not therefore evaluated here. Even if a source or an idea is later shown to be false or misleading it is most useful for the purposes of this study if and when it has shaped or it resembles Indian thinking.

1 Development and Security (1947–1964)

The beginning of the Indian nuclear programme *is* a story of two powerful individuals: Jawaharlal Nehru, the politician, and Homi Bhabha, the physician and their ideas. They regarded nuclear power, electric or explosive, as representing modernity, potential prosperity, the transcendence of the colonial past, individual and collective prowess, and international leverage.[39] India would gain prestige, status, and economic benefits. It was believed India would with the help of atomic energy achieve the standard of living that her backwardness and lack of industrial strength had prevented her from obtainingt. Conventional wisdom holds Bhabha responsible for the dual nature of the Indian nuclear programme, whereas Nehru would have advocated peaceful purposes only. Nehru, however, implicitly accepted the potential military role of the programme, and the deterrence and international power of the nuclear weapon capability. The moralist in Nehru saw weapons as anathema to the unique spirit of India; the realist recognized that they could enhance India's status and power in the world.[40] For Bhabha the motives seem to include a stronger colonial, even racial dimension. Abraham argues that Bhabha had been denied access to the "Western" information and career because of his "colonial", i.e. inferior background. He and India wanted to prove their ability by indigenous

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[38] One of the key findings in Patomäki 2002.

[39] Abraham 1998, pp. 26-30; Cohen 2001, p. 158.

[40] One should not isolate Nehru's statements from their contexts and thus draw too far reaching conclusions on his (alleged) pro-nuclear views. The same goes for Gandhi. Both abhorred nuclear war.

science and projects.[41] Both Nehru's dualism and the Nehru-Bhabha relationship resemble and remind the Indians of the Arjuna-Krishna debate in the *Bhagavad Gītā*: doing good or doing one's duty, and where the latter, *dharma*, prevails.

The Indian Atomic Energy Research Committee was founded in 1946 with Bhabha as its chairman. As the British Raj had neglected Indian industrial development, for Nehru and Bhabha it was of utmost importance that Indian science and industry would overcome this legacy and achieve the highest symbol of modernity of splitting the atom. They believed that a major leap in energy supply would translate directly into a major leap in economic and societal well-being. Security and development emerged as ideas and tools for modernization;[42] both could be pursued by atomic energy.

This purpose was further institutionalized when the Indian Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) was established in 1948, and the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) was established in 1954 The AEC and the 1948 Atomic Energy Act were not born without labour pains. In the *Lok Sabha* debates several parliamentarians welcomed the Bill but questions rose about the secretive nature of the legislation and the monopolistic role of the AEC. Nehru defended the Bill, and the need for secrecy by stating that he could not "*know how you are to distinguish the two*", the peaceful and military uses of atomic energy.[43] Even implicitly the military option was there. Both the AEC and the DAE fell under the direct purview of the prime minister. This was the only check-and-balance mechanism in the atomic establishment. With these institutional and legislative moves Nehru and Bhabha managed to hold their monopoly on the atomic issues, minimize public scrutiny and to continue to set, even dictate the national agenda. Menon considers Bhabha's administrative skills enabled him to free the atomic establishment from administrative and scientific bureaucracy.[44] Abraham concludes that the Act was needed more to hide Indian dependency on foreign assistance than to hide Indian ability from foreign eyes and ears. In the Act a line was drawn between the state and domestic society.[45] This was essential to support the modernity project Nehru had launched.

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[41] Abraham 1998, pp. 36-46; Ganguly 1999, pp. 149-150; Ramana 2003, p. 215.

[42] Abraham 1998, pp. 13-14; Perkovich 2000, pp. 14-15. Abraham claims that the modernity project was essential in transferring the colonial state to the post-colonial state.

[43] Nehru in the *Lok Sabha*, quoted in Abraham 1998, p. 51; Mattoo 1999, pp. 16-17.

[44] Menon 2000, pp. 67-68.

[45] Abraham 1998, pp. 147-148.

Homi Bhabha designed a three-stage plan to develop atomic energy for India, and presented it in 1954. The strategy was built on indigenous atomic fuel resources, natural uranium and thorium. According to the plan, natural uranium-fuelled heavy-water reactors should be built to provide plutonium. This plutonium and indigenous thorium would then run the second-phase reactors producing highly fissile uranium-233 as a by-product. This by-product would then be used in breeder reactors to produce even more U-233 and finally considerable amounts of energy.[46] This plan was criticized because of its complexity, flaws and weaknesses. In the *Lok Sabha* debate parliamentarian and physicist Meghnad Saha questioned the purpose of concentrating power in the hands of the AEC and not allowing open flow of information and expertise. The plan relied on a kind of breeder technology that had not been developed in the mid-1950s. An easier, cheaper and faster way to develop energy producing atomic industry would have been to use a light-water solution fuelled by enriched uranium. Bhabha overstated the economic merits of nuclear power and understated the costs of building it; yet, despite the criticism against the plan itself and the role and powers of the AEC, the three-stage plan was accepted.[47]

Bhabha must have understood the uneconomic nature of the plan. A security-and-development narrative helps to explain the existence and acceptance of such a plan; the bomb option and the lucrative industrial and economic future justified the idea. One should also keep in mind the institutional and even personal interests of those involved in atomic science and the atomic industry; the main opponent of Bhabha's plan, Meghnad Saha, ran the Institute for Nuclear Physics in Calcutta which competed with the Atomic Energy Establishment in Trombay, ran by Bhabha. The more cost-effective light-water technology was developed and controlled by the Americans, and the Indians did not possess the ways and means to produce enriched uranium. These reactors were also were unable to produce fissile material for possible military purposes. Indian sovereignty and freedom of movement would have been jeopardized by choosing only this kind of technology. Peaceful and military dimensions, energy and explosion, and development and security have been deeply intertwined issues.

What actually happened was that Bhabha managed to get aid and assistance from several countries. An agreement with Canada to build a forty-megawatt research reactor (CIRUS) was signed in 1955, and the Americans agreed to sell India the heavy water it required. The Canadian Deuterium Uranium (CANDU) heavy-water natural uranium reactor and two Ameri-

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[46] Subrahmanyam 1977, p. 186.
[47] Abraham 1998, pp. 70-77, 91-98; Perkovich 2000, pp. 25-27; Ramana 2003, pp. 220, 238-239.

can enriched uranium reactors were built in Rajastan and at Tarapur, respectively, in the early 1960s. A plutonium processing plant was completed at Trombay in 1964.[48] These reactors and plants served the dual purposes of the Indian atomic strategy. Electricity was provided for domestic consumption, and Indian nuclear industry maintained its options on further projects, even military ones. Over a period of ten years India had developed the scientific knowledge and infrastructure for actual developmental and industrial needs and optional security desires. The CIRUS reactor later came to produce India's first weapon-grade plutonium, which was eventually used in the 1974 test explosion. Later the tritium needed to construct the allegedly tested 1998 hydrogen bomb is said to be extracted from the heavy water used in a CANDU-type reactor.[49] The latter cannot be confirmed but seems plausible.

Bhabha was also the main architect behind India's strategy and diplomacy to protect her options against international efforts to stop the diversion of peaceful technologies to military purposes. He defended his views by arguing that safeguards and international control would divide the world into atomic haves and have-nots, which was another central and lasting argument in Indian nuclear policy. Bhabha nevertheless accepted safeguards for the reactors at Tarapur and Rawatbhata, namely that these safeguards would not endanger plutonium production.[50] The 1946 Baruch Plan to create an international authority to own and operate all materials, technologies and facilities was opposed by India adopting the argument that it was neo-colonialist and would deprive country of its sovereignty. India also renounced Eisenhower's 1955 Atoms for Peace plan by implicitly referring to the Chinese threat and the UN inability to control her.[51] The plan would have compromised the indigenous and sovereignty narrative that was one of the most essential building blocks of the new Indian state. Indian stand did not hinder her from receiving foreign assistance to build the first reactors as described above. The Indian resistance to international control mechanisms seems to be mainly tacit and not a matter of major principle.

The 1962 Atomic Energy Act gave the Atomic Energy Commission even greater powers. It provided the Government, or the Prime Minister or if one likes the AEC, powers to override the provision of any other law in the

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[48] Abraham 1998, pp. 94, 121-123; Ramana 2003, pp. 218-219.
[49] Cohen 2001, p. 158; Perkovich 2000, pp. 427-428.
[50] Ramana 2003, p. 220. The U.S.-Indian agreement on Tarapur specified that no materials, equipment or devices transferred to India would be used for atomic weapons or for such research.
[51] Perkovich 2000, pp. 21, 25.

country that might compromise atomic energy needs. It also restricted the disclosure of information about the plants, purposes, methods and processes used.[52] The Bill was justified with the larger interests of the country that required the Union government to be in complete control of all atomic resources. The larger interests mentioned by the Law Minister A.K. Sen and "*the development, control and use of atomic energy for the welfare of the people of India and for other peaceful purposes and for matters connected therewith*" as phrased in the Act open the door to legally pursue atomic energy needs for other than civilian and peaceful purposes. Abraham again concludes that this renewal was needed to prevent the 'outside' from knowing what was to happen 'inside'.[53]

Abraham reads the 1962 Act as a means to guard the unquestioned status of the atomic energy establishment, to prohibit the public from seeing that the Emperor did not have any new clothes. The promise of a better future with atomic energy had to be kept alive. Therefore the atomic project had to be situated within the security discourse. Atomic energy became for the first time "*legally drawn into direct relation with the interest of the state and national security*" as Abraham concludes.[54] In other words, by approving the Act, the *Lok Sabha* and the rest of the security community recognized the military option that is technically in-built in almost any atomic energy enterprise and that was earlier acknowledged by Nehru and Bhabha.

The decisions in atomic issues were taken without any other systematic analysis except Homi Bhabha's, and without wider debate besides the occasional *Lok Sabha* debates. The polity by and large hardly knew anything, and was not in any case particularly interested in the matter. The armed forces were deliberately excluded from the planning and decision-making. The desire for some members and sections of the security community to acquire nuclear weapons stemmed from issues other than explicit security threats. Worldwide even world order issues like the lack of security guarantees, the ongoing vertical proliferation and the discriminative distinction between those who have and those who are deprived made Indians at least consider the possibility of developing nuclear weapons. The troubled relations with Pakistan and China as such did not materialize in an explicit nuclear weapons programme. The reasons behind the nuclear ambitions were mainly domestic, personal, institutional, and identity based.[55] However, these civilian and mainly peaceful ambitions had created a machinery to develop, if so wanted, nuclear devices.

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[52] Ramana & Gadekar 2003, p. 415.
[53] Abraham 1998, p. 148.
[54] Abraham 1998, pp. 104-106, 115-120, see also Frey 2006, pp. 61-62.
[55] Abraham 1998, pp. 127-137, Perkovich 2000, p. 59.

2 Sovereignty and Prowess (1964–1974)

In the mid-1960s several incidents and events took place that altered the Indian internal and external political, administrative and security environment. Political and scientific leadership changed several times, and regional incidents changed the security landscape. Internationally negotiations on a nuclear non-proliferation regime started. Together with the technological and infrastructural preparedness most of these changes encouraged the bomb advocates to proceed.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru died in May 1964, and was replaced by Lal Bahadur Shastri. Almost anyone compared to Nehru would have been considered weak and uncharismatic, and Shastri was no exception. His tenure was thought to be a temporary one before a proper leader was found. He was less enthusiastic about the benefits of atomic energy than Nehru had been, and adamant in his principled opposition to all nuclear weapons. India had to feed her people first, and a nuclear bomb would run counter to Indian interests.

As the first spent fuel from the CIRUS reactor entered the plutonium reprocessing plant at Trombay in June 1964, and as in the late summer speculations of Chinese nuclear test started to circulate, it was not surprising that questions on Indian nuclear role were asked. Bhabha began to push Shastri to authorize work targeted directly for military purposes but did not get permission.[56] China detonated her first nuclear device on October 16, followed by an intensified debate in India.

The 1964 *Lok Sabha* debate on foreign and nuclear policy centred on general notions of the new strategic environment, and the future of the Gandhian-Nehruvian legacy of non-violence.[57] The parliamentarians did not have detailed enough military, technical or financial knowledge for a fruitful discussion – how could they have as the 1948 and 1962 Atomic Energy Acts had prohibited any public debate and flow of information on atomic issues, and as the armed forces were excluded from the debate and decision-making? Those who advocated nuclear weapons argued that India needed to regain her lost prestige, that a deterrent would be effective and cheap, and as an acute security threat had emerged, India should put herself into the core of a power system. It would be important to show that India was ahead of China. Counter arguments built on the negative economic impacts, and the inability of such weapons to solve any problems.[58] The

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[56] Perkovich 2000, p. 65.
[57] Cohen 2001, p. 161; Perkovich 2000, p. 76.
[58] Cohen 2001, pp. 160-161.

question was between domestic considerations, i.e. the economy, and the identity as a great power, between the Gandhian tradition and Cold War realism. Also within the Congress Party views were expressed about abandoning nuclear abstinence and acquiring nuclear weapons.[59]

Shastri reminded of the importance of eliminating all nuclear weapons instead of acquiring them. He also pointed out the economic and moral-political costs of weaponization. Shastri emphasized morality and idealism in policy making, and doubted whether a poor and democratic India could match a poor and totalitarian China in a nuclear competition. He also argued that the work of the nuclear establishment should include the preparations of a peaceful nuclear device.[60] This statement remarked a shift in Indian nuclear policy, half opening the door to the bomb. However the Jana Sangh party's motion in November 1964 calling for the manufacture of nuclear weapons was not passed.

Bhabha was joined by most of the ministers, and in November 1964 Shastri finally authorized him to estimate what was involved in India's attempting an underground explosion.[61] In order to prevent overt nuclearization the scientific enclave advocated, Shastri in 1965 authorized his foreign minister Swaran Singh as well as Homi Bhabha to discuss with the Americans about security guarantees.[62] The evidence, albeit incomplete, suggests that Bhabha may have sought for an American device or blueprints of one when he visited Washington in February 1965.[63] This attempt questions Bhabha's earlier claims that India could produce a nuclear weapon in one to three years. The knowledge, the technology and the material required for a device[64] was not yet developed or produced.

Perhaps the best way to account for Shastri's policy shift is to highlight the politics within the Congress Party. Shastri could not appear to be a weak defender of Indian interest in face of Chinese actions. To maintain his leadership he had to have Bhabha on his side. Developing peaceful nuclear explosives (PNE) avoided repudiating Shastri's moral aversions, it avoided the economic squeeze of a rapidly developed nuclear programme, and it

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[59] Subrahmanyam 1998, 27; Ganguly 1999, pp. 154-155.
[60] Perkovich 2000, p. 82.
[61] Mattoo 1999, p. 17; Perkovich 2000, p. 70.
[62] Abraham 1998, p. 129; Ganguly 1999, p. 155; Perkovich 2000, p. 88.
[63] Abraham 1998, p. 126; Perkovich 2000, p. 95.
[64] The reprocessing plant at Trombay, which was finalized in 1964, could have produced approximately 8 kilograms of plutonium-239 annually. Depending on the design, a single plutonium device contains from 4 to 16 kilograms of plutonium (Ramachandaran 1999, p. 37; Cohen 2001, p. 158; ; Barnaby, 2003, p.78).

avoided open confrontation with the U.S. and Canada.[65] According to Realist theoretical models of nuclear decision-making, India should have responded to the threat of the Chinese weapons programme with a similar move. Instead, India continued her ambiguous policy, by a move that sought to deter China without encouraging Pakistan to develop her nuclear arsenal.[66]

When both Shastri and Bhabha died in 1966 the official policy changed. For the next Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, the question of PNEs was secondary, and could be decided on either way according the political needs. She had to consolidate her and Congress' power in face of domestic problems. The new AEC chairman, Vikram Sarabhai, was similarly chosen for political and domestic purposes rather than reflecting the technological preferences of the political leadership. Sarabhai himself questioned the morality and political and military utility of nuclear weapons and took the decision to stop the PNE project.[67] He favoured the use of national resources for economic development and social welfare. In order to better serve developmental goals he later came up with an ambitious ten-year programme that differed from Bhabha's original scheme which centred on heavy-water. According to this plan India should build large enriched-uranium reactors and provide herself with the capacity to enrich uranium. He also advocated to for space research and satellite technology.[68] Sarabhai died in 1971 before he could start to implement his programme.

It is typically Indian that despite Sarabhai's opposition, and Indira Gandhi's reluctance, a group of scientists continued their work on nuclear explosives. A study to design a nuclear explosive with a plutonium core was launched at Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC) in late 1967 or early 1968. The top scientists involved, Raja Ramanna, P.K. Iyangar, and Rajagopala Chidambaram, did not specify any national security concern affecting their work. It rather seems that they were motivated by a desire to show their own and Indian prowess.[69] They also felt that they were not obliged to have formal approval from the political leadership. As Ramanna states [Sarabhai] "*could not keep* [the scientists and technicians] *from doing their work*".[70]

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[65] Perkovich 2000, pp. 84-85.

[66] Sagan 1996, p. 59.

[67] Sagan 1996, p. 66; Perkovich 2000. pp. 121-122.

[68] Abraham 1998, pp. 133-134.

[69] Perkovich 2000, pp. 125, 140-142.

[70] Ramanna in Perkovich 2000, p. 123. Menon argues that Sarabhai was not in principle against the bomb, but that he considered it too early to proceed towards creating a nuclear arsenal (Menon 2000, pp. 80-82).

International attention was paid to non-proliferation treaty negotiations. At the UN Disarmament Commission in May 1965 India declared her conditions for an effective non-proliferation treaty: nuclear powers must not transfer nuclear weapons or technology, they must also agree not to use nuclear weapons against countries who do not possess them; the UN must safeguard the security of countries which may be threatened by nuclear weapon states; progress should be made towards disarmament, a comprehensive test ban treaty, a freeze on the production of nuclear weapons and the means of delivery as well as a substantial reduction in existing stocks; and non-nuclear powers should not acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons. Washington headed for a more limited treaty. It did not want to limit possible weapon transfers, was not ready for the specific requirements of nuclear disarmament, and did not wish to offer any meaningful security guarantees to non-nuclear states. Later, India shifted away from seeking guarantees to tougher demands for nuclear disarmament.[71]

The nuclear weapon states offered little to the major Indian issues of ending the production of nuclear weapons and delivery systems, a commitment to nuclear disarmament, security guarantees, and the right to conduct PNEs. These states were seeking a treaty that would stop the spread of nuclear weapons, and India sought a treaty that would freeze and roll back the production that was already in place. The Indian security community faced two questions. Firstly, whether or not to manufacture nuclear devices, and secondly whether or not India would sign the upcoming non-proliferation treaty and thus relinquish the right to produce weapons.[72] The course of the negotiations suggested that in order to maintain this right India would have to reject the treaty, which eventually happened when the treaty was completed in 1968. The right to PNEs was in the beginning more a matter of principle than a practical matter to India. It was a question of rejecting atomic apartheid and racial dominance, of having the same symbols and manifestations of modernity and progress.[73] During the negotiations India changed her discourse, however. As it had become evident that the coming treaty would not lead to disarmament, as India was not to receive security guarantees from the West and as Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had began to base India foreign policy more on the imperatives of realist statecraft, keeping the nuclear option open guided her decision to reject the NPT.[74]

By rejecting the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) India was politically able

[71] Subrahmanyam 1998, pp. 27-28; Perkovich 2000, pp. 103-104, 115, 127.
[72] Cohen 2001, p. 162.
[73] Cohen 2001, p. 163.
[74] Ganguly 1999, pp. 157-158.

to proceed towards PNEs or even overt weaponization. The domestic situation did not, however, allow that. The old guard in the Congress plotted to unseat Indira Gandhi, but in a series of political manoeuvres she was able to keep power and split the Congress. Later in December 1970 she dissolved the *Lok Sabha* and called for national elections.[75] Nevertheless, the debate on nuclear politics went on within the nuclear establishment, in the press, and in the Parliament. In August the Prime Minister informed the Parliament that the government was studying the economic and technical issues concerning PNEs. The moment was not suitable to pursue head on an expensive, uncertain, and risky nuclear weapon programme.

The overwhelming victory in the March 1971 elections gave Indira Gandhi a politically strong position. Internationally the situation was not so simple, but the events in Pakistan, the 1971 war or the evolving U.S.-Sino relationship did not have a direct influence on the nuclear policy. The preparations for the test, including manufacturing the device were authorized sometime in the summer of 1971, that is before the war. The scientists lead by Ramanna and Chidambaram developed a basic design for a nuclear device by the end of 1971, and the design was enhanced and finalized in 1972. Explorations for a test site started the same year as the construction of the vital components. These preparations went on without a final decision about a test explosion. Formal prime ministerial approval for the final preparations for a PNE came in September 1972. The non-nuclear explosives system was tested in March 1973, and the preparations at a selected test site in Pokhran began the same year. The time for a final decision came in early 1974.[76]

The decision to test was made in a series of meetings between the Prime Minister, her closest secretaries and advisors, Homi Setna, the Chairman of the AEC, and Raja Ramanna. The Cabinet, even the foreign and defence ministers, and the military were not consulted prior to the decision. Those involved felt that it was made to demonstrate that it could be done. Indira Gandhi had decreed that India required such a demonstration.[77]

The test has puzzled many scholars. One of the key questions has been why did India conduct the test at that particular moment? According to Structural Realist theory that should have taken place much earlier as a reaction the 1964 Chinese test: India would have and should have increased her relative power vis-à-vis China then. However, the Indian security environment in 1974 was in practice quite good. India had beaten Pakistan in the

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[75] Brass 1994, pp. 38-39.
[76] Perkovich 2000, pp. 170-173; Menon 2000, pp. 85-86.
[77] Ramanna 1991, p. 89; Perkovich 2000, p. 175; Frey 2006, p. 64.

1971 war, Pakistan had lost the eastern part of her territory when Bangladesh became independent, and Prime Ministers Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had signed the 1972 Simla Agreement committing themselves to end the conflict and confrontation.

Scott Sagan explains the 1974 test mainly from the domestic point of view. He acknowledges that the arguments linking decision-making processes and domestic results to causes of proliferation do not prove that domestic politics would explain the 1974 test, but these arguments do make a stronger case than the security model explanation. Three observations point in this direction. The decision was taken with advice from personal and scientific but not from security advisors; the test lacked any systematic programme; and Indira Gandhi needed domestic support.[78] K. Subrahmanyam legitimizes the test by claiming that it gave India increased influence in international disarmament negotiations.[79] He also offers a neo-realist explanation as he is confident that China as an existential threat and U.S. nuclear intimidation during the 1971 war had triggered the 1974 test.[80] Itty Abraham emphasizes the institutional changes that had taken place after first the bomb-friendly Bhabha then the demonstration-sceptic Sarabhai died. The AEC and the scientists at BARC wanted to demonstrate their prowess in an atmosphere where development, security and atomic explosion were linked and even worse, had a causal relationship.[81] George Perkovich reminds us that the test was not Mrs. Gandhi's idea although she did go along with Raja Ramanna's advice. Besides the close relationship between the Prime Minister and the AEC director domestic, political considerations made her permit the test explosion.[82]

There is no official evidence regarding the 1974 decision.[83] Existing accounts and academic research do not suggest that foreign policy or security considerations played a major role in the decision-making. The fact that the PNE was not connected to any military programme supports this argument. In fact a device of nearly 1,500 kg producing only a 12-kiloton yield is far from operative. The decision seemed to have been based on bureaucratic and technological grounds, and personal and political calculations. It was intended to enhance India's domestic and international status.

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[78] Sagan 1996, pp. 67-69.
[79] Subrahmanyam 1977, p. 190.
[80] Subrahmanyam 1998, pp. 31-32.
[81] Abraham 1998, pp. 141-150.
[82] Perkovich 2000, pp. 175-178.
[83] Subrahmanyam 1998, p. 30.

The May 18, 1974[84], explosion gave an immediate, but short-lived political lift to Indira Gandhi. Technically it showed that India had nuclear capability, though doubts were raised on the explosion's yield.[85] But as the test was not followed by any systematic political, military or technical scheme it was more an end to the programme than a new beginning. Internationally the blast was problematic. The tightened up non-proliferation regimes slowed down but did not stop Pakistan's already started nuclear weapon programme. Indeed, the Indian test made the programme even more important to Pakistan. Abraham even comments that India's 1998 tests served to reinforce the instability of the unsettled regional environment she had created in 1974.[86] Tightening controls on technology exports and increased demands for proper safeguards put the Indian nuclear establishment and the atomic energy industry on the defensive. India formalized the nuclear option strategy of refraining from exercising the military option as long as her security interests did not require the need to develope nuclear weapons. The option policy satisfied the objectives of maintaining a moral outlook on disarmament and providing an indirect deterrence. Both objectives could easily be compromised, however.

3 Morality and Power (1974–1998)

The period that followed the 1974 test is commonly described as a period of Indian restraint, in which nothing happened on the nuclear front: India did not weaponize the explosive capacity she possessed. This kind of reading, however, undermines the theoretical concept of existential deterrence and the practical steps that were in fact taken in India, if not immediately after Pokhran then certainly from the early 1980s. The period of real restraint, one could claim, lasted for some six years. What happened then was a considerable increase in defence expenditure, scientific and technical development, the development of ballistic missiles, and an intensified debate on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. At the same time Pakistan advanced in both nuclear and missile technology, the Cold War ended and the international pressure to sign the NPT and join the CTBT increased. The domestic political climate changed with the rise of local parties and the emergence of a national competitor to the Congress Party, the BJP. Changes in structural factors paved the way for changes in nuclear policy. This lasted for twenty-four years.

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[84] This test, as well as the three first detonations in 1998, occured on *Buddha Jayanti* (also *Buddha Purnima*), the most sacred festivals of Buddhists.
[85] Ganguly 1999, p. 160; Wallace 1998 (Wallace reexamined the 1974 data after the 1998 tests by using the latest models and came to the conclusion that the 1974 test's yield was 4-6 kilotons instead of the claimed 12-15 kilotons).
[86] Abraham 1998, p. 150.

After the 1974 test Indian nuclear policy was confronted with a number of domestic, regional, and global challenges. The domestic disorder, the Emergency from 1975 to 1977, and the fall of Indira Gandhi made it clear that the political leadership was more interested in internal, political, and economic affairs than in the ever-more expensive and risky continuation of a nuclear programme. Indira Gandhi did not want further tests, and her successor Morarji Desai simply ruled them out. The nuclear policy did not change completely: Desai maintained the rigid Indian line of refusing to sign the NPT "*as long as those who possess atomic weapons and go on doing the explosions do not give them up*"[87].[88] Desai's moral standpoint emphasized both practical and normative costs over any military or security argument. The ongoing Pakistani programme, however, mounted pressures to prepare countermeasures. Pakistan was becoming the declared reason for Indian nuclear ambitions.

When Indira Gandhi returned to power in 1980 she did not rule out further PNEs.[89] The policy returned to the pre-Pokhran era, and the changing regional situation led India to consider alternative means of dealing with regional tensions. Increasingly and again demonstrating her nuclear strength was one of them. Another was to attack and destroy Pakistani nuclear facilities; the third was to stabilize relations with Pakistan and improve ties with the U.S. Test site preparations were started in early 1981. Raja Ramanna returned to the BARC to boost the nuclear energy programme and to design a smaller, more efficient nuclear device.[90] Simultaneously, India tried to stabilize relations with both Pakistan and China. The domestic situation once again encouraged putting a brake on the nuclear pedal. Internal security was compromised by the militant groups operating in the Punjab, Kashmir, Tamil Nadu, Assam, and other north-eastern states. The economic situation was grave, too, compelling the government to avoid steps that would further alienate the U.S. and other western donors.

The scientists and technicians at BARC, however, wanted another test. The data from the 1974 explosion and the explosive itself were not satisfactory enough to suggest that a reliable weapon system had been developed. Ramanna, the head of the BARC and also the Chairman of the AEC since 1983, and V. S. Arunachalam, the Director of the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO), presented their ambitions to the prime minister in early 1983. Mrs. Gandhi's top advisers, and the Ministry of

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[87] Desai in the *Lok Sabha* , June 13, 1977, quoted in Perkovich 2000, p. 202.
[88] Subrahmanyam 1998, pp. 33-34; Ganguly 1999, pp. 161-162.
[89] Perkovich 2000, p. 227.
[90] Subrahmanyam 1998, p. 37; Perkovich 2000, pp. 227-228.

