

India's Self-Dependence in the field of Defence: the Present Day Need



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Abstract

Since its independence on the 15th August, 1947, India has passed through uncertain phases in the matters of nuclear energy and nuclear power. The past which reveals its faith in the policies of disarmament for the sake of non-violence, is ready to pace up with the present which makes it binding on India to free itself from its past policies and to prove itself superior to the other countries in the same way as it has proved in several other fields. Non-violence is good, but when the other neighbouring countries like China and Pakistan have constantly been threatening India's peace, it is essential for the nation to develop its own nuclear power sufficient enough to reply the threats and to face successfully the unseasonal and uncertain wars.

India is one of the strongest nations. It has the stores of the nuclear energy in it. Its scientists are capable of leading it to the higher horizons of success. They are capable of making better and stronger missiles and of exploring the secrets of space through space campaigns. Hence, under the impact of circumstances, India needs to revise its nuclear policies in order to reply back to the threats of its enemy-nations.

It is no time to be helpless and to submit to the other countries, but to be the super power in the field of nuclear power. The Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi, enthusiastic to see India at the top in the field, is ready to go to any extent for the sake of India's self-dependence in the nuclear field. He is hopeful that with its eminent scientists, very soon India is going to prove itself to be superior to the other nations in the nuclear field.

The paper, based on the content analysis, surveys the chronicles of India's nuclear policies through the period of time since independence, and emphasises that being so rich in the sources of nuclear energy, India needs to be self depend making other nations of the world believe that it is capable of managing its peace affairs itself without the support of any other country like USSA or Russia.

Keywords: Self-Dependence, Nuclear Power, Non-Violence, Pact, Treaty, Threats and Attacks.

Introduction

India had a stable and coherent nuclear policy for nearly sixteen years in post independent India. The policies adopted earlier were relevant to those times, and are obsolete in the present situation. With the arrival of Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi, India has started seeing new phases in the field. His concern is to see India a super nuclear power in the world, and for it he has constantly been making endeavours. India's vast Thorium resources and conventional fuel sources like Hydroelectric power, Coal, Natural Gas despite its handicap in Uranium reserves and technological resources, are capable of winning a new identity in the nuclear field. The full scale war between India and China in 1962 gave a momentum to the India's efforts to develop nuclear arms. For India, the Non-Proliferation Treaty was a microcosm of imbalance and the ethnicity that pervaded thinking about international relations. While the five nuclear powers considered nuclear option sufficiently tempting and useful for them to pursue the US, the USSR and the UK (China and France stayed out of NPT till 1991) demanded the rest of the world to eschew an option, which carried with it economic, military and political advantages. India arguably sixth in line for nuclear status, could not agree to such a discriminatory policy. India explored three principle alternatives to strengthen its security against the growing Pakistani nuclear threat. The first,option was to demonstrate its own nuclear strength and develop missiles to conceivably carry nuclear warheads. The second,option was to attack key nuclear facilities in Pakistan. The third, alternative was to use diplomacy to

stabilize relations with relations with Pakistan and improve ties with America. Pokhran II tests in 1998 gave evidence that India possessed necessary technology of nuclear weapons. They also provided a valuable database, which is useful in the design of nuclear weapons of different yields for different applications and for different delivery systems. A new chapter has been written through the Indo-US Nuclear Deal in 2008. This deal gives India the recognition it deserves after three decades of technology denials and brings an end to India's nuclear isolation. India, as a responsible nuclear state, would continue to observe its voluntary moratorium on testing and its policies of credible minimum deterrence and no first use.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's diplomatic activities offer a clear picture of India's priorities and strategic objectives. They are essentially five-fold- Prioritizing an integrated neighbourhood;

"Neighbourhood First." Leveraging international partnerships to promote India's domestic development. Ensuring a stable and multipolar balance of power in the Indo-Pacific; "Act East." Dissuading Pakistan from supporting terrorism. Advancing Indian representation and leadership on matters of global governance.

