

Endnotes

- ¹ For a persuasive argument that India did not begin to weaponize its nuclear capabilities concertedly until the late 1980s, after it had exhausted other non-nuclear approaches to safeguarding its security, see Andrew B. Kennedy, "India's Nuclear Odyssey: Implicit Umbrellas, Diplomatic Disappointments, and the Bomb," *International Security*, vol. 36, no. 2 (Fall 2011), pp. 120–153.
- ² "Rising Powers: The Changing Geopolitical Landscape," *Report of the National Intelligence Council's 2020 Project*, http://www.cia.gov/nic/NIC_globaltrend2020_s2.html.
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- ⁴ Francine R. Frankel, *India's Political Economy 1947–2004: The Gradual Revolution* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 598. For an overall analysis of India's threat perception and security policy, see Sumit Ganguly, editor, "India as an Emerging Power," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 25, no. 4 (December 2002).
- ⁵ See Stephen Philip Cohen, *India: Emerging Power* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2001), pp. 266–27, 300–301; Nicholas D. Kristof, "They're Rounding the First Turn! And the Favorite Is...," *New York Times* (17 January 2006): p. A27.
- ⁶ Cohen, *India: Emerging Power*, pp. 266–27, 300–301; Kristof, "They're Rounding the First Turn!" A27.
- ⁷ Cohen, *India: Emerging Power*, p. 13.
- ⁸ George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1999), p. 301.
- ⁹ Keith Krause, *Arms and the State: Patterns of Military Production and Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 155.
- ¹⁰ "PM's Speech at the Shanti Swaroop Bhatnagar Awards Ceremony," New Delhi, 13 September 2004, <http://pmindia.nic.in/speech/content.asp?id=21>.
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- ¹⁵ Ravinder Pal Singh, "India," chapter 3 in Ravinder Pal Singh, editor, *Arms Procurement Decision Making, Volume 1: China, India, Israel, Japan, South Korea, and Thailand* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for SIPRI, 1998), p. 49.
- ¹⁶ George K. Tanham and Marcy Agmon, *The Indian Air Force: Trends and Prospects* (Arlington, Virginia: RAND, 1994), p. 13.
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- ¹⁸ Tanham and Agmon, *The Indian Air Force*, p. 14.
- ¹⁹ Tanham and Agmon, *The Indian Air Force*, p. 15.

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- ²¹ Timothy D. Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy: India, Iraq, and Israel* (Routledge: September 2006), 88. Citation references earlier manuscript.
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- ³¹ Frankel, *India's Political Economy*, p. 393.
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- ³⁴ Gupta, *Building an Arsenal*, p. 41.
- ³⁵ Frankel, *India's Political Economy*, p. 470.
- ³⁶ Cohen, *India: Emerging Power*, pp. 142, 145.
- ³⁷ Gupta, *Building an Arsenal*, p. 67.
- ³⁸ For an analysis of the tests and their significance for regional security, see Andrew C. Winner and Toshi Yoshihara, *Nuclear Stability in South Asia* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 2001).
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- ⁴⁶ For further information on Bhabha and his role in India's nuclear and technological development, see Raj Chengappa, *Weapons of Peace: The Secret Story of India's Quest to Be a Nuclear Power* (New Delhi: Harper Collins Publishers India, 2000), p. 74; George Greenstein, "A Gentleman of the Old School: Homi Bhabha and the Development of Science in India," *American Scholar* (Summer 1992): pp. 409–419.
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- ⁴⁸ For Bhabha's emphasis on the importance of "an adequate delivery system," see Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb*, p. 60. According to Andrew B. Kennedy, Nehru did not need to be convinced that India needed this capability. Bhabha tried to convince him to actually begin developing nuclear explosives and failed. Email interview with author, 26 July 2012.
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- ⁷³ Brian Harvey, *The Japanese and Indian Space Programmes: Two Roads into Space* (Chichester, United Kingdom: Springer-Praxis, 2000), p. 127.
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- ⁸⁰ Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb*, p. 154.
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- ¹¹⁷ Harvey, *The Japanese and Indian Space Programmes*, pp. 178–179.
- ¹¹⁸ Tellis, *India's Emerging Nuclear Posture*, p. 252.
- ¹¹⁹ Tellis, *India's Emerging Nuclear Posture*, p. 253. For an extremely ambitious vision for Indian nuclear and ICBM development, see Bharat Karnad, *Nuclear Weapons and Indian Security: The Realist Foundations of Strategy* (New Delhi: MacMillan, 2002). For a more moderate vision, which stresses India's still-underdeveloped command and control, see Raja Menon, *A Nuclear Strategy for India* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000).
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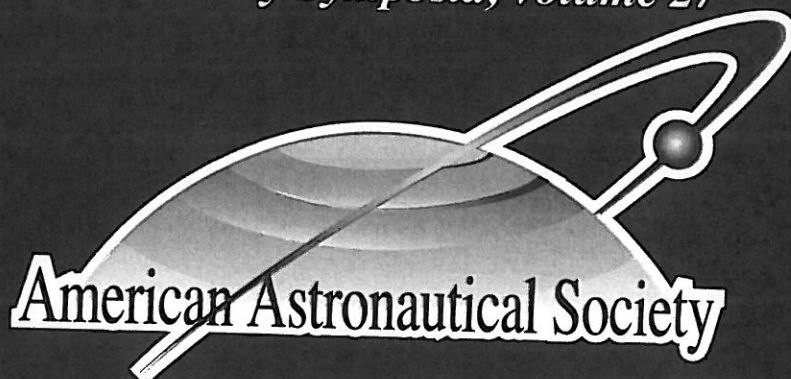
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