Defence were present at the meeting, thus differing from 1974. Independent-minded and professional advisers now surrounded the Prime Minister. The scientists did not address international or domestic problems and made their case based on technological arguments. Indira Gandhi approved the request for a nuclear test,[91] though a day later she changed her mind. This u-turn was entirely hers; she did not consult anybody, and did not explain her decision. Perkovich suggests that as broader considerations and government advisers limited the influence the scientists had, this check-and-balances mechanism together with Indira Gandhi's moral abhorrence, as well as India's economic dependence, made her change her mind. "*A poor democracy can not do everything that richer or less accountable governments can*" Perkovich concludes.[92]

A potential element of a nuclear weapon system was, however, being developed: a delivery system based on ballistic missiles. The Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme, which was to design and manufacture a series of missiles, started in 1983. The Indian armed forces wanted to increase their tactical capacity by using guided anti-tank and surface-to-air missiles, while BARC and DRDO scientists were more interested in developing ballistic missiles for strategic purposes. Dr. Abdul Kalam came to head the programme. Under his leadership the short-range *Prithvi* and the intermediate-range ballistic missile *Agni* as well as two surface-to-air (air-defence) missiles were flight tested before the end of the decade.[93] India began to develop a robust nuclear-capable weapon system that by the mid-1990s entered serial production and became operative. (See Appendix 1 for an inventory of Indian nuclear forces and delivery vehicles.)

After the assassination of her mother in 1984 Rajiv Gandhi gained power in a situation where Pakistan was acquiring the capacity to produce nuclear weapons. He was personally sceptical about the value of nuclear weapons, indeed he was totally against them at the beginning and did not trust the Chairman of the AEC, Raja Ramanna. Rajiv Gandhi wanted to enhance India's image as a leader for nuclear disarmament, but did not stop the scientists and engineers from developing devices and the weapons systems.[94] Intentions and actual weaponization mattered most, laboratory work did not count as much. Rajiv Gandhi also set up an informal study group consisting of among others the three Armed Forces service chiefs,

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[91] Subrahmanyam 1998, p. 37; Perkovich 2000, pp. 242-243.
[92] Perkovich 2000, p. 260.
[93] Kamrani 2003, pp. 56-58. The *Prithvi* was from the very beginning intended to enter operational service, whereas the *Agni* was regarded as a technology demonstrator.
[94] Subrahmanyam 1998, pp. 39-44; Perkovich 2000, pp. 262-263.

and the Chairmen of the BARC (Chidambaram), the DRDO (Kalam), and the AEC (Ramanna), together with India's most prominent strategic analyst, K. Subrahmanyam, to answer questions regarding defence planning. The group recommended that India acquired a minimum deterrent force of 70 to 100 warheads and followed a no first-use policy.[95]

The Dhruva research reactor went critical in August 1985 and would become operational by November the same year. It could produce 20–25 kilograms of weapon-grade plutonium a year, enough for three to six fission bombs depending on the actual design. India was also producing tritium, and acquiring the capacity to produce deuterium, both needed for boosted-fission weapons and to build the advanced neutron initiators needed in optimizing the explosive power of devices.[96] The scientists were able to reduce the size and weight of the fission device from 1,400 kg to less than 200 kg[97] while at the same time increasing its yield. They also continued theoretical work on thermonuclear weapons.

In the November 1989 elections the Congress Party failed to win enough seats to form a government. The National Front led by Janata Dal, and backed by the BJP, formed the new government. The new Prime Minister, V.P. Singh, concerned about the Pakistani nuclear programme, met with top Indian advisors and learned that the nuclear establishment was ready to conduct a nuclear test if so ordered.[98] India had since the return of Indira Gandhi, and as K. Subrahmanyam rightly points out, during Rajiv Gandhi's tenure, managed to develop deployable nuclear devices.[99] Even the means to deliver a nuclear response was being acquired in the forms of a Jaguar and Mirage fighter-bomber fleet and the *Prithvi* ballistic missiles system that were expected to enter service in the early 1990s.

Pakistan's nuclear capability in general worried the Indians. A small secret group was established to develop plans for ensuring the functions of government, retaliation included, in the event of a preventive nuclear attack. The group concluded that it was not necessary for India to respond immediately, following the U.S-Soviet model of deterrence, but it would be enough to retaliate in a matter of days or weeks. No special emergency chain of command needed to be established. They considered that four institutions within the Indian system should check and balance nuclear policy: the political leadership, the ministerial bureaucracy, the scientific

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[95] Subrahmanyam 1998, p. 39; *NWA*.
[96] Perkovich 2000, p. 271.
[97] *The Guardian*, October 1, 2004.
[98] Perkovich 2000, pp. 304-305.
[99] Subrahmanyam 1998, p. 44; Subrahmanyam 2000.

community, and the military. The nuclear doctrine should be guided by four principles: no-first-use, ultimate civilian control, no engagement in the arms race, and no single-sector dominance over nuclear policy.[100] The principles and checks-and-balances mechanism were never formally institutionalized reflecting Indian politicians' scepticism about the military. As nuclear scientists did not possess the means to overthrow the government their strong influence in nuclear matters did not seem to worry the politicians.

Both the Indian and Pakistani nuclear status had become an implicitly recognized reality by the early 1990s. Economic constraints and moral considerations together with an intention not to disrupt relations with the United States and China kept the Indian leadership from weaponization and from establishing an overt deterrence. Adherence to the international non-proliferation regime, even outside the Treaty, was considered vital for economic and financial efforts. In addition, the economic crisis of 1991 caused fiscal problems to the nuclear establishment. As the crisis affected mostly the civilian sector, i.e. nuclear power projects, the Indian nuclear establishment tried both to export its know-how and increase its role in the national security realm. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and his Finance Minister Manmohan Singh gave primacy to economic development while at the same time stabilizing relations with neighbours.[101] However, no political consensus existed. Especially the BJP, which had grown from a 2-seat party in 1984 to a 119-seater in 1991, advocated overt weaponization, and a major power position that having the bomb implied. The Left for its part was sceptical over the liberalization of the Indian economy.

In 1995 the upcoming international conference to review and vote on the extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty was problematic for India. India as a non-signatory state would not participate in the conference, but the potential indefinite extension of the NPT would further isolate India. She could only hope that the United States would not get support for her objective of the indefinite extension of the NPT.[102] Both the strategic enclave and the BJP attacked the government. Atal Bihari Vajpayee declared that the BJP would build nuclear weapons if it came to power.[103] The NPT was extended indefinitely in May 1995 encouraging Indian hawks to advance nuclear weapon development before prospective test ban and fissile material production ban treaties were passed.

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[100] Perkovich 2000, pp. 313-314, 330-331.
[101] Perkovich 2000, pp. 321-322.
[102] Ganguly 1999, p.167.
[103] Pekovich 2000, pp. 359-360.

In August 1995 preparations were made at the Pokhran test site. It would appear that Rao had authorized Kalam, now heading the DRDO, and Chidambaram, the AEC chairman, to proceed.[104] The scientists needed to perfect and validate their innovations,[105] and thus nuclear deterrence. The decision to detonate was not ultimately taken, but the Prime Minister had expanded his options in face of institutional and partisan pressures. American intelligence, however, detected and publicized the preparations in December. President Clinton called Prime Minister Rao, who did not promise anything concrete. He nevertheless felt that it would be better to wait until the economy could face the inevitable sanctions and the missile programme was more advanced. The investments required for an economic infrastructure mostly came from foreign sources. These loans, aid, and investment would have been compromised with a robust policy and behaviour.[106] K. Subrahmanyam claims that Rao had later told him that the reason for refraining from testing was the lack of a domestic consensus on the issue, as both economists and scientists were divided in their views. Time was needed to finalize the thermonuclear design.[107] Domestic forces, international pressure and evolving nuclear regimes were forcing India to choose whether to maintain the image of a credible deterrent without testing, or to conduct a series of tests to streamline a minimum deterrence, and then eventually join the CTBT.

The national elections in April-May 1996 gave the BJP 186 seats, and brought Vajpayee to power. He almost immediately gave Kalam and Chidambaram permission to proceed with tests. Although not personally averse to nuclear weapons, he nevertheless respected democracy and parliamentary rules. He recognized that he would have to wait for a vote of confidence from the *Lok Sabha* before giving final authorization to push the button. Otherwise a successor government would have to deal with the consequences of a policy it had no part in. [108] The Vajpayee government lost a vote of confidence, and a new coalition government was formed. The scientists soon asked the new prime minister, Deve Gowda, for permission, but it was not granted.

In the ongoing CTBT negotiations India continued to demand a treaty that would oblige nuclear weapon states to disarm. This meant that not only non-nuclear states should withdraw from their right to develop nuclear

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[104] Subrahmanyam 1998, p. 51.
[105] Namely a thermonuclear device, the use of non-weapon-grade plutonium in weapons, and acquiring data for computer-aided design.
[106] Ganguly 1999, p. 168; Mattoo 1999, p. 18; Perkovich 2000, pp. 368-370.
[107] Subrahmanyam 2004, p. 593.
[108] Perkovich 2000, pp. 374-375.

weapons. India spoke of nuclear apartheid at the UN Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, and also objected that the treaty would allow so-called subcritical tests.[109] Ambassador to the Geneva talks, Arundhati Ghose, argued that national security considerations would be a key factor in Indian decision-making.[110] This comment sought to get a better reception from the United States than the traditional jargon of moralism and purity. External Affairs minister Inder Gujral later reaffirmed Ghose's position. The CTBT had become a symbol of Indian sovereignty over hypocrisy and colonial coercion, but international pressure could change this resistance. India blocked consensus on the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, but could not stop it being directly taken to the UN General Assembly, where it was passed by 158 to 3. India, Bhutan, and Libya voted against it.[111] Ganguly explains the Indian shift from support to rejection by pointing to the likely effects of the CTBT on her nuclear programme in a situation where China had already perfected her nuclear arsenal and thus could afford the luxury of joining the Treaty.[112]

The Indian rejection of the CTBT suited the strategic enclave well, and it bought more time for the Indian political leadership to consider their policies. Managing political and economic issues were the primary questions. India also sought to improve relations with the United States, China, and neighbouring countries, wishing to show that she was an economically viable and politically constructive global and regional player. A doctrine named after foreign minister Gujral reflected India's commitment to act magnanimously in resolving issues with smaller states and in creating a regional norm and practice of non-interference in others' affairs. The Gujral Doctrine enhanced relations with India's smaller neighbours, but Pakistan was excluded from its realm.[113]

Positive signals and gestures together with Nawaz Sharif's victory at the 1996 national elections paved the way to a series of high-level meetings. Pakistan was willing to abandon her previous demand of making Kashmir a precondition for progress on other questions. Gujral, who had become Prime Minister, and Sharif got along very well, and managed to take some small steps in improving Indo-Pak relations, including a direct dialogue on Kashmir. The coalition government had to proceed cautiously on this sensitive issue. Domestic pressure grew in summer 1997 when Pakistan tested a HATF-III missile and the U.S. detonated a subcritical device.

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[109] Ganguly 1999, p. 169.
[110] Subrahmanyam 1998, p. 51.
[111] Pakistan did not vote against it, but did not sign it either.
[112] Ganguly 1999, p. 170.
[113] Perkovich 2000, pp. 390-391 (on the Gujral Doctrine).

Prime Minister Gujral responded with a reminder that the Indian nuclear option was said to be open, and that the *Agni* programme still continuing.[114] The scientists once again prepared for tests, waiting only for final approval. Gujral was more interested in a strategy that would remove the causes of insecurity. Normalizing relations with Pakistan, would improve India's security and status, making it possible to concentrate on economic development and welfare. That would be paramount for India's strength.

The Congress Part withdrew its support from the 13-party coalition government in November 1997. The following elections in February-March 1998 centred on domestic political and economic issues. The BJP promised in its election manifesto to exercise the nuclear option. They won 250 seats and formed a majority coalition government consisting of fourteen parties.

Publicly Prime Minister Vajpayee did not rush into testing. He tried not to alarm his coalition partners before gaining a vote of confidence in the *Lok Sabha*. He promised first to form a National Security Council and conduct a strategic defence review implying that no decision to test would be taken before that. He also retreated from earlier promises to build the Ram Temple at Ayodhya. However, soon after the elections he consulted both Kalam and Chidambaram most likely on the nuclear test issue.[115] The actual date of the decision is unclear, but the initial decision was presumably given in late March, and the final decision in early April, that is before the Pakistani Ghauri missile test that was conducted on April 6.[116] Again only a handful of BJP leaders and top scientists came to know of the decision. The Cabinet was not informed, nor was anything hinted when a high-level American delegation visited New Delhi in mid-April.[117] India obviously wanted to avoid pressures prior the tests, and accept sanctions afterwards.

On May 11, 1998, three nuclear devices were detonated simultaneously. One was said to have been a fission device of about 12 kilotons, one a thermonuclear device of 43 kilotons, and one a sub-kiloton device.[118] On May 13, another two tests were conducted, both sub-kiloton devices "*to generate additional data for improved computer simulation.*"[119] Prime

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[114] Perkovich 2000, p. 397.

[115] Perkovich 2000, pp. 408-409.

[116] Given the estimated five to seven weeks' time needed for final preparations.

[117] Talbott 2004, pp. 46-48.

[118] The debate and doubts on the yields are not discussed in this paper. See Wallace 1998.

[119] *The Hindu*, May 14, 1998.

Minister Vajpayee argued that the tests were a response to the problematic regional and nuclear environment and that the tests had given India "*śakti*", physical and political power, ability and self-confidence.[120] Yet the high-ground of nuclear moralism was held: India would now be in a better position to pursue nuclear disarmament.

Pakistan responded to Indian tests by conducting five tests on May 28 and an additional one two days later; the overall score was now even 6-6. The Indian government was immediately accused in the *Lok Sabha* of threatening the nation's security by provoking a nuclear arms race. An overt Pakistani nuclear capability was seen to wipe out the military edge India had had.[121] Indian purposes of acquiring world-class status were challenged when Pakistan equalized the score and brought the nuclear discussion down to the regional level. Militarily the tests did not change the status quo.

India committed herself to exercising a moratorium on nuclear tests and hinted at adhering to the test ban treaty.[122] The question of joining the CTBT reflects well the forces and reasons behind Indian nuclear policy. If further tests are needed for technical reasons, joining would compromise the Indian position and its security. If, on the other hand, the test had a political or symbolic motivation, signing the treaty would neither compromise security nor her status and prestige. That India was ready to discuss certain provisions of the treaty does not mean, however, that she would be willing to sign a treaty that she considered discriminatory.[123]

Various explanations have been given for the tests. K. Subrahmanyam considers that the 1998 tests were inevitable because they were triggered by external circumstances. China and Pakistan together with the American permissiveness and her tilt towards Pakistan were again blamed for the Indian behaviour.[124] Gaurav Kampani offers the opposite explanation. He distinguishes the authorization of the tests from the proclamation of India's nuclear status. For him the timing was determined by electoral compulsions influenced by the strategic enclave wanting to test before a possible international regime would block Indian intentions. The declaration of a nuclear weapon state has more to do with ideological motivations and the quest for a separate national identity. Kampani dismisses the security imperative, claiming that the security environment had not deteriorated since the early

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[120] Prime Minister Vajpayee in *India Today*, May 25, 1998.
[121] Talbott 2004, p. 73.
[122] *The Hindu*, May 22, 1998.
[123] Vajpayee in the *India Today*, May 25, 1998.
[124] Subrahmanyam 1998, pp. 52-53.

1990s.[125] Later when discussing the Indian ballistic missile programme Kampani argues that the late 1950s domestic ideological factors and the 1970s issues of national prestige, organizational interest and technology demonstrations have from the early 1980s onwards been replaced by strategic, i.e. national security factors.[126] The same could be said of the nuclear programme.

Ganguly offers three mostly circumstantial factors driving India to test, namely the incremental and fitful wish to manufacture nuclear weapons, Indian leaders responding to "*a mix of ideology…, statecraft, and domestic pressures reflecting security concerns*" and the perception of external security threats together with the absence of security guarantees. Ganguly emphasizes the security imperatives underlying the nuclear programme and the tests. At the same time he dismisses explanations that only focus on BJP ideology, on a need to divert attention from economic and social problems, on international prestige and status and on the role of the scientific establishment.[127] Ganguly in fact agrees with Kampani's approach when he argues that the explanations for a specific event (the tests) differ from the explanations for an existing and long-lasting nuclear programme, and they should not be mixed. Their conclusions nevertheless differ considerably.

Synnot as well as Perkovich present several motivations. The political objectives Indian officials wanted the tests to serve include: winning recognition as a major power, and catching up with China in terms of status and deterrence – a factor that goes beyond security calculations. Other objectives were maintaining a moral stand in nuclear disarmament, lowering national defence expenditure, and boost the BJP-led government's position.[128] Few of these objectives have materialized – at least they did not appear as a result of tests. International respect, prestige, and influence, for example, did not increase. Political and psychological confidence perhaps grew but so did the problems. Even accepting the security imperative it is hard to believe that Indian security vis-à-vis China or Pakistan would have improved. The idea of using nuclear weapons in (minor) territorial disputes with China is unrealistic, and a larger Chinese threat is not probable. Pakistan, on the other hand, believes that her nuclear weapons equalized the balance with India, and will help to deter major Indian actions against her, both in Kashmir and elsewhere. The military expenditure is unlikely to get lower, if a coherent nuclear doctrine, a robust command and control

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[125] Kampani 1998, pp. 13, 24.
[126] Kampani 2003, p. 49.
[127] Ganguly 1999, pp. 171-175.
[128] Synnott 1998, pp. 12-23; Perkovich 2000, p. 439.

system and a comprehensive nuclear arsenal are ever built. And in the November 1999 four-state elections the BJP lost – mainly due to higher onion and rice prices. Perkovich concludes that the desire for international standing and autonomy explains the tests better than a security explanation. The longer, economic route to greatness was less attractive. The tests were a quick-fix to strength and self-confidence.[129]

The reasons and factors leading to the tests are many. Technical imperatives and explanations might be the least complex. Despite the alleged successes or failures, the tests revealed parameters in several fields of research and design. The most ambitious experience was the testing of a thermonuclear device. Also the potential use of non-weapon-grade plutonium is significant, not only scientifically, but by increasing opportunities to manufacture devices. The third breakthrough was the use of deuterium-tritium neutron initiators to trigger fission explosions.[130] India's technological prowess was demonstrated, but its superiority in the subcontinent was shattered with the Pakistani tests. The security imperative existed though nothing forced India to conduct the tests in May 1998. Security concerns better explain the existence of the nuclear and missile programmes than the timing of the tests. The timing perhaps is best explained by the NDA Government's main desire to conduct the tests and declare India a nuclear state, as the BJP had for long advocated and to get it done before domestic, parliamentary or international pressures made it too difficult. Testing was time-critical as the Indians had learned in the 1980s and 1990s when Prime Ministers Indira Gandhi, Narasimha Rao, Inder Gujral and Atal Bihari Vajpayee pondered testing but were stopped short. The desire to rely on overt nuclearization is constituted by a set of political and ideological beliefs on India's role in the world and on the means to enhance it.

The BJP-led NDA Government should not be given all the credit or be solely blamed for the Indian nuclear posture. As the Prime Minster mentioned in *India Today* and K. Subrahmanyam has emphasizes nearly every previous administration has been involved in developing Indian nuclear capacity. Alone in the 1980s and 1990s Indira Gandhi had restarted the programme after Moraji Desai's halt. Rajiv Gandhi ordered the assembly of nuclear devices and Narasaimha Rao operationalized it.[131] Both major national parties, the Congress Party and the BJP have been active in building up the arsenal.

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[129] Perkovich 2000, pp. 439-443.
[130] Perkovich 2000, pp. 427-430.
[131] Vajpayee in *India Today*, May 25, 1998; Mattoo 1999, p. 18; Subrahmanyam 2004, p. 595.

4 Deterrence Proper (1998–2004)

Quite soon after the May 1998 tests Prime Minister Vajpayee began to work on enhancing Indo-U.S. relations. He appointed Jaswant Singh to be his personal envoy to probe the terrain and find some common ground. Singh wanted the Americans to understand the Indian rationale behind Pokhran II and to harmonize positions between the United States and India. That would be vital for India's economic development, which could not advance without fruitful cooperation with the Americans.[132]

As already mentioned the U.S set India (and Pakistan) five non-proliferation benchmarks namely (1) refraining from further testing and, if possible, joining the CTBT, (2) agreeing on the Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT), (3) refraining from putting nuclear warheads on missiles or fighter bombers, (4) not exporting nuclear weapons-related equipment, materials or technology, and (5) addressing the root causes of Indo-Pak conflict. As the Singh-Talbott dialogue on these points covers and reflects well the key issues of Indian nuclear policy it is analysed according to Indian and American objectives, incentives and obstacles.

The issue of India refraining from further tests and possibly joining the CTBT was of utmost importance to the U.S. The Americans wanted to preserve the status quo of the nuclear world order and did not want any other nation to follow in Indian and Pakistani footsteps. Limiting the damage Washington considered India had inflicted to a minimum was a question of national security to the U.S. For the Indians the existing nuclear world order was the principal problem and the CTBT signified colonial attempts to preserve the monopoly of the five 'nuclear weapons states'.

Jaswant Singh repelled American demands to publicly promise to sign the Treaty by a given deadline by being satisfied with the unilateral moratorium and by referring to domestic distaste for the treaty. Talbott did not receive any promises, nor any answer from the Prime Minister, and the opposition leader Sonia Gandhi followed the Government's line[133]. What the Americans put on the table was for President Clinton's first visit to South Asia. As that did not make any visible difference to India, and the visit was cancelled, the Americans began to talk of partially lifting the sanctions. Talbot wrote to Singh on December 1998 and suggested "*an agreed timetable that linked Indian steps on the benchmarks with American*

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[132] Jaswant Singh 2006, p. 274.
[133] The INC criticized the BJP of losing "*all sense of balance and restraint*", but, nevertheless, had "*welcomed the scientific effort involved*" (K.N. Singh 1998).

alleviation of the sanctions".[134]

Taking this initiative was necessary because domestic and international support for the sanctions had started to erode in autumn. The Indians shifted their tactics from staunch and principled opposition to bargaining. Singh privately promised conditional steps on the CTBT and FMCT issues but refused to go public. The Government wanted big rewards before taking the risk of raising domestic tensions.[135]

The American response was mostly financial. In exchange for a public announcement about signing the CTBT they offered a 210 million dollar World Bank loan to construct several power plants in Andhra Pradesh; for the actual signature the U.S. would have supported full-scope lending by multilateral development banks; for a public commitment to the FMCT they would have reduced the number of sanctioned Indian companies; and for the implementation of stricter export controls the Americans would have reestablished government-to-government dealing and military cooperation.[136]

The third benchmark restraining the Indian nuclear arsenal met with similar resistance. What the American team called a "*strategic restraint regime*" sounded too coercive and restrictive to Indians and they then agreed to talk about "*defence posture*".[137] The purpose of the whole issue was practical. Washington wanted to avoid an arms race in South Asia that could provoke China into responding to increased Indian capacity, would encourage other states to follow suit, and would increase the risk of an accidental launch, or 'nuclear exchange'. Prime Minister Vajpayee had talked about "*credible minimum deterrence*" and the U.S. wanted in the dialogue to gain some clarity, predictability and transparency about the concept.

Singh politely asked the Americans to mind their own business.[138] Indian reluctance to open the issue was understandable. It was much too early to say anything decisive about the concept or the doctrine as concrete intellectual work on it had just begun. The Prime Minister asked the National Security Advisory Board to come up with suggestions on the Indian nuclear

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[134] Talbott 2004, pp. 98, 100-101, 123, 126, 140, 144-146; Jaswant Singh 2006, pp. 311-314.

[135] Talbott 2004, pp. 145-146. Singh downplays his promises by stating in his account that "*If occasionally during the dialogue, and when discussing the issue of adhering to the CTBT, deflective ambiguity was taken recourse to, that can scarcely be termed as adherence*" (Singh 2006, p. 319).

[136] Talbott 2004, pp. 148-149.

[137] Talbott 2004, pp. 146-148.

[138] Talbott 2004, p. 147.

doctrine. However, the Indians could not say anything definite about their defence posture that would have met with American objectives. Even if during the early phases of the dialogue they had known what they wanted, they would hardly have been willing to share that with anyone, especially with the Americans. The secrecy of the nuclear doctrine was a question of national security. What the Americans had by then published, and what could have been what they wanted from India, was a 40-page-long *Doctrine for Joint Theater Nuclear Operations* providing guidance for non-strategic nuclear force employment.[139] A doctrine covering all nuclear operations, the *Joint Strategic Capabilities Plan*, was classified top secret and was later only partially released under the Freedom of Information Act.[140]

Thus the Americans had to settle for the Indians explaining that minimum deterrence is not "*a fixity*", that it would be determined according to the security situation and that it alters.[141] They only reiterated Prime Minister's pledge of unilateral moratorium and their commitment to the principle of no-first-use. The actual content of credible minimum deterrence remained, and still remains, unclear.[142]

The trust and goodwill President Clinton gained by successfully pressuring Prime Minister Sharif during the Kargil conflict and by his successful visit to India did not materialize in the dialogue. Prime Minister Vajpayee and Jaswant Singh actually tried to bypass the benchmarks as if the visit had legitimized their stand in the eyes of the Americans. As the Clinton administration was inevitably ending India became even more reluctant to allow any openings. Eventually in September 2000 Jaswant Singh informed Talbott that India was not going to sign the CTBT.[143]

Although Talbott is convinced that Jaswant Singh was sincere in his private

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[139] *Doctrine for Joint Theater Nuclear Operations*, February 9, 1996.

[140] *Nuclear Supplement to Joint Strategic Capabilities Plan for FY 1996*, 12 February 1996. In the declassification most of the content was removed.

[141] Jaswant Singh in *India Today* on January 11, 1999, quoted in Talbott 2004, pp. 147-148.

[142] Pakistan released parts of her doctrine in January 2002. What perhaps is most interesting in the released information is the list of nuclear triggers that could provoke Pakistan into using nuclear weapons. These include decimation of her Army, gross destabilization of the state, economic strangulation and massive territorial losses (Kidwai 2002). The list is India-specific as scenarios of the Indian Army defeating the Pakistanis in massive battles, Indian armoured corps cutting the country into two in Sindh, the Indian Navy blocking sea lines of communication and India taking the rest of Kashmir are written in block letters within these triggers.

[143] Talbott 2004, pp. 194-195, 201, 208.

promises that his government would sign the CTBT, one can question Indian commitment. Firstly, the issue was highly controversial in India and the NDA government would have faced severe criticism from its own ranks, the Congress, the Left, the media and the strategic elite. Given the delicate balance of Indian domestic policy the window of opportunity for the signature was narrow and timewise most limited. In the year of the test 1998 it would have been much too premature to commit to any concessions; in the following year the BJP-led government faced political crisis, general elections, the Kargil crisis and a military coup in Pakistan; and 2000 was the presidential campaign year in the U.S. The second explanation for not signing the CTBT is technical. The Indian nuclear establishment wanted to keep its options open for further tests, especially for testing a thermonuclear device, as further data would have been useful and as Pokhran II yields were questioned in the West. Keeping options open about the first three benchmarks were also considered necessary for security reasons.

