

PEACE NOW



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CNDP CONDOLES THE UNTIMELY PASSING
AWAY OF R GOPALAKRISHNAN

The Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP) - an all-national coalition of anti-nuclear peace activists in India, deeply condoles the untimely death of Sri R Gopalakrishnan, one of its leading members.

RG, as he was popularly known, was the moving spirit behind the Movement Against Nuclear Weapons (MANW) - the major constituent of the CNDP from Chennai, and also the Movement for People's Union (MPU).

RG was actively engaged with the CNDP, as one of its major props, from its very inception in November 2000 in its determined fight for a nuclear weapon free India, South Asia and the world in his very own incredibly self-effacing and completely unselfish manner.

He was ever unflagging in his determination to actively engage with the promotion of the cause despite heavy commitments of his professional career as a very senior journalist working with a major media house in India.

He fought nuclear militarism in India and South Asia without ever compromising in his opposition to the major nuclear warlords of the world.

Similarly, he opposed communal fascism in India, without ever mocking at the simple faith of the common people. And without dissenting with the democratic right of anyone to combat oppression in the name of religion and abuses of organised religion.

Though stunned by his loss, the CNDP renews its vow to carry on fighting for the causes RG believed in so passionately with all his gentle passion.

The CNDP conveys its heartfelt condolences to his wife Geeta, daughters Bhuvana and Saranya and all other members of his family.

Achin Vanaik
Anil Chaudhary
J Sri Raman
for CNDP



ON INDO-US NUKE DEAL

EDITORIAL

The Indo-US nuclear 'deal', the 123 Agreement in particular, is at the moment splashed, under banner headlines, all over the front pages of the national newspapers. The inner pages are also prominently displaying news stories and analyses on the very same issue. Somewhat similar, though on a much lower key as compared to what is happening now, was the case on July 19 2005. But the difference in pitch is definitely not the most significant difference between then and now. The hysteric hype and hoopla of the earlier occasion has all but evaporated today. Cantankerous Left-baiting has replaced the ebullient euphoria of the past. The future of the incumbent Indian regime has become pretty much uncertain with the Left, a major prop providing crucial support from outside to the Congress-led UPA government in power, threatening to withdraw in case the government goes further ahead with the process of operationalising the ongoing deal. Never mind that the Right, the BJP-led NDA, and the UNPA - a recently formed conglomeration of a few regional parties, are also no less vehemently opposing the deal.

Apart from the issue of the growing strategic proximity between the US and India, as the 'deal' encapsulates and the Left is vehemently talking of, the other principal stick-

ing point is what happens if India carries out further nuclear explosions? What happens to India's "nuclear sovereignty"? What happens to India's "independent nuclear programme"?

Here it'd be pertinent to point out that the deal, as and when operationalised, would raise manifold India's capacity to produce nuclear warheads, or Atom Bombs in the given case, as in such an event the indigenously mined uranium would be freed up for exclusively producing fissile materials - the feed for the Bomb, while imported uranium could take care of nuclear power production. Yet there is so much of furore on the prospect of further testing. Why? Because, further testing is understandably required to graduate from the Atom Bomb to Hydrogen Bomb. While the Atom Bomb could kill hundreds of thousands, the Hydrogen Bomb would kill in terms of millions. While the opposition is claiming, rather plausibly, that the 'deal' would constraint India's capability to carry out further explosive tests and thereby "nuclear sovereignty", the government of the day is busy strongly denying it. That the main-

Timeline

July 18 2005: *US-India joint statement issued from Washington DC containing, inter alia, the broad outlines of the 'Deal'.*

March 2 2006: *US-India joint statement issued from New Delhi containing, inter alia, the further advancement achieved in negotiating the 'Deal' between India and US, the finalized "separation plan" in particular.*

July 26 2006: *The US House of Representatives passes the concerned bill by a majority vote of 359-68.*

November 16 2006: *The US Senate passes the same bill by a majority vote of 85-12.*

December 18 2006: *The US President signs Henry J. Hyde United States-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act of 2006.*

July 20 2007: *The 123 Agreement, as mandated by the 'Deal' is clinched between the designated US and Indian officials.*

July 27 2007: *The US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and the Indian External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee formally announce the bilateral agreement.*

August 3 2007: *The text of the 123 Agreement is released from New Delhi and Washington DC.*



stream India is so obsessed with the idea of further testing, the idea of acquiring the power to kill millions and millions or at least threaten to do so even when it is totally unnecessary in terms of the current Indian nuclear doctrine laying down "minimum credible deterrence" as the sole purpose of India's nuclear arsenal, speaks volumes of the nauseatingly degenerated mindset of the ruling Indian elite.

Rather unsurprisingly, that "nuclear sovereignty" implies the sovereignty, the right and capabilities, to kill and harm millions of innocents including unborn generations in faraway lands and that the so-called "independence" of India's nuclear programme is the other name of "forced isolation" foisted upon the country as penal measures for nuclear blasts carried out in 1974 and then again in 1998 do hardly ever figure in the ongoing cacophonous debates.

Given such a vitiated ambience, the task of the anti-nuke peace movement is no doubt quite formidable.

Nevertheless, based on a very sober assessment of the difficulties ahead and enormity of the task on hand as compared to its present strength and resources the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP) remains steadfast in its determination and the consequent fight for a nuclear weapon free India, South Asia and the globe. It is precisely from this standpoint the CNDP opposes the 'deal'.

The current issue of the 'Peace Now' is yet another, and important, component of its relentless efforts to raise public awareness about the ongoing ugly madness. This special issue mainly focussing on the 'deal' and the related aspects, including nuclear power - with an array of well-informed articles and documents, being brought out on the eve of the second international seminar organised by the CNDP, this time in Delhi on August 31 - September 1, to deliberate and oppose the 'deal', would hopefully go at least some distance in realising this mission.



A NATION'S SHAME*

Notwithstanding the protests by the Bharatiya Janata Party, the left parties and assorted groups of nuclear scientists and self-appointed strategic affairs specialists, the Indo-US nuclear agreement is now a done deal. Parliament will, of course, see a heated discussion on prime minister Manmohan Singh's statement on how the 123 Agreement that the two countries have negotiated conforms to the assurances he gave the two houses in August 2006. We cannot expect the people's representatives to even this time ask the two all-important questions which have never figured in the high voltage political and media debate over the past two years: Should India be pursuing nuclear power and aiming to establish 20,000 megawatts (MW) of installed capacity by 2020? And should we be concerned about the right to assemble nuclear

weapons for a so-called "minimum deterrent"?

This journal has consistently argued that India should not be chasing the chimera of a Kamadhenu of nuclear energy and that the Indo-US deal is therefore not one that we should be engaged in. Similarly, to examine the bilateral agreement through the magnifying lens of whether or not it will hinder our "strategic weapons programme" is to buy into the dangerous illusion of security with a stockpiling of nuclear weapons. Yet, an enthusiasm for nuclear power and the need at all costs to build a nuclear arsenal have both informed the domestic debate in the country. The left is right in arguing that the deal is part of a larger web of relationships - military, economic and political - which the US is drawing India into and that it should therefore be rejected for the dependency this engagement with the imperial power will create. However, this position of the left will not convince anybody, for until now it has formulated its arguments largely on the lines put out by the domestic nuclear lobby which has carried out a high-pitched campaign that the pact with the US will, in particular, place constraints on India's nuclear weapons programme. So to now turn the emphasis on the larger relationship between the US and India will not cut ice with anybody.

In cementing the 123 Agreement with Washington, India has formally descended from the high moral ground it had taken for decades on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT). Once upon a time, New Delhi used to argue that the NPT had created, on the one hand, a small and exclusive club of

Useful Links

- US-India joint statement on July 18 2005 issued from Washington DC, which includes the first outline of the 'Deal': <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/07/20050718-6.html>>.
- US-India joint statement on March 2 2006 issued from New Delhi, which includes the outcome of further advancement in the negotiations between the US and India as regards the 'Deal', the separation nuclear plants into the two categories of "civilian" and "strategic" in particular: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/03/20060302-5.html>.
- Henry J. Hyde United States-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act of 2006: <<http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?c109:6:./temp/~c109Qh0fMe::>>.
- Text of the Agreement for Cooperation between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of India concerning peaceful uses of nuclear energy (123 Agreement) [Released on August 3 2007]: <<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2007/aug/90050.htm>>
- Statement in the Lok Sabha on Civil Nuclear Energy Cooperation with US by the Indian Prime Minister on August 13, 2007: <<http://pmindia.nic.in/lspeech.asp?id=569>>.



"nuclear haves", which were allowed to legally possess nuclear weapons, and, on the other, a vast number of "nuclear have-nots", which were prevented from legal possession of such weapons.

India had maintained that the NPT had utterly failed to address the objective of universal and comprehensive non-proliferation, the country all the while claiming to use nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes, and insisting on a comprehensive, time-bound action plan for a nuclear-free world. But sooner or later New Delhi had to drop all such ethical claims. This India first did with Pokhran-I in 1974 and followed it up with Pokhran-II. Its hypocrisy has been now fully exposed with its enthusiasm for the agreement with the US.

If India meets the requirements of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Nuclear Suppliers' Group, and the 123 Agreement is passed by the US Congress, commercial deals worth \$ 150 billion may well be up for grabs as India aims to expand its nuclear power generation capacity from 4,000 MW to 20,000 by 2020. In all this, what seems to have been disregarded is the economic and political power of the military-industrial complex in the US, which has been pushing Washington to use the real and urgent issue of global warming to give a big push to nuclear power.

Nuclear power is simply too risky and dangerous for India to see it as a major source of energy, and the expectations whether in terms of its contribution to electricity generation or to reducing greenhouse gas emissions are extremely unrealistic. First, after the enormous amount of expenditure and energy the nation has expended in the area over the past half a century, the nuclear establishment has little

right to protect its turf, which now contributes a mere 3 per cent of India's electricity generating capacity. But the Indo-US deal will not make much of a difference for, even if the ambitious target for 2020 is achieved, nuclear will still account for no more than 8 to 10 per cent of the capacity India hopes to have on the target date. Second, all independent estimates point out that nuclear power is more expensive than other sources of energy - thermal, hydro and renewable. Third, the new argument that nuclear will help combat global warming is illusory, for it has been shown that for that to happen a new nuclear plant has to come up every week! The fourth and most important argument against nuclear power is the social, health and environmental threat it poses to human and all forms of life. The financial and environmental costs of nuclear power are too onerous and the government needs to invest instead in renewable energy.

The nature of the two-year debate on the Indo-US deal in the country, in the political arena and, sadly, even in the media, has shown that both state and society have, shamefully, managed to make India completely abandon a principled position on nuclear weapons. India is now not just an enthusiastic advocate of nuclear energy, it strongly believes in its right to possess and accumulate nuclear weapons. This is surely a matter of national shame as the country sets out in the coming week to celebrate 60 years of independence.