Chronicles

1. Homi. J. Bhabha, a brilliant physicist, founder of The Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR) in 1944, and the father of India's nuclear, kept the military option open to produce nuclear weapons. He was visionary in the field of atomic energy with vision to start the research three years before independence and a year before the first nuclear weapon test conducted by USA as part of the Manhattan Project in the Jornada del Muerto desert, New Mexico on 16th July 1945.
2. The Indians laid down their nuclear development strategy in three phases-(a) The development of natural Uranium Heavy Water Reactors. (b) To make Fast Breeder Reactors (FBR). (c) To produce Thermal Breeder Reactors (TBR). (Source- H.J. Bhabha Collected Speeches and Letters, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Library (TIFR), Bombay (now Mumbai).
3. In 1954 the nuclear weapons program of India started to move in the direction of developing nuclear weapons capability.
4. IAEC set up the Atomic Energy Establishment (AEET) at Trombay on 3rd January 1954.
5. On 3rd August 1954 the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) was established with Dr. Homi Bhabha as its Secretary.
6. The construction on India's first reactor named Apsara Research Reactor started in 1955 with the British assistance. Within the same year in 1955, Canada agreed to supply India 40 MW Canada-India powerful research reactor. This was the second nuclear reactor to be built in India.
7. China conducted its nuclear test on 16th October 1964., but the Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri did not react to the tests following the principles of non-violence.

8. India's diplomatic policy towards nuclear weapons made a historic shift in 1966.
9. India did not sign the Nuclear NonProliferation Treaty and it voted against it on 12 June 1968. India has not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty till date.
10. Dwight David Eisenhower, 34th President of United States entered into "Atoms for Peace" program with India and agreed to supply 21 tons of heavy water for this reactor in February 1956. The reactor was named as Canada-India Reactor Uranium System (CIRUS), and the plutonium produced by it was used in India's first nuclear test in 1974.
11. The Sino Indian War started on 20th October 1962 due to territorial disputes as the bequest of the British rule. Chinese army attacked India to which Indian soldiers could not retaliate.
12. India had cordial relations with Soviet Union as a counterweight for China. USSR had at that time faced down United States in the Cuban Missile crisis. India got the shock when USSR suddenly decided to support China in an effort to improve its position in Asia.
13. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was signed in 1970.
14. Under the policy of PNE, India conducted its first PNE at Pokhran on May 18 1974, and earned entry into nuclear club through self-efforts, and it was raised after 11th May 1998, after the second nuclear test. This cleared the standpoint of India regarding acquiring and obtaining nuclear arms.

The partition of India and Pakistan is the key issue behind Indo-Pak nuclear standoff

1. The hostility between both the nations since independence and occasioned by wars in 1965 and 1971 gave both the nations encouragement and need to develop weapons secretly, confidentially and to gain advantage over the other.
2. The Indo Pak war in 1971 influenced India's determination to test a nuclear device.
3. Since 1974, India has pursued a "nuclear option" strategy.
4. On 24 March 1977, Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, addressed his first press conference in which he stated: "The government did not believe in nuclear weapons". But he observed the necessity of peaceful nuclear explosions.
5. On 4 October, 1977, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee declared in UN General Assembly that India was totally opposed to acquisition and development of nuclear weapons and that it would not go in for them even if all other countries of the world did so.
6. The U.S. refused to meet contractual obligations for supplying Tarapur fuel lower the power stations operation rate.
7. India began the space program with military application mind. Vikram Sarabhai was a dominant figure in India's early space efforts
8. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's Government proclaimed the two pronged nuclear policy –