Alongside of dialogue the NSAB continued its work on Indian nuclear doctrine. As outlined in the Introduction one of the key purposes of a nuclear doctrine is to define what kind of armament was desirable and when and how nuclear weapons could be used. Like any doctrine it would simultaneously legitimize and justify the nuclear arsenal, guide relevant authorities in their duties and tasks and inform and signal to the outside world and the public about nuclear capability. The Indian national security advisor Brajesh Mishra released a two-page-long draft report on the Indian nuclear doctrine in August 1999 (see Appendix 2 for the whole report). The document that became known as the Draft Nuclear Doctrine (DND) argued in its Preamble in favour of nuclear deterrence. It stated that the use of nuclear weapons constitute "*the gravest threat to humanity and to peace and stability in the international system*". Because of the existence of nuclear weapons and offensive nuclear doctrines, India's strategic interests were said to require effective, credible deterrence and adequate retaliatory capability should deterrence fail. The DND then envisaged a peacetime posture that would convince any potential aggressor of India's punitive retaliation to inflict unacceptable damage. That in turn would require India to maintain "*sufficient, survivable and operationally prepared nuclear forces, a robust command and control system, effective intelligence and early warning capabilities*". The DND went on to advocate mobile, survivable and multiple redundant forces consisting of a triad of aircraft, mobile land-based missiles and sea-based assets. Finally the report outlined the need for civilian nuclear authority and for an effective and survivable command and control system.[144]

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[144] *ACT* July/August 1999. See Appendix 1 for the whole text of the Draft Nuclear

The draft doctrine, the first public document any Indian government has issued on nuclear doctrine, offers very broad outlines. Its recommendations to acquire a tri-service arsenal reflect the approaches and practices of the two superpowers during the Cold War. As such it is said to reveal a preference for the operational rather than the political aspect of deterrence.[145] But this reading of the doctrine seems to put too much weight on the draft and its suggestions. Ashley J. Tellis argues in his analysis that the draft doctrine reflects the fact that nuclear weapons are for India political instruments of deterrence rather than military tools of war. Indian perception is based on several factors such as the longstanding tradition of idealist and liberal thought, absolute civilian control over the military (and nuclear weapons) and the desire to avoid excessive costs. The Indian stand is also said to derive from the lack of "*any onerous security challenge*" that would require warfighting capabilities.[146]

Indians had in fact debated about their nuclear doctrine before the 1974 test and before the 1998 tests. Retired Army Major General and the first director of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA) Som Dutt published his ideas in an Adelphi Paper as early as 1966. General Dutt did not advocate deterrence but nevertheless offered much needed and still valid food for thought on Indian security. He asked the question whether nuclear weapons could provide security to India. Indian deterrence would first of all encourage Pakistan to acquire hers and get closer to China. Secondly, India could probably not afford the quantity and quality of arsenal to deter China. Finally, nuclear forces had very little if any impact on internal unrest, regional disputes and the conventional use of force within South Asia.[147] Another IDSA director K. Subrahmanyam, on the other hand, argued for nuclear weapons. In a series of articles in 1970 he claimed that India lacked an integrated view about long-term security requirements. For him the Chinese nuclear arsenal posed a destabilizing yet implicit threat. India would thus for moral purposes need to ensure peace through deterrence.[148] Subrahmanyam later suggested that a total force of 60 warheads be carried on 20 *Agni* intermediate-range ballistic missiles, 20 *Prithvi* short-range ballistic missiles and 20 on Jaguar and Mirage fighter-bombers. What Subrahmanyam and the Army Chief of Staff General K.

Doctrine.
[145] Basrur 2003, p. 6.
[146] The President of India, the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister as well as the assessments of the leading Indian strategists explicitly made similar statements (Tellis 2001, pp. i-ii, 17-27).
[147] Dutt 1966, pp. 1-9.
[148] Perkovich 2000, pp. 156-158.

Sundarji were proposing was based on Cold War-type statistical calculations where Indian missile capacity, i.e. range, yield and number of delivery vehicles, was determined by the Chinese nuclear posture and vulnerability.

That the DND lacked the depth and precision of the previous Indian nuclear discourse is not accidental. The secrecy and implicit articulation typical of military doctrines does not alone explain the content and coverage of the DND. The open-endedness of the report serves multiple purposes. Contrary to the previous China-specific comments of both the Defence Minister and the Prime Minister had made in 1998[149] the DND does not point out any adversary, thus enabling the NDA Government to build relations with China and Pakistan. One can also claim that it was too early for the Government to decide what kind of deterrence it wanted and India needed. Too explicit a doctrine at this time would have narrowed India's freedom of movement. It could have made the ongoing dialogue with the United States difficult, as the Americans most likely would have wanted to discuss the doctrine. External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh later argued that the report was intended to promote and provoke national debate and was not a politically approved statement.[150]

In January 2003 the NDA Government announced its commitment to developing and maintaining a credible minimum deterrence, as well as to no-first-use policy, massive retaliation as a response to a first strike against Indian forces anywhere, and to the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states. It also announced the option of using nuclear weapons against a chemical and biological attack and an adherence to strict export controls. Finally, the Government renewed Indian participation in the FMCT negotiations, pledged a moratorium on testing and repeated its commitment to universal disarmament.[151] (See Appendix 3 for the CCS information.)

Deterrence in South Asia or a South Asian Deterrence?

As Indian and Pakistan developed their nuclear weapon capabilities in the 1980s and 1990s academic attention grew concerning the question of deterrence in South Asia. This body of literature can be divided into two: the logic of deterrence and the logic of proliferation schools, the former also known as the deterrence optimist school and the latter as the deter-

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[149] *The Times of India*, May 5, 1998; *The New York Times*, June 15, 1998.
[150] *The Hindu*, November 29, 1999.
[151] MEA, January 4, 2003.

rence pessimist school. The logic of deterrence (the optimists) considers that deterrence functions regardless of local or regional conditions or the strategic culture. The logic of proliferation (the pessimists) in addition to doubts on the functionality of deterrence emphasise differences in technological conditions and in the political and organizational cultures of the states. The pessimists also remind people of the likelihood of escalating the arms race and accidental use, and the risk of nuclear terrorism.[152]

Deterrence in South Asia is seen either as a slight modification of the allegedly well-known US-USSR Cold War framework or as a particular South Asian equation where local and regional belief-systems, practices and the environment set the scene. The optimists argue that the new proliferants do not need to repeat the practices of the Cold War and that they are capable of learning from previous experiences.[153] Deterrence optimism also refers to systemic and structural factors that induce caution in India and Pakistan. The pessimists fear that the deterrence in South Asia will come to resemble the Cold War's model[154] with high readiness, targeting or even launch on warning procedures that make the system dangerous. Here the critique begins to carry ethnocentric attitudes as it customarily regards Indian and Pakistani behaviour and practices as secondary to Western ones. Resemblance to the debate on Orientalism and to Western ways of seeing India that Sen has introduced is striking also in this field of study.

Since the 1971 war India and Pakistan have been engaged in four bilateral crises that have been claimed to have nuclear dimensions. Although their impact on e.g. bilateral relations, confidence building measures and non-proliferation have already been briefly elaborated it is useful to return to these incidents and discuss their relation to and impact on Indian nuclear thought and the question of nuclear doctrine. Whether the possession of nuclear weapons has actually prevented a major war from breaking out

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[152] Hagerty 1995, pp. 80-81; Karl 1996, pp. 91-95, 117; Sagan 2002, pp. 191-194, 204-215; Goswami 2006, p. 663. Numerous papers arguing for or against Indian (and Pakistani) deterrence, focusing mostly either on systemic factors or on the problems and dangers, have been written. See e.g. Brahma Chellany "The Challenge of Nuclear Arms Control in South Asia", *Survival* (Autumn 1993); François Heisbourg "The Prospects for Nuclear Stability between India and Pakistan", *Survival* (Autumn 1993); Šumit Ganguly "Indo-Pakistani Nuclear Issues and the Stability/Instability Paradox", *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (1995) and "The Prospects and Sources of New Delhi's Nuclear Weapons Program", *International Security* (Spring 1999); Neil Joeck "Maintaining Nuclear Stability in South Asia", Adelphi Paper no. 312 (1997); Rajesh M. Basrur, *Minimum Deterrence and India's National Security* (2006).
[153] K. Subrahmanyam and K. Sundarji in Tellis 2001, p. 4; Waltz in Sagan and Waltz 2003, pp. 116-123.
[154] Karl 1996, pp. 117-118; Sagan in Sagan & Waltz 2003, pp. 106-107. Sagan emphasizes the human inability to control imperfect organizations.

between India and Pakistan is of importance, and not only academically.[155] Another important question is the relationship between nuclear war, limited war and insurgency operations.

1 Brasstacks 1986–1987

Exercise *Brasstacks*, India's corps-level exercise took place in Rajasthan in 1986–87. In the exercise 250,000 Indian troops with 1,500 battle tanks operated in close proximity, moving towards the Pakistani border. India did not inform Pakistan about these troop movements and exercises. The reason for this, Sagan argues, was that the exercise was a covert plot to provoke a Pakistani response, justifying an overwhelming Indian Air Force strike on Pakistani nuclear facilities. The then Indian chief of army staff General Sundarji advocated a preventive strike during the crisis. For Sagan, the crisis exemplifies the disturbing and dangerous nature of South Asian deterrence. For a credible deterrence second-strike capability is essential and in South Asia, at least in the mid 1980s, the vulnerability of their small nuclear arsenals was high and their capability for a second-strike low. In this situation a pre-emptive strike could have been a lucrative option.[156] This line of argumentation known from Western deterrence theories from Wohlstetter to Waltz to Schelling and strengthened by incidents like *Brasstacks* could materialize in an arms race and put an emphasis on developing second-strike capabilities. Hagerty as well as Waltz downplay the risk of a first strike by stating that the very technological backwardness that is said to cause vulnerability actually makes a first strike unlikely.[157]

2 Kashmir 1990

As a consequence of growing unrest after the 1987 Kashmir state elections, India deployed more troops to the region in early 1990. Politicians in both India and Pakistan took advantage of the state of affairs and blamed each other for the deteriorating situation and vowed resilience. Both sides deployed more troops and kept them on the alert. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto spoke of the Kashmiris' right to self-determination and of a thousand-year war. Indian Prime Minister V.P. Singh replied by wondering whether the war would last a thousand hours. The insurgency escalated into an Indo-Pakistani conflict in which the two nations engaged in firing over the Line of Control. The Bush administration became worried after having

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[155] The Natural Resources Defence Council has estimated that in a nuclear war the number of killed would be between 2.8 and 30 million, depending on the number of warheads used and their targeting.

[156] Sagan 2002, pp. 196-199; Sagan in Sagan & Waltz 2003, pp. 53-63.

[157] Hagerty 1995, p. 95; Waltz in Sagan & Waltz 2003, pp. 19-20.

intercepted a Pakistani message ordering the Pakistani Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) to assembly at least one nuclear weapon. In May President George H. Bush sent Deputy National Security Advisor Robert Gates to pressure Islamabad and New Delhi to settle their differences. India and Pakistan withdrew their troops within two weeks of Gates' visit.[158]

In March 1993 Seymour Hersh published an influential article "On the Nuclear Edge" in *The New Yorker* claiming that India and Pakistan had deployed armoured units along the international border and had placed their nuclear forces on the alert.[159] His evidence and the basic conclusion that Gates' mission prevented an inevitable nuclear war have been contested. Hagerty refutes Hersh's evidence based on interviews with some U.S. intelligence officials and claims that no direct nuclear threat ever existed. He nevertheless argues that both sides were deterred from war by mutual knowledge that the other side was nuclear capable.[160] Perkovich, on the other hand, argues that nuclear weapons did not play a role in the crisis. Gates' mission had found that the Indians were not worried about a Pakistani nuclear threat. New Delhi perceived the crisis in conventional terms where domestic politics and Pakistani-backed infiltration were the centrepieces.[161]

As it is obvious that the Indians were not planning a war, at least not in May, but focusing on suppressing insurgency, and as the alleged Pakistani preparations were not even recognized in New Delhi, the claim that direct nuclear threats had prevented war finds little support. The deterrent signal if it ever existed was too weak.[162] Nevertheless both sides had by 1990 become aware of mutual nuclear capabilities. This could have induced caution. Indian forces, for example, did not conduct deep operations against 'terrorist' bases or movements across the Line of Control or the international border. More relevant than what actually did or did not happen for the purposes at hand is the intellectual change the conflict caused in international and regional thinking concerning the likelihood of nuclear war and deterrence in South Asia. The very existence of nuclear weapons became a factor that had to be counted in. They can, however, be counted in two different ways. Nuclear weapons can be seen as preventing a major war between India and Pakistan or as enabling one to conduct low intensity

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[158] Hagerty 1995, pp. 91-101; Ganguly 1999, pp. 165-167.

[159] Hersh 1993, pp. 56-57.

[160] Hagerty 1995, pp. 80, 102-107. Hagerty offers a comprehensive and well documented analysis of the crisis.

[161] Perkovich 2000, p. 310.

[162] A former well-informed Pakistani minister told the writer in 1997 that Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto had asked his opinion considering a nuclear test in August 1990. This would have come to the attention of New Delhi.

operations as the other side is deterred from making any decisive manoeuvres. Seen from the optimist point of view, the Kashmir 1990 crisis thus represents a model of a functioning existential deterrence and from the pessimist it is an example of the risks involved in the nuclear deterrence in South Asia.

3 Kargil 1999

The impact of the already elaborated 1999 Kargil crisis on nuclear policy could be seen as positive. A key factor in this controversial conclusion is the very pessimist view on South Asian deterrence that Sagan in particular represents. Both sides must have recognized the risk of the local conflict in Kargil escalating into a wider violent confrontation – in fact they were both ready to do so. Because a major battle in Rajastan, where the Indians were preparing for a counter-offensive, would most probably have been in India's favour, Pakistan would have faced the question of whether to surrender or to escalate the confrontation even further. To escalate she would not have needed to actually use nuclear weapons, as assembling and deploying them might have been enough to convince India to halt her offensive. However their assembly or deployment could have forced India to consider a pre-emptive strike, a strike against an estimated imminent and unavoidable threat. Pakistan would have known the risk of this and been faced with the alternatives of 'use it or lose it'. As the opponents' geographical proximity and tense population would have made consequences of even a minor 'nuclear exchange' devastating it could be argued that the idea of using nuclear weapons had lost ground.[163] This argument finds support from Frey who notices how Indian elite discourse became more balanced and even critical after Kargil.[164] Kargil can be seen to have strengthened Indian beliefs in deterrence instead of defence if one follows Snyder's dichotomy.[165] Pant also argues that Kargil came as a strategic and tactical surprise for New Delhi highlighting lack of strategic assessment, coordination and executive powers.[166]

Another consequence of the 1999 crisis was the development of the Indian nuclear system to eliminate the risk of unauthorized or accidental launch. By developing a reliable command and control system[167] it was thought that Pakistani incentives to consider a preventive strike would be reduced.

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[163] Waltz in Sagan & Waltz 2003, p. 121.
[164] Frey 2006, pp. 103-104.
[165] Tellis comes to this conclusion in his institutional analysis (Tellis 2001, pp. 35-36, 43).
[166] Pant 2007, p. 247.
[167] MoD Reform, Annexure B.

Moreover, greater attention was given to military operations that would not so easily meet the assumed Pakistani 'redlines'.

Seen through pessimist lenses Kargil is but one dangerous example of the instability of South Asian deterrence. The threat of escalation in a volatile situation can deliberately be used to encourage the opponent to retreat or the Americans to intervene. Indians believed that they made Pakistan withdraw with the threat of their conventional counter-offensive,[168] while at the same time Prime Minister Shariz leaned on President Clinton to save Pakistan and his government. Reliance on a nuclear umbrella may increase the likelihood of low intensity conflicts as the stability/instability paradox suggests. Finally strategic calculations may lead countries to seek to de-value the opponent's arsenal by investing in arms systems. Safety precautions might be considered less important.

4 Operation Parakram 2001–2002

As a response to the December 13, 2001 attack on the Indian Parliament the NDA Government launched *Operation Parakram* on December 18. India mobilized her corps size strike forces to and along the Pakistani border. The Indian intention to signal her determination to stop Pakistan's support to Kashmiri militants regardless of nuclear escalation was under-mined by the three weeks' time it took India to deploy her forces. Pakistan managed to counter-mobilize her forces and the worried Americans pres-sured both sides into refraining from further action. The operation was politically and militarily a disappointment to India as political ends and military means did not meet.[169] Ladwig argues that regardless of the exact causes for the operation's failures the fundamental problem was the Indian reliance on the "Sundarji Doctrine" that called for massive mobilization and the use of a corps-size forces that lacked speed, strategic surprise and offensive power. To fill this gap the Indian Army formulated a new limited war doctrine, *Cold Start*, in April 2004. The strike corps were to be reor-ganized into eight division-sized "integrated battle groups". This would enable India to seek minor territorial gains without threatening Pakistan's existence.[170] From the point of view of nuclear doctrine the *Cold Start* doctrine signifies the existential/deterrence role nuclear weapons have in Indian thinking. It also exemplifies the enabling role nuclear deterrence offers for lower level operations. *Cold Start* is the Indian response to the limited and insurgency operations Pakistan has managed to conduct under her nuclear umbrella.

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[168] Sagan 2002, p. 202.
[169] Pant 2007, p. 248.
[170] Ladwig 2008, pp. 159-160, 163-167.

Indian implicit utterances on their nuclear doctrine combined with their demonstrated nuclear and missile capability continued the state of existential deterrence that had prevailed since the early 1990s. It also continues the Indian belief that nuclear weapons should be used as political instruments rather than as military means. India therefore does not need to acquire a certain number of weapons or a specified capacity in order to deter her nuclear adversaries. Uncertainty of success matters most. To maintain this uncertainty among her potential nuclear adversaries, China and Pakistan, she needs according to mainstream Western nuclear theories, and looks likely to develop a second strike capacity. The key elements concerning the credibility of her minimum deterrence are intermediate range ballistic and cruise missiles with countervalue capabilities, anti-ballistic missile defence and dispersed and mobile nuclear forces, together with a robust command and control system. Though this requires further investments and development this does not need to materialize in an open-ended arms development and arms race. Naturally, one can question whether future politicians, scientists and administrators would settle for a regionally powerful but globally modest nuclear arsenal. The above-outlined minimum deterrence might meet strategic calculations but would not necessarily satisfy political, institutional and technical desires.

Conclusion

Within Indian nuclear discourse operate several competing and at least partly incommensurable values. These can be distinguished by twofold dichotomy of the ideational-material- and the holistic-unit-level. The following figure illustrates these main aspects of Indian nuclear discourse. The figure does not explicitly refer to any specific IR school, although similar values or arguments have been discussed in the fields of Political Realism, Structural Realism, Constructivism or Feminism. It should be emphasized that no single value as such speaks either for or against nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, most of these values are referred to when nuclear weapons have been advocated.

The following figure illustrates that the main foreign policy goals of energy, security, regional hegemony and international status find their utterance in the nuclear discourse as well. This leads to the question of commensurability. Firstly, it is not a given that although the values are common the means and ways used in one domain help to achieve the same values in a second domain. Similarly, one can ask how well do the other values

expressed within the nuclear discourse match with the values of foreign policy?

	Ideational	Material
Holistic	Modernity Morality Masculinity	Security Sovereignty
	Status	
Unit-level	Prestige Prowess	Development Power Energy

Figure no. 7. Main values in Indian nuclear discourses

The history of the Indian nuclear weapon policy reveals a number of myths. One myth is that India has maintained the purity of her moralistic policy, while in fact she has kept the nuclear option open and has developed nuclear weapons. Moreover, the indigenousness of her nuclear programme was more a slogan than a reality as the strategic enclave depended heavily on foreign technology and know-how. Achievements were a long time in coming, and in energy production promises were never met. Perhaps, the greatest myth perhaps was that nuclear weapons would offer a short cut to modernity, prosperity, and great power status. Peaceful nuclear explosives or nuclear weapons have not helped the Western world to achieve its societal and developmental goals either.

Security concerns have without doubt created the conditions for India to develop nuclear weapon capabilities. Most notably, many Indians and especially many within the security community believe that nuclear weapons help to enhance security. If China had not defeated India in 1962 and acquired nuclear weapons in 1964, it is possible that India would not have proceeded towards a PNE capacity. Without India's own ambitions and her victory over Pakistan in 1971, Pakistan might have refrained from developing her nuclear arsenal. By the early 1990s these factors came to intensify Indian intentions leading to a technical imperative to test. However, domes-

tic factors must also be recognized to explain the specific Indian moves and choices made. Domestic political and economic concerns have operated effectively in India as India is the only nation that has publicly debated its desire to acquire nuclear weapon capability.

In sum, the major domestic factors affecting the building of nuclear weapons are the strategic enclave of scientists and technologists who drive the nuclear quest, and Indian national identity and normative aspirations to be an independent actor and have major power status. Limiting factors include the normative interest of a morally superior position, the absence of an institutional apparatus of security policy making and implementation, economic constraints and the priority given to non-military and non-nuclear goals, and international pressure and sanctions imposing high political and economic costs. The result has been an ambivalent and ambiguous nuclear policy. Indian thinking often results in a "both/and" rather than an "either/or" policy. The ambiguous Indian approach to nuclear doctrine, however, finds support in deterrence theories.

The history of Indian nuclear policymaking suggests that Structural (Neo-) Realism points in the right general direction. Indians are worried, right or wrong, about their security in a nuclear weapon-inflicted environment. The very existence of nuclear weapons is a structural condition that Indian decision-makers take seriously. State-level analysis as well as pressure groups and individuals nevertheless must be included in order to grasp the complexity of nuclear policy.

Indians desire equity, and do not accept solutions or agreements that undermine India's sovereignty. Achieving greater equity is a necessary condition for India to join the global non-proliferation regime. Not all nations see the dichotomy between nuclear haves and have-nots as commensurate with their circumstances. Some demand the realization of the regime's nuclear disarmament promises. India would actually be the net beneficiary if some day weapons of mass destruction could be abolished – Indian conventional capacity could counter any adversary, or at least prevent anyone from winning the war.

Especially nuclear policy has been marked by exclusive decision-making. The Prime Minister with his or her closest advisor or trustees has formulated and dictated Indian nuclear decisions. Often the Prime Minister has been the only one with political and parliamentary responsibility. The role of nuclear scientists has been remarkable, particularly in presenting exaggerated plans and capacities to the Prime Minister in order to get more support and resources. These scientists consider that they have an unques-

tionable mandate for research and development in nuclear field. Nuclear politics has been mostly guided by technological and institutional imperatives. National security and defence concerns were mostly enabling factors that were selectively used as arguments. By referring to security the nuclear apparatus was able to enhance its power, position and programmes. Though atomic energy is now needed more than before it seems likely that the institutionalization of strategic planning and decision-making will diminish the influence of the scientific establishment. Security considerations are likely to get a bigger role. This will not dilute the dominant role the Prime Minister and a few key ministers and advisors have.

International non-proliferation concerns, i.e. American pressure, increased costs and obstacles, and Indian dependence on Western aid, slowed down the nuclear programmes, and induced Indian leaders to constrain but not stop their capabilities. In the field of nuclear non-proliferation Indians have argued for a more equitable world where nuclear haves would be committed to disarmament rather than the have-nots acquire nuclear weapons. The India's high moralism and their principled standpoint were never really understood in the West; neither were India's security concerns, – so it is little wonder that political leaders did not stop the scientists.

Except for a few exceptions there has been continuity and consensus in the Indian nuclear policy. Succeeding governments, or better administrations, have continued to enhance Indian scientific and technical preparedness in this field. This work has not been based on any specific doctrine, document or decision but on a more or less common understanding of India's strategic posture. Differences within this convention have existed but they have been technical rather than matters of principle.

It is safe to argue that a technological imperative to test again exists. Indian scientists and the armed forces alike might want to test devices and designs with a better yield-to-weight ratio and that fit future cruise and ballistic missiles. Today, however, a series of strong obstacles are in the way. The most important of them is increased Indo-American cooperation in several fields, in politics and especially in technological development. A nuclear test would jeopardize this positive trend. The international nuclear non-proliferation regime could affect matters in both ways, either encouraging or discouraging nuclear proliferation, as it did in the 1980s and 1990s. Domestic politics and the relations with the United States are now perhaps more important factors whether to test or not than security assessments or technical desires.

Indian leaders promised and hoped that nuclear energy would become a

symbol and tool of modernity: splitting the atom would be a shortcut to modernity, and acquiring nuclear weapons would provide a major power status, whatever that entailed. Neither of these desires materialized directly.

IV

The Manmohan Singh Government of India

6 THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY 2004–2007

In the following Manmohan Singh Government's foreign policy is analysed according to the methodology way described in the Introduction. As stated, the focus is on official texts and on intentions. The speeches, addresses and statements analysed are chosen according to their estimated value and importance. They thus cover the themes, regions and venues that are important in Indian foreign policy. Some texts are analysed in detail by first shortly describing their context and content, and secondly by answering the questions what was done by saying and what were the intentions in doing. A large number of official speeches and statements are omitted from out of this detailed analysis and are only partially referred to. This is done to avoid unnecessary repetition; the selected texts are believed to contain the points the UPA government wanted to make in foreign policy and are sufficient to enable the researcher to understand the meaning of Indian foreign policy. The conclusion of this chapter also compares the UPA government to some of its predecessors.

The Indian National Congress Party Returns to Power

As mentioned earlier, the United Progressive Alliance led by the Indian National Congress formed the Union government after the 2004 general elections and was sworn in on May 22, 2004. After the swearing-in ceremony, Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh outlined his priorities:

> *This is a mandate for change; for strengthening the secular foundation of our republic, to carry forward the process of social and economic change which benefits the poorer sections of our community, particularly our farmers and workers. We will ensure that we have a development strategy to empower*

> *our people to realise their vast latent potential.[1]*

With this statement Dr. Singh anchored his government's policy of change to the well-known and well-established Nehruvian tradition of secularism and social progress. In this respect the new government was said to follow the long line of Indian National Congress party governments. The emphasis on change was needed for two reasons: firstly it highlighted the need to continue to change the Indian state, economy and mind-set to meet the demands of the 21st century – in fact the process the then Finance Minister Manmohan Singh had started in the early 1990s – and secondly to distance the UPA government from its predecessor the Bharatiya Janata Party-led National Democratic Alliance government. Manmohan Singh took what was considered valuable and necessary and dissociated from the outdated and harmful. The global and market economy would replace state planning, secularism would replace sectarianism, and inclusiveness would take the place of exclusiveness.

The statement as an act can thus be categorized as a locutionary act by its content (secularism, social and economic change, and development). But for the purposes of this study this statement should be considered an illocutionary act. Dr. Singh's statement was a political move which distanced the new government from its predecessor and placed it within the Indian tradition.

Prime Minister Singh addressed the nation one month later on June 24. In his speech he introduced the government programme and his policy intentions in general. Most of the address dealt with economic and developmental issues. The Prime Minister tackled such issues as economic growth and reform, gender issues, poverty and social disparities, agriculture, the infrastructure and energy. That international relations were discussed only briefly did not mean that foreign policy was unimportant. It underlined the need and desire to change the social and economic outlook of the nation. The clear practical focus emphasized the political manoeuvre of the address: this was an address to the nation, to "*fellow citizens*" whose primary concerns were, and are, social and economic.[2] The Prime Minister also introduced the government's National Common Minimum Programme, which was designed to tackle these questions.

The section on foreign policy Dr. Singh began with an overall statement:

> *We will maintain our tradition of an independent foreign*

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[1] *The Hindu*, May 23, 2004.
[2] One has to keep in mind that almost 30% of the Indian labour force is still agricultural, and that some 40 to 60 percent of children are malnourished.

> *policy, built on a national consensus and based on our supreme national interests. We will expand our network of international relationships – preserving solidarity with traditional allies and strengthening new partnerships. We will work with like-minded nations for an equitable, multi-polar world order, which takes into account the legitimate aspirations of developing countries.*[3]

Here again the UPA government returned to the idealized past and the desired future. India was to have an independent and legitimate position amongst the key players of world politics. Working towards equality, development and the multi-polar world order can be translated as the desire to be heard and not be dictated. The Prime Minister ended the address by urging Indians to work together to ensure that the "*ancient sacred land of ours regains its rightful place in the comity of nations*".[4]

Concerning the relations with other countries Pakistan, China, the United States, Russia and the European Union were each mentioned briefly. The regions of South Asia, Southeast Asia, West Asia,[5] Latin America and Africa were similarly mentioned. The troubled relationship with Pakistan was recognized by the "*desire to live in a neighbourhood of peace and prosperity*". The Indian view that (Pakistani state-sponsored) terrorism is a major obstacle to lasting peace was repeated – in this respect the UPA and Congress Party followed the NDA and Bharatiya Janata Party. The same went for with the relationship with the United States:

> *As two of the world's great democracies, our strengthened relationship with* [the] *USA is a fact of considerable importance. The transformation of our relations with* [the] *USA has been supported by the expansion of economic links and people to people ties, including the presence of almost a million people of Indian origin in that country. We will welcome the expansion of cooperation between the two Governments to include new and mutually beneficial areas, particularly high technology.*[6]

The government's desire to strengthen the relationship was obvious. The brief statement grounds the policy on democratic traditions, expanded economic links and people-to-people ties between the two nations. All these have in fact existed for several decades: one could have argued in similar terms since Indian independence in 1947. The motive and intention

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[3] *Prime Minister's Address to the Nation*, June 24, 2004.
[4] *Prime Minister's Address to the Nation*, June 24, 2004.
[5] West Asia in Indian terminology covers the Middle East and Iran.
[6] *Prime Minister's Address to the Nation*, June 24, 2004.

in emphasizing Indo-U.S. relations is written in the last sentence and elaborated eloquently in the address's first pages: the United States is needed to ensure the social and economic growth and development the government desires to achieve. In world politics Indian objectives do not necessarily coincide, but they do overlap with the United States in that New Delhi was seeking a multilateral order together with other "*like-minded nations*". The difference compared to Cold War times and e.g. the Non-Aligned Movement which had similar international intentions is that the post-Cold War era put the economy before politics – international relations now seem to be governed by economic calculations whereas other interests, especially military ones, are dominant in only a handful of relations.