[*This is the Editorial of the Economic and Political Weekly, August 11 2007.

Source: <http://epw.org.in/uploads/articles/10894.pdf>]



IMPLICATIONS OF INDO-US NUCLEAR DEAL

Sandeep Pandey

The US is having a difficult time trying to justify the India-US nuclear deal as part of which the 123 agreement has just been concluded guaranteeing India full civil nuclear cooperation. As the text of the agreement is released 3 days prior to the Hiroshima day, there is consterna-

tion among people believing in a world free of nuclear weapons. After imposing sanctions on India after its nuclear tests in 1974 and 1998, US is ultimately according the status of a nuclear weapons state under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to it without formally say-

ing so. The US is willing to do business with India in nuclear technology and materials as with any other nuclear weapons or non-nuclear weapons State party to the NPT. As a non-signatory State to the Treaty India is not supposed to derive this privilege. However, under the Deal India is being given the benefits which have been made available to some very close allies of the US like Japan or EURATOM, making other NPT members wonder the utility of their acceding to the Treaty.

At the preparatory committee meeting for the 2010 NPT review conference held in May-June, 2007 in Vienna, the New Agenda Coalition countries, Ireland, Brazil, Egypt, Mexico, New Zealand, South Africa and Sweden along with Japan have urged India, besides Pakistan and Israel, to accede to the NPT as non-nuclear weapons States in order to accomplish universality of the Treaty. Under the Treaty a nuclear weapons State has been defined as the one which has manufactured and exploded a nuclear weapon or other nuclear explosive device prior to 1 January, 1967. It would really be a misnomer to have India (and Pakistan and Israel) inside the NPT as non-nuclear weapons State. So, the US is doing the next best thing. It says that by signing the deal with India it is bringing India into the non-proliferation regime as more of India's nuclear facilities will now be subjected to IAEA safeguards. As part of the negotiations India has agreed to bifurcate its nuclear activity into clearly identified civilian and military categories, with the provision of former being open to IAEA inspections. The US has agreed upon this India specific deal as an exception, in spite of resistance from within and without, because it thinks that India has not contributed to proliferation. It is a different matter, though, that by conducting nuclear explosions twice India has violated the global non-proliferation regime, instigating Pakistan to do the same. North Korea was also emboldened to come out of NPT in October 2006 with an explosion of a nuclear device because of India's brazen transgression. India has consistently refused to sign the NPT, CTBT or FMCT. It is amazing how India has come this far with the US, outraging the modesty of international community, and extracted significant concessions in the Deal.

Against the spirit of the Henry Hyde Act, if India decides to conduct another nuclear test or violates IAEA safeguards agreement, US will not immediately exercise its right of return of materials and technology but, giving due considerations to circumstances which prompted India's action, will ensure the continuity of India's nuclear fuel supply from other sources around the world. The text of the 123 Agreement has even gone as far as identifying France, Russia and the UK as potential suppliers in the eventuality of US terminating its supply. And even if the US exercises right of return, India will be suitably compensated. Moreover, US would support India to build up a strategic nuclear fuel reserve ensuring that India will not be stranded like it was when fuel for Tarapur plant was stopped after India's first testing. The issue which clinched the 123 agreement was India's offer to subject a new reprocessing facility, which will be built exclusively for this purpose, to IAEA safeguards in return for the consent to reprocess the spent fuel, even though the current US President is on record saying that enrichment and reprocessing are not necessary for a country to move forward with nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. India will be free to maintain and develop its nuclear arsenal. The Deal will not have any impact on this. In fact, with external resources available for its nuclear energy programme, it will be able to divert its internal resources for strengthening its strategic programme. 8 nuclear reactors out of 22 and an upcoming Prototype Fast Breeder Reactor will remain dedicated for military purpose outside the purview of IAEA. Hence, in essence, India will enjoy all the powers of a nuclear weapons State under the NPT, especially if the Nuclear Suppliers Group of 45 countries also yields to the US-like concessions to India. The US is going to campaign with the NSG to engage in nuclear trade with India after it has helped India sign an agreement with IAEA on safeguards, because it has to seek another approval of the Congress before the deal will be considered final. It is intriguing how Australia, Canada, South Africa and others are only too willing to go along with the US desire so that they can do business with India giving up their long standing commitment to non-proliferation.

23 US lawmakers have written a letter to



the US President on July 25, 2007, expressing concern over India's growing ties with Iran including in the domain of defense partnership. It must be remembered that India is considering a very important deal with Iran on the Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline. Considering that the Energy Information Administration of the US has, in its International Energy Outlook 2007, predicted largest proportion of the new capacity addition worldwide for electricity generation until 2030 in the form of gas fired technologies, which are also better from the point of view of reducing greenhouse gas emissions, it is more likely that India will give equal if not more importance to its relationship with Iran. Deal with Iran is also one of the rare things where Indian and Pakistani interests converge. Hence it should not surprise anybody if the gas pipeline deal with Iran dominates the nuclear deal with US in the Indian and regional context at least for a couple of decades to come.

India claims that with this deal the global order has been changed. And it is right. It has upset the non-proliferation regime. Globally and regionally it is going to lead to reconfiguration of forces, possibly leading to a renewed arms race. The National Command Authority of Pakistan, which oversees the nuclear programme there, chaired by President Musharraf has already expressed its displeasure at the Deal and pledged to maintain (read upgrade) its credible minimum deterrence. Pakistan views this deal as disturbing the regional strategic stability and has asserted that it cannot remain oblivious to its security requirements. A International Panel on Fissile Materials report predicts at least four to five times increase in India's weapons grade plutonium production rate. The present Indian stock



is estimated to be sufficient for about 100 nuclear warheads. This is obviously alarming for Pakistan. What India and Pakistan need, in the interest of people of the sub-continent, is a mutually reassuring deal to suspend the nuclear arms race rather than something which will fuel the nuclear fire. The peace process undertaken by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President Pervez Musharraf is in the danger of being eclipsed by the US-India nuclear deal.

US seems to be more worried about business interests of its corporations than the more worthy cause of disarmament and it has once again proved that to maintain its global hegemony it does not mind throwing all national and international norms and laws to the wind. With Nicholas Burns, the chief diplomat-architect of the 123 agreement, hinting at subsequent non-nuclear military cooperation with what he describes as a 'soon to be the largest country in the world,' we are going to see more of a unipolar world, posing threat to the smaller countries around the world, especially the unfortunate ones out of favour with the US Government. It is quite clear that US wants to court India as a strategic ally with the objective of developing joint military capabilities and perhaps even establishing military bases on Indian territory, that it is willing to play along the Indian nuclear ambitions. The recent stop over of US nuclear powered aircraft carrier Nimitz, recently used in Persian Gulf as a warning to Iran and possibly carrying nuclear weapons, at the port of Chennai in violation of India's stated policy of not allowing transit of foreign nuclear weapons through its territorial waters, is a sign of things to come.

Sandeep Pandey is member of the CNDP, "National Coordination Committee"

THE INDO-US NUCLEAR DEAL

Hamsa Abd El-Hamid Genedy*

During the last 50 years there was a great hostility and differences between India and the US and it intensified in the nuclear arena. While today India becomes a key strategic partner to the US.

They signed a number of accords such as the launching of Indian satellite licensed by the

US, strengthening cooperation to fight AIDS, 40 Indian universities will cooperate with American ones in the areas of biotechnology, food processing, and marketing, the deal for spreading democracy, and others such as the "Indo-US Nuclear Deal".

On the surface, this deal seemed to be a

"win-win agreement" for both of them. As for India, it is known it has a shortage of energy sources and there are restrictions in its access to the nuclear technology as the result of the sanctions imposed in India after its first nuclear test in 1974. However, all this will be changed with this nuclear agreement, the sanctions will be lifted. India will be able to access to long-denied civilian nuclear technology, and will be provided with uranium fuel that would be used to produce as many nuclear weapons as it wants. Also, US will allow cooperation between India and other nuclear supplier Group countries. So, India will be recognized as a Nuclear Weapons State with advanced nuclear technology.

As for the US, this agreement will open new markets in Asia where it can export its nuclear industry: equipment and technology as well as technical workers.

In reality, if we study this deal in depth, we will find the U.S. needs to engage India in its global scheme. It wants to use India as a bulwark in Asia against some countries that US disagrees and dislikes their policies such as Iran, Pakistan and China and others. By doing this, the US will be able to accomplish its ambitious dream of dominating the world and to establish the unipolar system of hegemony in the world.

America's global strategy benefits from Indian participation in building a new world order. This idea is only a part of a geopolitical move against China, Iran and all countries critical of U.S., drive them for arms race and destabilization in Asia.

Iran for example, is a main actor in the global energy market. It is the second biggest oil producer in the OPEC, and it has about % 10 of the international oil reserve. It has the world second reserve of natural gas.

Though 9/11 event, Iran managed to clear itself of being accused of participating in such an event, the war on Afghanistan and the removing of Taliban in Kabul, and the war on Iraq and overthrow of Saddam's regime in 2003, all of these factors with others resulted in the emergence of new geo-political position in the central Asia.

Accordingly, this gives more space for Iran to extend its power and develop its nuclear capabilities, which is not acceptable to the U.S.

Therefore, the US tries to create the image

of Iran as an enemy against the Arab World countries that is more dangerous than Israel so that they may be pushed to be involved in a conflict with Iran, while the U.S. will watch and enjoy.

The same is happening now in India which is being used to send Iran a message concerning its insistence on having an independent nuclear development program while the U.S. will share the nuclear "know-how" technology and fuel with India, although it is not a signatory to NPT like Iran.

Since the visit of the former Iranian President Mohamed Khatami to India in 2003, the bi-lateral relation becomes a "strategic partnership" in energy field. The then Indian Petroleum minister stated that the year 2004-2005 would witness several deals with Iran. Some has already signed and others are under studying.

The biggest project is this strategic partnership, the project of natural gas pipeline from Iran to India across Pakistan.

The effects of this project go beyond any expectations for economic cooperation signed between any two countries because it will enable India to access to energy resources and paves its way to its international ascendancy. For India, this pipeline project is crucial since it can be cross-linked with central Asia and China and with ports in India and Pakistan. of course, the U.S. is against such partnership due to its own consideration.

There is no doubt, the US companies are already dominating the oil in the East Asia. Now after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the US is trying to dominate over oil and gas in Central Asian and Caspian Region. It is along with Europe rapidly building infrastructure to pump oil and gas resources across Europe via the Mediterranean, to monopolize these resources and marginalize Russia.