- genuine disarmament and discriminatory aspects of NPT since 1985.
9. With fully indigenous Dhruv Atomic Plant going into production of Plutonium 239, and with second unit of Kalpakkam atomic plant going critical, India attained a high level of indigenous nuclear technology.
 10. The Agni was test fired in May 1989
 11. In 1993 India welcomed the START-II (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty-II) on reduction of strategic weapons between USA and Russia.
 12. The Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India on June 27, 1995 rejected the extension of the NPT
 13. By the year 1995, DRDO and the Atomic Energy Team had made major design changes in the bomb, reduced its weight considerably and increased its yield. Missiles were also developed as delivery vehicles for nuclear war heads.
 14. Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP), pushed India towards a robust nuclear policy. From June 1996 through March 1997 nuclear policy remained in suspended animation.
 15. In May 1998, India conducted five underground nuclear tests in Pokhran desert in Rajasthan, 24 yrs after India conducted its first nuclear test Pokhran-I in 1974. India resumed nuclear testing with a series of nuclear explosions known as "Operation Shakti" also called Pokhran-II. Prime Minister authorized the tests on April 8, 1998, two days after Ghauri missile test-firing by Pakistan.
 16. At the same time, delivery system was warplanes based, as two missiles Prithvi (range upto 1000 km) and Agni (range in excess of 1000 km) both capable of carrying nuclear warheads were under necessary advancements that were to be perfected.
 17. United States and India negotiated a historic and politically contentious civilian nuclear agreement announced in 2005 and completed in 2008.
 18. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has unveiled a paradigm shift in the country's nuclear programme which reflects a "strong security culture", while also being "more open" and "less defensive"
 19. India announced a \$1-million grant for the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), in addition to the \$1 million it had contributed in 2013.
 20. Prime Minister Narendra Modi brought new identities to the Indian nuclear power through his

visits to various countries and through his signature on various nuclear programs

21. The Mars Orbiter Mission probe lifted-off from the First Launch Pad at Satish Dhawan Space Centre (Sriharikota Range SHAR), Andhra Pradesh, using a Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle (PSLV) rocket C25 at 09:08 UTC on 5 November 2013.
22. The launch window was approximately 20 days long and started on 28 October 2013. The MOM probe spent about a month in Earth orbit, where it made a series of seven apogee-raising orbital manoeuvres before trans-Mars injection on 30 November 2013 (UTC).
23. After a 298-day transit to Mars, it was inserted into Mars orbit on 24 September 2014.
24. The S-400 missile deal between India and Russia was signed despite America's sanction against any purchase of arms from Moscow.

Current Status

According to the 2015 SIPRI Yearbook, the Indian arsenal comprises 90 to 110 warheads. [1] The ranges of such estimates are generally dependent on analyses of India's stockpile of weapons-grade plutonium, estimated at 0.54 ± 0.18 tons. [2] Although India has also stockpiled roughly 2.4 ± 0.9 tons of highly enriched uranium (HEU), some of this material is mostly intended for use in nuclear submarines and research reactors.

Money Spending

Nuclear weapons spending in 2010 was more than twice the official development assistance provided to Africa and equal to the gross domestic product of Bangladesh, a nation of some 160 million people. The Office for Disarmament Affairs – the principal UN body responsible for advancing a nuclear-weapon-free world – has an annual budget of \$10 million, which is less than the amount spent on nuclear weapons every hour.

Country	2010 Spending	2011 Spending
United States	\$55.6bn	
Russia	\$9.7bn	\$14.8bn
China	\$6.8bn	\$7.6bn
France	\$5.9bn	\$6.0bn
United Kingdom	\$4.5bn	\$5.5bn
India	\$4.1bn	\$4.9bn
Israel	\$1.9bn	\$1.9bn
Pakistan	\$1.8bn	\$2.2bn
North Korea	\$0.7bn	\$0.7bn
Total	\$91.0bn	\$104.9bn

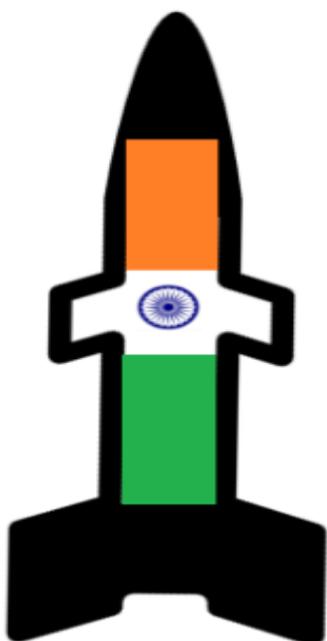
Source: The Office for Disarmament Affairs