The Prime Minister's address was clearly an address to the nation – the main audience was the Indian populace at large. The text and its intention should be read within the background of the 2004 elections and the struggle between the INC and the BJP. The text repeated the INC election manifesto thus showing the electorate that the government would keep its promises. The Prime Minister said what the people wanted to hear: the future would be better; India would become prosperous, would remain independent and would become respected. The address highlighted the ideological differences the main parties had, but, and this is the main intention of the address, it proved that the government is an all-Indian one, that its goals are shared by all Indians, that it is in the national interest to unite a country the BJP-led government and the elections had (allegedly) divided.

Indian foreign policy and relations with other countries were elaborated in detail in various speeches and addresses given and Joint Statement signed during official visits the Prime Minister made or when dignitaries came to India. In the following Indian foreign policy is examined with the help of the most important of these texts. With each chosen text its context and content are briefly presented and each is analysed according to the research and analytical questions presented in the Introduction. Foreign relations are geographically divided into two distinctive areas, the regional relations covering the neighbouring countries of China and Pakistan, and the global relations covering the United Nations as the international forum for India, the United States, the Russian Federation, and the European Union.

In addition to the Prime Minister, the External Affairs Minister and other members of the Cabinet naturally spoke of Indian foreign policy. Minister Pranap Mukherjee's two speeches held in autumn 2006 are analysed in here as they provide the general outlines of the Government's foreign policy. The first was given when he was Defence Minister and the second some months later when he had become External Affairs Minister.

At Harvard, Defence Minister Mukherjee began with an overall description of the state of international affairs. On one hand globalization is advancing the capabilities of nations and is creating "*a radically different order*", on the other hand the rise of religious fundamentalism and terrorism is one of the "*gravest security challenges to states, economies, peoples and democratic polities*". After a historical and cultural reading of India's past and present the Defence Minister listed seven principal security challenges. They were terrorism, territorial and boundary issues, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, politically fragile neighbours, rising violence, trafficking and piracy on the Indian Ocean, and energy security and security of sea lines of communication. Mr. Mukherjee stressed that the relations with the United States were one of the fundamental goals of India's current foreign and security policy. He repeated the theme of shared values and common concerns and praised the emerging Indo-U.S. civil nuclear energy cooperation. He concluded by emphasizing India's secular Constitution that separates state and religion. He stressed India's open society and economy together with her willingness in participate to safeguarding the vital sea lines of communications and her commitment to comprehensive nuclear disarmament.[7]

External Affairs Minister Mukherjee addressed the 46th National Defence College Course in New Delhi on November 15, 2006. In his speech Mr. Mukherjee explicitly subordinated foreign policy to economic development:

> [*I*] *foresee Indian Foreign Policy playing a major role in this economic renaissance* [of India]
> and
> *The primary task of Indian Foreign Policy has to remain the facilitation of India's developmental processes, … [O]ur focus in the coming decade should be on promoting trade and investment flows, in assisting the modernization of the infrastructure, in assuring* [a] *predictable and affordable energy supply and in securing the widest possible access to technologies*.

He went on to list maritime security, WMD proliferation, energy security and terrorism as threats to India's security. In future the importance of the East in Indian security considerations would rise. The other important theme he elaborated was fundamentally differentiated relations with

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[7] *Address by Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, Defence Minister on "India's Strategic Perspective" at Harvard University*, September 25, 2006; see also the PM's addresses at the Combined Commanders Conference on October 26, 2004, on October 20, 2005 and on October 18, 2006, where Dr. Singh discussed regional questions and spokes of India's "*strategic footprint*", of sealines of communication, and of her extended neighbourhood, respectively.

neighbouring countries. Here Pakistan was not among those who valued Indian success nor did Pakistan cooperate with her. The External Affairs Minister stated that Indo-Pak relations are now at a crossroads. It would not be possible to change borders, indeed their significance should be diminished. Improved Indo-U.S. relations and civil nuclear cooperation exemplified for him a clear recognition of India's responsible record as a nuclear state. India's geopolitical environment was divided into the expanding circles of *immediate* and *extended* neighbourhoods, the major powers and emerging power centres.[8]

In his utterances Minister Pranap Mukherjee followed the Prime Minister's notion of shared values pursuing a 'common concerns' line of argumentation. He similarly linked the current policies to India's founding fathers, particularly Nehru. Possibly an account of his personality and the venues Mr. Mukherjee was more blunt in defining security threats at Harvard and his focus on foreign policy at the National Defence College. Interestingly, he divided India's geographic environment in terms borrowed from *Arthaśastra*, terms certainly known by the Defence College Course participants. On the issue of energy security, where Dr. Singh had focused mostly on supplies and production, Mr. Mukherjee expanded on the larger question of geo-strategic and maritime security considerations. The overall intention (intention in) of these two addresses was thus to draw lines and areas – circles – of responsibility between various domestic and international actors. Minister Mukherjee intention (intention to) was to show what belonged to India, what belonged to foreign policy and what is the marching order between certain actors. India was equal to global players, was *primus inter pares* in the extended neighbourhood, whereas on the subcontinent she was the dominant power.

Regional Relations: China and Pakistan

Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited India in April 2005. Prime Minister Singh expressed his satisfaction over the visit and went through the main results of the bilateral talks. Both countries stressed in the signed Joint Statement the new stage of Indo-Sino relations that were said to transcend bilateral issues and acquire a global and strategic character. The countries desired to resolve their differences. Dr. Singh considered the Agreement on the Political Parameters and Guiding Principles and Guiding Principles for the Settlement of the India-China Boundary Question to be a major milestone. Both sides agreed to respect and observe the line of actual

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[8] *"Indian Foreign Policy: A Road Map for the Decade Ahead" - Speech by External Affairs Minister Shri Pranap Mukherjee at the 46th National Defence College Course*, November 15, 2006.

control in the contested area. Yet Dr. Singh stressed to the *Lok Sabha* that the countries were "*quite some distance away from a final settlement*". India had reiterated the recognition of the Tiet Autonomous Region, i.e. Tibet as part of the People's Republic, and China accordingly had regarded Sikkim as an inalienable part of India. The Chinese Premier and the Indian Prime Minister also had agreed on the importance of reforming the UN system. China said it would support India's desire to play an active role in the UN and in international affairs.[9]

The Prime Minister's statement and the Joint Statement stressed the Indian (and Chinese) desire to separate the boundary issue, and the political climate of 1962, from the overall political agenda; the Prime Minister also emphasized the need to maintain bilateral relations. Dr. Singh's remark that the final settlement of the border issue was not imminent illustrated the actual character of the mutual understanding: both sides agreed to disagree but considered their global roles and perceived status to be of greater importance. The recognition of Sikkim (and Tiet (Tibet)) signifies the sensitiveness of territorial questions as such, and the importance of the role of central government for New Delhi (and Beijing). India did not get explicit or implicit support for her permanent membership in the UNSC from China.

By stressing the cordial atmosphere of the visit, the twelve agreements signed and the positive relations of the countries, India (and China) wanted to rise above any bilateral disagreement, most notably the border issue, and place themselves among the serious global actors. This was done to acquire and safeguard foreign investments needed for the economic, industrial, and infrastructural reforms and transformation taking place in India (and China).

The President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf, visited India four days after Wen Jiabao's visit in April 2005. Characteristic of an Indo-Pakistani relationship, Dr. Singh invited General Musharraf to a cricket match. The Prime Minister presented the *Lok Sabha* with the agenda for the bilateral talks. This included a Joint Statement reviewing the bilateral relationship. Both sides assessed the progress made through confidence building measures and increased interaction as positive and they also stressed the importance of economic cooperation. India emphasized the beneficial effects of the gas pipeline as well as the Indian refusal to redraw the boundaries of Jammu and Kashmir. Both sides had expressed their concerns relating to terrorism across the border. Concrete issues which the

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[9] *PM's statement in the Lok Sabha on the visit of Chinese Premier and Pakistan President*, April 20, 2005; *Joint Statement.of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India*, New Delhi, April 11, 2005.

leaders decided on covered the opening or widening of three bus and truck routes, the opening of two Consulates-General and the reactivation of the Joint Economic Commission. As with Sino-Indo relations Dr. Singh told the *Lok Sabha* that dividing and difficult issues had "*bedeviled*" Indo-Pakistani relations for far too long to hope for an immediate resolution. The Prime Minister ended on a positive note referring to the Composite Dialogue between the countries, the ceasefire along the Line of Control held since November 2003, and India's commitment to peace and friendship with Pakistan.[10]

By mentioning the difficult issues and by warning against expecting any immediate results the Prime Minister assured Indian parliamentarians and the audience that his government had not made and would not make any concession to Pakistan regarding Jammu and Kashmir or other strategic questions. The government would remain vigilant in defending India's national interests and identity as a nation. Positive assurances were expressed to the international observers and audience to enhance the image of India's peaceful relations with her neighbours. Any alarming note in this respect could easily cause political, social or economic disturbances. Referring to the Composite Dialogue, which was not as such mentioned in the Joint Statement, was a move to engage the main opposite party, the BJP, which had initiated the Dialogue during its tenure in power.

Prime Minister Singh initiated a series of Jammu and Kashmir conferences in February 2006. The purpose of the Round Table was to create understanding among the various Indian actors. That would in turn contribute to peace and reconciliation within the State, between the State and the Centre and ultimately between India and Pakistan. The over fifty invitees included both State political, societal and separatist leaders and organizations. Although much of the focus was on internal and societal issues, like good governance the Jammu and Kashmir Round Table also sheds light on Indian foreign policy as issues like the strengthening of ties across the Line of Control were tackled. The Indian Jammu and Kashmir policy inevitably affects her relations with Pakistan.

In his opening remarks Dr. Singh stressed the importance of diversity, differences and dialogue. It was for this reason, he said the Government had initiated a political dialogue with powers that stayed outside of the mainstream electorate system – and had refused to participate in this conference, most notably the All Parties Hurriyat Conference. Empowerment and security from violence and terrorism was needed to develop the State to become "*the epitome of unity, peace and prosperity in*

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[10] *PM's statement in the Lok Sabha on the visit of the Chinese Premier and the Pakistan President*, April 20, 2005; *India-Pakistan Joint Statement*, April 18, 2005.

diversity", the strength of Indian democracy.[11] Three months later in addressing the Second Round Table Dr. Singh again took up Indo-Pakistani relations. He pointed out that there were two dimensions to the problems of Jammu and Kashmir: the relationships between Delhi and Srinagar and between Delhi and Islamabad. He said he hoped for prosperity on both sides of the LOC. In his closing remarks Dr. Singh suggested creating five working groups of which one would focus on strengthening relations across the Line of Control. This group was to recommend measures to:

- simplify procedures to facilitate travel across the Line of Control
- increase goods traffic
- expand people-to-people contact, including the promotion of pilgrimage and group tourism
- open up new routes such as Kargil-Skardu.[12]

The Prime Minister's statements on the Line of Control suggest the possibility of making the LOC the international border. His intention to make the LOC less significant and the practical steps he encouraged the Working Group to recommend also point in this direction. Here one should notice what was not said; despite the frequently repeated principle of not redrawing any borders, Dr. Singh did not directly claim that "Pakistani occupied Kashmir" would belong to India. As the BJP had made similar vague suggestions and General Musharraf had talked of the irrelevance to the LOC, both sides seem to have understood the status quo was a permanent condition. The practical question might be about the conditions and the strings attached to such an understanding, but the biggest obstacles to an agreement were the domestic oppositions that forced the governments to be cautious.

The major regional issues, the relations with China and Pakistan, India sought to handle bilaterally. The Great Powers and the United Nations did not have a role to play in Indian regional foreign politics. India did not want any international mediation; even attention to questions like Kashmir, Siachen or Aksai Chin would offend her. This partly helps to explain the privacy and silence around these issues. Too much publicity in questions of national pride would easily damage the ongoing processes.

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[11] *Roundtable Conference on Jammu & Kashmir: PM's Opening Remarks*, February 25, 2006.

[12] *PM's address at the Second Round Table Conference*, May 23, 2006. (http://pib.nic.in/); *PM's closing remarks at* [the] *2ⁿᵈ Jammu & Kashmir Round Table*, May 25, 2006. The Third Round Table in April 2007 endorsed the recommendations the working groups had made.

Global Relations: the United Nations

Prime Minister Singh participated in the United Nations General Assembly's 59th session in September 2004. He addressed the General Assembly on September 23rd. After a short categorization of the global and transnational character of both the challenges nations face and their responses to them, Dr. Singh covered a number of the same questions as in his address to the nation three months earlier. Terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and poverty and developmental problems were emphasized. Democracy was held up as a significant instrument for achieving peace and prosperity. From the Indian experiences of democracy as such and the (14th) general elections held in spring 2004, Prime Minister advanced to the undemocratic nature of the international system and the United Nations. A more representative decision-making apparatus would be needed. The inclusion of countries "*like India*" would be a first step in reforming the UN system. At the end the established Indo-Pakistani composite dialogue was mentioned.[13]

Prime Minister Singh's statement clearly had two political purposes. First and foremost it painted for the international audience a picture of a serious and responsible India led by a serious and responsible government. As India was involved and participating in the most serious security and developmental questions of the post Cold War and post 9/11 era, her inclusion would prove to be most profitable to those concerned in such issues as terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.[14] India's primary intention was to persuade the permanent members of the Security Council and the General Assembly to support India's permanent membership in a reformed Council. The concept of multilateralism used three months earlier was excluded as well as the cooperation with like-minded nations. The like-minded nations in this primary intention were the G-4, India, Brazil, Japan and Germany, who all sought permanent membership and had promised mutual support to each other. The second intention was to assure the United Nations that India and Pakistan were capable of tackling their problems and that the attention and involvement of the international community was not needed. Again the main intentions, both permanent UNSC membership and non-interference in Indo-Pak relations, had been on the Indian agenda for a long time, including that of the BJP government. In fact the BJP initiated the composite dialogue with Pakistan.

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[13] UNGA 04-51989.

[14] Naturally references to democracy and terrorism also distanced India from Pakistan. Here again the reader should be reminded that the statements are taken and evaluated at their face value. Thus the above-mentioned assessment does not necessarily represent the author's opinion of Pakistan. It represents the author's conclusion on Indian opinion(s).

On the following day Prime Minister held two speeches, the first one at the Council on Foreign Relations and the second one at the U.S. Press Conference. At the Council on Foreign Relations the main themes were change, reform and transformation and Indo-U.S. cooperation. Dr. Singh began by mentioning three major elements that had driven the process of change, especially in Indo-U.S. relations. The first factor was the end of the Cold War and the emerging new threats, the second was the accelerating pace of globalization and the third the strong Indian American community. The Prime Minister discussed the Indian economy and democracy in detail and stressed the need for massive investments, particularly in infrastructure, where the United States could play a major role. The emerging new partnerships were said to have to "*escape the straitjacket of old paradigms*". The old paradigm in question was the outdated agencies and councils of the United Nations. India's "*due place in global councils*" ought to be recognized.[15]

As the audience at the Council on Foreign Relations consisted of the business and political elite, the emphasis on a stable political and economic environment and lucrative business opportunities was understandable. The government's National Common Minimum Programme could not succeed without foreign investments. The United States and the U.S. CEOs were placed in a vital position. It was essential to get the U.S. to invest more in India, but and not pay that much attention to the non-democratic and communist China.

Global Relations: The United States

Perhaps the UPA government's most important single foreign policy issue was Indo-U.S. relations. This relationship seemed to determine the success of the government in internal, i.e. developmental questions, and in long-standing global questions. At the press conference Prime Minister Singh repeated his above-mentioned key points, thus strengthening his message of a responsible India which was worth recognizing and investing in.

In addition to the already analysed speeches Indo-U.S. cooperation and partnership was addressed during Prime Minister Singh's visit to the United States and President Bush's visit to India. Indo-U.S. relations were also in focus in questions of Iran's nuclear programme and international nuclear cooperation.

Prime Minister Singh's visited the United States in July 2005. Prior to his summit meeting with President George W. Bush, Dr. Singh said he was

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[15] *PM's speech at the Council on Foreign Relations*, September 24, 2004.

hoping to persuade the U.S. to share more of its nuclear technology with India and reverse the perception that the two democracies have "estranged" relations".[16] Indo-U.S. relations were thoroughly elaborated in his address to the Joint Session of the U.S. Congress as well as in his statement to the *Lok Sabha* and in his replies to the *Lok Sabha* and the *Rajya Sabha* debates on the visit.

In his Address to the Joint Session of the U.S. Congress Prime Minister Singh presented and emphasized many similarities that exist between India and the United States. He elaborated widely on the democratic values, ideals and practices that both shared. This led him to note that the countries also shared same concerns and perceptions, most notably the threat of terrorism. Indian economic transformation and growth were presented as lucrative to American companies. Much of the credit of the current state of affairs was given to the Indian National Congress as its leaders from Gandhi to Nehru to Rajiv Gandhi together with the economic reform launched by Prime Minister Rao and Finance Minister Singh in 1991 were mentioned in the address. Dr. Singh directly expressed his hope that the Americans would increase their investments in India, because she needed "*massive foreign direct investment*". Collaboration in agriculture and energy security[17] was also seen to interest both countries; the U.S. Congress was reminded that India had never broken any non-proliferation treaty and would never be a source of proliferation. Finally the Prime Minister presented India's main objectives: civil nuclear cooperation with the United States and permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council.[18]

By listing a number of similarities and potential areas of cooperation, Dr. Singh likened India to the United States. He argued that as democratic values, the American yardstick, were shared by both, both would face the same challenges. Consequently, joint solutions would be both natural and beneficial. He even managed to thank his hosts for the agricultural support received from the US in the 1960s. The address to the U.S. Congress was in fact an international version of his address to the Indian nation on June 24, 2004. In the Congress address the government's policy, the National Common Minimum Programme included, were presented and marketed to one of India's most important international audiences. The Prime Minister pleaded convincingly for U.S. legislators to look favourably on the Indian cause. India sought to increase cooperation with the United States especially on economic and energy issues and sought U.S. support for her international role.

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[16] *The Hindu*, July 18 2005.

[17] The Indian meaning of the concept is that it envisages an acceptable balance between security of demand and security of supply.

[18] *PM's address to* [the] *Joint Session of the Congress*, July 19, 2005.

After returning to India Prime Minister Singh presented his report on his visit to the United States to Parliament. He expressed his belief that the visit was successful in furthering Indian interests and strengthening ties with the United States. He explained to the Parliamentarians that the purpose of the visit had been to sensitize the US Government to "*the full extent of the changes that have taken place in India since 1991*". He had sought to emphasize Indian economic strength, the available knowledge-based industries and services, and the need for investment in infrastructure. A central element had been the resumption of bilateral civilian nuclear cooperation. The Prime Minister connected energy security in general and nuclear power in particular to economic development. Increasing nuclear power would enable India to "*leapfrog stages of economic development obtained at the least possible cost*". The technology denial regimes hitherto targeted against India would now be dismantled by and with the support of the United States: India was to have the same rights and benefits as other nuclear powers. Dr. Singh emphasized that the stated agreement reached in the issued Joint Statement was based on the principle of non-discrimination and was reciprocal to, and conditional upon, the U.S. lifting all restrictions. He repeated that there was "*nothing in this Joint Statement that amounts to limiting or inhibiting our strategic nuclear weapons programme over which we will remain unrestricted, complete and autonomous control*". Though the Unites States had not explicitly supported India's permanent membership in the UN Security Council, Dr. Singh now believed that the U.S. had a better understanding of Indian positions, concerns and interests. India's voice would be heard in global councils and among the comity of nations. [19]

The Prime Minister's statement led to an intensive debate both in the *Lok Sabha* and the *Rajya Sabha*. The Left, most notably Communist and Communist (Marxist) parties, who in general supported the UPA coalition, questioned the basic orientation of Indian foreign policy expressing their concerns about being submerged beneath the influence of the Unites States. The main opposition party, the BJP, feared that the Government had compromised India's strategic nuclear autonomy. Both questions were based on Indian scepticism towards external pressures, not least from the West and the United States, and sensitiveness over her autonomy. The Prime Minister in his reply elaborated the question of energy security in detail. India needed to widen her options, and clean coal technology and a

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[19] *Prime Minister's Statement on US visit in Parliament*, July 29, 2005. *India-U.S. Joint Statement*, Washington, DC, July 18, 2005. Dr. Singh returned to the primacy of economic development and strength in his addresses at the Combined Commanders Conference on October 20 and at the Indian Nuclear Society on November 15. In the former he referred to the *Arthaśastra* by stating that "*From the strength of the treasury the army is born*".

substantial increase of nuclear power[20] would be needed to build the "*economic strength and cohesion of the country*". Getting rid of chronic poverty, ignorance and diseases was said to be India's principal concern. India had to accept realities: the United States was the main international actor and perhaps the only partner strong enough to support India in this respect.[21]

In his reply to the *Rajya Sabha* debate on the following day the Prime Minister continued to justify cooperation with the United States. He stressed that though India was striving for a more just and multi-polar world, India needed to take advantage of the opportunities that existed in the current system in order to achieve her own economic, social and global goals. As in the debate in the *Lok Sabha* Dr. Singh explained the cooperation with the United States by alluding to economic and energy security needs. He mentioned, however, that prior to the visit he had been most worried about the state of India's agriculture, which needed to be modernized.[22]

The official debate in India on the Prime Minister's visit to the United States clearly made visible the main objectives of Indian foreign policy. Economic and developmental questions were of strategic importance, and regional questions like border-crossing terrorism and the border issue were put aside. Even though the permanent membership at the UN Security Council would remain on the agenda, India had recognized that her international position was not dependent on that membership. Her economic success had become at least as important a factor. This focus helped to lift India from troublesome regional issues to a global level. The debate implied how important sovereignty and national security issues were within Indian foreign policy. The prevailing conventions of the Indian security discourse and community were explicitly or implicitly expressed in both the questions and answers. Many Indians regardless of their status, caste, occupation or even political orientation shared a belief in autonomous decision-making, independent capabilities and distrusted Western intentions. When Finance Minister Singh introduced his second budget in 1992 the opposition had demanded his impeachment because, they claimed, he had prepared the budget in consultation with Washington and that he thus was an American stooge.[23] The Prime Minister needed to assuage the many concerns his Indian audience, both Left and Right, urban and rural, upper castes and 'untouchable' might have had. Therefore it was

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[20] Dr. Singh's vision was to increase production from the current c. 3000 megawatts to 30 – 40 000 megawatts in the next 15–20 years.

[21] *Prime Minister's reply to the Lok Sabha debate on his visit*, August 3, 2005.

[22] *Prime Minister's reply to the Rajya Sabha debate on his visit*, August 4, 2005.

[23] Prime Minister Singh reminded the *Rajya Sabha* of this issue when defending the India-U.S. Nuclear Agreement in August 2006.

necessary for the Prime Minister to emphasize that he had not sold out India, that he had not signed a military treaty with the US and that India would in the future have control over her own nuclear weapons. The "no military alliance" position taken out of the Indian context would seem irrational. Yet the position becomes rational and understandable when it is analysed within the Indian context.

Singh's persuasion and marketing had three intentions. Firstly, it was done to ensure parliamentary and public support for the Government's policy. Secondly, it was needed to assure the Chinese of India's good intentions: India was not interested in containing and confronting China, an issue which was heavily debated in the U.S. at that time. Thirdly, and more importantly the argumentation with its references to Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and the success of the 1991 economic reforms, intended to build a larger national consensus and unity that many considered or feared had been torn asunder during the rise and tenure of the BJP. Unity is a theme in the Prime Minister's speeches in order to remind the electorate of the ideals of the Indian Constitution and its founding fathers, Jawaharlal Nehru in particular, and to return this constitutional interpretation to the doctrine of unity. The BJP and other *Hindutva*-inspired actors should not have the monopoly in appealing to national security and unity.

As the 2005 Joint Statement implied, India and the United States were to enhance their civil nuclear energy cooperation. When President George W. Bush visited India in March 2006 the leaders signed the negotiated Separation Plan, which outlined the conditions for cooperation. India agreed to identify and separate its civilian and military nuclear facilities and place its civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards. According to the Plan fourteen existing and all the future civilian thermal power reactors would be placed under the safeguards before 2014. The Indian fast breeder programme as well as her reprocessing and enrichment capabilities, however, were exempted[24] from the Separation Plan. The United States for her part agreed to supply fuel for reactors placed under the safeguards, to assist in negotiations with the IAEA on India-specific fuel supply agreement, and to support India's full access to the international market for nuclear fuel. The latter was to be done by amending American legislation and by adjusting the practices of the Nuclear Supplier's Group.[25]

The implementation of the Joint Statement was tackled on four occasions in Parliament. The Prime Minister informed the *Lok Sabha* of the status of discussions before President Bush's visit on February 27, 2006. After the

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[24] Reprocessing and enrichment capability are one of the main questions in the ongoing U.S.-Iran nuclear dispute.

[25] *PM's Suo-Motu Statement on Discussions on Civil Nuclear Energy Cooperation with the US: Implementation of India's Separation Plan*, March 7, 2006.

visit Dr. Singh provided a Suo motu Statement on the reached agreement on March 7 and returned to the issue in his reply to the *Lok Sabha* debate four days later. He also gave a statement on the reached agreement to the *Rajya Sabha* in August. The statements are rather similar both in structure and in detail. The statement in the *Rajya Sabha* in August differed slightly from the three previous ones in its direct allusions to poverty and by also taking up environmental concerns.

Prior to President Bush's visit Prime Minister first returned to the 2005 Joint Statement and explained that his government's policy was based on India's need to "*overcome the growing energy deficit*". India needed to acquire more nuclear energy, secure access to uranium and get rid of international restrictions. Dr. Singh praised Jawaharlal Nehru's and Homi Bhabha's visions and the established three-stage nuclear programme. The Joint Statement now made it possible to set aside the restrictions and "*create space for India's emergence as* [a] *full member of a new nuclear world order*".[26] Both prior to and after the Bush visit the Prime Minister explained in detail why the Separation Plan would not threaten the integrity of the Indian three-stage programme or adversely effect the strategic programme, i.e. the nuclear weapons programme. On the contrary, India had managed to receive the full benefits of a nuclear state without needing to accept the safeguard agreements signed by non-nuclear weapon states under the NPT.[27]

The very same programme that had not lived up to its promises and that was criticized the previous year had now become highly valued: "*its uniqueness lies in the breadth of its overarching vision*".[28] The intention was to minimize the Indian strategic community's and especially the nuclear technocrats' critique before the critical negotiations with the U.S. That the Prime Minister acted on his own behalf and informed Parliament in a *Suo Motu* statement underlines this assessment. The Prime Minister also connected the implementation of the Separation Plan with one of the long-lasting goals of Indian foreign policy. Nuclear energy cooperation with the United States would enable India to bypass the discriminating nuclear order created by the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. This move

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[26] *PM's statement in Parliament on Civil Nuclear Energy Cooperation with* [the] *United States*, February 27, 2006 (Also known as the *Suo-motu Statement by the PM on Civil Nuclear Energy Cooperation with the United States*, February 27, 2006).

[27] *PM's Suo-Motu Statement on Discussions on Civil Nuclear Energy Cooperation with the US: Implementation of India's Separation Plan*, March 7, 2006; *PM's reply in the Lok Sabha to the debate on Civil Nuclear Energy Cooperation with the United States*, March 11, 2006; *Statement of PM in* [the] *Rajya Sabha on the India-US Nuclear Agreement*, August 17, 2006.

[28] *PM's statement in Parliament on Civil Nuclear Energy Cooperation with* [the] *United States*, February 27, 2006.

again linked the UPA government to the long list of Indian governments, including the previous BJP-led one. The Prime Minister's assurance that the Government had not agreed on anything that would amount to a "*cap*" on the Indian nuclear programme distanced itself from American demands to cap, reduce and roll-back the nuclear weapons programme in the early 1990s. The goal of developing Indo-U.S. relations carefully expressed in the Prime Minister's address to the nation in June 2004 had by now culminated in the 2005 Joint Statement and the Separation Plan. The latter had in fact become a *deus ex machina* that seemed to offer solutions to many problems facing India and the Government.