Moreover, the US exerted no pressures on India to join the campaign against Iran's nuclear file. The American Ambassador to India Mr. Mulford linked the implementation of this Indo-US Agreement with Indian behaviours towards Iran's nuclear file.

At the end, India voted twice against Iran in the IAEA and agreed to refer the Iranian nuclear file to the Security Council.



India pursues a double standard policy towards Iran. It tightens the rope on Iran in its nuclear file and continues its relation with it in a way that reports mentioned India has been training Iranian troops which is being denied later on.

It is evident the India is taking the "parallel line" till now, but with any military escalation against Iran, India has to choose between the bigger global partner the US or the regional strategic partner which guarantees its economic growth and access to central Asia and Afghanistan, that is Iran.

Both China and Pakistan are against this deal, in a way that can encourage Pakistan to do the same with China, especially after the US's refusal to sign a similar deal with Pakistan because of concerns over Pakistan's record as being accused of helping nuclear proliferation. That is why after 9/11 America started to look at New Delhi as important to stop Pakistan from supporting militancy in Kashmir, and during the US war on Afghanistan, Pakistan which is considered the most competitor to India in the political and military fields had its international position been weakened. Now, after the Indo-US Deal, Pakistan fears the ever-growing gap between it and India.

All this could affect the on going peace initiative between India and Pakistan and will further boost its military modernization efforts.

The same will happen with China that presents the most significant threat to both India and the US as it seems an emerging power.

On commentary on this deal, China stated

clearly it is against. any "move towards nuclear proliferation, and nuclear deal between US and India must conform to follow generally accepted rules with provisions of international NPT".

Not only China is against this deal but also other nuclear supplier group such as Germany, Japan, South Africa etc.

China could be tempted to support the nuclear programme in Iran and Pakistan as a countermove.

On the contrary, the US considers China and Russia together pose a serious challenge, which could be formidable force if India were to join them. The US goals is to ensure India does not do this. Furthermore it seeks to break any normalization between India and China.

Also, this deal will affect badly on the ongoing process of discussion regarding the denuclearisation of Korean Peninsula.

Finally, The US uses the selective use of the carrot and stick to tie India to its geo-political strategy and ambitions. This deal in fact would accelerate arms race in Asia rather than nuclear disarmament.

The US is also seeking India into a defence partnership that would make India depend on the US for all nuclear energy initiatives.

Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) calls for the establishment for an Asian and a Middle East zones free of weapons of mass destructions.

** She is the Head of the International Section of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), headquartered in Cairo.*



INDO-US NUCLEAR DEAL AND US GLOBAL STRATEGY

Lee Sustar

Call it global domination, 2.0. Faced with a possible double debacle in Iraq and Afghanistan, Washington is moving aggressively to shore up its empire in Central Asia and the Pacific to contain China's rising industrial power and limit a Russian resurgence based on high oil prices.

That's the common thread linking a series of high-profile diplomatic and military initiatives in these regions, most notably George W. Bush's pledge of assistance to India's nuclear

program even as the U.S. wields a few carrots and some very big sticks to try to prevent Iran from undertaking a similar program.

However, the India nuclear deal-the capstone to a yearlong U.S. effort to upgrade diplomatic and military ties-is only one element of a multipronged effort to initiate, renew, and/or deepen the relationship of U.S. armed forces and their counterparts, both in Central and South Asia and also the Pacific. At the core of

the latest Pacific initiative is the so-called little NATO-the U.S., Australia, and an increasingly assertive Japan, backed up by an upgraded U.S. military presence in the Philippines, Thailand, and elsewhere. The moves in the Pacific are justified in terms of the "war on terror," namely, low-level Islamist insurgencies in the Philippines and Thailand and sporadic violence allegedly carried out by al-Qaeda-allied elements in Indonesia. Yet Washington barely bothers to conceal the real aim of the operation: to encircle China by hardwiring the military's regions to the Pentagon and positioning Special Forces and "counterterrorism" units. "Now we see an expanding network of security cooperation in this region, both bilaterally between nations and multilaterally among nations, with the United States as a partner," Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld said June 3, at an annual gathering of Asia-Pacific defense ministers in Singapore.

These changes - about which more below - reflect a high-energy effort by Washington to limit the damage to U.S. imperialism caused by the Iraqi quagmire. However, the thrust of the U.S. operation-an alignment with India to put pressure on China-was in the works before the September 11, 2001, attacks. It began under India's former right-wing BJP government and continued under the center-left government led by the Congress Party that took office in 2004. "If there's anyone left to write the history of how World War III happened, they might well focus on June 28, 2005, as the date when the slide into global disaster became irreversible," Canadian journalist Gwynne Dyer wrote in January. "That was the day India's Defence Minister, Pranab Mukherjee, and U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld signed a ten-year agreement on military cooperation, joint weapons production, and missile defense-not quite a formal U.S.-Indian military alliance, but close enough that China finally realized it was the target of a deliberate American strategy to encircle and 'contain' it."

Apocalyptic imagery aside, Dyer is right to stress the ominous consequences of the U.S.-Indian military collaboration. By shifting away from its military reliance on an increasingly unstable Pakistan and orienting towards the far bigger, wealthier, and militarily superior India,

the U.S. hopes to salvage its post-September 11 plan to project imperial power into the heart of the Asian landmass - i.e., pressure China. The Pentagon's 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review explains the logic: "Of the major and emerging powers, China has the greatest potential to compete militarily with the United States and field disruptive military technologies that could over time offset traditional U.S. military advantages absent U.S. counter-strategies." That military potential derives, of course, from China's breakneck rates of economic growth and a far-reaching industrial expansion that's fueled exports and netted China nearly \$900 billion in foreign currency reserves. The U.S. drive to control the oil reserves of the Middle East is driven in large measure to limit the rise of China, deemed a "strategic competitor" in Bush administration policy documents.

The same is true of the U.S. overture to India. Under Washington's nuclear deal, India will open civilian nuclear facilities to international inspection, but can maintain separate military facilities beyond the oversight of international inspectors. The agreement comes just four years after India and Pakistan-which also has nuclear weapons-were at the brink of all-out war over the disputed territory of Kashmir. So after squeezing Pakistan for its secret sales of nuclear weapons technology to North Korea and Iran, the U.S. is providing far more advanced nukes to Pakistan's rival. Indeed, the U.S.-Indian nuclear deal fulsomely rewards India for remaining outside the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) even as the U.S. demands that the United Nations impose sanctions on Iran for violating that same treaty.

"The U.S.-India nuclear pact virtually rewrote the rules of the global nuclear regime by accepting India as a nuclear state that should be integrated into the global nuclear order," the Power and Interest News Report noted. "The nuclear agreement creates a major exception to the U.S. prohibition of nuclear assistance to any country that does not accept international monitoring of all its nuclear facilities."

The deal, agreed to in principle last year and finalized during Bush's trip, was dressed up as a means to promote energy independence for India, which imports 70 percent of its oil-much of it from Iran. But the real U.S. aim was to push



China into an arms race and to counter Beijing's growing economic and political influence in Southeast and Central Asia-and in India itself.

India-China trade surged 40 percent from 2004 to 2005, to \$18.7 billion, putting China on track to surpass the U.S. as India's largest trading partner. The two countries are also maneuvering to buy up the same oil assets worldwide, sometimes competing and sometimes cooperating. Washington aims to maximize those tensions and to channel Indian economic development in ways that are beneficial to U.S. capitalism. That's why, besides handing out nuclear technology to New Delhi, Bush also visited a high-tech company in Hyderabad to defend the outsourcing of U.S. jobs to India and to call for still closer economic ties.

U.S. overtures to India are "about responding to the rise of Chinese power and seeking to develop relationships with India and Japan to better manage it," said Robert Blackwill, Bush's ambassador to India from 2001 to 2003 and, as a member of the National Security Council, the man who installed CIA asset Iyad Allawi as head of the interim government in Iraq. These days, Blackwill is tending to the interests of the Indian government as head of the high-powered Washington lobbying firm of Barbour, Griffith & Rogers. "No one would want to let China have nuclear dominance over India," Blackwill said on Indian television earlier this year.

The U.S. turn to India has pushed Pakistan to greatly strengthen its longstanding economic and military links to China. As Chietigj Bajpae of the Center for Strategic and International Studies wrote for the Asia Times Web site, "China has taken advantage of India's poor relations with its neighbors to expand its naval presence in the Indian ocean, as seen by the development of port facilities in Gwader in Pakistan and on the Coco islands in Myanmar and in Chittagong in Bangladesh.

"These initiatives have been driven by China's desire to secure the Malacca Strait and the Strait of Hormuz through which as much as 80 percent of China's oil imports flow, as well as

bypassing these chokepoints with overland 'energy corridors' from Pakistan, Myanmar, Bangladesh or Thailand," he continued, pointing out that in 2005, China conducted joint naval exercises with Pakistan in the Indian Ocean, the first time China had undertaken such maneuvers beyond its territorial waters. And in a riposte to Bush's nuclear deal to India, China will share nuclear expertise with both Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Meanwhile, Washington has already exacted a price for its support for India's nuclear program: India backed the U.S. and Europe at the International Atomic Energy Agency in referring Iran to the United Nations (UN) Security Council over its nuclear fuel enrichment program, which set the stage for possible sanctions should negotiations with Iran break down.

India is also likely to make concessions to the U.S. on trade. After forming a bloc with China and Brazil to stymie the U.S. agenda on agriculture at the World Trade Organization (WTO), India suddenly stepped forward to host a new round of WTO talks in Geneva just weeks before Bush's visit to India.

But the closer Bush gets to India, the greater the strain on Washington's relationship with Pakistan. Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf, who took power in a military coup in 1999, became Bush's deputy in the "war on terror" following the September 11, 2001, attacks, agreeing to back the U.S. war on the Taliban government in Afghanistan, which Pakistan had supported. Since then, the war has spilled over into Pakistan itself, with Osama bin-Laden supposedly in hiding along the mountainous border and pro-Taliban governments taking power in tribal areas of North and South Waziristan and the Balochistan province.

[Lee Sustar is the labor editor of Socialist Worker newspaper. He is a regular contributor to the ISR. This is excerpted from CONTAINING CHINA: The United States on the Asian Chessboard. Source:

http://www.isreview.org/issues/48/containing_china.shtml]



PEACE NOW



GLOBAL STRUGGLES FOR NUCLEAR
DISARMAMENT

TO WARDS A JUST AND PEACEFUL WORLD
WITHOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS*

Sukla Sen

Dear Friends and Comrades,

It's a matter of some satisfaction and pride to be again this year amongst you and stand before you, the leading anti-nuke peace activists from all over the globe, as the representative of the CNDP, India carrying the message of solidarity, to reaffirm our commitment to further reinforce the global struggle for a peaceful and just world free of nuclear weapons "C anywhere and everywhere. I, on my personal behalf and on behalf of the organization I'm proud to represent, convey my sincerest thanks to the Gensuikyo for making it possible.