Official Defence Budget, 2016-17 and 2017-18

	Revenue Expenditure (Rs. in Crore)	Capital Expenditure (Rs. in Crore)	Total (Rs. in Crore)
2015-16	145937	79958	225895
2016-17 (BE)	162759	86340	249099
2016-17 (RE)	168635	79370	248005
2017-18 (BE)	175861	86529	262390

Source: IDSA Issue Briefs

India's Nuclear Arsenal (estimates)



Delivery System	Number of Warheads
Aircraft	
Vajra	32
Shamsher	16
SUBTOTAL	48
Land-based ballistic missiles	
Prithvi-2	24
Agni-1	20
Agni-2	8
Agni-3	4
SUBTOTAL	56
Sea-based ballistic missiles	
Dhanush	2
K-15 (Possible)	12
SUBTOTAL	14

Source: Indian Nuclear Forces, 2015; Bulletin of Atomic Scientists

Objectives of the Study

1. To study India's status in nuclear power and to learn why it is essential for India to be self depend in terms of nuclear power
2. To study the nuclear policy of India in the post-independent India
3. To study and be familiar with the Indian missiles that have empowered India enough to face any unseasonal threat, attack and war successfully
4. To study India's dependence on Russia, USA, Britain, France, Sweden, Israel for space campaigns and ammunitions
5. To study India's pacts and treaties with the other countries
6. To develop a historical perspective of the development of the nuclear powers in India
7. To be familiar with India's reactive approach to certain pacts and treaties, and to the refusals for help made by the other countries from time to time
8. To study the current demands of India in the nuclear field

Review of Literature

Rajesh Basrur (2001) holds that India has sought global disarmament and international guarantees, both of which were not acceded to by the great powers. Hence, India distanced itself from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and later took on a similar principled stand on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Post Pokhran II, the security matrix underwent a change. Both India and Pakistan have successfully tested various ballistic missiles as delivery systems

Strobe Talbot (2004) believes that a nuclear security policy of „launch on warning“ or „launch on

attack“ can have meaning only if there is a potential to detect, classify and intercept a ballistic missile before it arrives at its target. The second strike, „launch on attack“, option on a counterforce target, must be visible and the intent unambiguous, for the threat to be credible. One method of giving such doctrine credibility is to promulgate it as a National Security Policy.

Bharat Karnad (2005) views that Pakistan has shown some consistency in its nuclear policy. Its nuclear weapons program is not only to deter the threat of India's nuclear weapons but also to counter the conventional military superiority of Indian armed forces. Pakistan had chosen to retain the "no first use" option. It follows the policy of using the nuclear weapons to deter and credible minimum deterrence.

S. Paul Kapoor (2007) holds that during the tenure of Deve Gowda a proposal was mooted to allow 100 percent foreign ownership of nuclear power plants in order to develop India's nuclear infrastructure.

K.R. Gupta and Vatsala Shukla (2009) inform that immediately after independence the newly formed Indian Government passed the Atomic Energy Act on 15th April 1948 which led to the establishment of Indian Atomic Energy Commission (IAEC).

Aaron Tovish (2012) holds the idea that Nehru never wanted India to be dependent on Superpowers on such key areas such as energy supply and development, defence against China, and India's role in world affairs.

Verghes Koithara (2012) holds that till date China continues to hold the Aksai Chin region captured in the initial advances during attacks. Due to this incident there was a big realisation that USSR is

an unreliable ally not to trust China as its peaceful neighbour. In 1945 at the birth of United Nations, the world's most influential and powerful international organisation the composition of the UN Security Council was fixed and has never changed till now. At that moment India was not an independent nation which happened to be detriment for India.

Farooq Bajwa (2013) quotes that Prime Minister Shastri and President of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, both agreed to ceasefire and withdrawal of Indian soldiers from Pakistani soil. They also adopted a peaceful stance and resolution through conciliation. This decision was widely criticised in both the nations. On 1st September 1965, Pakistan again launched a massive attack on Kashmir. The Pakistani soldiers attacked and threatened Srinagar and Delhi but suddenly it came to a halt.