It is worth noticing that on June 28, 2005 before the July 2005 India-U.S. Joint Statement was issued Defence Ministers Pranap Mukherjee and Donald Rumsfeld signed the *New Framework for the U.S.-India Defense Relationship* lifting the countries' defence relations and cooperation to a new phase. Although this document sanctions the defence establishments to *inter alia* conduct joint exercises, collaborate in multinational operations, expand collaboration relating to missile defence and increase exchanges of intelligence,[29] Parliament explicitly focused on the July Joint Statement and its implementation, on issues that would affect Indian nuclear policy.

Global Relations: the Russian Federation, the European Union

President Vladimir Putin visited India in January 2007. The visit was part of a practice of annual summit meetings between the countries. In his opening remarks at the joint press conference, Dr. Singh began by stating that despite the sea change in the international situation "*Russia remains indispensable to the core of India's foreign policy interests*". He then took up three issues that were discussed during the visit, namely energy security, economic cooperation and expanding the defence relationship.[30] In the Joint Statement issued on the same day the countries expressed their intention to thoroughly develop Indo-Russian relations in these fields and expressed their common views on a number of international questions, conflicts and problems.

India and Russia signed five documents and adopted an additional two during the visit. These covered areas such as Indian access to the Russian Global Navigation Satellite System GLONASS, a Memorandum of Intent on constructing Russian nuclear power plant units and new power plants in India, and a Joint Statement on cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic

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[29] *New Framework for the U.S.-India Defense Relationship*, June 28, 2005.
[30] *PM's opening remarks at the Joint Press Conference with President Putin*, January 25, 2007; also the *PM's statement at the end of his visit to Russia*, December 7, 2005.

energy. India and Russia agreed to enhance their oil and gas companies' cooperation as well. They noted *"with satisfaction"* the progress made in military-technical cooperation, that it had developed from a buyer-seller format to include joint research, development and exercises. After these rather technical issues India and Russia turned to the question of world order. Both sides wanted to develop a multipolar world order based on the *"principles of the rule of law, sovereign equality, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs of States"*. UN reform was seen as essential, and Russia reaffirmed her support for a permanent seat for India in an expanded UN Security Council. On terrorism and counter-terrorism they similarly stressed international and bilateral cooperation acting on the basis of international law under UN auspices. Both Indian and Russian input and participation was considered necessary and avoiding double standards were to be avoided. The Statement ended with their common stands on the Iranian nuclear issue, the Korean peninsula, the Arab-Israeli conflict and the situation in Iraq. They also called for expansion of China-Russia-India cooperation.[31]

The Joint Statement sums up the issues and principles vital for both sides. Despite of the number of technical agreements covering fields of already established cooperation between the countries, the Statement is first and foremost an expression of shared political views. In this respect it differs from the joint statements India had issued with China, Pakistan and the United States. Their utterances on multipolar world order, on terrorism, on the United Nations and on world affairs are directed towards the United States and against Western hegemony. By naming the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and by mentioning India sidelining the G-8 summit in St. Petersburg in July 2006, Washington was reminded of different reading of world politics. Certainly, the Statement deliberately echoes the tones of earlier Indo-Soviet political and military cooperation.

India and the European Union signed a Joint Action Plan at the Sixth EU-India Summit in New Delhi on September 7, 2005. The Plan covers the areas of "Strengthening dialogue and consultation mechanisms", "Political dialogue and cooperation", "Bringing together people and cultures", "Economic policy dialogue and cooperation", and "Developing trade and investment".[32] Prime Minister Singh in his opening statement at the Seventh India-EU summit on October 12, 2006 welcomed the forward movement in implementing the Plan. He characterized India and the EU as *"indispensable pillars of a new multi-polar world order"* where well-defined rules and effective institutions are in both sides' interests. The

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[31] *Joint Statement on the outcome of the Official Visit of H.E. Mr. Vladimir V. Putin, President of the Russian Federation to the Republic of India.*
[32] *EU-India Joint Action Plan*, September 7, 2005.

shared values of democracy, respect for human rights and commitment to pluralism and liberty made India and the EU natural partners. Where this partnership was then needed were issues of globalization, terrorism, proliferation [of weapons of mass destruction], energy and the environment. India wanted Europe to see her as "*a safe, secure and profitable trade and investment destination*", as "*a hub for high technology, R&D, manufacturing and for services*". The Europeans were thanked for their support for India joining the ITER Project[33] and were asked to support India on other (open) questions in civilian use of nuclear energy. The Prime Minister ended by stating that terrorism remains the "*most serious threat to democratic, open and pluralist countries*" and reminded his audience of the bombings in Mumbai, London, Madrid and Srinagar.[34]

By referring to common values and to common problems such as terrorism Dr. Singh compared India to the European Union. This helped to clarify the picture of India the Prime Minister wanted to paint for the Europeans: it was an India where European companies could invest, an India seen as the natural political and economic partner of Europe. This would help India overcome the obstacles to her social and economic development and political objectives. Indian EU-relations thus cover a wide range of issues vital to her: energy security, UN reform and a rule-based multi-polar world order as well as terrorism and proliferation are on the agenda. So far only direct military cooperation is not included in this relation. Indian military cooperation with European countries does not take place in the EU context but is bilaterally organized.

Conclusion

Utterances and Intentions

In the following tables some of the main utterances expressed in the texts and speeches are analysed according to the intentions in doing, that is what was done by saying, and to the intentions to do, that is what were the desired effects and objectives. Whether these goals are obtainable or eventually achieved or not is relevant for the Union Government and the electorate, but is not the concern of this study. Similarly, as stated in the Introduction, the rhetoric used is a tool to analyse Indian politics, but is not the main focus as such.

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[33] ITER, the International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor project intends to develop a fusion power reactor. Indian willingness to join the project and the U.S. commitment to consult her partners concerning India's contribution was written into the July 2005 India-U.S. Joint Statement.

[34] *PM's Opening Statement at* [the] *7th India-EU Summit*, October 13, 2006.

The tables illustrate the fact that the same utterance has or can have several different meanings and intentions. "Democracy" as an illocutionary act is used for example to testify to the stability of Indian society, to promise the continuation of stability and to distance India from her non-democratic neighbours and competitors, Pakistan and China. A mere locution is thus not enough to grasp the meaning of words, concepts or utterances and the intentions in doing things and the intentions to do things with them.

Main domestic themes of the texts (*Locutions*)	Intentions in doing (*Illocutionary acts*)	Intentions to do (*Perlocutionary effects*)
Unity	Connecting Conquering	Assuring the electorate Recapturing unity as a core value
Threat of terrorism; victim of terrorism	Comparing Coercing and compelling Signalling Convincing	Project oneself as a reliable partner Project oneself as a determined actor Deter others from supporting terrorism Assure the electorate
Privacy of development	Legitimization Pleading Informing Introducing	Acquire foreign investments Diminish parliamentary opposition
Economy (e.g. growth, investment)	Marketing and promoting Convincing Promising	Acquire foreign investments Maintain a positive political, social and economic climate
Energy security	Pleading Promising Convincing	Ensure domestic and parliamentary support

Table no. 2. Issues of domestic origin in Indian foreign policy.

The issues raised in the chosen texts can be divided into three categories: domestic, regional and global.[35] The domestic issues include energy security, the economy, development and (national) unity. Without underestimating the importance of regional and global questions in Indian foreign policy, one could claim that for the Manmohan Singh Government the domestic and developmental agenda dominates the foreign policy. Foreign policy and its instruments are harnessed to serve the social and economic needs of the nation. Thus it is necessary to cooperate with the only remaining super power, and *"right or wrong, the United States influences that* [supportive] *international environment"*,[36] thus it is energy security and technical agreements such as the Separation Plan that are (said to be) vital for the nation. Energy is not only needed for industrial purposes; agricultural development also has an increasing need for energy and petrochemicals.

The regional issues cover bilateral relations within the immediate neighbourhood, that is with India's neighbours, and bi- and multilateral relations with East Asian countries. Here several intentions can be detected. India wants to settle the long-lasting conflicts with China and Pakistan. Despite the relatively small amount of attention paid to this issue by Indians, the settlement of regional disputes can be said to be one of Prime Minister Singh's major objectives. As reaching agreements is recognized to be difficult, time-consuming and politically sensitive conflicts, mostly territorial disputes, are handled at expert-level talks. India cannot afford to be engaged in territorial questions.

The second intention (intention in) is to distance India from such unpleasant questions and to contrast her with her undemocratic neighbours. India does not want to be dependent on her neighbours. The overall intention (intention to) is to acquire financial and political support to the main domestic and global goals. Otherwise subcontinental relations play a rather insignificant role in economic and developmental questions. India seeks to promote trade and commerce with China and Pakistan, as well as with other South Asian countries, but the economy is secondary to questions of territory and internal and external security. Finally, India tacitly returns to the Indira Doctrine when she talks of her *immediate neighbourhood* and her management of regional relations. The *extended*

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[35] "Drawing the line", i.e. categorizing something that perhaps does not need to be categorized, is done for analytical purposes only. This is not to suggest that such lines or levels exist in the first place. Nevertheless such an exercise may help to see the reality more clearly. For a critique of line-drawing, see R.B.J. Walker (1993), *Inside/outside: International Relations as Political Theory*, Cambridge. This critique counters the levels-of-analysis approach common in International Relations and International Politics textbooks (e.g. Russett, Starr & Kinsella 2006, or Holsti 1995).

[36] *PM's reply to the Lok Sabha debate on his US visit*, August 3, 2005.

neighbourhood theme functions the other way around. Here the intention of Indian utterances is to remind East Asian countries of India and to get India and Indian companies into the already developed market.

Main regional themes of the texts (*Locutions*)	Intentions in doing (*Illocutionary acts*)	Intentions to do (*Perlocutionary effects*)
Composite Dialogue with Pakistan No redrawing of boundaries Settlement of the boundary question with China	Pacification Convincing Promising	Prevent international interventions Disarm domestic opposition Direct focus on the global role
Immediate neighbourhood; strategic footprint	Drawing a line	Exclude outside intervention
Look East policy and Extended neighbourhood	Justification	Include India

Table no. 3. Regional issues in Indian foreign policy.

The global domain includes democracy, cooperation and questions of world order. By promoting India as a champion of liberty and as the world's largest democracy she again enhances her main domestic and global goals. Yet foreign investments in the infrastructure and a seat in the Security Council are but short- to mid-term or indirect objectives. The question is first about the future of India as a viable nation and second about the existing world order.

Terrorism is one of the issues covering all the geographically divided levels-of-analysis. The emphasis given to terrorism signals the government's determination to fight domestic terrorists, Islamic and Maoist alike, to deter Pakistan from directly or indirectly supporting terrorist organizations operating in India, and to participate in the U.S.-led "global war on terrorism". By speaking of terrorism India also shows she belongs to a righteous comity of nations. Energy security also covers all spheres. Domestically it is a question of output, literally megawatts, and regionally and globally of input, of barrels, pipelines and access to modern technology. Speaking of energy security thus promises and legitimizes the central government's policies and expands India's domain, even her areas of interest and responsibility.

Main global themes of the texts (*Locutions*)	Intentions in doing (*Illocutionary acts*)	Intentions to do (*Perlocutionary effects*)
Democracy	Marketing and promoting Convincing Comparing Contrasting Promising	Acquire support for permanent UNSC membership Acquire foreign investments
Cooperation	Marketing and promoting Promising Justifying	Acquire foreign support and investments Ensuring domestic and parliamentary support
Multi-polar world and comity of nations	Promoting	Acquire support for permanent UNSC membership
New nuclear world order	Connecting	Ensure domestic and parliamentary support

Table no. 4. Global issues in Indian foreign policy.

Comparison

The following figure seeks to highlight change and continuity in Indian policy orientations. It illuminates what is common between and what is different about Prime Minister Nehru's, Vajpayee's and Singh's policies in general and foreign policy in particular. The values and factors presented are suggestive and simplified than final verdicts.

What is common to all is the emphasis given to Indian unity, to modernity as an essential factor for change, and the importance of the Great Powers to Indian status, security or development. The government's reading of these values or factors naturally differed. The slogan "unity in diversity" was chosen to characterize a newly-independent India and the Singh government fully subscribed to it. 'Unity' during the Vajpayee tenure received a predominately *Hindutva*-inspired interpretation – or as its opponents consider it, nationalist, masculinist and chauvinist. Modernity has perhaps been interpreted in the most similar fashion. Poverty and backwardness have been tackled by developing the state's economic and industrial capacity. The fact that central planning, protectionism and heavy industry have gradually been replaced by the market economy and by knowledge-based industries and services has not changed the basic

economic and developmental strategy. Accordingly, the amount of attention each of the Great Powers has received has fluctuated according to the situation. At the moment Indo-U.S. relations dominate Indian foreign policy. Yet all Indian Governments are the guardians of Indian sovereignty and autonomous decision-making and seek to enhance India's international standing. The ways of doing it have naturally changed, however. Just as India after independence sought for a leading role among the developing world, the militarily strong and self-confident India of today seeks for a global role. An equal say and a rightful place are not the only principal goals, but parity among the world's leading powers is also demanded.
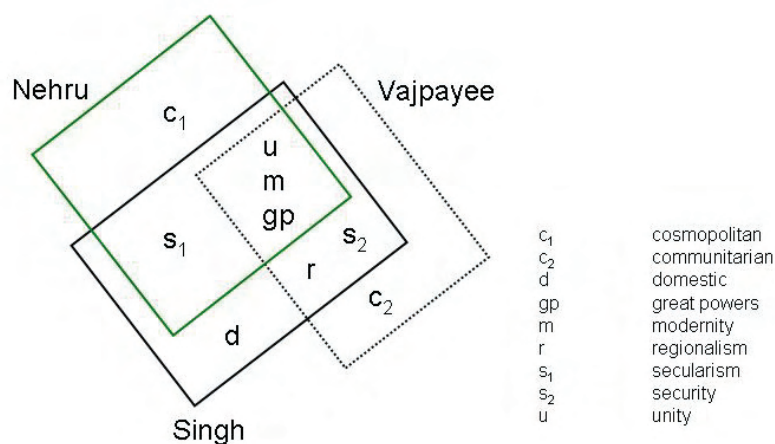
Figure no. 8. Comparison between Prime Minister Nehru's, Vajpayee's and Singh's policy orientations.

The Nehru and Vajpayee governments differ in their degrees of cosmopolitanism and communalism and of secularism and sectarianism. The Singh government, as previously mentioned, has a strong domestic focus, so domestic, social, economic and even agricultural needs set demands for foreign policy. This differentiates the UPA government both from the cosmopolitanism of the Nehruvian legacy and the national security emphasis of the BJP/NDA government. Yet as these values are appreciated by two large segments of the electorate the Singh government simultaneously bows in two directions. It pays attention to secularism, occasionally mentioning non-alignment, but does not put national security

aside. Its interpretations of foreign policy and security are global and reflect not only a post-Cold War but also a post-9/11 reading of world politics.

Regional questions which received considerable attention both before and during Prime Minister Vajpayee's tenure, remain on the current agenda. How seriously the Union government must focus on regional issues depends not only on the Government in question but also on cross-border incidents and even on wars as in 1962, 1965, 1971 and 1999. During the period 2004-2007 the situation has been relatively calm and the Singh government has been able to pursue peaceful solutions. In fact, Prime Minister Singh continues the processes Prime Minister Vajpayee managed to initiate in the early 2000's. The UPA's regional outlook perhaps covers a larger area than any other Indian governments. Regionalism not only looks at the subcontinent or the Indian Ocean but has also paid specific attention in East Asia.

What is strikingly common for Vajpayee and Singh is their ability to break taboos. Prime Minister Vajpayee broke the nuclear taboo in 1998 and Dr. Singh broke two taboos: economic isolationism in the early 1990's and the isolation from the West in 2005–2006. Yet one taboo remains to be broken: Kashmir. Prime Minister Vajpayee has also favoured and forwarded India opening up, both economically and politically. Just as in many foreign policy areas the UPA government has followed the NDA government, so Prime Minister Singh in his utterances deliberately tries to connect his policy to the Nehruvian legacy. The electorate and the international audience are reminded of democracy, pluralism, tolerance and inclusiveness, the values written in, or represented by, the Constitution.

7

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND INDIAN NUCLEAR POLICY 2004–2007

Within Indian nuclear policy issues of disarmament, the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty have been most central and the debate on these issues has continued for decades. Indian adherence to international nuclear regimes together with the question of Indian nuclear doctrine was also central in the India-U.S. dialogue that started soon after the 1998 tests. Therefore in order to analyse the UPA government's nuclear policy the focus is on these issues. As with the analysis of the Government's foreign policy a number of official speeches, addresses and statements are examined. The central questions are what was said, where and when, what was done by saying and what were the intentions in doing and intentions to do. In addition to the Prime Minister and Cabinet Members, the Indian ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva and Indian nuclear administrators also have their say in this field. The first section covers the Prime Minister's utterances. This is followed by the analysis of expert-level and administrative statements. An issue-specific analysis is presented in the conclusion and comparisons are made to previous governments' policies.

The Prime Minister on Nuclear Policy

In his *Address to the Nation* on June 24, 2004 Prime Minster Singh outlined Indian nuclear policy as follows:

> *We will maintain a credible minimum nuclear deterrent, along with a policy of 'no first use' in our nuclear doctrine. India is a responsible nuclear power, and we will continue to work to prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. At the same time, we remain committed to the goal of universal nuclear disarmament.*[1]

This utterance was all he said of nuclear policy, but it contained the essentials of the current policy: his government would not dismantle the nuclear deterrent and arsenal the previous governments had acquired, not least the BJP-led NDA government. Although he did not mention the NPT by name

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[1] *Prime Minister's Address to the Nation*, June 24, 2004.

Indian commitment to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction indicated that India was not part of the problem but part of the solution. These were clear messages to the domestic and international audience, especially to the United States, that the UPA government would follow its predecessors' policy, and Indian national interest went beyond partisan politics. Dr. Singh also echoed Nehruvian ideals when he took up the goal of universal nuclear disarmament. With this he reminded his audience of the Indian National Congress's return to power and put the blame for Indian nuclear deterrence on the official nuclear powers. Interestingly he did not mention any security rational for keeping and developing nuclear deterrence.

Four months later at the Combined Commanders Conference the Prime Minister again took up the Indian nuclear policy. Here the basic principles of Indian nuclear doctrine, minimum deterrence and no-first-use, were repeated but most revealing was Dr. Singh's rationale for deterrence. He stated, "*The exercise of the nuclear option by India helped remove potentially dangerous strategic ambiguity in the region*" [i.e. in South Asia].[2] Thus it was 'India' and not the NDA government that had exercised the option and it had been helpful to do so as the previous status of uncertainty had been dangerous. The Prime Minister needed to assure his highest military commanders of his firmness and commitment to nuclear deterrence in his first address to them. In this and in the address he gave at the same venue two years later Dr. Singh widely elaborated Indian security challenges and her areas of interest but did not return to nuclear weapons.[3] The Prime Minister informed the Armed Forces about the Government's positions and at the same time in fact excluded the officers from official nuclear debate and discussions. Nuclear deterrence did not seem to need any more attention – at least not from military commanders.

Parliamentarians took up nuclear policy and especially the future of Indian independent authority over her weapons when the Government signed the civilian nuclear cooperation agreement with the United States. For example, when explaining the status of the ongoing negotiations with the U.S. the Prime Minister interpreted the Americans as having implicitly acknowledged "*the existence of our nuclear weapons programme*". India would have her international sanctions lifted without giving up anything on the strategic side; thus, the integrity of the weapons programme would not be compromised. He also wanted to again assure the *Lok Sabha* that the Separation Plan was consistent with the Indian nuclear doctrine. Dr. Singh all but returned to Nehru's *Tryst with Destiny* speech with these words

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[2] *PM's address at the Combined Commanders Conference*, October 26, 2004.
[3] In 2005 he focused on economic and developmental issues such as energy security and civilian nuclear cooperation with the U.S.

"*Ours is a sacred trust to protect succeeding generations from a nuclear threat and we shall uphold this trust*".[4]

The Prime Minister's brief utterances on nuclear policy only partially informed his audience, more effectively they exclude his audience, be it the international community, parliamentarians or military officers, from any real debate, discussion or negotiation on this matter. If any debate is needed it would be conducted behind closed doors, and with the Cabinet and experts. At the same time Dr. Singh reminded his listeners that his policy was guided by Indian interests and followed his predecessors' policy to the letter. Nehru and Bhabha were mentioned in this context and although all references to the BJP were explicitly absent, the UPA did not explicitly or implicitly distance itself from the NDA in its nuclear policy. By this move the Prime Minister set the security agenda and stole political ammunition from his main opponents, the BJP[5].

India in the Conference on Disarmament

The Conference on Disarmament was established in 1979 as decided by the first Special Session on Disarmament of the United Nations General Assembly that was held in 1978. The CD succeeded other disarmament fora, namely the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament (1960), the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (1962-68), and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (1969-78). India is one of the original forty members of the United Nations Conference on Disarmament (CD).

The terms of reference of the CD include practically all multilateral arms control and disarmament problems. Currently the CD primarily focuses its attention on the issues of cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament; prevention of nuclear war; prevention of an arms race in outer space; effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons; new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons including radiological weapons; a comprehensive programme of disarmament and transparency in armaments.[6]

During the 2004 Session of the Conference, the CD held 28 formal plenary meetings to discuss the issues on this agenda but without agreeing on a

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[4] [The] *PM's statement in Parliament on Civil Nuclear Energy Cooperation with United States*, February 27, 2006; Dr. Singh had spoken of the same issue already in August 2005 (*Prime Minister's reply to the Lok Sabha debate on his visit*, August 3, 2005).
[5] This, nevertheless, did not stop the BJP from blaming the government for relinquishing Indian nuclear decision-making authority to the Americans.
[6] United Nations Office at Geneva; CD/1744 (September 7, 2004).

programme of work and "*did not re-establish or establish any mechanism on any of its specific agenda items*". The participants' views differed whether to proceed with a comprehensive or a piecemeal approach.[7] The Singh government maintained the longstanding Indian view of comprehensiveness and stressed the importance of consensus in the CD work and decision-making.

When the UNGA First Committee (Disarmament and International Security) voted on a draft resolution on the total elimination of nuclear weapons on October 28, 2004, India together with the U.S. voted against it. Indian voting behaviour at large was explained in detail in the Committee's report:

> *The representative of India* [Indian Permanent Representative to the CD, Ambassador Jayant Prasad] *explained his votes on the draft resolution entitled "Towards a nuclear-weapon-free world: Accelerating the implementation of nuclear disarmament commitments" (document A/C.1/59/L.22), the text on the path to the total elimination of nuclear weapons (document A/C.1/59/L.23), and the draft on Mongolia's nuclear-weapon-free status (document A/C.1/59/L.19/Rev.1). Regarding the first, he said moves towards a nuclear-weapon-free world had to be grounded in the consensus reached at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, to which all Member States had been party. Unfortunately, the importance of that session had not been reflected in the text. He also regretted the absence of references to reducing nuclear danger and no-first-use policies. Declaring that efforts to create a nuclear-weapon-free world would be constrained by the discriminatory NPT, he said it was important to move towards equal and legitimate security for all. That was why he had voted against operative paragraph 2 and abstained from the draft as a whole.*
>
> *Turning to the second draft, he said he agreed with its basic objective, but had voted against it because of its flawed methods of pursuing that goal. Agreeing that nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation were intertwined and mutually reinforcing. He, nevertheless, felt that the principles of non-proliferation, as enshrined in the NPT, were discriminatory. In addition, operative paragraph 1, which called on India to join the NPT as a non-nuclear-weapon-state, was* "unrealistic and unacceptable". *Addressing the third draft resolution, he said his country maintained the most friendly and fraternal ties with Mongolia. India*

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[7] CD/1744.

> *thus fully respected Mongolia's wishes to consolidate its nu-*
> *clear-weapon-free status, and would do its best to help fulfil*
> *those desires*.[8]

The key locutions enabling one to understand the Indian stand in particular and her nuclear policy in general are 'grounded in the consensus reached', 'the discriminatory NPT' and 'equal and legitimate security for all'. Consensus and equality perform the illocutionary act of reminding the General Assembly of the agreed decision-making procedure. Simultaneously, the utterances warn the states not to lose the value and principle of inclusiveness among nations within the UN. As perlocutions, both utterances defend the Indian right to be included in negotiations and decision-making and delay any harmful decision from taking place. Speaking of the discriminatory nature of the NPT put the blame for the current dissatisfactory nuclear order on the nuclear weapon states. This sought to shift the focus from the Indian negative vote in the question of the total elimination of nuclear weapons, an issue which she had considered important for decades. This move intended to prohibit any further discussion on the Indian nuclear policy unpleasant issues might have been raised where for the current Government.

The Indian government delivered its general views on nuclear policy to the CD when Ambassador Prasad transmitted an address of the Minister for External Affairs, Mr. K. Natwar Singh to the Conference and asked the Secretary-General of the Conference to forward it to members and participants.[9] This address, given at a conference held in New Delhi on March 28, 2005, represents Indian views not only on account of its political origin but because of its institutionalized status as an official CD document. Therefore it is also analysed in detail here.

Minister Natwar Singh began by stating that the non-proliferation order was coming under increasing stress because of the failure to make any progress towards nuclear disarmament and because of a failure to prevent clandestine proliferation *"by the members of the Non Proliferation Treaty"* as well as some non members. India, however, had always been keen to create an international instrument to prevent proliferation. Mr. Singh reiterated the long-held Indian objective of eliminating weapons of mass destruction within a time-bound framework. Essential for this purpose was the commitment of nuclear weapons states to disarm. The end of the Cold War had not resulted in disarmament – on the contrary, nuclear weapons had reasserted their primacy especially with those possessing *"the largest*

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[8] UNGA, First Committee, *Report to the General Assembly*, GA/DIS/3288 October 28, 2004; see also Prasad, 28 October 2004.
[9] CD/1749 (5 April 2005). The address is also available at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs homepage (http://www.mea.gov.in).

arsenals", Minister Singh concluded.[10]

India again was different. Although not a signatory to the NPT, Mr. Singh reminded his audience, India had always conducted herself according to the provisions of the Treaty as they applied to nuclear weapon states. Most importantly India had always refused to export any nuclear materials or related equipment to any country that did not adhere to international safeguards as required by Article III of the NPT. Minister Singh mentioned that India in fact was the only "*nuclear weapon State*" ready to commence negotiations for a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC).[11]

He followed with an authoritative description of Indian nuclear policy:

> *We have announced a policy of no first use and non-use against non-nuclear weapon states, providing thereby negative security assurance to all non-nuclear weapon states. We have repeatedly declared that we shall maintain minimum credible deterrent. We have stated that the role of India's nuclear weapons is entirely defensive. Our unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests continues to remain in place.*

After this declaration External Affairs Minister Singh presented a gradual program leading to a universal and multilateral Nuclear Weapons Convention, similar to the Chemical Weapons Convention. The first step was the reaffirmation of the nuclear weapon states of their commitment to irreversible and verifiable cuts in their arsenals and to reduce the role nuclear weapons had gained in their security strategies. Then a global No-First-Use agreement would be signed as well as an agreement on ruling out the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states. Nuclear weapon states should also take de-alerting actions.[12]

This address which asserted that India was a responsible nuclear weapon state, would adhere to the NPT, and the doctrine of no-first-use, and would present a programme towards a NWC, are illocutionary acts which create a positive image of India and the Indian nuclear policy. This is further intensified by utterances that implicitly point to Pakistan and to the A. Q. Khan network as sources of proliferation and to the responsibilities of the nuclear weapon states. The positive picture was not jeopardized by any reference to the issued Indian nuclear doctrine and its ideas to develop a nuclear triad – nor were the contested issues of the test ban treaty or the cut-off treaty mentioned.

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[10] CD/1749 (5 April 2005).
[11] CD/1749 (5 April 2005).
[12] CD/1749 (5 April 2005).

The address in March and the letter in April did not seek to promote any particular disarmament process in the CD or in the UNGA. India did not need to do any serious damage control about her voting behaviour either as the U.S. had also voted against the resolution. Face cleaning as a perlocutionary act becomes understandable only in its political context. Prime Minister Singh was to visit the U.S. in June and the negotiations on civilian nuclear cooperation were crucial for the Indian government. India needed to assure American audiences of her good behaviour in order to get her objectives approved. The message was forwarded in all relevant fora and media.