Yet at another level, it is also quite a bit frustrating that even after more than six decades after the horrific bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, more than half a century after this Conference first commenced, we are assembling here every year not to celebrate the success of our collective struggle, to recall the terrible memories of the days left behind laden with spine-chilling threats of nuclear catastrophe in the cosy comfort provided by the elimination of such terrible menace; but to carry on our unfinished struggle, trudge undeterred along the difficult path ahead, towards the goal still unachieved.

That makes it incumbent on our part to make use of this unique opportunity to reexamine our methods followed hitherto and further intensify our explorations for the most effective means of struggle.

If we take a quick stock of the developments since we met the last time, we'd find that the tensions built around North Korea's nuclear weapons programme, despite an explosion "C perhaps a failed one, carried out last October to reinforce its claim to being a nuclear power with concomitant destabilising effects in the region, have considerably diffused. The tensions around Iran's avowedly nuclear power programme have somewhat plateaued after peaking further to unnerving heights. The occupation of Iraq continues with the occupying forces led by the US

being continually delivered bloody nose by the insurgent forces, even if at a great cost to local populace, thereby causing a serious setback to the American neocon plan for unilateral and unfettered global domination by foregrounding its awesome military might to compensate for the inadequacy of its otherwise huge economic prowess and political/diplomatic clout. The emergence of Venezuela, under the presidency of the redoubtable Hugo Chavez, and leftwing radical forces coming to power in a number of Latin American countries have considerably strengthened the global forces fighting against the big bully, the US, on the global plain. The setback signified by the victory of Nicolas Sarkozy in the just concluded French presidential election would hopefully be partly mitigated by the transfer of baton from Blair to Brown in the neighbouring Britain, the traditional most steadfast ally of the US.

The US plan to install Ballistic Missile Defence systems on the soil of Europe, in countries neighbouring the Russian Federation, threatens to trigger a new Cold War with the Russian economy enjoying the benefits of buoyant oil price, paradoxically at least partly caused by the US war on Iraq and aggressive posturing against Iran.

And last but not the least, India - the country I come from, has steadfastly emerged as a very significant destabilising force in the arena of global nuclear danger. In 1996, it had played a major role in virtually torpedoing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). This was somewhat logical, though not inevitable, continuation of its earlier rejection of the NPT and the (avowedly peaceful) nuclear explosion in 1974. In a sharp further negative turn, it carried out five nuclear explosions in May 1998 to openly claim the status of a nuclear weapon state. As a consequence, much smaller but traditional rival - neighbouring Pakistan, followed suit in about a fortnight turning South Asia into a sort of live nuclear volcano ready to erupt any moment. This turn of events was all



the more shocking and unfortunate as it amounted to complete negation of India's traditional claim to being a pioneering pacifist force. This, however, in the process energised the Indian peace movement, pretty weak to begin with, and the CNDP was brought into being. Nevertheless the events of May 1998 almost inexorably changed the terms of mainstream discourse. The political class became obscenely obsessed with the idea of "nuclear sovereignty" with the rightwing Hindu nationalist forces leading the pack. So it is no wonder that even with a change of regime, India continues marching along the same deplorable path to emerge as a mini hegemon in the region - bent upon expanding its nuclear, and non-nuclear, arsenal towards that goal. And in relentless pursuit of this objective, it is persistently developing closer and closer relationships with the US and Israel - the two most aggressive forces in the presentday global order, without however completely giving up on the other alternative options deemed conducive to the fulfilment of its big power ambitions. The ongoing Indo-US nuclear 'deal' is the most visible manifestation of this disturbing development. And it is therefore eminently crucial to scuttle this yet-to-be-concluded 'deal'. The deal, if actualised, would further cement the growing strategic ties between India and the US and also set a very negative example before the nuclear threshold states prodding them to cross the rubicon. And I must also repeat that despite accentuated domestic opposition to the 'deal' from the proponents of "nuclear sovereignty", the approval of the 'deal' by the NSG remains the weakest link in the chain, as I had made out the last year as well. We have to take due note of this aspect.

It is specifically against this overall disturbing backdrop, the issue of Article 9 of the post-Second World War Constitution of Japan, which is popularly known as the Peace Constitution, has acquired critical salience. The ill-conceived attempt by Japan's incumbent rulers to alter, nay trash, the defining feature of the Peace Constitution - the Article 9, is an extremely serious negative development.

As the only A-bombed country in the world, Japan enjoys a unique moral authority in the arena of global fight for universal elimina-

tion of the menace posed by the very existence of nuclear weapons. Hence, such a despicable move need be countered just not by the Japanese peace activists but also at the global level by the global peace movement in the most determined manner. And we cannot afford to lower our vigil just because the ruling LDP has suffered serious electoral setback in the recent days.

The road ahead towards global nuclear disarmament would understandably consist of multiple tracks. We must continue to draw strength from the very first resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly under the terrific impact of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We must also resurrect the 13 practical steps enunciated in the 2000 NPT Review Conference. We have to as well most determinedly persist with the demand for a Nuclear Weapons Convention under the aegis of the UNGA.

The last call, if raised with sufficient strength, would most likely touch a sympathetic cord in India as well. It is this demand that had been voiced by late Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, at the UNGA in June 1988. Consequently it'd to an extent force the otherwise reluctant hands of the incumbent Indian regime.

Apart from this, the call for creating a nuclear weapons free South Asia, as an ad interim move towards the final goal, would attract the support of the smaller nations in the region and thereby exert pressures on the big brother India and little big brother Pakistan.

With these strategies in mind, we have to keep on sensitising the masses about the perils of nuclear danger, mobilise their latent desires for a just and peaceful world and steer the resultant forces towards the goal of a nuclear weapon free world.

Thank you.

[This is the text of the speech delivered on August 3 at the opening day plenary at the 2007 World Conference against A & H Bombs in Hiroshima.]*

Sukla Sen is a member of the CNDP, "National Coordination Committee" and an editor of this journal



DECLARATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING

International Meeting, 2007 World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in Hiroshima

The International Meeting of the 2007 World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs was held on August 3-5 in Hiroshima, with the participation of 250 delegates from over 20 countries. We, the participants, hereby call on all the people of the world to take action together to build a peaceful and just world free of nuclear weapons.

The abolition of nuclear weapons has developed into a world opinion. The overwhelming majority of the governments are also calling for it.

Nevertheless, there are still close to 27,000 nuclear warheads stockpiled or deployed, with many of them placed on hair-trigger alert. As evidenced by the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the use of nuclear weapons is a crime against humanity. Humans cannot coexist with nuclear weapons. The elimination of nuclear weapons is a vital task with consequences for the survival of the human race.

Having pursued a policy of preemptive attack on the ground to counter terrorism and the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the US Government is facing criticism and isolation at home and internationally.

But the US and its allies are still engaging in war operations in Iraq and Afghanistan and causing a huge number of casualties. The withdrawal of the foreign troops is urgently needed. Pursuing the threat and the actual use of "full range of military capabilities, including both nuclear and non-nuclear strikes", the US is continuing the development of new nuclear warheads and the improvement of existing weapons. The ongoing deployment of "Missile Defence" networks to supplement the first strike operation and the global realignment and reinforcement of military bases are posing serious threats to world peace.

The policy to pursue security or peace by nuclear weapons is both deceptive and disastrous. We do not accept that any country should develop nuclear weapons for any reason whatsoever. However, as warned by people who were in the centre of diplomacy and military policy of nuclear powers, the superpowers' postures of

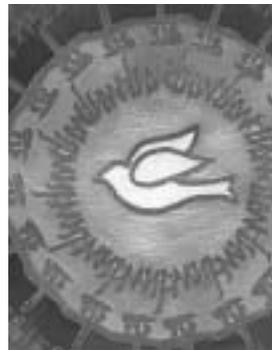
clinging to their nuclear arsenals are serving as an incentive for nuclear proliferation. The nuclear superpowers must take steps to reduce nuclear armaments. The fundamental solution to nuclear proliferation can be found in a total ban on nuclear weapons.

The implementation of the "unequivocal undertaking" to eliminate nuclear weapons, accepted by the nuclear weapons states at the 2000 NPT Review Conference is urgently required. The civil society must join forces beyond all differences of opinion, culture and political status, to achieve this goal, working together with the governments committed to nuclear disarmament. Looking to the next NPT Review Conference in 2010, we urge all governments in the world to commit themselves to actions for the swift abolition of nuclear weapons, and make a decision at the U.N. General Assembly to start consultations for a treaty totally banning nuclear weapons. In particular, we urge the nuclear weapons states to make a bold decision to commence this process.

We demand that the nuclear weapons states, declared and undeclared, renounce the policy to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons; de-alert their nuclear warheads; provide non-nuclear states with security assurances; cancel the plans to develop new warheads or to replace old systems with new ones, and stop the deployment of "Missile Defence" networks.

We call on all parties concerned to implement the agreements reached so far in good faith, including the peaceful resolution of North Korea's nuclear development and the denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula, and turning the Middle East to a nuclear weapon-free zone as agreed on at the 1995 NPT Review Conference.

World military spending exceeds 1.2 trillion dollars. This is making it difficult to achieve the U.N. Millennium Development goals, and resolve the poverty, destitution and other global problems. A drastic cut in armament is an important obligation for all governments, and for the nuclear superpowers in particular, who account for more than half of the world military expenditures.



As the only country to have suffered the calamity of nuclear war and to have renounced war by its Constitution, Japan should take the lead in abolishing nuclear weapons in international politics, while strictly implementing the three Non-Nuclear Principles at the same time. We are deeply concerned by ongoing developments, including a deepening dependency on the "nuclear umbrella"; positive arguments on the possession of nuclear weapons; the acceptance of the past atomic bombings; the attempted justification of past aggression; the reorganization and the consolidation of the US bases in Japan and moving on the path to the revision of the Constitution.

Noting the growing opposition of the Japanese people to these developments, we support their campaign for a Declaration of a Nuclear Weapon-Free Japan, and extend solidarity with the movement to defend Article 9 and establish a nuclear weapon-free and peaceful Japan.

The desire of the Hibakusha for "Never again Hiroshima or Nagasaki" is heard throughout the world. We must spread their message

even wider. By cooperation between popular movements, civil society and committed governments, we must bring change to international politics. Let us increase our action, using the 62nd session of the U.N. General Assembly, the 2nd NPT PrepCom meeting next spring, and the G8 Summit Conference in July 2008 in Hokkaido, and many other opportunities.