C. Raja Mohan (2014) holds that on 26 July 1978, Mr. Morarji Desai said in the Lok Sabha that he barred only explosions but was in favour of blasts. According to him explosions were for political purposes. He went on to add that underground engineering projects like digging of canals and dams, exploration of oil etc. required blasts and not explosions.

Rajesh Rajagopalan and Atul Mishra (2014) inform that under Dr. Homi Bhabha's leadership, the zeal to build infrastructure for nuclear explosives, and the support and encouragement for developing such explosives came from the nuclear scientists themselves.

Rachna Bisht Rawat (2015) surveys that after the Indo-Sino war in 1962, the demand for development of nuclear weapons was raised in the Parliament for the first time. It was speculated that China will soon conduct a nuclear test.

Harsh V. Pant (2016) comments that India's position on nuclear weapons and national security are clearly enunciated and has been consistent over the period of time. India has sought disarmament as the preferred option for India's nuclear security since it believes that nuclear weapons are not so much military weapons but are a political tool for deterrence. It was clear to security and policy thinkers that a nuclear free world would provide the best security for India. This has been the cornerstone of India's undeclared nuclear security policy.

Mohan Malik (2016) holds that in the Chinese context, if any conflict assumes a military dimension, it can be hypothesised that nuclear weapons are unlikely to be used in a military sense; though, its use as a political weapon to contain or limit the conflict in terms of intervention by another power, scope of operations and above all to reduce the "mission creep" syndrome cannot be discounted. Conventional deterrence theory is validated in the India-China context.

Shivshankar Menon (2016) finds that the resultant large input of power would give the desired level of economic progress needed for a country like India. A four tier nuclear power programme was chalked out in the early days of development.¹⁴ (a) To acquire self sufficiency in all aspects of nuclear technology. This would help India to use its large

reservoirs of Thorium. (b) To develop nuclear power reactors using natural Uranium as fuel and heavy water as moderator. These reactors were to be used both for producing electric power and for converting Uranium into Plutonium as a by-product. (c) The Plutonium so produced was to be used in the Fast Breeder Reactors (FBR). Then later on to use these reactors for the conversion of Thorium to Uranium-233, which can be used as a nuclear fuel. (d) Ultimately to develop a nuclear power programme entirely based on indigenous resources of Thorium by making U-233 Thorium Breeder Reactors, using U-233 as a nuclear fuel.

Department of Atomic Energy, Government of India, Annual Report: 1974-75 (2017) says that the Janta Government's nuclear policy was determined largely by Prime Minister Morarji Desai, who was Minister-in-charge of Indian Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). On the assumption of his office on 23rd March 1977 Mr. Desai had declared that India would not conduct any further explosions.

The New York Times, Information Bank Abstracts (2017) reports that on 26 May 1974 the Indian Government stung by foreign criticism of its nuclear test, reacts with anger and dismay. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi delivered an African Liberation Day speech, in which she strongly defended the test and assures India's neighbors that there is nothing to fear. The Prime Minister also replied to criticism that impoverished India cannot afford the luxury of nuclear experiment. She insisted: "It is only through acquisition of higher technology that India can overcome its poverty and economic backwardness."

Hypothesis

1. Armament is a global issue
2. In terms of nuclear power, despite having much of nuclear energy, India depends on other countries, and it is not self depend
3. India's self dependence in developing nuclear power can keep it safe and secure against unseasonal threats and attacks
9. India's depends on Russia, USA, Britain, France, Sweden, Israel for space campaigns and ammunitions for space campaigns and expeditions and ammunitions
4. The situations created by the neighbouring countries have forced India to make a shift from the policy of disarmament to the policy of armament
5. India is rich in the reserves of the nuclear sources that can help India be self depend in the field

Methodology

The study conducted applying historical-analytical approach is a theoretical one based on the study of the literature on the theme available in the various sources. The steps undertaken for the research include- selection of the problem, study of the literature and selection of some of the studies found appropriate and helpful for the purpose, brooding over the issue, content analysis, formulation of the hypothesis, preparing the chronicles of the details on the theme, development of specific research questions and arrival at findings and conclusion. The methodology included all the steps of

social science research prescribed by the scientists and approved for a legitimate research.