Here one could mention the lecture "*Nuclear Non-Proliferation and International Security*" Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran gave in New Delhi on October 24, 2005. Mr. Saran explained Indian that nuclear policy, her approach to nuclear non-proliferation in particular, was consisted, principled and grounded in "*our national interest*". The promise of development offered by nuclear technology, however, could not be ignored by a "*society emerging from colonial rule and seeking to leapfrog in its developmental process.*" He mentioned that Indian security interests had been undermined by nuclear proliferation in her neighbourhood, and explained that the indefinite extension of the NPT and the enactment of the CTBT had "*compelled an exercise of the Indian weapon option in 1998*". Mr. Saran then told the audience that the Government had now created a favourable enabling environment where sanctions were being removed and because of her record on non-proliferation, India was currently being recognized as a responsible state that would perhaps become a permanent member of the Security Council. This had been achieved without the compromising Indian nuclear weapon programme.[13]

The Foreign Secretary's explanation and testimony served one particular purpose: he was selling the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal to a domestic audience, to the strategic community and to public opinion. His utterances delivered Nehru, disarmament and development to the traditionalists, energy, trade and technology to the modernists, and security, independence and national interests to the hardliners.

The question of a treaty banning the production of fissile materials for military purposes had already been raised during the NPT negotiations in the 1960s. The preamble of the NPT refers to the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons but the treaty does not explicitly address the issue. After the Cold War the prohibition of fissile material production for nuclear weapons was taken up by the UN General Assembly in the 1993 Resolu-

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[13] Saran 2005.

tion 48/75L. The Conference of Disarmament then appointed Canadian Ambassador Gerald Shannon in January 1994 to seek the "*views of the CD members on the most appropriate arrangement to negotiate a non-discriminatory, multilateral and internationally and effectively verifiable*"[14] fissile material cut-off treaty. This led the CD to establish an Ad Hoc Committee to negotiate a treaty, but this has not yet been achieved. India had co-sponsored the 1993 General Assembly Resolution together with i.a. the United States, and the Singh government continued to support the Shannon mandate and the work directed towards an FMCT.[15]

The United States distanced herself from to the Shannon mandate in 2004 when she announced that it would be realistically possible to verify the FMCT in a meaningful way. This has led to a wider disagreement over the mandate of the FMCT negotiations as well as calls for negotiations to commence without reference to the Shannon mandate.[16]

Ambassador Prasad delivered a detailed Indian stand on the FMCT in the 1017th CD session on May 17, 2006. Mr. Prasad, after referring to the 1993 UNGA resolution and after repeating India's support for a non-discriminatory, multilateral and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty, touched upon the parameters for negotiating an FMCT. A treaty must "*stipulate the same obligations and responsibilities for all States*". In regard to verification India believed that a verification mechanism would serve the dual purpose of detection and deterrence and that absence of such might "*engender lack of confidence*", "*encourage wilful non-compliance*" and "*lead to allegations and counter allegations*". India also continued to support a treaty that would ban the future production of fissile material for nuclear weapons – but not a treaty that would address past production.[17]

India issued a working paper on nuclear disarmament on February 20, 2007. It reminded the audience of the UNGA resolutions on and commitment to the elimination of nuclear weapons, and of the active role India had had in calling for a ban on nuclear testing in 1954, for a non-discriminatory treaty on non-proliferation in 1965, and for a time-bound commitment for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons in 1988 and in 1996. India then urged the international community to build a consensus and to initiate concrete steps on the elements Minister Natwar Singh had presented in his address in March 2005. Changing the mindset and the prevailing conven-

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[14] CD/1299 (24 March 1995). Ambassador Shannon's appointment is known as the Shannon Mandate.

[15] Prasad Feb 2, 2006 (CD/PV.1001).

[16] The U.S. presented a white paper on a draft FMCT in the 1021st CD session on May 19, 2006 CD/1777 (19 May 2006). See also du Preez 2005.

[17] Prasad May 17, 2006 (CD/PV.1017). Pakistan supported a treaty that would affect past production as well.

tions on the utility of nuclear weapons would be of importance. That would be followed by negotiations focusing on the no-first-use and non-use against non-nuclear weapon states and ending up with a Nuclear Weapons Convention.[18]

The Defence Establishment on Nuclear Policy

The defence establishment, the Ministry of Defence (MOD), the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) and the Armed Forces, are all rather silent on nuclear policy, at least on nuclear doctrine. This might be considered obvious and understandable given the importance of the issue and for security purposes. But the near absence of any utterances on nuclear policy needs explaining: one does not need to reveal any secrets or sensitive information in order to argue for – or against – nuclear policy, doctrine or weapons. The Indian defence establishment in fact publicly speaks more about foreign policy, even economic and developmental policy than explicitly about nuclear policy.[19] Occasionally brief allusions, however, do occur. Politicians, military officers and nuclear administrators and technicians at least implicitly refer to Indian nuclear policy when, for example, they comment on ongoing missile development or speak about external relations, regional issues, development or disarmament.

In the following these few utterances are analysed. How much these vague statements tell and testify can be questioned, but for the approach and method in question the number or length of utterances are not essential; even the shortest sentences or the absence of such sentences are deeds and are as significant as a long lecture on this topic.

At the IDSA Fortieth Anniversary Commemorative Seminar in September 2005 Admiral Arun Prakash, Chief of Naval Staff, gave perhaps the most powerful utterance on nuclear policy and in favour of a nuclear India the current administration has delivered. Admiral Prakash widely discussed Indian security starting from factual and intellectual history – mentioning e.g. the *Vedas*, the *Arthaśastra* and the years of 1947 (Independence), 1962 (the war against China), 1971 (the war against Pakistan, "*our finest hour*"), 1974 (Peaceful Nuclear Explosion) and 1991 (the opening of the Indian economy; "*a seminal moment and a defining moment in our modern history*"). For him the first 27 years of independence witnessed a transfer from idealism to a quest for a Western nuclear umbrella, to the rejection of the NPT, leading up to the 1974 test. He then categorized the 24 years follow-

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[18] CD/1816 (20 Feb 2007).
[19] This argumentation is grounded on speeches published in the MOD and DRDO homepages, the DRDO Annual Reports and the 2000–2007 issues of the MOD fortnightly magazine *Sainik Samachar*.

ing the PNE as a state of "*nuclear ambiguity*" and "*'non-weaponized deterrence'*" which ended in another defining moment in 1998.[20]

Admiral Prakash did not elaborate on the results of the 1998 tests, but claimed that the problem of maintaining a minimum credible deterrence would not be a financial matter but an intellectual one. The intellectual capital, time and capacity that the comprehension of "*the dogma of deterrence*" would require would pose the main challenge to India. When presenting six challenges facing India, the sixth one being the management of deterrence, Admiral Prakash revealed some guidelines for the maintenance and development of deterrence. As Admiral's utterance is perhaps the fullest the UPA administration has given on deterrence proper the passage is quoted in full:

> *As a responsible nuclear weapon state, our sixth challenge will lie in* [the] *management of deterrence. Nuclear deterrence as you all know lies in the mind of the adversary. To deter someone, you must be able to convince him that the consequences of using a nuclear weapon will be so horrible and devastating, that he should never even contemplate it. Here we are placed in the distinctive situation of being a declared "NFU state" faced with a nuclear opponent who has in the past threatened first use. The only way to make deterrence robust is to ensure that your second strike capability is not only well protected, but that it is also overwhelmingly devastating. CBMs certainly have a place in deterrence, as does dialogue and a certain degree of transparency between adversaries.*[21]

What Admiral Prakash was doing here follows the theoretical presumptions of the content and functions of a doctrine presented in the Introduction. The address begins with an argumentation that justifies the rationality of the policy. It also expresses the overall objectives of, and the worldview underlying the Indian security and nuclear policy. It then gives general recommendations on ends, ways, and means that should be chosen to achieve the objectives and practical goals of the desired policy. This justification of an overwhelming second strike capability fulfils the structural function of a doctrine. It also attempts to gain public acceptance (the legitimizing role) and to inform and signalize (the instrumental role) one's intentions and behaviour to internal and external audiences. Quite obviously, a robust Indian second strike capability would most likely mean the

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[20] Prakash September 1, 2005.

[21] Prakash September 1, 2005. Admiral Prakash's address differs from the Air Chief Marshal Krishnaswamy's "*Challenges to National Security*" lecture in November 2004 where nuclear weapons were hardly mentioned. Their reading of the Indian security situation was nevertheless similar.

development of nuclear submarines, enhancing the Navy's prestige and its institutional position among the three services. Accepting the fact that Admiral Prakesh's address is only one address, one can nevertheless claim that as an official utterance its intentions are similar to the intentions of a wider doctrine.

Interestingly, Pakistan is clearly presented as the adversary, and China and the discriminating nuclear order are not mentioned at all. Prakesh's address is intended to downplay the narrative that China is India's main competitor or adversary and the target of her missiles. The ongoing ballistic and cruise missile development, which is hard to keep secret, as well as doctrinal and organizational developments were situated in a regional context in order to gain acceptance from the global audiences. For the domestic audience this utterance sought to connect the UPA Government to Indian traditions as well as the glorified moments of an independent India. That no difference was seen between the UPA and NDA governments' policies created an image of consensus in Indian security and nuclear policies. The current and the past were united and that would unify the nation.

Defence Minister Pranap Mukherjee's lecture "Democracy and Defence Policy" published in the MOD magazine *Sainik Samachar* in August 2006 is an illuminating example of the previously mentioned near silence on nuclear policy. Here the Minister defended democracy and democratic practices, downplayed the importance of military means, and elaborated Indian foreign policy in detail. He briefly touched upon nuclear weapons and nuclear doctrine when he arrived at the question of national security. He argued that although India had opposed nuclear weapons "*tooth and nail*" and favoured complete nuclear disarmament she was forced to develop nuclear deterrence as the powerful nations did not give up their arsenals and India's neighbours developed nuclear weapons. For Mr. Mukherjee it was a demonstration of the dynamism and flexibility of Indian democracy that India changed its policy and developed nuclear deterrence. The Minister then repeated the official 'mantra' of no-first-use, the veto on using nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states and India's defensive orientation.[22] When Pranap Mukherjee took the post of External Affairs Minister and Mr. A.K. Antony became Defence Minister the content of the utterances did not change. Delivering the Field Marshal K.M. Cariappa Memorial Lecture in October 2007, Minister Antony emphasised that Cariappa, a staunch nationalist, "*was secular to the core*". It also fitted the big picture that while stressing, for example, the contribution the Indian

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[22] Mukherjee, August 2006. In his six inaugural, key note or concluding addresses at the various IDSA conferences arranged in 2004–2008 Minister Mukherjee elaborated Indian nuclear policy twice. In June 2006 he briefly mentioned the official doctrine formulation and repeated Rajiv Gandhi's Action Plan for nuclear disarmament in February 2008 (Mukherjee June 3, 2006 and February 5, 2008).

Armed Forces had made to India's rise as a regional and global power, nuclear doctrine or weapons were not mentioned.[23]

Defence technicians at the DRDO and its laboratories provide interesting and illuminating technical evidence on ongoing missile development, which also sheds light on nuclear doctrine which the Government is silent about. Their interviews, even taken with a pinch of salt, reveal not only the technological innovations they are proud of but tell about their intentions in developing Indian nuclear deterrence. Given the history of the Indian nuclear programme one should question to what extent the Government shares their intentions. In fact, both the Chairman of the AEC and the DAE Dr. Anil Kakodkar and the Scientific Advisor to the Defence Minister,[24] Mr. M Natarajan, have openly challenged Prime Minister Singh's nuclear decisions.

When the Singh government was, according to the Indo-U.S. nuclear agreement, deciding what facilities of India's nuclear programme to place under International Atomic Energy Agency inspection, Dr. Kakodkar publicly insisted that India's advanced fast breeder reactor program be exempted from such restrictions. When explicitly asked whether he would oppose such a demand from the Government, he said such a move would not to be in "*our strategic interest*". Earlier he had categorized the Fast Breeder Reactors prototypes that, like any research and development project, should remain independent of external safeguards and outside control.[25] Prime Minister later accepted Dr. Kakodkar's recommendation, but the episode reveals the powerful political status the scientific establishment has in India. Kakodkar's statement was harmful to India's desires to get the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal accepted by the U.S. Congress. Mr. Natarajan publicly and in front of the Prime Minister expressed his disappointment at the Prime Minister's decision to postpone a scheduled test of the *Agni* III ballistic missile in May 2006. Dr. Singh had directly referred to the problems of cost and time overruns "*which have plagued our defence industry for decades now*". This, he claimed, took away resources away from other defence projects, and ultimately, "*from the nation's poor*."[26] Even though one can doubt whether costs were the real reason or whether the U.S. factor played an important role in this decision, the Prime Minister's utterance was a direct move against the scientific establishment. Mr.

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[23] Antony, October 25, 2007. See also Antony, June 2, June 18 and October 24, 2007 speeches.
[24] Scientific Advisor to *Raksha Mantri*, Defence Minister, is also Director General Research & Development in the Ministry of Defence and the Secretary, Department of Defence Research & Development (DDR&D).
[25] Kakodkar in the *Indian Express*, February 6, 2006 and in *The Hindu*, August 12, 2005. Kakodkar is also written 'Kakodkhar'.
[26] PM Singh in UPI June 5, 2006.

Natarajan before his appointment as scientific advisor in September 2004 had been Programme Director for the DRDO Arjun main battle tank project, which had produced little for the Army in three decades.

The DRDO finally received the permission and test launched *Agni* III for the second time in February 2008. Prior to the launch Dr. Avinash Chander, the Director of the DRDO Advanced Systems Laboratory (ASL) and Dr. V. K. Saraswat, the Chief Controller of Missiles and Strategic Systems were interviewed in the *Business Standard*. They introduced not only the technical parameters of the *Agni* III and *Agni* IV missiles,[27] but also reported that the ASL was working on new warhead technologies. These included:
   - Multiple warheads (MIRV) with each missile carrying and delivering several warheads to the same or different targets
   - Decoy warheads
   - Manoeuvring warheads
   - Stealth technologies
   - Changing warhead's thermal signatures. [28]

That these qualities are specifically needed to penetrate anti-ballistic missile defence systems becomes obvious in Dr. Saraswat's following statement:

> *As we are developing missile defences, other countries are also doing that. I'm sure our immediate adversaries will also try, or they will acquire, so our future missiles should counter the threat of interception by anti-missile defences.*[29]

What the ASL is doing when advertising the *Agni* III, the future *Agni* IV and missile defence capabilities is signalling an Indian commitment to develop a survivable nuclear deterrent that can reach any Chinese major city and penetrate whatever missile defence system China may acquire. This utterance also served as a warning to Pakistan, who had just announced her intention to acquire a submarine-launched nuclear missile. It should be remembered that it will take several years before *Agni* III and IV is deployed to the Army. The scientists estimate, or hope, that this could be done by 2015–2020.

Scientists and engineers argue that these programmes and capabilities are needed for security purposes. The development of missile defence is linked to the no-first-use principle and also prevents hostile aircraft from penetrat-

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[27] The *Agni* III range was said to be 3000 km, its circular error probable (CEP) at that distance 100 m, and the payload 1.5 metric tonnes. The *Agni* IV range was said to be 5000 to 6000 km. A submarine-launched version of the *Agni* IV was reported to be in the process of development.

[28] *Business Standard*, January 28, 2008; *India Defence*, December 12, 2007. MIRV stands for multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles.

[29] Dr. V.K. Saraswat in the *Business Standard*, January 28, 2008.

ing Indian airspace.[30] The subsonic cruise missile Nirbhay is said to fill a gap in the Indian missile programme; as Dr. Chander has said "*it is a question of survival*".[31] Both utterances point to Pakistan which does not follow the doctrine of no-first-use and could, theoretically, launch a first strike with her missiles and aircrafts against Indian targets. The [*Agni* IV] range of 5000 to 6000 kilometres "*should be quite adequate for the country's needs*", Dr. Saraswat comments making it clear that this need means hitting China.[32] Pakistan is also directly referred to. Dr. Chander states that the Indian missile Nirbhay would be better than Babur, the Pakistani subsonic cruise missile.[33] The Indian superiority to Pakistan and the technical prowess of the DRDO, even under limiting international control regimes, is clearly expressed. The successful *Agni* III test in April 2007 broke the barrier migrating the DRDO from medium range to long-range missiles[34] and composite rocket motor casing. This reduced the weight of the missile, and was a major breakthrough.[35] The modernity argument is also present: "*Every modern military needs to have missile options*".[36] Indian defence scientists and engineers still identify their achievements with the nation's security and with national identity, and regard the external environment, be it Pakistan, China or the (U.S.-led) international community, as an adversary that needs to be tackled.

For the main objectives of this study Dr. Saraswat's comment on political approval is most fruitful:

> *The Government sanction for that* [developing new warheads] *is just coming, but practically you can say it is received, because we have been asked to go ahead and the work is already on.*[37]

This again clearly resembles Raja Ramanna's 'doing their jobs' comment. Are the scientists just doing it without an explicit authorization or is the Government involved in the process? Dr. Sarawat did not tell who had 'asked' but given his position there are four choices: the Director DRDO (Natarajan), the Chairman AEC/DAE (Kakodkhar), the Defence Minister (Mukherjee/Antony) or the Prime Minister (Singh). Mr. Natarajan and Dr. Kakodkhar are likely to support this project but this does not solve the original question of the politicians' responsibility. A plausible explanation could be that the Government deliberately grants freedom of movement to the scientific community in order to avoid politically difficult decisions.

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[30] Dr. Saraswat in *India Defence*, December 12, 2007.
[31] Dr. Chander in *Telegraph India*, July 19, 2007 and *India Defence*, July 24, 2007.
[32] Dr. Saraswat in *India Defence*, December 12, 2007.
[33] Dr. Chander in *India Defence*, July 24, 2007.
[34] Dr. Saraswat in *The Hindu Business Line,* April 13, 2007.
[35] Dr. Chander in *The Hindu*, December 22, 2007.
[36] Dr. Chander in *Telegraph India*, July 19, 2007.
[37] Dr. Saraswat in *Business Standard*, January 28, 2008.

This enables the Government, like the previous Congress governments, to advance on two simultaneous tracks: the diplomatic one, enhancing Indian foreign relations and foreign policy objectives, and the technical one, enhancing Indian nuclear deterrence and security. The scientific community for its part refers to research and development that it feels does not need any explicit political authorization. This community gets its financial and scientific desires fulfilled and political and public admiration will follow later. When the time is then deemed ripe the Union Government can refer to a deteriorated security environment, as the previous government did in 1998, and execute the 'necessary' political and technical moves. This balancing is necessary for domestic purposes, too. The UPA Government does not have the luxury of explicitly choosing between doing good or following one's *dharma*. Doing good, being satisfied with a less than sophisticated nuclear arsenal, would allow the BJP to accuse the Government of neglecting Indian security. This room for manoeuvre is not allowed to the BJP. Openly developing a robust triad of nuclear weapons could expel minor coalition partners and would remove the support from the Left the UPA has received.

Conclusion

Utterances and Intentions

In the following tables some of the main utterances expressed in the texts and speeches are analysed according to the intentions in doing, that is what was done by saying, and to the intentions to do, that is what were the desired effects and objectives. Similarly to the previous analysis of the UPA foreign policy the question of truthfulness or achievability is relevant for the Union Government and the electorate, but is not the main concern of this study.

As already stated the issues raised in the chosen texts are divided into three categories: disarmament, international nuclear regimes and nuclear doctrine. Indian disarmament discourse contains notions that have been on the Indian agenda for decades. Concrete issues include steps and procedures that are uttered to remind most notably the United States and the four other nuclear weapon states of their commitment to disarmament and help to shift the focus away from issues which are problematic to India. Reminding one's listeners of institutions like the Conference on Disarmament and Nuclear Weapons Convention serves the same intention (to) but such statements are also uttered to safeguard Indian influence that excluding regimes and institutions would jeopardize. Reminding international audiences of the principles of consensus and equality also protects Indian rights. Interestingly the label 'nuclear weapon state' is expressed in a

condemning, even hostile, manner when India accuses the five NWS of not fulfilling their disarmament obligations or of following double standards, but it is also uttered to include India in this exclusive club. This label then serves as a certificate of responsibility. One should also take at face value the talk of the elimination of nuclear weapons and the proposal of concrete steps to do so. These utterances can be interpreted both as sincere efforts to engage others to achieve these ultimate goals and as moves to shift the focus to perennial questions that would leave more practical and India-specific demands aside.

Main themes of disarmament (*Locutions*)	Intentions in doing (*Illocutionary acts*)	Intentions to do (*Perlocutionary effects*)
Elimination of nuclear weapons Time-bound frame-work	Reminding, engaging Engaging	Shifting the focus, enhancing Indian security by disarming others who have nuclear weapons
Nuclear Weapon States Nuclear Weapons Convention CD the sole multilateral negotiating body Consensus, equality	Blaming, including Including Including	Shifting the focus Enhancing Indian status Safeguarding Indian influence
	Reminding, warning	Protecting Indian rights, delaying harmful action

Table no. 5. Main themes of disarmament in Indian nuclear policy.

Within discourse about international nuclear regimes, focusing on the three main treaties the NPT, the CTBT, and the FMCT, Indian locutions include both practical and morally principal elements. Practical elements include positive images of India following a unilateral moratorium [since 1998] and adhering to the NPT [without being a signatory to the Treaty]. Indian responsibility is further highlighted with direct and indirect references to the Pakistani behaviour and record, which in these cases is different. By referring to 'future production' in the case of the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty India simultaneously expresses her willingness to negotiate the Treaty but safeguards her existing stockpiles. The morally principled themes of discrimination and responsibility are two sides of the same coin, blaming those who have nuclear weapons and rewarding those who do not. Distinctions are also made between those who have waited for long time before acquiring nuclear weapons and those who have not had nuclear weapons or made nuclear guarantees anywhere or to anyone. In the case of international nuclear regimes India first and foremost tries to avoid any

commitment that would have a unilateral or discriminatory effect on her interests. Here Pakistan and the U.S. seem to be the key referents and opponents India deliberately points to.

Main themes of nuclear regimes (*Locutions*)	Intentions in doing (*Illocutionary acts*)	Intentions to do (*Perlocutionary effects*)
Unilateral moratorium	Image building	Gaining support for economic and developmental goals
Adherence to the NPT	Distancing Grounding, explaining	Getting international support
Future production	Protecting	Getting domestic support
Exclusivist approach – inclusive framework	Blaming – including	
Discrimination	Blaming	Keeping current capacity intact
India as a responsible nuclear weapon state or power	Rewarding	Ensuring Indian involvement, avoiding discriminatory treaties

Table no. 6. Main themes of international nuclear regimes in Indian nuclear policy.

Most of the themes on nuclear doctrine are for obvious reasons of a practical nature. The themes can be divided into positive or benevolent and negative or intimidating utterances. Positive themes include the practice of no-first-use and references to defensive nuclear doctrine. These expressions not only inform one of the nature of the doctrine but also seek to pacify audiences. This is done (intention to) to ensure international support for other mainly foreign and economic policy purposes that might otherwise be ignored. Negative utterances fulfil the fundamental functions of a military or nuclear doctrine. By speaking of negative security guarantees (not using nuclear weapons against those who do not possess them) and of advertising one's determination and technical prowess India deters (intention to) her potential adversaries from harming her. Here China seems to be the more important referent than Pakistan.

The third distinctive feature, and an especially relevant one in the case of nuclear doctrine, is what the scientific establishment is saying and what the politicians do not openly express. The UPA Government does not speak of the nuclear triad, yet as has been shown India pursues maritime nuclear capabilities that would create a triad consisting of land-based, air-delivered and sea-launched weapon systems. Nuclear technicians are also developing

multiple warheads, and given the experiences of the past they will no doubt one day achieved their goals. Their 'gung-ho' discourse can be placed within three contexts. The first context is the already elaborated political one, where the strategic elite is allowed to play to the role of legal opposition. Their at times belligerent discourse signal Indian determination and emphasizes the narrow margin of manoeuvre the Government has in India. This could encourage the outside audiences, the Americans, to better meet the Indian desires. Secondly by boasting about their technical capabilities the scientists and technicians seek to enhance the deterring effect of the Indian nuclear deterrent. Finally, technical utterances serve the organizational and bureaucratic needs of the speakers.[38]

Main doctrinal themes (*Locutions*)	**Intentions in doing** (*Illocutionary acts*)	**Intentions to do** (*Perlocutionary effects*)
No-first-use	Pacifying	Ensuring international support for other purposes
Defensive doctrine	Pacifying	
Negative security guarantees	Deterring	
Consensus	Securitization	
	Signalling	
Overwhelming capacity	Signalling	Deterring adversaries
Second strike capability	Legitimizing	Deterring
Continuity	Connecting	Seeking political and administrative support
	Legitimizing	
Survival	Convincing	Seeking political and administrative support
Missile gap		
Breaking through barriers		

Table no. 7. Main themes of nuclear doctrine in Indian nuclear policy.

Pro-nuclear discourse contains various elements. For some, nuclear weapons are mainly political tools and sources of international recognition, others see nuclear deterrence as guaranteeing India's security, while some emphasize the need to develop actual war-fighting capabilities.

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[38] One should observe how their technical achievements and the qualities of weapon-systems are presented in newspapers and periodicals. Nuclear-tipped missiles are linked to human and heroic capabilities, whereas new multiple warheads are "eerie" and capable of "*sneaking through…defences*", "*fooling enemy radars*" and "*dodging enemy missiles*". Similarly, assembly rooms are "*spotless*". (*Business Standard*, January 28, 2008). The actual destructive power the weapon systems possess is forgotten in this admiration veiled in technical language.

Comparison

Nuclear policy is said to be a policy of continuity and consensus and not a single word is said to criticize the previous NDA Government for overt nuclearization. In fact, as the BJP had made the nuclear decision a partisan question in the 1990s, the Congress now wants with its utterances to securitize the issue, lifting it beyond partisan politics. This move would also enable the UPA Government to stress that Indian nuclear policy is conditioned by and a reaction to external and structural factors. India may be a nuclear weapon state but it is a responsible one.

The following figure, based on the analysis above, seeks to highlight change and continuity in Indian nuclear policy. As it illustrates continuity from Nehru to Vajpayee and especially from Vajpayee to Singh, it undermines both Western and Indian claims that automatically posit Vajpayee and the BJP Government as nuclear zealots or at least as more enthusiastic about nuclear weapons than the Nehru/Singh and INC Governments. As already mentioned, it is true that the NDA Government did order the 1998 tests, but the development of nuclear capability took place under several governments. Nearly all Congress Party Prime Ministers have considered testing, and all these governments have shared a similar vocabulary in arguing for Indian nuclear policy.
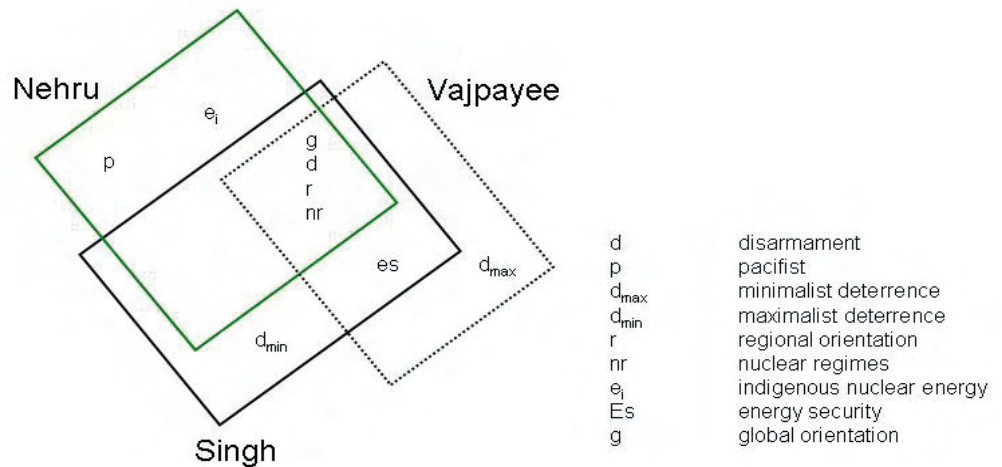

Figure no. 9. Comparison between Prime Minister Nehru's, Vajpayee's and Singh's nuclear policies.