Let us promote diverse campaigns, including the signature campaign for the "Swift Abolition of Nuclear Weapons"; photo and other exhibitions around the world on A-bomb damage and other nuclear sufferings; learning, inheriting and carrying forward the stories of Hibakusha, and peace marches. Let us develop our solidarity with other movements against war, for peace, sovereignty, the dismantling of bases, and for a just society.

A nuclear weapon-free, peaceful and just world is possible. Let us rise to action now, together with the young generation who bears our future.

No More Hiroshimas! No More Nagasakis! No More Hibakusha!
August 5, 2007



OF PEACE, CHINA AND P-5

J. Sri Raman truthout Columnist

Leaving India earlier this month as a representative of the country's peace movement and a member of a delegation of the Afro-Asian Peace and Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) on a goodwill tour of China, I had a little problem. What was I going to tell my hosts in this capacity?

India's peace movement is necessarily against nuclear weapons. The movement proceeds on the assumption that peace in the South Asian region has never faced greater peril than from the nuclear-weapon rivalry between India and Pakistan. While calling for a reversal of nuclear weaponisation in the region, the movement also campaigns against the world's major nuclear powers as mainly responsible for nuclear proliferation.

Both peace organizations to which I belong - the Chennai-based Movement Against Nuclear Weapons (MANW) and the all-India

Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP) - count the P-5 (the five primary nuclear-weapon states) as the biggest culprits in this regard.

And China is one of the P-5. Beijing has consistently claimed to be the smallest among the nuclear powers recognized in the NPT (Nuclear nonproliferation Treaty), but never denied membership of the "nuclear club." Estimates of the number of nuclear weapons in China's arsenal vary widely between 80 and 1,000, but the generally agreed figure of 400 suffices to make the movement wary of making common cause with the country.

So, what was I going to tell my hosts - The Chinese People's Association For Peace and Disarmament (CPAPD)? The organization (representing ministries, departments, semi-governmental bodies and the four major Chinese religious groups comprising Buddhists, Taoists,

Catholics and Protestants) had sent a greeting to the CNDP on its founding at a New Delhi convention in 2000. What common concerns, however, could I candidly express?

I discussed my apparent dilemma with colleagues. The closest among them, fellow journalist R. Gopalakrishnan (who, if I may share a personal sorrow with my readers, passed away during my China tour), came up with a concrete, helpful suggestion. In an email, he said I could make the point that, "for China to exert moral and other pressure on the US to follow its example in ... (its) incremental, but important steps (towards reduction of the nuclear threat to the world), it should not behave like a typical P-5 (member), equating nonproliferation with disarmament."

Gopal (as I called him) was articulating (as he often did) a deeply felt reservation in the developing world about the P-5 preaching nonproliferation while refusing to make any meaningful move towards disarmament. He was also speaking for many in the movement in differentiating between the rest of the P-5 and China, itself still a developing country despite the economic distance it has covered in the recent past. The line seemed a logical one to take in any discussion of the nuclear issue with our Chinese counterpart.

The opportunity to argue the line came early on the tour. Scheduled before our journeys in Beijing and provinces into China's colorful past - crowded with emperors and their concubines, palaces and pagodas - was a "substantive" discussion on issues of war and peace in the contemporary world between the AAPSO delegation and a CPAPD team, led by its ever-smiling but energetic and earnest Secretary-General Niu Qiang.

Since the Indian peace movement's current preoccupation with the US-India nuclear deal was well-known, I was asked to explain the issue. I hope I did not sound testy as I thanked the hosts for giving me an occasion to present the least-publicized point of view on the subject - our peace movement's.

I said that there were two widely publicized debates on the issue, and that both were non-debates from the peace movement's point of view. The first was the debate, particularly in the West, over whether the deal weakened the

NPT or strengthened it. The second, in the political domain within India, was about whether the deal "capped" India's nuclear weapons program or actually promised to help it.

Clearly, the deal would not become desirable to the peace activists (unlike some opposition politicians) if it did not "cap" the country's strategic nuclear program and promised demonstrably to fuel it further. As for the NPT, the deal did violate it, but many in the movement doubted that the discriminatory treaty had ever helped the cause of nonproliferation. Quite a few, in fact, contended that it had supplied a major argument to nuclear militarists in South Asia and elsewhere.

We in India opposed the deal because it threatened to increase the country's nuclear arsenal, because it posed a further threat to peace in the region through a fresh nuclear arms race and because it came as part of the US-India "strategic partnership" that could not strengthen the nation's independence in international affairs. A failed, flawed treaty could not avert these dangers. The challenge for China was to push the P-5 towards at least a semblance of parleys on disarmament, if the NPT were to seem worth saving for the peace camp.

The most noteworthy thing about Niu's response was his non-defence of the NPT. He did not endorse me in explicit terms, even as he refrained from commenting on the US-India nuclear deal (which has raised speculation about a similar China-Pakistan deal). But he was at pains to differentiate China from the rest of the P-5 and to point to the common ground between the CPAPD and South Asia's peace camp.

Niu spoke nearly like an anti-nuclear-weapon critic of the NPT when he stressed the need for the nuclear-weapon states to adopt an international convention that held "a promise of total disarmament." As the first step, he said, the convention should call for "no first use of nuclear weapons" and "no use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon states."

Secondly, the convention should envisage "intermediate steps" (like nondeployment and de-alerting of nuclear weapons) towards total disarmament. "Total, immediate nuclear disarmament may be an unrealistic target," he added.



Niu was restating a long-standing position of China. Soon after ratifying the NPT in 1992 (28 years after its first nuclear weapon test), it declared: "China undertakes not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon states or nuclear-weapon-free zones at any time or under any circumstances."

China has also stuck to its no-first-use stand. In 2005, the Chinese Foreign Ministry released a white paper, reiterating the stand and stressing that the country would not be the first to use nuclear weapons "at any time and under any circumstances."

Significantly, the paper added that China would not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against nuclear-weapon-free zones either. Sections in the world peace movement, especially in developing countries, have been talking of the P-5's refusal to guarantee no nuclear strike against non-nuclear-weapon states as a serious obstacle to creation of nuclear weapon-free zones.

While speaking of nuclear-free regions and "the inspiring slogan of a nuclear-free world," Niu stressed a relatively new point in the discourse on NPT and its objectives. "The need," he said, "is to strengthen nonproliferation regimes under the United Nations."

As a third "concrete step" towards world peace and total nuclear disarmament, Niu called for a new "outer space treaty to prohibit all weapons in outer space." He urged the conclusion of such a treaty "before it is too late." In this context, he vehemently criticized the expansion of the missile defense scheme of the US as "very provocative." He characterized such steps by the George Bush administration as "Cold War revivalism."

In an informal conversation later, I told Niu of the concern over the threats to peace in and from outer space, voiced by the Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space (GN), with which MANW was affiliated. "They (the US) are so superior in conventional arms," he exclaimed, "what do they need all this for?"

Going by Niu and his CPAPD colleagues, China can be expected to step up its pressures for a new peace treaty in the coming days. In February 2007, China joined forces with Russia at the UN to berate US opposition to such a treaty. China warned that Washington's resistance

would lead to an escalated arms race in space.

A month before that, China had sent tremors through the world by successfully carrying out an anti-satellite test (ASAT), destroying an aged Chinese weather satellite with demonstrative force. Western observers hastened to tell Washington that the test shattered the official US myth that there was "no arms race in space." The timing of the test seemed to show that it was meant as a major push for a new space treaty. Niu's comments on the subject apparently confirmed this.

I also told Niu about possible implications of the test for South Asia. I wrote in these columns then about the manner in which militarists in India, for example, were seeking to use the test to strengthen the US-India "strategic partnership" through India's induction into the missile defense scheme in Asia.

As I expected, Niu refrained from a direct response. He, however, talked about the economic imperative for peace in Asia and South Asia among other regions. He asked, "Why should developing countries squander resources on defense?" And he added, "Our foreign policy should be designed to help our domestic development."

Washington and the Pentagon would not believe him. They, of course, reject the reduction in the strength of Chinese armed forces (the People's Liberation Army or the PLA) as a signal of peaceful intent. More notably, a recent report from the US Army War College claims that the Chinese political and military leadership is "gradually revising its nuclear posture and even preparing for the possibility of using nuclear weapons in a pre-emptive counter-attack."

No concrete evidence in support of the claim is cited. The purpose of the report would seem to be to justify the Bush administration's plans to produce a new generation of nuclear weapons in the face of all internal and international opposition.

For a visitor to have witnessed the Chinese earnestness and excitement about the country's new economic growth, however, Niu's priority for peace did not lack credibility. "Ever since we opened up" was a repeated refrain in our conversations with the Chinese, who kept referring to investments and other gains from the coun-



try's increased international ties. The evident importance of this factor (to which we will return in a subsequent article) did not make Niu sound either hyperbolic or hypocritical when he talked of "a harmonious world" as the "core foreign policy of China."

As for China-India relations, blighted by border disputes (and mildly aggravated recently by Beijing's reiteration of its claim to India's state of Arunachal Pradesh), Niu agreed on the need for a campaign for people-to-people relations between the two countries, as carried out between India and Pakistan. Buddhism was once a great bridge between the two Asian majors, as

relics still preserved in China reveal, but it cannot be that there is nothing else to bring the neighbors together again. The subject deserves separate treatment.

Can the peace movement make common cause with one of the P-5? In relation to the US of Bush and the UK of Blair, the question can only sound crazily rhetorical. In the case of China, the poser would appear to throw a challenge for the movement to accept and act profitably upon.

Tuesday 26 June 2007

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PEACE EDUCATION IN INDIA: A PROPOSAL

S. P. Udayakumar

All over the world, a great deal of emphasis is currently being placed upon peace education as the quest for peace necessitates extensive knowledge and unfailing assiduity. The widespread interest in preparing individuals for peace on the Earth make us resort to the teaching- learning process. The inevitability of this emphasis upon education for peace has arisen not only from the need to educate the public opinion of the scourges of war, its prodigality or the danger of total annihilation etc, but also from the necessity to promote understanding, acceptance and friendship among all peoples and nations, and to strengthen respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Learning to make a living is not the sole reason for getting education, but there is another equally important byproduct: learning to make a life, a life that is beneficial, useful and peaceful. After all, humans are social animals; their success in life is largely a matter of successful social relations. Quite evidently, student age is the crucially important period, which enriches one's personal life, nurtures social adjustments, fosters friendship and understanding and affects the whole life pattern. Seen from this perspective, one could very well understand the critical necessity of teaching the students, youth and young leaders the art of living together, together in mutual respect, justice, love and peace.