Findings

1. Every country in the world wants to be rich in armament through the development of the nuclear powers
2. India being a lover of peace and non violence is against the use of its nuclear power, but the circumstance make it compulsory to develop its nuclear powers day by day
3. In order to face the threats and attacks and imminent wars of the countries like Pakistan and China, it is essential for India to be nuclearly powerful
4. India is one of the most powerful nations in nuclear and atomic powers with several of its self-developed and successfully examined missiles and bombs
5. The scientists of India are capable of developing the nuclear missiles and bombs required for the security of the nation, and of capable of heading the space campaigns
6. Finding the countries like Russia, USA, Britain, France, Sweden, Israel for space campaigns and ammunitions better in the field of space campaigns and expeditions, India still depends on them for support under certain policies
7. The making of Super Computer by the Indian scientists reveals that India can become the greatest nuclear power provided serious and devoted efforts are made in the field.
8. Nuclear policies of India have undergone several fluctuating phases, and the governments have given them relative directions
9. Most of the previous governments could not promote the nuclear policies properly for the sake of monetary commission as witnessed by the scandals like Jeep Scandal, Boforce Scandal and Rafal scandal
10. India's own weaknesses have allowed the smaller countries like Israel, Sweden, France, Britain and Germany to set their own milestones in the nuclear field
11. Though rich in nuclear resources, India is still away from being dominant in the nuclear field
12. There is an utmost need of making the nuclear policies of India stronger for the sake of being self depend in the field of international security against the unseasonable attacks, threats and wars
13. The present Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi, though a true lover of non-violence, wants India to be an internationally leading figure in the nuclear field
14. India is going to see an incredibly new phase of international security with India as a self depend nation capable of managing the nuclear affairs all independently.

Conclusion

Today every country in the world wishes to be at the top in the matter of armament. In the field of security India is one of the dominant countries. Since independence, pursuit of nuclear disarmament has been an important objective of India's foreign policy.

India believes that the existence of nuclear weapons poses a threat to international peace and security. India's nuclear weapons capability is meant only for selfdefence and seeks only to ensure that India's security, independence and integrity are not threatened in the future. India is not interested in a nuclear arms race. Janta Government maintained that India was fully committed to a peaceful nuclear policy, it fully justified in refusing the NPT as this treaty sought to limit India's sovereign right without providing for any international treaty for Disarmament or Nuclear Disarmament. The Janta Government's nuclear policy, therefore, on the one hand rejected nuclear weapons and on the other hand encouraged civilian nuclear power programme and ensured that no discriminatory safeguards were imposed on them. The steps that India has taken on nuclear security include updating export controls for companies manufacturing nuclear technology, taking "robust strides" towards implementing nuclear safeguards, setting up an inter-ministerial counter-smuggling team, using low-enriched uranium instead of high-enriched uranium (HEU) and shutting down the only reactor using HEU (Highly enriched Uranium).

India is capable of handling its international security affairs itself. The Indian Super Computer is nothing but a reaction against USA's refusal for it to India. USA played a dominant role in the cancellation of the pact of the purchase of the cryogenic rocket engine between India and Russia, but India proved that it was no longer dependent on any country for it when the Indian scientists themselves made it. India has proved its inexplicable potential in the field of nuclear power and energy by developing several missiles and by examining them successfully. Through the MOM India proved its superiority over the other countries when India got this success just in the first attempt, while USA succeeded in reaching there in the seventh attempt and Russia succeeded in its fifth attempt.

Let us conclude with the report published on July 14, 2018 in Economic Times, "Analysts broadly agree that India holds around 100-120 nuclear warheads in its inventory, half of which are mounted on ballistic missiles," said the US-linked IISS report. Currently, none of India's deployed surface-to-surface missiles has the range to cover all of China unless deployed close to the Sino-Indian border, it said. However, India has at least two longer-range missiles under development, including the Agri-IV intermediate-range ballistic missile and the Agni-V intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM).

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