The claim of continuity instead of change is obviously dependent of criteria that is applied. One can claim that because the Vajpayee Government ordered the 1998 tests it broke from the Indian tradition of non-weaponized, even non-existent deterrence, and disarmament. However, as the devices as well as their delivery vehicles were constructed and acquired under the previous Union governments, and as the current government has not withdrawn from the 1999 draft nuclear doctrine or dismantled the devices and continues to develop Indian nuclear capacity, continuity seems to be an appropriate assessment.

What is common to all is the strong morally principled commitment to nuclear disarmament but without unilateral promises. India keeps an eye on Pakistan and China, though most moral argumentation is directed against the West. In addition to the justification this morality offers to avoid any harmful action, one could find realist rationality and goals in these apparently idealist utterances. India would simply be better off in a nuclear-free world or Asia. She would still be militarily superior to Pakistan and in a position to deny any decisive victory from China. She could even tolerate American military supremacy, as economic and industrial interdependence would make it harder for Washington to coerce a country as important and large as India.

As already stated, all Indian governments have emphasized the global role India should possess. Within nuclear policy the three Prime Ministers have nevertheless had different global approaches. For Nehru global nuclear policy meant first and foremost an equal right to atomic energy and a commitment to universal disarmament. This stand has remained at the core of Indian nuclear policy. By the May 1998 tests Vajpayee forwarded a stronger claim for India's global status, and while not explicitly linking nuclear weapons to India's greatness Singh acknowledges them as tools of political influence.

The regional dimension within Indian nuclear policy is clear and still current and forms the basis for the security argument of Indian nuclear deterrence. Since the 1962 war and the 1964 Chinese nuclear test China has been the key external factor determining the role and scope of the Indian nuclear arsenal. The 1962 war was a shock and proved to be a turning point in Nehru's thinking. Prior to this event nuclear policy and weapons had no regional significance to him. One can even claim that for the Indian Government the importance of 'reaching', i.e. being able to threaten, the main Chinese cities Beijing and Shanghai has only increased. Pakistan, with her own nuclear ambitions and later her nuclear weaponry, has played a secondary role in Indian nuclear policy. Pakistan has a particular significance in questions concerning major international nuclear treaties and regimes, where New Delhi and Islamabad keep a close eye on each other.

Despite some tacit changes resulting mainly from external responses, the Union Governments have had a common stand on international nuclear regimes (the NPT, the CTBT, and the FMCT). All governments have resisted any unilateral commitments, have argued for equality and at the end of the day have protected Indian rights closely linked to the production, possession and development of nuclear weapons and deterrence.

The continuity also highlights the few major differences. The principal difference concerns nuclear doctrine. Whereas Nehru held if not a pacifist stand then at least a negative attitude towards possession and any form of nuclear weapons use, his followers have looked on nuclear weapons more favourably. Moraiji Desai is, of course, the exception to this rule. What Vajpayee and Singh share is their view that nuclear weapons are principally for deterrents. Where one can find differences is how this deterrence capability is to be achieved. To position the respective Governments is problematic, as the concept of 'minimal nuclear deterrence' that the Vajpayee and Singh Governments keenly refer to remains undefined. However, the NDA Government can be said to have tilted most towards a maximalist interpretation of nuclear deterrence, with a large number of nuclear weapons of different kinds and yields along with various weapon platforms. The NDA Government, however, did not explicitly support the demands to acquire a vast nuclear arsenal some of its ministers and senior civil servants forwarded. Accordingly the UPA can be claimed to have subscribes to a minimalist interpretation, though Indian nuclear scientists have been in favour of a maximalist arsenal.

On the question of nuclear energy, changes have taken place after the 1998 tests. Whereas especially Nehru and Homi Bhabha as well as Indira Gandhi and Ramanna emphasized independence and indigenous capabilities, sometimes as a necessity rather than a virtue, the Vajpayee and Singh Governments embraced indigenous inventions and facilities, recognizing that India is forced to seek support from abroad. This has led, on a Indian scale, to a revolutionary turn to the United States and to the 2005 Joint Statement. Energy security is essential for any future Union government in order to develop the country and stay in power.

Emphasizing continuity in the Indian nuclear policy the UPA Government has connected itself to past governments and Prime Ministers, explicitly to Nehru but also implicitly to Vajpayee. This move seeks legitimization from the traditional supporters of the Congress Party while denying the BJP the privilege of nuclear and security politics. Therefore the UPA Government, to the astonishment of outside observers, does not denounce the tests or the draft doctrine or explicitly stop the nuclear scientists and technicians from 'doing their job'. In this respect the UPA Government is following its *dharma*.

V

CONCLUSION

8 FOREIGN AND NUCLEAR POLICIES

Freedom and power bring responsibility.[1]

The purpose of this study was to examine the interrelationship of the foreign and nuclear policies of the Manmohan Singh UPA Government. The specific research problem was *how does the Indian nuclear policy reflect and respond to the Indian foreign policy*? Although Indian philosophy, ancient and current, could provide contrasting views of the role of violence and weapons of mass destruction this problem was mainly derived from contradictions within current Indian politics and practices. An underlying assumption could well have been that Indian nuclear policy undermines her foreign policy. But as such an assumption would have slanted the study it was excluded from the argument.

In order to answer the research problem three main questions were formulated, namely:
(i) *How are the intentions formulated in the Indian foreign policy represented and presented in the Indian nuclear policy?*
(ii) *Are there other than foreign policy-related intentions in the Indian nuclear policy?*
(iii) *Are these (possible) other intentions commensurable or incommensurable with Indian foreign policy?*
The intention-specific formulation of these questions led the study to the fundamental issues that lie beneath Indian society and politics. These in turn enabled me to grasp the meanings, and intentions-to within the two spheres of politics in question.

Two Dimensions and Five Claims

The intentions-to presented in the previous two chapters are listed and reorganized in the following table. This enables one to separate single locution-dependent and empirically ordered observations from more gener-

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[1] Jawaharlal Nehru, *Tryst with Destiny*, Constituent Assembly, August 14, 1947.

ally applicable suggestions. In foreign policy as well as in nuclear policy the Manmohan Singh UPA Government has two main areas of operations where political effects (perlocutionary effects) are hoped to be gained: in external/international matters, for obvious reasons, and at least as important, in internal/domestic matters. Following the same external-internal distinction enables one to relate the two fields of politics and answer the research question. One should note that the external-internal dimension does not necessarily relate to external/international and internal/domestic contexts or audiences of the utterances. One important example of this is assurances (illocution) given to foreign legislators or potential international investors in order to enhance social and economic reforms in India (perlocution). Internal and external contexts are linked.

Intentions-to in Foreign Policy	Intentions-to in Nuclear Policy
External	External
Project oneself as a reliable partner	Shifting the focus
Project oneself as a determined actor	Enhancing Indian security by disarming others who have nuclear weapons
Deter others from supporting terrorism	
Acquire foreign investments	Enhancing Indian status
Prevent international interventions	Safeguarding Indian rights, influence and involvement
Steer focus on the global role	
Include India	Delaying harmful action
Acquire support for permanent UNSC membership	Gaining support for economic and developmental goals
	Avoiding discriminatory treaties
Internal	Ensuring international support for other purposes
Assuring the electorate	
Recapturing unity as a core value	Deterring adversaries
Diminish parliamentary opposition	
Maintain a positive political, social and economic climate	Internal
Ensure domestic and parliamentary support	Getting domestic support (legitimizing)
Disarm domestic opposition	Rejecting an exclusive interpretation of national security
	Keeping current capacity intact
	Seeking political and administrative support

Table no. 8. Intentions-to in Indian Foreign and Nuclear Policies.

This analysis and research enables one to forward the following two claims:

1) The UPA Government conducts a foreign policy that is mainly

and explicitly inclusive, open and enhancing.

2) The UPA Government conducts a nuclear policy that is mainly and implicitly excluding, closed and protective.

An inclusive, open and enhancing foreign policy refers to intentions-to which include India in the main international institutions, expand Indian area of influence, conduct an engaged foreign policy (even) with Pakistan and China and use foreign policy to promote domestic social and economic development. An excluding, closed and protective nuclear policy refers to intentions-to which avoid foreign influence on India's nuclear weapon programme, maintain Indian autonomous decision-making, develop indigenous technical capacity and enhance national security by military means. As the claims might at first sight seem quite obvious, one should ask whether it would be possible to conduct an excluding and closed foreign policy and/or an inclusive and open nuclear policy. The answer is in the affirmative. India could in principle in its foreign policy seek to isolate herself from her adversaries, China and Pakistan, and not forward dialogue with them. Globally, India could be satisfied with the political and economic role she has and not deliberately seek membership within various bodies and organizations. Similarly, Indian nuclear policy could actively participate in international nuclear regimes instead of forwarding ideas and motions on disarmament while staying outside these regimes.[2]

The inclusive/open and excluding/closed dichotomy implies that Indian foreign and nuclear policies are at least partly incommensurable. The main intentions-to within foreign policy necessitate good relations with immediate neighbours, the great powers and other international actors. Nuclear policy, on the other hand, contains at least implicitly elements that can cause problems with other nations and irritate or frighten international audiences. India is still engaged in territorial disputes that could escalate into serious local or regional confrontations. Indian intentions-to deterring potential adversaries by maintaining and developing nuclear capacity could lead to a regional arms race and hinder her to achieving international support for her purposes. Among single issues or objectives one could mention the problems of getting legislative approval both in New Delhi and Washington for the India-U.S. nuclear cooperation, where the Separation Plan actually signifies the main research problem of this study. Another issue is the long list of Indian disarmament proposals compared to the development of nuclear doctrine and capability. The third claim therefore is:

3) Despite the fact that the notion of military security is widely appreciated and does not, as such, necessarily collide with foreign

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[2] This does not refer to any Indian behaviour violating the regimes.

policy, the UPA Government conducts a nuclear policy that is incommensurable with its foreign policy.

However, the opposite claim that there is commensurability between the UPA foreign and nuclear policies is also valid. Even though it could be claimed that India is interested in disarmament for tactical purposes only, the fact that New Delhi seeks more to disarm her adversaries than to commit itself to India disarmament supports Indian foreign policy. Similarly non-proliferation and national security seen from a realist point-of-view are commensurable, as the former seeks to reduce military threats and the latter seeks to enhance India's own capacity. Liberal and critical interpretations would remind people of the security dilemma and deny this conclusion. However, for the UPA Government, and particularly for its predecessor, the realist interpretation is the valid one.

In the case of Kashmir, if and when its complete accession to the Indian Union is acknowledged as the ultimate Indian goal, the question of commensurability or incommensurability is clearer. One can claim that Indian nuclear policy, and her nuclear ambitions and weapons led Pakistan to acquire nuclear weapons. This in turn made an Indian military takeover practically impossible, and in any case most risky, and thus also internationally more condemned than an intervention without a nuclear dimension. The Singh Government has to live with this reality. Mutual deterrence that does not prevent local and low-scale military skirmishes prohibits India and Pakistan from adopting military means to solve the Kashmir issue.

The Indian permanent membership in the UN Security Council would give India the upper hand conserning Kashmir, as even without a veto India would become one of the key players in world politics that lesser nations would listen to in order to promote their goals. An Indian seat in the UN Security Council is a possibility but not because of but despite her nuclear policy if and when the UN reform takes place.

Commensurability is also found in the way foreign and nuclear policies are utilized in domestic politics. For the UPA Government both foreign policy and nuclear policy are tools to gain wider domestic support. Within foreign policy this is done by promoting positive values, such as unity and a prosperous future, and within nuclear policy this is done by stopping the BJP from being the sole owner of national security. That the Indian Left is sceptical of nuclear cooperation with the U.S. does not prevent the Left from supporting the UPA Government's domestic social and developmental goals. The fourth claim forwarded is thus:

4)   The UPA Government foreign and nuclear policies are commensurable regarding their internal intentions.

Finally, given the fact that the UPA has not explicitly resigned from the 1999 draft Indian Nuclear Doctrine and the 2003 Cabinet Committee on Security brief announcement, the following claim on the direction of nuclear policy can be made:

    5)   The UPA Government is conducting a nuclear policy that is gradually leading India towards having a triad of nuclear weapons with various platforms and device designs and a functioning and robust command and control system encompassing political and military planning, decision-making and execution.

In addition to a lack of public and political statements reversing the course set up by previous governments, the UPA has continued to develop and finalize Indian nuclear arsenal. Therefore, it is likely that Indian nuclear forces in the future will comprise *Prithvi* short-range and *Agni* intermediate-range ballistic missiles and air- and submarine-launched cruise missiles. With this capacity India can achieve and cover strategic footprint in the regions she has declared of vital interest and threaten major Chinese cities in the way leading Indian strategists had earlier described.

Two Governments

The fourth research question asked about the similarities and differences between the current and the previous government was formulated as follows:

(iv) *Does the Indian National Congress Party-led United Progressive Alliance government differ from its predecessors, most notably the Bharatiya Janata Party-led National Democratic Alliance government in its foreign and nuclear policies?*

This inquiry stemmed from the different identity, ideological and political agenda the two main national parties leading the respective government had. One might assume that as the parties differ so do their foreign and nuclear policies.

This analysis where the linkage between agency and behaviour is of importance begins by deducing *frames* within Indian foreign and nuclear policies. Framing recognizes the production of meaning as a type of influence. These storyboards function as signifying and legitimizing moves that the Indian governments and other significant actor-framers create, strengthen and distribute; it concerns the exercise of their power. As with written doctrines, frames choose and identify problems and offer solutions that in addition to their alleged problem-solving nature function as strategic and

incremental moves.[3] Political interests are thus directly linked to and even expressed in frames. To succeed in this the frame-builders need to anchor their argumentation to Indian ideas, values and identities. Given the Indian diversity and heterodoxy (examined in Chapter 2) several competing, contrasting or mutually interlocking alternatives exist. Ancient and recent history, cultural practices, and religious, spiritual and political belief-systems offer material to construct frames.

In the following, three frames are briefly introduced with their respective content, i.e. the main values and identities together with the heroes and villains that are foregrounded. This presentation is based on and sums up the analysis properly elaborated in the previous chapters dealing with Indian ideas and identities (Chapter 2) and Indian foreign and nuclear policies (Chapters 4 and 6 and 5 and 7, respectively). The frames are then placed side by side in order to detect coherence and contrasts between the two governments in question. It should be noted that the process or success of framing as such are not focused here; framing is merely a method or technique which allows us to better understand policies. Previous analysis has at least implicitly made visible the impact and success elite discourses and elite networks have in Indian policy.

> *(i) The story of 1947; into the international political system*
> This frame begins with independence and extends to the penultimate goal of gaining permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council. Important tools have been relations with the Great Powers and Indian participation in various international organizations. Within this frame its internal, domestic interpretation has been opposed nationwide by the religious right and locally by regional and linguistic powers.

> *(ii) The story of 1974 and 1998; into the world nuclear system*
> The second frame highlights the main achievements of the Indian nuclear establishment. It indicates how Indian scientists first acquired and then showed Indian prowess. The 1974 'Peaceful Nuclear Explosion' and the five nuclear tests in 1998 together with the ballistic missile programme are the main signified moments. The penultimate goal within this frame would be the Indian acceptance of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty without rolling-back her strategic (i.e. nuclear weapons) programme.

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[3] Klotz & Lynch 2007, pp. 52-55.

Frame	Values	Identities	Heroes	Villains	Frame-builders
(i) 1947 Political UNSC	Independence (Sover-eignty) Equality Democracy Secularity Unity	Inclusive Internally growing exclusiveness Politically strong India	Jawaharlal Nehru Mahatma Gandhi the Soviet Union	Pakistan the United States Muslims Religious right	the external interpretation widely shared; the internal established interpretation opposed by religious and local parties
(ii) 1974/1998 Nuclear NPT	Independence (Autonomy) Power Prowess	Exclusive Politically and militarily strong India	Jawaharlal Nehru Homi Bhabha Indira Gandhi Abdul Kalam Atal Bihari Vajpayee	China ('*1962*') the United States Pakistan	explicitly: the nuclear establish-ment, the BJP; implicitly: the INC; opposed: the Left, Gan-dhians, feminists, environmen-talists
(iii) 1991 Economic G-9	Economy Knowledge Energy Security	Inclusive Economically and politi-cally strong India	Manmohan Singh the United States	China	explicitly: the INC/UPA, implicitly supported by the BJP opposed: the Left, envi-ronmentalists

Table no. 9. Three Frames within Indian Foreign and Nuclear Policies.

(iii) The story of 1991; into the global economic system

The third frame is the most recent one. It begins at the end of the Cold War with the demise of the Soviet Union and the economic crisis of the 1990s which followed. The first significant move is the opening up of the Indian economy and the gradual transformation into a functioning market economy; the Congress Party broke with the existing convention. Quite recently

the promise of a nuclear energy programme has taken on again the status it had in the 1950s. Here the penultimate goal would be membership in the World Trade Organisation and in the G-9, i.e. the G-8 + India.

Within the political frame the INC/UPA and the BJP/NDA express similar intentions regarding the Indian external and international status. For both main parties and recent governments Indian sovereignty, equality and the UNSC seat are important values. What should be noticed is that while both Pakistan and the United States are commonly conceived as antagonist powers the governments in question have since the 1998 nuclear tests been able to improve Indian relations with these countries. India and Pakistan were close to a historical breakthrough in Agra 2002, and the gas pipeline project though yet to materialize is witness of India's occasional pragmatism. This should not be exaggerated as the BJP right and Pakistani political and internal turmoil blocked the processes. Accordingly, both governments have sought to increase Indo-U.S cooperation especially within the economic sphere. These cases reveal perhaps the major functional difference between the governments namely, that in the case of the BJP the opposition that was able to hinder its foreign policy was internal, whereas for the INC parliamentary forces effectively question its foreign policy. This naturally reflects the fundamental ideological perceptions held by the parties and their electorates. The Singh Government has also adapted a similar pragmatic three-tier approach to forward Indian foreign relations with Pakistan, China and even with the United States as the Vajpayee Government did: high-level summits, which underline mutual good intentions, often focusing on economic relations and technical and industrial programmes and bypassing the underlying problems; low-level working groups which handle the delicate and problematic issues often without any visible result; and bi-lateral dialogues, which keep the momentum and feed the summits and the working-groups.

Similarities are found, perhaps surprisingly, in nuclear intentions as well. It is true that the BJP openly advocated nuclear weapons and that its ministers celebrated 'India becoming nuclear' in May 1998. Yet the INC has followed the path paved by the BJP. The draft Indian Nuclear doctrine was implicitly acknowledged by both governments. Nuclear scientists and missile technicians have been able continue to improve device designs and ballistic missiles without any explicit, or at least public, directive. The parties do not even differ in their disarmament policy and attitudes towards nuclear regimes. Indian sovereignty and freedom of action have guided policy. Therefore, if and when other nations and especially nuclear weapon states have not committed themselves to disarmament, India has followed suit – even though she has been one of the most fervent advocate for

disarmament.

Both governments share the overall economic intention of strengthening India. They want to develop Indian economic relations and trade with other important actors, primarily the United States, the European Union, and China. Of the specific issues energy security has become important. With the United States the BJP and INC alike want to develop nuclear energy and infrastructure cooperation, and Australia has become an important supplier of uranium, which India lacks. Quite understandably the Indian Left has criticized the government for conducting a neo-liberal economic policy. The UPA has countered this by emphasizing the importance of developing Indian agriculture where energy, infrastructure and the latest agricultural knowledge is essential. The focus is understandable for various reasons: two-thirds of the Indian population lives and works in the countryside; the INC traditionally leans on the rural population and the poor, whereas the BJP electorate is mainly urban and middle class; and finally the recent rises of food prices have directly affected the lives of hundreds of millions of Indian poor. Only if Indian agriculture was modernized, feeding the people and becoming effective and globally competitive, could rural social development succeed.

Two additional and cross-cutting geographical dimensions, namely regional and global issues, help to further map the similarities and differences between the two latest Union governments. It can be argued that the UPA Government follows the NDA Government in its regional orientation and the Nehru/INC Government in its domestic orientation. What connects all governments in question is their similar global orientation that has evolved in content but remains unchanged in intentions. While Nehru and Indira Gandhi emphasized the Non-Aligned Movement and the Soviet Union, Vajpayee and Singh value the United States. This sea-change signifies more the changing operational environment and the need for new tools in a time of globalization than a fundamental change in Indian foreign policy.

Finally, what explains the detected similarities and differences, and do the similarities actually signify continuity and the differences change? This question refers to general explanations regarding politics and to the operationalization of strategic culture. It thus provides answers to such fields as history (both realist and constructivist views), ideologies, personalities, and the environment. One can argue that the vast similarity between the Singh (INC)/UPA Government and the Vajpayee (BJP)/NDA Government as well as their difference compared to the Nehru (INC) Governments is best explained by the changing international and domestic environment.

9

METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

This study proceeded from single speech acts, namely texts, through context/convention-dependent intertextualization, to meanings. After grasping the authorial intention (meaning$_3$) one could start answering the specific research questions. This was conducted by situating policy-specific analyses in relation to one another. The first methodological reflections thus focus on the move from Austin's speech act (action) to a Skinnerian understanding of the political significance of (a) text. Though Austin focused on the philosophical and linguistic use of words and language his approach and emphasis on illocutions and perlocutions nevertheless contain a social element; locutions operate in a social context. Skinner for his part paid most attention to authorial meaning. For him, as well as for Pocock, conventions enable one to understand what the speaker, here the key Indian politicians, were doing when they performed

The move from locutions to political intentions that was here expanded to cover current political texts proved to function well. Contexts/Conventions, in the form of strategic culture, made it possible to explain apparently irrelevant political utterances. Similarly conventions widen and transit the meaning from fact-specific to contextual. The rather controversial claim and assumption that the truth-value of a particular text does not matter puts the focus particularly on the political intentions. My enquiry, however, is interested in the rationality of utterances in which the strategic culture provides the context/convention. Without ranking different methodological approaches to politics one can claim that the intention/meaning approach can at least offer a complementary mode of explanation to the most common focuses on political decision-making, action and/or results.

The second set of methodological reflections elaborates the concept of strategic culture as a methodological tool that enabled the researcher to interpret the rationality and intentions of the actual texts. This was particularly needed as political texts and locutions were interpreted with the help of context/conventions. Strategic culture provided the researcher with the theoretical and practical framework where the above-mentioned speech act, conventions and intention-specific method was used.

The ontological and epistemological claims regarding strategic culture differ greatly. The so-called first generation on strategic culturalists built on the historical understanding that was subsequently criticized for being

tautological. The second generation thus called for a disciplined and scientific approach and methodology. The historical and positivist notions differ in their views on the role and force of culture, an entity they both recognize. For the former, culture encompasses everything; for the latter strategic culture is a much narrower and specific concept where the influence of the philosophical, social and historical is limited and limiting. In the case of India the critique against the historical/cultural school is reminiscent of the mystical approach to India: that India could only be understood through some spiritual, other-worldly and non-Western lens. Yet nothing in the concept of strategic culture points in this direction. The problem of mystification or over-simplicity occurs if the researcher operationalizes strategic culture without any scientific basis or scientific rigour.

This study accepts the traditional historical view that nothing exists outside the cultural. It expands the basic assumptions of the first generation but argues against the positivist approach of the second generation. Strategic culture is operationalized from a sociological point of departure where actors, regulative and constitutive rules and resources and practices form this social, political and historical complex. The theoretical operationalization bypasses the pitfalls of tautological explanation, and the expansion of the concept of strategic culture to cover not only ancient texts and religious belief-systems but in this case social patterns of behaviour enabled this study to avoid being trapped in colonial, masculine and patronizing interpretations.

One should note that the concept of strategic culture and the method of intertextualizing were used more to understand and analyse Indian political behaviour, and specifically texts, rather than to explain it. Indian diversity, which itself is only a single reading, does not allow such a rigorous and positivist approach that the second generation of strategic culture calls for and, perhaps, functions well in a more homogenous culture, the concept of homogeneity again being only a single interpretation.

Strategic culture needs to recognize the current as well as the ancient, the political as well the social, the ideological as well as identical. Only then can one claim, following Colin S. Gray, that there is no Archimedean point outside strategic culture. Combining theoretically operationalized concepts with a systematic and structured method, such as a speech act theory based approach, will help avoid an oversimplified approach and oversimplified explanations. The notion of strategic culture, moreover, is not a static but an evolving concept. Perhaps within the first generation some research became anchored to canonical texts or established patterns, giving the concept a far too deterministic character. This kind of an understanding would consider e.g. the conceptions of Self and Other as permanent and deny the possibility of learning and development. Spatial and temporal

expansion enables one to include external factors better than the static and internal approach; external action and external forces shape strategic culture, too. Contingent action and a more permanent context were thus understood to interact with each other, as action such as an utterance does not take place in a vacuum, and the context is constituted by these actions over time and in time.

To expect or promise strategic culture to predict any specific outcome is misleading and does not recognize the nature, limitations and differences of natural and social sciences and their phenomena. Strategic culture at best can deliver the most likely policy alternatives, but as mentioned earlier each decision-maker has the possibility of choosing otherwise. Even then he or she, it could be argued, operates within the strategic culture. Often observers and sometimes the person in question are however unable to know and detect all the premises or all the factors affecting decision-making procedures. But this does not permit one to narrow research to point-explanations that deliberately dismiss acknowledged forces and factors.

Similarities and continuity in foreign and nuclear policies between the two governments whose main parties differ ideologically support the underlying idea behind the concept of strategic culture that, to follow Snyder, there are shared and conditioned ideas and patterns of habitual behaviour. These ideas, patterns of action and behavioural rules helped to analyse utterances that at face value seemed irrelevant and irrational. Their truth-value might have been questionable but as acts they offered valuable insights into Indian polity and politics. Past behaviour, political orientation and ideological commitments of politicians and senior civil servants also provide weak criteria for assessing the truth-value of their doings. Differences and discontinuity between the governments do not necessarily undermine the method but do challenge the content and operationalization of the particular strategic culture. Differences are the exceptions that make the rule stronger – and signify the need to develop the concept.

The method of this thesis asks questions that otherwise might not be asked. It provides answers that mainstream IR or strategic studies might leave unnoticed or judge irrational. It recognizes the importance of the particular and the cultural as well as history, ideas and identity. Time, place and space become important. Sixty years of Indian independence is but a short time compared to the long history of Indian civilizations. Yet both contemporary and past times with their different conventions make current policies understandable. A complete story of India requires both the past and the present.

Finally, one should elaborate to what extent the findings contribute to IR

literature, i.e. answer the fifth and sixth research questions:

(v) *What does this Indian experience add to the existing body of International Relations literature on foreign and nuclear policies, both general and specifically Indian?* and

(vi) *What explains Indian foreign and nuclear policies?*

The research supports some of the main conclusions Sagan and Perkovich have expressed regarding nuclear proliferation and the problems of non-proliferation. Sagan's claim that the technological imperative partly explains nuclear proliferation finds support in the current Indian political and technical reality. Similarly, the desire of the UPA Government to continue on the already established nuclear path supports Perkovich's argument that non- or un-proliferation can be difficult in a democratic country. The INC does not have much room to manoeuvre in a situation where nuclear status is acknowledged by many and is specifically advocated by its main national opponent and the largest opposition party, the BJP. The politics of the current Indian government also supports the second conclusion Perkovich came to in his study of the history of Indian nuclear policy, namely that vertical and horizontal proliferation are intertwined. India's continued unwillingness to join nuclear regimes partly stems from the vertical proliferation that takes place within the (official) nuclear weapon states and these states continued reluctance to adhere to nuclear disarmament as promised in the NPT.

Regarding nuclear doctrines Indian practice seems to repeat Western-Soviet experiences. This does not, however, mean that Indian and Pakistani nuclear policies repeat all the aspects of Cold War rivalry. Yet, Indian nuclear deterrence and doctrine is built on the theoretical assumptions and considerations that mostly American nuclear strategists forwarded especially in the 1950s and 1960s. Where the South Asian reality differs most from the previous cases is the close proximity of the antagonists and their troubled histories. Therefore theoretical considerations on the relationship between nuclear deterrence and local violent conflicts are of importance. The risk of local conflicts has remained high. Neither the claim that nuclear deterrence prevents the outbreak and escalation of local conflicts in fear of nuclear reprisal nor that nuclear deterrence encourages the parties to act logically as each is deterred from decisive action find excluding support. This theoretical problem remains unsolved. India has nevertheless recognized the problem and has begun to modernize her military (Army) doctrine, making it more flexible. This was not necessarily done from the nuclear risk point-of-view, but mainly stemmed from the gap between military effects and political desires. Modernization will nevertheless reduce the risk of nuclear escalation by acknowledging implicit Pakistani

red-lines.