As Alfred North Whitehead puts it, education is "the acquisition of the art of the utilization of knowledge." We need to tell our students, youth and young leaders about our world and its problems. We need to explain to them their part in the solutions. We need to instill in them a genuine appreciation of and a profound liking towards our humanitarian traditions and values such as non-violence, tolerance, understanding, cooperation and peace. To quote H. G. Wells, "human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe" and hence we must educate the youth for peace. But, will any kind of education, given by anybody to anybody under any circumstances, bring about these results? No, it's highly unlikely.

Peace education itself is as abstruse a notion as peace. Any attempt to define peace education in strict terms or to typify a set of programmes for

the purpose of generalization would prove futile, as the most important features that characterize the notion of peace education are many and varied. The aims and objectives, perspectives of the subject, working methods and other theoretical and practical approaches are the decisive variables. Furthermore, place, period, local environment and other internal variations are the major affective components in deciding the kind of peace education, the scope of it, its nature and the values one would attach to it. Owing to these factors, peace education varies from country to country and even between regions within one country. However multifarious the approaches are, all educational programmes and activities collected under peace educations would seek to prepare the students for peace. To put it in a nutshell, peace education sees to constructing defenses of peace and fences of justice in the minds of the younger generation and to making them hold to peace individually in life.

Peace education covers a wide territory with very many subsidiaries. Mitsuo Okamoto argues that disarmament education, international education, development education and the like can, by broad definition, be included as programmes in peace education. The contents denominated by the various titles like world order education, global education, education for international understanding, education for justice, ecological education etc have been categorized by Okamoto into four types of peace education.¹ The first is seeing peace education as criticism of war. The basic view here is that peace is absence of war (negative peace). Content of this type includes teaching concerning the legacy of war experience, scientific explanation of the causes of war and conditions of peace, promotion of international understanding as a preventive to war etc. The second type is considering peace education as liberation. Here, a new concept of peace, positive peace (which is defined as that social condition characterized by economic independence, a stable order, social justice, human rights and welfare) is presupposed. Liberation from poverty, ignorance, discrimination and oppression etc is seen as the objective goal for peace education here.



The third type is regarding peace education as a learning process. In this type, peace education is grasped as a learning process towards inter-personal maturity on the basis of the unity between theory and practice on the one hand, and critical understanding of history and society on the other. The fourth type is holding peace education as lifestyle movements: it rests upon the realization that warfare and war preparations are intimately bound up with the fact that the over-production and extravagance of the nations at the centre have been gained at the expense of the poverty and underdevelopment of nations at the periphery. Here we can refer to a standard of values emphasizing a simple life, human scale, self-determination, ecological awareness and personal growth.

Disarmament education is a major development in the field of peace education. It implies both education for and about disarmament. All who engage in education or communication may contribute to disarmament education by being aware and creating an awareness of the factors underlying the production and acquisition of arms, of the social, political, economic and cultural repercussions of the arms race and of the grave danger for the survival of humanity of the existence and potential use nuclear weapons.² Similarly, development education is another field which explores the development issues and focuses on the development process. Obviously, the content of development education in a developing country like India is entirely different from that of a developed country. Given the present situation in India, creating a deeper consciousness and awareness of our development problems among our students and designing programmes of personal involvement in the development activities will open up new vistas in our development process. Nevertheless, we can find a very strong correlation between development education and environmental education.

The wider view of the meaning of peace gives rise to several innovations in the domain of peace education, viz. teaching of human rights and fundamental freedoms, education for international understanding, education about the UN, its other non-formal peace education programmes such as UN students' association, Unesco clubs, Unesco Associated Schools Project and so forth. Quite conspicuously, both the conceptual and the practical approaches must be delineated.

Having developed a theoretical framework and drawn up policy prescriptions for carrying out peace education programmes and activities, we should attend to curriculum change. Indeed, peace education demands the modification of the existing educational system rather than mere expansion of it.

In the case of India, S. K. Chatterji points out that "the geographical boundaries of India make the country rather like a pocket, where whatever ethnic stocks arrive stay on to attain a complete development, participating in the life already existing in the country and enriching it with new elements and contributions. This has been a fact of primary importance which we must take into consideration in evaluating the culture of India and in tracing its history." Although caste oppression, untouchability, gender discrimination and other cruelties existed (and continue to exist) in India, Indian culture has been marked by acceptance, catholicity, and innate conclusiveness which refuses to be taken away by doctrinal divergences. All these factors have facilitated the commingling and constant cultural exchanges of tribes, races, religions, and ethnic groups with grave doctrinal, philosophical and ideological differences.

Islam, which came to conquer, compromised and became Indianized in the form of Sufism, and Islam influenced Hindu reformation thoughts of the nineteenth century. Indian culture, characterized by a profound understanding of the nature of humans and their relations with other beings and the universe, is absorbing all the essentials in the Western scientific civilization, and the inherent Europeanism in it has made it possible to understand the Christian culture. This ancient culture of India was taken to many contiguous lands in Asia. At the time when improved means of communication like printing press and rail road were about to hasten the cultural communication, advent of political changes and aspirations, movement for independence, fears of dominance and dependence and all such sorts of influences gave rise to insistence on cultural independence and actual divide. The South Asian scene, which was once described as 'harmony of contrasts', gave a different picture. The contrasts with strong political and psychological undercurrents became violent and caused recurrent divisions.

But recently, there has been a rejuvenated will to see the harmony through regional coop-



eration efforts, and bilateral transactions and dialogues. After all, there are many cross-cutting alliances and allegiances. One of the main philosophic-religious schools of Indian culture, Buddhism, reigns supreme in Sri Lanka, where the minority Tamils share their language and religion with the people of Tamil Nadu in India. Besides the Tamils, there are other 'language-culture' groups represented by the Urdu-speakers in Pakistan and India, Bengali-speakers in Bangladesh and West Bengal (India), and Sindhi, Punjabi and Nepali speakers across the borders of Pakistan, India and Nepal. If Pakistan, or Bangladesh, or Maldives claims preponderance of Islam, India too possesses eminence in Islamic culture as it has the second largest Muslim population in the world. Signaling India's unique identity, Hinduism and Buddhism offer a basis of understanding with the Himalayan kingdoms of Nepal and Bhutan.

Furthermore, there is ample scope to define commonalities on the foundations of philosophy, ethics and religion, literature, theater, music, dancing, painting, sculpture, architecture, and even minor arts such as wood-carving, copper and cloisonné work, carpet making, earthenware etc. The wind and the limbs, the brush and the chisel, the trowel, the pen and the very spirit itself strengthen the fabric of the rich cultural milieu of South Asia with same basic character - emphasis on melody in music, traditional and stylized form in dance, free variations in painting, monumentalism in sculpture, lyricism in poems, and realism in stories. Religious fervor, fervent wedlock, strong affinity to family, respect for elders, and hosts of other cultural habits and customs too contribute to the spinning of the regional cultural web. In spite of all these, South Asian countries may not be simply lumped together culturally; it is even less likely under the present circumstances marked by divided politics, diverse allegiances, differing perspectives and cultural policies etc. Maybe a good compromise would be engaging in peace education activities in one's country without overlooking the larger regional backdrop.

The peace education we plan should be carefully adapted in kind, in amount, and in distribution. The major point we have to reckon with while deciding the quality of teaching to be given is to understand the subcultures of India as a prerequisite to develop world-mindedness. It is

highly difficult to specify the exact amount of peace education. But it is worth taking note of some of the basic questions in distribution. First, too few teachers are capable of meeting the requirements and values dictated by peace education, which is crucial for favorably affecting the awareness and behavior of young minds. Second, a trite description and vague discussion will prove as useless as mere cramming up details unless a solution is specifically mentioned and the means of implementation are spelled out. Third, the form and content of peace education is quite unique and so it does not go with the conventional treatment. Evaluation, for example is a rather difficult process as the teaching aims at the essence of individuals. There are many more related things which demand our prudent concern.

It is important to remember that peace education is not an additional academic subject we add to the existing system. Instead, it is the general orientation that we introduce in the existing subjects, textbooks and teacher discourses. For instance, the Sociology textbooks could underscore the fact that peaceful coexistence is an objective requirement for peaceful development, and vice versa. In the physics textbooks, emphasis could be laid on the need to fight for a ban on nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and international agreements in this field. The biology books could explain, among other things, the deadly effects of exposure to radioactivity on human beings. Needless to say, one who wills the end wills the means. Though international comparisons are difficult, general lessons and indicative suggestions can be had from international experiences also.

The challenge for educators all over the globe is to choose between going ahead with the present effete educational system, or preparing our younger generation for the kind of life on the Earth each and everyone of us aspires. To use Swami Vivekananda's categorization, should we teach them just 'to know' or 'to be?'

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NUCLEAR POWER
AND POPULAR STRUGGLES

NO TO NUKES

Los Angeles Times Editorial

It's Tempting To Turn To Nuclear Plants to Combat Climate Change, But Alternatives Are Safer and Cheaper.

Japan sees nuclear power as a solution to global warming, but it's paying a price. Last week, a magnitude 6.8 earthquake caused dozens of problems at the world's biggest nuclear plant, leading to releases of radioactive elements into the air and ocean and an indefinite shutdown. Government and company officials initially downplayed the incident and stuck to the official line that the country's nuclear plants are earthquake-proof, but they gave way in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Japan has a sordid history of serious nuclear accidents or spills followed by cover-ups.

It isn't alone. The U.S. government allows nuclear plants to operate under a level of secrecy usually reserved for the national security apparatus. Last year, for example, about nine gallons of highly enriched uranium spilled at a processing plant in Tennessee, forming a puddle a few feet from an elevator shaft. Had it dripped into the shaft, it might have formed a critical mass sufficient for a chain reaction, releasing enough radiation to kill or burn workers nearby. A report on the accident from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission was hidden from the public, and only came to light because one of the commissioners wrote a memo on it that became part of the public record.

The dream that nuclear power would turn atomic fission into a force for good rather than destruction unraveled with the Three Mile Island disaster in 1979 and the Chernobyl meltdown in 1986. No U.S. utility has ordered a new nuclear plant since 1978 (that order was later canceled), and until recently it seemed none ever would. But rising natural gas prices and worries about global warming have put the nuclear industry back on track. Many respected academics and environmentalists argue that nuclear power must be part of any solution to climate change because nuclear power plants don't release greenhouse gases.

They make a weak case. The enormous cost of building nuclear plants, the reluctance of

investors to fund them, community opposition and an endless controversy over what to do with the waste ensure that ramping up the nuclear infrastructure will be a slow process - far too slow to make a difference on global warming. That's just as well, because nuclear power is extremely risky. What's more, there are cleaner, cheaper, faster alternatives that come with none of the risks.

GLOWING PAINS

Modern nuclear plants are much safer than the Soviet-era monstrosity at Chernobyl. But accidents can and frequently do happen. The Union of Concerned Scientists cites 51 cases at 41 U.S. nuclear plants in which reactors have been shut down for more than a year as evidence of serious and widespread safety problems.

Nuclear plants are also considered attractive terrorist targets, though that risk too has been reduced. Provisions in the 2005 energy bill required threat assessments at nuclear plants and background checks on workers. What hasn't improved much is the risk of spills or even meltdowns in the event of natural disasters such as earthquakes, making it mystifying why anyone would consider building reactors in seismically unstable places like Japan (or California, which has two, one at San Onofre and the other in Morro Bay).

Weapons proliferation is an even more serious concern. The uranium used in nuclear reactors isn't concentrated enough for anything but a dirty bomb, but the same labs that enrich uranium for nuclear fuel can be used to create weapons-grade uranium. Thus any country, such as Iran, that pursues uranium enrichment for nuclear power might also be building a bomb factory. It would be more than a little hypocritical for the U.S. to expand its own nuclear power capacity while forbidding countries it doesn't like from doing the same.

The risks increase when spent fuel is recycled. Five countries reprocess their spent nuclear fuel, and the Bush administration is pushing strongly to do the same in the U.S. Reprocessing involves separating plutonium from other mate-



rials to create new fuel. Plutonium is an excellent bomb material, and it's much easier to steal than enriched uranium. Spent fuel is so radioactive that it would burn a prospective thief to death, while plutonium could be carried out of a processing center in one's pocket. In Japan, 200 kilograms of plutonium from a waste recycling plant have gone missing; in Britain, 30 kilograms can't be accounted for. These have been officially dismissed as clerical errors, but the nuclear industry has never been noted for its truthfulness or transparency. The bomb dropped on Nagasaki contained six kilograms.

Technology might be able to solve the recycling problem, but the question of what to do with the waste defies answers. Even the recycling process leaves behind highly radioactive waste that has to be disposed of. This isn't a temporary issue: Nuclear waste remains hazardous for tens of thousands of years. The only way to get rid of it is to put it in containers and bury it deep underground - and pray that geological shifts or excavations by future generations that have forgotten where it's buried don't unleash it on the surface.

No country in the world has yet built a permanent underground waste repository, though Finland has come the closest. In the U.S., Congress has been struggling for decades to build a dump at Yucca Mountain in Nevada but has been unable to overcome fierce local opposition. One can hardly blame the Nevadans. Not many people would want 70,000 metric tons of nuclear waste buried in their neighborhood or transported through it on the way to the dump.

The result is that nuclear waste is stored on-site at the power plants, increasing the risk of leaks and the danger to plant workers. Eventually, we'll run out of space for it.

GOIN' FISSION?

Given the drawbacks, it's surprising that anybody would seriously consider a nuclear renaissance. But interest is surging; the NRC expects applications for up to 28 new reactors in the next two years. Even California, which has a 31-year-old ban on construction of nuclear plants, is looking into it. Last month, the state Energy Commission held a hearing on nuclear power, and a group of Fresno businessmen plans a ballot measure to assess voter interest in rescinding the state's ban.

Behind all this is a perception that nuclear power is needed to help fight climate change. But there's little chance that nuclear plants could be built quickly enough to make much difference. The existing 104 nuclear plants in the U.S., which supply roughly 20% of the nation's electricity, are old and nearing the end of their useful lives. Just to replace them would require building a new reactor every four or five months for the next 40 years. To significantly increase the nation's nuclear capacity would require far more.

The average nuclear plant is estimated to cost about \$4 billion. Because of the risks involved, there is scarce interest among investors in putting up the needed capital. Nor have tax incentives and subsidies been enough to lure them. In part, that's because the regulatory process for new plants is glacially slow. The newest nuclear plant in the U.S. opened in 1996, after having been ordered in 1970 - a 26-year gap. Though a carbon tax or carbon trading might someday make the economics of nuclear power more attractive, and the NRC has taken steps to speed its assessments, community opposition remains high, and it could still take more than a decade to get a plant built.

Meanwhile, a 2006 study by the Institute for Energy and Environmental Research found that for nuclear power to play a meaningful role in cutting greenhouse gas emissions, the world would need to build a new plant every one to two weeks until mid-century. Even if that were feasible, it would overwhelm the handful of companies that make specialized parts for nuclear plants, sending costs through the roof.

The accelerating threat of global warming requires innovation and may demand risk-taking, but there are better options than nuclear power. A combination of energy-efficiency measures, renewable power like wind and solar, and decentralized power generators are already producing more energy worldwide than nuclear power plants. Their use is expanding more quickly, and the decentralized approach they represent is more attractive on several levels. One fast-growing technology allows commercial buildings or complexes, such as schools, hospitals, hotels or offices, to generate their own electricity and hot water with micro-turbines fueled by natural gas or even biofuel, much



more efficiently than utilities can do it and with far lower emissions.

The potential for wind power alone is nearly limitless and, according to a May report by research firm Standard & Poor's, it's cheaper to produce than nuclear power. Further, the amount of electricity that could be generated simply by making existing non-nuclear power plants more efficient is staggering. On average, coal plants operate at 30% efficiency worldwide, but newer plants operate at 46%. If the world average could be raised to 42%, it would save the same amount of carbon as building 800 nuclear plants.

Nevertheless, the U.S. government spends more on nuclear power than it does on renewables and efficiency. Taxpayer subsidies to the nuclear industry amounted to \$9 billion 2006, according to Doug Koplou, a researcher based

in Cambridge, Mass., whose Earth Track consultancy monitors energy spending. Renewable power sources, including hydropower but not ethanol, got \$6 billion, and \$2 billion went toward conservation.

That's out of whack. Some countries - notably France, which gets nearly 80% of its power from nuclear plants and has never had a major accident - have made nuclear energy work, but at a high cost. The state-owned French power monopoly is severely indebted, and although France recycles its waste, it is no closer than the U.S. to approving a permanent repository. Tax dollars are better spent on windmills than on cooling towers.

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LIES AND LEAKS

(The Earthquake That Screamed "No Nukes!")

By HARVEY WASSERMAN

The massive earthquake that shook Japan this week [on July 16] nearly killed millions in a nuclear apocalypse.

It also produced one of the most terrifying sentences ever buried in a newspaper. As reported deep in the New York Times, the Tokyo Electric Company has admitted that "the force of the shaking caused by the earthquake had exceeded the design limits of the reactors, suggesting that the plant's builders had underestimated the strength of possible earthquakes in the region."

There are 55 reactors in Japan. Virtually all of them are on or near major earthquake faults. Kashiwazaki alone hosts seven, four of which were forced into the dangerous SCRAM mode to narrowly avoid meltdowns. At least 50 separate serious problems have been so far identified, including fire and the spillage of barrels filled with radioactive wastes.

There are four active reactors in California on or near major earthquake faults, as are the two at Indian Point north of New York City. On January 31, 1986, an earthquake struck the Perry reactor east of Cleveland, knocking out

roads and bridges, as well as pipes within the plant, which (thankfully) was not operating at the time. The governor of Ohio, then Richard Celeste, sued to keep Perry shut, but lost in federal court.

The fault that hit Perry is an off-shoot of the powerful New Madrid line that runs through the Mississippi River Valley, threatening numerous reactors. The Beyond Nuclear Project reports that in August, 2004, a quake hit the Dresden reactor in Illinois, resulting in a leak of radioactive tritium. Nevada's Yucca Mountain, slated as the nation's high-level radioactive waste dump, has a visible fault line running through it.

More than 400 atomic reactors are on-line worldwide. How many are vulnerable to seismic shocks we can only shudder to guess. But one-eighth of them sit in one of the world's richest, most technologically advanced, most densely populated industrial nations, which has now admitted its reactor designs cannot match the power an earthquake that has just happened.

In whatever language it's said, that translates into the unmistakable warning that the



world's atomic reactors constitute a multiple, ticking seismic time bomb. Talk of building more can only be classified as suicidal irresponsibility.

Tokyo Electric's behavior since the quake defines the industry's credibility. For three consecutive days (with more undoubtedly to come) the utility has been forced to issue public apologies for erroneous statements about the severity of the damage done to the reactors, the size and lethality of radioactive spills into the air and water, the on-going danger to the public, and much more.

Once again, the only thing reactor owners can be trusted to do is to lie.

Prior to the March 28, 1979 disaster at Three Mile Island, the industry for years assured the public that the kind of accident that did happen was "impossible."

Then the utility repeatedly assured the public there had been no melt-down of fuel and no danger of further catastrophe. Nine years later a robotic camera showed that nearly all the fuel had melted, and that avoiding a full-blown catastrophe was little short of a miracle.

The industry continues to say no one was killed at TMI. But it does not know how much radiation was released, where it went or who it might have harmed. Since 1979 its allies in the courts have denied 2400 central Pennsylvania families the right to test their belief that they and their loved ones have been killed and maimed en masse.

Prior to its April 26, 1986, explosion, Soviet Life Magazine ran a major feature extolling the virtually "accident-proof design" of Chernobyl Unit Four.

Then the former Soviet Union of Mikhail Gorbachev kept secret the gargantuan radiation releases that have killed thousands and yielded a horrific plague of cancers, leukemia, birth defects and more throughout the region, and among the more than 800,000 drafted "jumpers" who were forced to run through the plant to clean it up.

Since the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, the industry has claimed its reactors can withstand the effects of a jet crash, and are immune to sabotage. The claims are as patently

absurd as the lies about TMI and Chernobyl.

So, too, the endless, dogged assurances from Japan that no earthquake could do to Kashiwazaki what has just happened.

Yet today and into the future, expensive ads will flood the US and global airwaves, full of nonsense about the "need" for new nukes.

There is only one thing we know for certain about this advertising: it is a lie.

Atomic reactors contribute to global warming rather than abating it. In construction, in the mining, milling and enriching of the fuel, in on-going "normal" releases of heat and radioactivity, in dismantling and decommissioning, in managing radioactive wastes, in future terror attacks, in proliferation of nuke weapons, and much much more, atomic energy is an unmitigated eco-disaster.

To this list we must now add additional tangible evidence that reactors allegedly built to withstand "worst case" earthquakes in fact cannot. And when they go down, the investment is lost, and power shortages arise (as is now happening in Japan) that are filled by the burning of fossil fuels.

It costs up to ten times as much to produce energy from a nuke as to save it with efficiency. Advances in wind, solar and other green "Solartopian" technologies mean atomic energy simply cannot compete without massive subsidies, loan guarantees and government insurance to protect it from catastrophes to come.

This latest "impossible" earthquake has not merely shattered the alleged safeguards of Japan's reactor fleet. It has blown apart---yet again - any possible argument for building more reactors anywhere on this beleaguered Earth.