Indian foreign and nuclear policies often refer to the Realist and Neo-Realist perceptions. In foreign relations material, military and geopolitical factors play a significant role. The Indian position in the world political system is interpreted by relative strength and by absolute measures and memberships. The concept of 'strategic footprint' has expanded the region the Indira Doctrine determined should belong to Indian control. For New Delhi, the Indian Ocean has become India's ocean. Global realist discourse has similarly expanded with the concept of energy security. This concept focuses political attention on access to energy, access to modern energy infrastructures and the latest scientific knowledge. This links Indian foreign policy directly to domestic developmental questions. For the UPA Government foreign policy is subordinate to development. This shift directly confronts the common Western and Nordic notion of the primacy of foreign policy in a state's toolbox. Globalization perhaps best explains the changed Indian perception. Foreign and domestic have been intertwined, and social and economic development at home cannot be guaranteed by domestic actions and by national resources. For Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, who reoriented the Indian economy in the beginning of the 1990s this relationship ought to be obvious.

The impact of domestic political forces on Indian foreign relations and nuclear policy signifies the importance of identity and identity formation in national politics. This testifies to the failure of the Nehruvian modernity project that should have transformed the loyalty and commitment of the Indian people to the newly-independent Indian state. The erosion of identity is similar to that witnessed in former Yugoslavia. When a powerful and respected leader (Nehru/Tito) passed away his successors gradually lost power and local and regional forces gained momentum. What culminated in Yugoslavia in the rise of independent states and war has in India, fortunately, resulted in the rise of new political parties, both local and national. Indian democracy has passed this test but the challenge to Indian identity continues.

This study emphasizes the need to include social and domestic forces and factors into strategic or security studies. One practical way to do this is to analyse political speeches and texts by contextualizing them within the strategic culture. This reveals the new and the intended meanings of the acts of saying.

Appendix 1

India's Nuclear Forces and Delivery Vehicles

Weapon System	Status	Range (km) / Payload(kg)	Comments
AIRCRAFT			
Jaguar IS/IB/Shamsher	Operational, Ambala Air Force Station	1600 / 4775	
Mirage 2000H/Vajra	Operational, Gwalior Air Force Station	1850-3000 / 6300	
BALLISTIC MISSILES			
Land-based			
Prithvi I SRBM	Operational, 333 and 335 Missile Groups	150 / 1000	Liquid propulsion, conversion to solid fuel?
Agni I IRBM	Operational?, 334 Missile Group	700 / 2000 1200 / 1000	Single-stage Operational status uncertain
Agni II IRBM	Operational?, 335 Missile Group	2000 / 1000 3500 / reduced payload	Two-stage Operational status uncertain
Agni III IRBM	Under development	3000+ / 1500	Two-stage Latest test launch April 12, 2007
Agni IV ICBM	Under development	5000-6000/	Three-stage

Weapon System	Status	Range (km) / Payload(kg)	Comments
<u>Sea-based ballistic</u>			
Dhanush SSBM-N	Ordered for the Sukanya-class OPVs	150-250 / 500-800	Naval version of Prithvi Inertial guidance Latest test launch March 30, 2007
Sagarika (K-15) SLBM	Under development	750/500	Two-stage, GPS guidance Latest test launch February 2008
<u>CRUISE MISSILES</u>			
BrahMos SLCM ALCM	Under development	300/	Joint Indo-Russian project Latest test launch January 21, 2009
Nirbhay Tri-service CM	Under development	1000/	To be tested in 2009?

Sources: The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, July/August 2007; Federation of American Scientists; Global Security; Jane's Strategic Weapon Systems.

Appendix 2

India's Draft Nuclear Doctrine, August 17, 1999

Preamble

1.1. The use of nuclear weapons in particular as well as other weapons of mass destruction constitutes the gravest threat to humanity and to peace and stability in the international system. Unlike the other two categories of weapons of mass destruction, biological and chemical weapons which have been outlawed by international treaties, nuclear weapons remain instruments for national and collective security, the possession of which on a selective basis has been sought to be legitimised through permanent extension of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) in May 1995. Nuclear weapon states have asserted that they will continue to rely on nuclear weapons with some of them adopting policies to use them even in a non-nuclear context. These developments amount to virtual abandonment of nuclear disarmament. This is a serious setback to the struggle of the international community to abolish weapons of mass destruction.

1.2. India's primary objective is to achieve economic, political, social, scientific and technological development within a peaceful and democratic framework. This requires an environment of durable peace and insurance against potential risks to peace and stability. It will be India's endeavour to proceed towards this overall objective in cooperation with the global democratic trends and to play a constructive role in advancing the international system toward a just, peaceful and equitable order.

1.3. Autonomy of decision making in the developmental process and in strategic matters is an inalienable democratic right of the Indian people. India will strenuously guard this right in a world where nuclear weapons for a select few are sought to be legitimised for an indefinite future, and where there is growing complexity and frequency in the use of force for political purposes.

1.4. India's security is an integral component of its development process. India continuously aims at promoting an ever-expanding area of peace and stability around it so that developmental priorities can be pursued without disruption.

1.5. However, the very existence of offensive doctrine pertaining to the first use of nuclear weapons and the insistence of some nuclear weapons

states on the legitimacy of their use even against non-nuclear weapon countries constitute a threat to peace, stability and sovereignty of states.

1.6. This document outlines the broad principles for the development, deployment and employment of India's nuclear forces. Details of policy and strategy concerning force structures, deployment and employment of nuclear forces will flow from this framework and will be laid down separately and kept under constant review.

2. Objectives

2.1. In the absence of global nuclear disarmament India's strategic interests require effective, credible nuclear deterrence and adequate retaliatory capability should deterrence fail. This is consistent with the UN Charter, which sanctions the right of self-defence.

2.2. The requirements of deterrence should be carefully weighed in the design of Indian nuclear forces and in the strategy to provide for a level of capability consistent with maximum credibility, survivability, effectiveness, safety and security.

2.3. India shall pursue a doctrine of credible minimum nuclear deterrence. In this policy of "retaliation only", the survivability of our arsenal is critical. This is a dynamic concept related to the strategic environment, technological imperatives and the needs of national security. The actual size components, deployment and employment of nuclear forces will be decided in the light of these factors. India's peacetime posture aims at convincing any potential aggressor that:

(a) any threat of use of nuclear weapons against India shall invoke measures to counter the threat: and

(b) any nuclear attack on India and its forces shall result in punitive retaliation with nuclear weapons to inflict damage unacceptable to the aggressor.

2.4. The fundamental purpose of Indian nuclear weapons is to deter the use and threat of use of nuclear weapons by any State or entity against India and its forces. India will not be the first to initiate a nuclear strike, but will respond with punitive retaliation should deterrence fail.

2.5. India will not resort to the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against States which do not possess nuclear weapons, or are not aligned with nuclear weapon powers.

2.6. Deterrence requires that India maintain:

(a) Sufficient, survivable and operationally prepared nuclear forces,

(b) a robust command and control system,

(c) effective intelligence and early warning capabilities, and

(d) comprehensive planning and training for operations in line with the strategy, and

(e) the will to employ nuclear forces and weapons

2.7. Highly effective conventional military capabilities shall be maintained to raise the threshold of outbreak both of conventional military conflict as well as that of threat or use of nuclear weapons.

3. Nuclear Forces

3.1. India's nuclear forces will be effective, enduring, diverse, flexible, and responsive to the requirements in accordance with the concept of credible minimum deterrence. These forces will be based on a triad of aircraft, mobile land-based missiles and sea-based assets in keeping with the objectives outlined above. Survivability of the forces will be enhanced by a combination of multiple redundant systems, mobility, dispersion and deception.

3.2. The doctrine envisages assured capability to shift from peacetime deployment to fully employable forces in the shortest possible time, and the ability to retaliate effectively even in a case of significant degradation by hostile strikes.

4. Credibility and Survivability

The following principles are central to India's nuclear deterrent:

4.1. Credibility: Any adversary must know that India can and will retaliate with sufficient nuclear weapons to inflict destruction and punishment that the aggressor will find unacceptable if nuclear weapons are used against India and its forces.

4.2. Effectiveness: The efficacy of India's nuclear deterrent be maximised through synergy among all elements involving reliability, timeliness, accuracy and weight of the attack.

4.3 Survivability:

(i) India's nuclear forces and their command and control shall be organised for very high survivability against surprise attacks and for rapid punitive response. They shall be designed and deployed to ensure survival against a

first strike and to endure repetitive attrition attempts with adequate retaliatory capabilities for a punishing strike which would be unacceptable to the aggressor.

(ii) Procedures for the continuity of nuclear command and control shall ensure a continuing capability to effectively employ nuclear weapons.

5. Command and Control

5.1. Nuclear weapons shall be tightly controlled and released for use at the highest political level. the authority to release nuclear weapons for use resides in the person of the Prime Minister of India, or the designated successor(s).

5.2. An effective and survivable command and control system with requisite flexibility and responsiveness shall be in place. An integrated operational plan, or a series of sequential plans, predicated on strategic objectives and a targeting policy shall form part of the system.

5.3. For effective employment the unity of command and control of nuclear forces including dual capable delivery systems shall be ensured.

5.4. The survivability of the nuclear arsenal and effective command, control, communications, computing, intelligence and information (C4I2) systems shall be assured.

5.5. The Indian defence forces shall be in a position to, [sic] execute operations in an NBC environment with minimal degradation;

5.6. Space based and other assets shall be created to provide early warning, communications, damage/detonation assessment.

6. Security and Safety

6.1. Security: Extraordinary precautions shall be taken to ensure that nuclear weapons, their manufacture, transportation and storage are fully guarded against possible theft, loss, sabotage, damage or unauthorised access or use.

6.2. Safety is an absolute requirement and tamper proof procedures and systems shall be instituted to ensure that unauthorised or inadvertent activation/use of nuclear weapons does not take place and risks of accident are avoided.

6.3. Disaster control: India shall develop an appropriate disaster control system capable of handling the unique requirements of potential incidents involving nuclear weapons and materials.

7. Research and Development

7.1. India should step up efforts in research and development to keep up with technological advances in this field.

7.2. While India is committed to maintain the deployment of a deterrent which is both minimum and credible, it will not accept any restraints on building its R&D capability.

8. Disarmament and Arms Control

8.1. Global, verifiable and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament is a national security objective. India shall continue its efforts to achieve the goal of a nuclear weapon-free world at an early date.

8.2. Since no-first use of nuclear weapons is India's basic commitment, every effort shall be made to persuade other States possessing nuclear weapons to join an international treaty banning first use.

8.3. Having provided unqualified negative security assurances, India shall work for internationally binding unconditional negative security assurances by nuclear weapon states to non-nuclear weapon states.

8.4. Nuclear arms control measures shall be sought as part of national security policy to reduce potential threats and to protect our own capability and its effectiveness.

8.5. In view of the very high destructive potential of nuclear weapons, appropriate nuclear risk reduction and confidence building measures shall be sought, negotiated and instituted.

Source:
http://www.indianembassy.org/policy/CTBT/nuclear_doctrine_aug_17_19
99.html (May 2, 2008).

Appendix 3

Cabinet Committee on Security, **January 4, 2003**

1. The Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) met today to review the progress in operationalizing of India's nuclear doctrine. The Committee decided that the following information, regarding the nuclear doctrine and operational arrangements governing India's nuclear assets, should be shared with the public.

2. India's nuclear doctrine can be summarized as follows:

    (i.)   Building and maintaining a credible minimum deterrent;

    (ii.)   A posture of "No First Use": nuclear weapons will only be used in retaliation against a nuclear attack on Indian territory or on Indian forces anywhere;

    (iii.)   Nuclear retaliation to a first strike will be massive and designed to inflict unacceptable damage.

    (iv.)   Nuclear retaliatory attacks can only be authorised by the civilian political leadership through the Nuclear Command Authority.

    (v.)   Non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states;

    (vi.)   However, in the event of a major attack against India, or Indian forces anywhere, by biological or chemical weapons, India will retain the option of retaliating with nuclear weapons;

    (vii.)   A continuance of strict controls on export of nuclear and missile related materials and technologies, participation in the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty negotiations, and continued observance of the moratorium on nuclear tests.

    (viii.)   Continued commitment to the goal of a nuclear weapon free world, through global, verifiable and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament.

3. The Nuclear Command Authority comprises a Political Council and an Executive Council. The Political Council is chaired by the Prime Minister. It is the sole body which can authorize the use of nuclear weapons.

4 The Executive Council is chaired by the National Security Advisor. It provides inputs for decision making by the Nuclear Command Authority and executes the directives given to it by the Political Council.

5. The CCS reviewed the existing command and control structures, the state of readiness, the targeting strategy for a retaliatory attack, and operating procedures for various stages of alert and launch. The Committee expressed satisfaction with the overall preparedness. The CCS approved the appointment of a Commander-in-Chief, Strategic Forces Command, to manage and administer all Strategic Forces.

6. The CCS also reviewed and approved the arrangements for alternate chains of command for retaliatory nuclear strikes in all eventualities.

Source:
http://pib.nic.in/archieve/lreleng/lyr2003/rjan2003/04012003/r040120033.html (May 2, 2008).

Appendix 4

PM's Suo-Motu Statement on Discussions on Civil Nuclear Energy Cooperation with the US: Implementation of India's Separation Plan, March 7, 2006 New Delhi

In my Statement on February 27, 2006, I had provided an assurance that this august House will be informed of developments in our discussions with the United States on separation of our civilian and military nuclear facilities. I now inform this august House of developments since my suo motu statement of 27 February.

The President of the United States, His Excellency Mr. George W. Bush visited India between March 1–3, 2006. His visit provided our two countries an opportunity to review progress made in deepening our strategic partnership since the Joint Statement issued during my visit to Washington last July. Our discussions covered the expansion of our ties in the fields of agriculture, economic and trade cooperation, energy security and clean environment, strengthening innovation and the knowledge economy, issues relating to global safety and security and on deepening democracy. Expanded cooperation in each of these areas will have a significant impact on India's social and economic development. The full text of the Joint Statement issued during President Bush's visit is placed on the Table of the House.

I have pleasure in informing the House that during President Bush's visit, as part of the process of promoting cooperation in civilian nuclear energy, agreement was reached between India and the United States on a Separation Plan. Accordingly, India will identify and separate its civilian and military nuclear facilities and place its civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards. Sir, I place on the Table of the House the Separation Plan that has been drawn up by India and agreed between India and the United States in implementation of the India-United States Joint Statement of July 18, 2005.

I would like to outline some salient elements of the Separation Plan:

i) India will identify and offer for IAEA safeguards 14 thermal power reactors between 2006–14. There are 22 thermal power reactors in operation or currently under construction in the country. Fourteen of these

will be placed under safeguards by 2014 in a phased manner. This would raise the total installed thermal power capacity in Megawatts under safeguards from 19% at present to 65% by 2014. I wish to emphasize that the choice of specific nuclear reactors and the phases in which they would be placed under safeguards is an Indian decision. We are preparing a list of 14 reactors that would be offered for safeguards between 2006–14.

ii) We have conveyed that India will not accept safeguards on the Prototype Fast Breeder Reactor (PFBR) and the Fast Breeder Test Reactor (FBTR), both located at Kalpakkam. The Fast Breeder Programme is at the R&D stage. This technology will take time to mature and reach an advanced stage of development. We do not wish to place any encumbrances on our Fast Breeder programme, and this has been fully ensured in the Separation Plan.

(iii) India has decided to place under safeguards all future civilian thermal power reactors and civilian breeder reactors, and the Government of India retains the sole right to determine such reactors as civilian. This means that India will not be constrained in any way in building future nuclear facilities, whether civilian or military, as per our national requirements.

(iv) India has decided to permanently shut down the CIRUS reactor, in 2010. The fuel core of the Apsara reactor was purchased from France, and we are prepared to shift it from its present location and make it available for placing under safeguards in 2010. Both CIRUS and Apsara are located at the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre. We have decided to take these steps rather than allow intrusive inspections in a nuclear facility of high national security importance. We are determined that such steps will not hinder ongoing Research and Development.

(v) Reprocessing and enrichment capabilities and other facilities associated with the fuel cycle for our strategic programme have been kept out of the Separation Plan.

(vi) One of the major points addressed in the Separation Plan was the need to ensure reliability of fuel supplies, given our unfortunate past experience with regard to interruption in supply of fuel for Tarapur. We have received commitments from the United States for the reliable supply of fuel to India for reactors that will be offered for safeguards. The United States has also reaffirmed its assurance to create the necessary conditions for India to have assured and full access to fuel for such reactors. Under the July 18 Joint Statement, the United States is committed to seeking agreement from its Congress to amend domestic laws and to work with friends and allies to adjust the practices of the Nuclear Suppliers Group to create the necessary conditions for India to obtain full access to the international market for

nuclear fuel, including reliable, uninterrupted and continual access to fuel supplies from firms in several nations. This has been reflected in the formal understandings reached during the visit and included in the Separation Plan.

(vii) To further guard against any disruption of fuel supplies for India, the United States is prepared to take other additional steps, such as:

a) Incorporating assurances regarding fuel supply in a bilateral U.S. - India agreement on peaceful uses of nuclear energy which would be negotiated.

b) The United States will join India in seeking to negotiate with the IAEA an India-specific fuel supply agreement.

c) The United States will support an Indian effort to develop a strategic reserve of nuclear fuel to guard against any disruption of supply over the lifetime of India's reactors.

d) If despite these arrangements, a disruption of fuel supplies to India occurs, the United States and India would jointly convene a group of friendly supplier countries to include countries such as Russia, France and the United Kingdom to pursue such measures as would restore fuel supply to India.

In light of the above understandings with the United States, an India-specific safeguards agreement will be negotiated between India and the IAEA. In essence, an India-specific safeguards [sic] would provide: on the one hand safeguards against withdrawal of safeguarded nuclear material from civilian use at any time, and on the other permit India to take corrective measures to ensure uninterrupted operation of its civilian nuclear reactors in the event of disruption of foreign fuel supplies. Taking this into account, India will place its civilian nuclear facilities under India-specific safeguards in perpetuity and negotiate an appropriate safeguards agreement to this end with the IAEA. In the terms of the Separation plan, there is hence assurance of uninterrupted supply of fuel to reactors that would be placed under safeguards together with India's right to take corrective measures in the event fuel supplies are interrupted. The House can rest assured that India retains its sovereign right to take all appropriate measures to fully safeguard its interests.

During my Suo Motu Statements on this subject made on July 29, 2005 and on February 27, 2006, I had given a solemn assurance to this august House and through the Honorable members to the country, that the Separation Plan will not adversely effect our country's national security. I am in a position to assure the Members that that [sic] this is indeed the case. I might mention:

i) that the separation plan will not adversely effect our strategic programme. There will be no capping of our strategic programme, and the separation plan ensures adequacy of fissile material and other inputs to meet the current and future requirements of our strategic programme, based on our assessment of the threat scenarios. No constraint has been placed on our right to construct new facilities for strategic purposes. The integrity of our Nuclear Doctrine and our ability to sustain a Minimum Credible Nuclear Deterrent is adequately protected.

ii) The Separation Plan does not come in the way of the integrity of our three stage nuclear programme, including the future use of our thorium reserves. The autonomy of our Research and Development activities in the nuclear field will remain unaffected. The Fast Breeder Test Reactor and the Prototype Fast Breeder Reactor remain outside safeguards. We have agreed, however, that future civilian Thermal power reactors and civilian Fast Breeder Reactors would be placed under safeguards, but the determination of what is civilian is solely an Indian decision.

As I mentioned in my Statement on February 27, the Separation Plan has been very carefully drawn up after an intensive internal consultation process overseen by my Office. The Department of Atomic Energy and our nuclear scientific community have been associated with the preparation of the Separation Plan. The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Principal Scientific Adviser to the Government of India were actively involved closely at every stage. I am in a position to assure the Hon'ble members that we have not permitted information of national security significance to be compromised in any way during the negotiations.

I believe that the significance of the July 18, 2005 Statement is the prospect it offers for ending India's nuclear isolation. It will open up prospects for cooperation not only with the US but with countries like Russia, France and other countries with advanced nuclear capabilities, including those from the NSG. The scope for cooperation in the energy related research will vastly expand, so will cooperation in nuclear research activities. India will be able to join the international mainstream and occupy its rightful place among the top countries of the nuclear community. There would be a quantum jump in our energy generating capacity with a consequential impact on our GDP growth. It also ensures India's participation as a full partner in cutting edge multilateral scientific effort in the nuclear field such as ITER and Generation IV Initiative.

Sir, successful implementation of the July 18 Joint Statement requires reciprocal actions by the United States as well as India. Steps to be taken by India will be contingent upon actions taken by the US. For our part, we have prepared a Separation Plan that identifies those civilian facilities that

we are willing to offer for safeguards. The United States Government has accepted this Separation Plan. It now intends to approach the US Congress for amending its laws and the Nuclear Suppliers Group for adapting its Guidelines to enable full civilian cooperation between India and the international community. At the appropriate stage, India will approach the IAEA to discuss and fashion an India-specific safeguards agreement, which will reflect the unique character of this arrangement. Since such a safeguards agreement is yet to be negotiated it will be difficult to predict its content, but I can assure the House that we will not accept any provisions that go beyond the parameters of the July 18, 2005 Statement and the Separation Plan agreed between India and the United States, on March 2, 2006.We are hopeful that this process will move forward in the coming weeks and months.

I would request Hon'ble Members to look at this matter through the larger perspective of energy security. Currently, nuclear energy provides only three per cent of our total energy mix. Rising costs and reliability of imported hydrocarbon supplies constitute a major uncertainty at a time when we are accelerating our growth rate. We must endeavor to expand our capabilities across the entire energy spectrum from clean coal and coal-bed methane, to gas hydrates and wind and solar power. We are actively seeking international partnerships across the board and are members of many international initiatives dedicated to energy. Indeed, at the end of my talks with President Bush, we announced Indian participation in two more programmes: the Future-Gen programme for zero emission thermal power plants and the Integrated Ocean Drilling Programme for gas hydrates.

The House will appreciate that the search for an integrated policy with an appropriate mix of energy supplies is central to the achievement of our broader economic or social objectives. Energy is the lifeblood of our economy. Without sufficient and predictable access, our aspirations in the social sector cannot be realized. Inadequate power has a deleterious effect in building a modern infrastructure. It has a direct impact on the optimal usage of increasingly scarce water resources. Power shortage is thus not just a handicap in one sector but a drag on the entire economy.

I believe that the needs of the people of India must become the central agenda for our international cooperation. It is precisely this approach that has guided our growing partnership with the United States. I would, in particular, draw attention to the launching of the Knowledge Initiative in Agriculture with a three year financial commitment to link our universities and technical institutions and businesses to support agricultural education, research, capacity building, including in the area of bio-technology. Our first Green Revolution benefited in substantial measure from assistance

provided by the US. We are hopeful that the Knowledge Initiative on Agriculture will become the harbinger of a second Green Revolution in our country.

Sir, India and the United States have much to gain from this new partnership. This was the main underlying theme of our discussions during the visit of President Bush. The resumption of civilian nuclear energy cooperation would demonstrate that we have entered a new and more positive phase of our ties, so that we can finally put behind us years of troubled relations in the nuclear field. I am confident that this is a worthy objective that will receive the full support of this House.

Source: http://www.dae.gov.in/press/suopm0703.htm (May 2, 2008).

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the interrelationship and dynamics between the Indian United Progressive Alliance government's foreign policy and its nuclear weapons policy. The purpose of the study is to situate nuclear policy within a foreign policy framework, and the fundamental research problem is thus how does the Indian nuclear policy reflect and respond to the Indian foreign policy? The study examines the intentions in the Indian foreign and nuclear policies, and asks whether these intentions are commensurable or incommensurable. Moreover, the thesis asks whether the UPA government differs from its predecessors, most notably the Bharatiya Janata Party-led National Democratic Alliance government in its foreign and nuclear policies.

Answers to these questions are based on the interpretation of political texts and speeches as suggested by Quentin Skinner's notion of meaning$_3$, what does a writer or speaker mean by what he or she says in a given text, and by J.L. Austin's speech act theory. This linguistic perspective and the approach of intertextualizing, place the political acts within their contingent intellectual and political contexts. The notion of strategic culture is therefore introduced to provide context for these juxtapositions.

The thesis firstly analyses the societal, historical and intellectual context of India's foreign and nuclear policy. Following from this analysis the thesis then examines the foreign and nuclear policies of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's UPA government. This analysis focuses on the texts, speeches and statements of Indian authorities between 2004 and 2008.

This study forwards the following claims: firstly, the UPA Government conducts a foreign policy that is mainly and explicitly inclusive, open and enhancing, and it conducts a nuclear policy that is mainly and implicitly excluding, closed and protective. Secondly, despite the fact that the notion of military security is widely appreciated and does not, as such, necessarily collide with foreign policy, the UPA Government conducts a nuclear policy that is incommensurable with its foreign policy. Thirdly, the UPA Government foreign and nuclear policies are, nevertheless, commensurable regarding their internal intentions. Finally, the UPA Government is conducting a nuclear policy that is gradually leading India towards having a triad of nuclear weapons with various platforms and device designs and a functioning and robust command and control system encompassing political and military planning, decision-making and execution. Regarding the question of the possible differences between the UPA and NDA governments this thesis claims that, despite their different ideological roots and orientations in domestic affairs, the Indian National Congress Party conducts, perhaps

surprisingly, quite a similar foreign and nuclear policy to the Bharatiya Janata Party.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan Intian ydinasepolitiikan ja ulkopolitiikan suhdetta. Tutkimustehtävänä on paikantaa näiden politiikan osa-alueiden tavoitteiden välisiä mahdollisia eroja ja yhtäläisyyksiä. Tutkimus kohdistuu vuonna 2004 valtaan päässeen pääministeri Manmohan Singhin johtaman hallituksen tärkeimpien ministereiden ja korkeimpien virkamiesten puheisiin, julkilausumiin ja muihin virallisiin asiakirjoihin.

Tekstien analysointi perustuu Quentin Skinnerin käsitykseen tekstin merkityksestä sekä J.L. Austinin puheaktiteoriaan. Tämä näkökulma kysyy puheiden poliittista merkitystä ja tarkoitusta ja asettaa puheet historialliseen ja poliittiseen kontekstiin. Puheiden merkityksen ja tarkoituksen ymmärtämiseksi tutkimuksessa käytetään strategisen kulttuurin käsitettä analysoinnin lähtökohtana, kontekstina, joka auttaa tutkijaa ja lukijaa ymmärtämään myös irrationaaliselta tai virheelliseltäkin vaikuttavia tekstejä.

Kysymyksenasettelun ja tieteenfilosofisten valintojen esittelyn jälkeen tutkimus siirtyy strategisen kulttuurin käsitteeseen ja sisältöön. Tutkimus laajentaa aikaisempaa strategisen kulttuurin poliittista ja sotilaallista tulkintaa historian, aatehistorian ja sosiologian suuntiin. Kontekstin ja vallitsevien konventioiden käsittelyn jälkeen analysoidaan Manmohan Singhin hallituksen ulko- ja ydinasepolitiikkaa intialaisten itsensä tärkeinä pitämillä osa-alueilla.

Tutkimus nostaa esiin seuraavat keskeiset johtopäätökset pääministeri Singhin hallituksen politiikasta: i) hallitus harjoittaa ulkopolitiikkaa, mikä pyrkii saamaan Intian osalliseksi globaaleja ja alueellisia järjestelyjä, samalla kun se harjoittaa eristäytyvää ydinasepolitiikkaa; ii) ydinasepolitiikan tavoitteet ovat siis ainakin osittain ristiriidassa ulkopolitiikan tavoitteiden kanssa; iii) sisä- ja puoluepoliittisesta näkökulmasta katsottuna hallituksen politiikka näyttää kuitenkin johdonmukaiselta; ja iv) Intia näyttää tavoittelevan kaikki puolustushaarat kattavaa ydinasearsenaalia. Tutkimuksen perusteella voi myös väittää, että Intian kaksi viimeisintä hallitusta ovat harjoittaneet hyvinkin samankaltaista ulko- ja ydinasepolitiikkaa vaikka pääpuolueiden, Kongressipuolueen ja Bharatiya Janata puolueen, välillä vallitsee suuria ideologisia ja sisäpoliittisia eroja.

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