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WHY WE OPPOSE KALPAKKAM AND KOODANKULAM

Papri Sri Raman

NOW that the ecstasy over the 123 Agreement between India and the USA is over, it is perhaps time to agonise over what this means for the people of India.

Especially for Tamilnadu that has offered its thousand-kilometer coastline for generating nuclear power for India.

The government has told the common man, the Indo-US deal is in order to get fuel (plutonium, uranium and such radio-active material) and equipment for India's nuclear power programme; nuclear energy is clean energy, officials argue.

Outlining the government's vision this April, on the sidelines of a Department of Atomic Energy organized conference in Chennai, Bhaba Atomic Research Center director S. Banarjee told the media here, "Wouldn't it be wonderful to have nuclear hubs in the countryside, from where thousands of megawatts of power could feed the national grid?"

SCARY, WOULDN'T YOU SAY?

Naturally, this bright vision of India's power future did not include a picture of plumes of smoke rising from a reactor like the one that rose on July 16 from the Kashiwazaki Kariwa plant, 250km north of Tokyo, after earth-quakes of 6 to 8 magnitude on the Richter scale rocked the area, giving rise to a tsunami that killed at least 10 people.

Japan has now asked the International Atomic Energy Agency to inspect all its nuclear plants and ordered a nation-wide safety review. The quake caused a fire and leak of water containing radioactive materials at the Kashiwazaki plant.

India has 14 commercial reactors meeting 3% of its power needs and nine under construction. The total installed n-power generation capacity is expected to cross 4,000 MW by 2010. In the brouhaha over the 123 Agreement, no one here has talked of a 'nationwide safety review of nuclear plants', perhaps it will come after the horse has bolted.

The area around Kalpakkam campus is divided into nine zones, for radiation monitor-

ing. From August 3, the DAE is conducting a month-long "emergency preparedness exercise" in 11 villages within 16 km of the Kalpakkam campus. Nearly 20,000 people work and live in and around its immediate neighbourhood.

"The exercise will simulate a postulated accident scenario and the police and district officials will simulate 'warning and advisory' functions in the 'affected' villages", a DAE circular here explained.

"The objective of this exercise is to ensure the preparedness of the district administration and the plant management in meeting any such 'remote and most unlikely emergency occurrence' in a nuclear power plant", the statement said, "because of the 'Defence-in-Depth' philosophy being practiced in the design and operation of the plants" (whatever that may mean!).

With 7-8 reactors that will not be under international inspection at this site, India at least needed to be seen to be doing the right thing, even if the radiation in the village wells around a reactor campus or in cow's milk is not measured.

India has 8 'strategic' reactors that it is not willing to place under international inspection. The Kalpakkam reactors in Tamilnadu come under these 'strategic' facilities, though some supply power for the national grid. The imported fuel will not be for the Kalpakkam campus.

If the government's dream comes true, by 2050 nuclear power will provide 25% of India's electricity (source: Uranium Information Center).

The DAE envisions a installed capacity of 20,000 MW by 2020. Two days after a public hearing in June that protested placing of 6 reactors at Koodankulam, Nuclear Power Corporation of India Ltd. chairman S. K. Jain said in Coimbatore, India should "in the next 25 years (by 2032) be able to generate 63,000 MW of nuclear power."

NPCIL projects director S.K. Agrawal last August told the media here, "the NPCIL wants to have a minimum of six reactors in all sites", and Kalpakkam and Koodankulam are two such perfect DAE sites, examples for similar n-hubs anywhere in India.



Noticeably, every official in India's nuclear-establishment has a different statistics to offer, camouflaging how many reactors India will have online by 2020.

Russia's minister Aleksandr Rumyantsev has predicted that up to 90 nuclear reactors can be built in India during the next 40 years. Just imagine the amount of radioactive fuel that will be needed to fulfill this ambitious goal!

WHY TAMILNADU?

What is Tamilnadu's power needs ? By 2010 Tamilnadu will have about 70 million people and by 2020 it is expected to draw FDI to the tune of \$1000 million. It is the most urban state in India, one city spilling into the next town and the next. Chennai's southern suburbs extend to Kalpakkam's periphery.

Tamilnadu's current total installed capacity is 10,098 MW, grid consumption during 2005-06 was 56,006 Million Units (MUs). The cost of one unit of power in Tamilnadu is at present 75 paise, for the first 50 units for household use.

Tamilnadu generates 2,970 MW from four thermal stations, 424 MW from four gas turbines, 2,171 MW of hydroelectricity, 1,154 MW from private sector projects, it gets 2,841 MW from central generating stations (this includes nuclear power) , 360 MW as external assistance and 178 from captive power plants.

Privately owned wind farms have the capacity to provide 3,500 MW and double this by 2010. Another 400MW comes from sugar mills and biomass.

Beaches of Kerala, Tamilnadu and Orissa have 4 lakh tonnes of thorium deposits and India's first 300 MW reactor using thorium fuel is going to be set up in the 11th plan period.

The thorium test reactor will be cost-effective if set up close to thorium reserves or FBR uranium, available at Koodankulam and Kalpakkam. This will be the world's first advanced heavy water reactor which will use the Uranium 233 from the FBRs, along with Thorium 232 as fuel.

At a girls' college function this week, Baldev Raj, director of the Indira Gandhi Centre for Atomic Research (IGCAR) promised nuclear power at Rs 2 per unit. (Economists say that by 2020, power will be much costlier, and nuclear power, with huge cost escalations, will be costlier still!).

THE KALPAKKAM CAMPUS

Of the nine new reactors expected to generate power by 2020, two fast breeder reactors are being built in the Kalpakkam campus, where a test FBR is already in operation. The Kalpakkam complex (80 kms south of Chennai city which has a population of 4.5 million and a density of about 24,500 persons per square kilometer) already has an IGCAR mini reactor, two heavy water MAPS reactors (set up in the 1980s) and Kamini, a test reactor.

The complex has a Waste Immobilization Plant that can keep spent fuel underground, bedded in glass, for 40 years. It also has an Interim Storage Facility.

Plutonium, the second-stage reactor fuel and also used for nuclear weapons, is obtained from spent uranium fuel of Pressurized Heavy Water Reactors (PHWR).

Reprocessing helps recover the reusable fissile component of the spent fuel.

The Kalpakkam Atomic Reprocessing Plant [KARP] now has a capacity 100 tonne per annum, for an annual output of about 350 kg of plutonium but has scope for upgradation. The KARP facility was temporarily closed when six of its employees suffered high levels radiation exposure on June 21, 2003.

A plant for reprocessing of fast reactor fuel (FRFRP) is under construction at Kalpakkam. Eventually, the DAE's Kalpakkam campus will separate even larger quantities of plutonium than the Tarapur facility, both of which can supply plutonium to India's nuclear weapons program.

The tritium extraction plant at Kalpakkam is directly related to the nuclear weapons program. It could provide tritium to make 40 to 50 thermonuclear weapons.

Indigenously enriched uranium was used in the two low-yield weapons India tested in 1998. The material may have come from the Rare Materials Plant in Mysore, from Kalpakkam or from BARC, Trombay.

Delivering the inaugural address at a golden jubilee function at Kalpakkam a few months ago, a former director of BARC A. N. Prasad voiced concerns that the Indo-US nuclear deal will prevent India from doing research in reprocessing of fissile material, heavy water technology and enrichment.



"If we have to succeed in the fast breeder technology, we have to succeed in reprocessing", Prasad said.

For good measure, he added, "If the deal allows us to imports, it should also allow us to export our own indigenously developed technologies", in effect advocating from a public forum that India should be allowed to sell its nuclear know-how to other countries (which non-proliferation laws prohibit)!

THE KOODANKULAM CAMPUS

The second hub in Tamilnadu is at Koodankulam, where six Russian VVER reactors are to be housed. These are Soviet (and now, Russian Federation) designation for light water pressurized reactors. (The reactor at Chernobyl is a light-water cooled, graphite-moderated reactor known as the LGR, which is being phased out all over the world.)

The biggest accident that happened in Koodankulam so far took place on September 27 last year, when a technician who was trying to switch on an air-conditioner unit on the ceiling of a site building, crashed through the false ceiling, falling almost on top of then president, A.P.J Abdul Kalam, who was visiting. Next day, the toughest question the NPCIL was asked was why an air-conditioner was on top of a false ceiling?

The government's great concern for people's safety was also demonstrated last month when local newspapers here carried pictures of a temporary tsunami rehabilitation centre just 1 km from the Koodankulam complex, which housed nearly 800 fishermen's families.

Six million people live in Kanyakumari, Tirunelveli and Tuticorin districts around the plant.

Activists Praful Bidwai and M.V. Ramana have asked the government what the NPCIL would do with the radioactive spent fuel generated by the VVERs in

Koodankulam.

Since the project currently envisages six reactors at this site, the total inventory of radioactive spent fuel on site will be at least 660 tonnes, once the first reactor goes online and the spent fuel starts building up on site for five years, which is the period it has to be kept on site according to international laws.

According to the 123 Agreement, India will have to establish a separate reprocessing facility for the fuel it gets from abroad. This will have to be the latest in technology and cost a huge sum. India will also have to store the 'intermediate' fuel as no one wants to take back the radioactive spent fuel from the imported stuff.

Since the Russian reactors are open to outside inspection, Koodankulam may be the site for a huge storage of imported fuel, intermediate fissile material and a new international reprocessing facility. This can stay on site, leaching into the ground and into the nearby seas for hundreds of years.

The Koodankulam campus is expected to be open to international review, and is not likely to be the site for the thorium test reactor and the two more FBRs India is building, as it is protecting its indigenously developed FBR and thorium technologies fiercely.

Rebecca Harms, a German member of the parliament, recently commissioned a study of nuclear power plant accidents in the last 20 years by seven experts led by French energy and nuclear-policy consultant Mycle Schneider.

After studying incident reports, the authors described in detail 16 "significant events" in the last 20 years, including a dozen outside the USA. They included nuclear-fuel degradation, a fire, a hydrogen explosion and plant blackouts.

One incident this study described is a control-rod failure near the town of Kozloduy in northwestern Bulgaria. On March 1, 2006, an electrical failure caused one of the main coolant pumps at the Russian-designed Unit 5 (nuclear reactor) to stop.

The pump circulates water to keep reactor temperatures from reaching dangerous levels. The system automatically began to reduce the plant's power output by dropping control-rod assemblies into the reactor core to decrease the nuclear chain reaction. But some of the assemblies were stuck, Bulgarian records show.

More than six hours later, a backup safety system was used to shut down the reactor. Later tests showed that more than a third of the assemblies were inoperable, and apparently had been that way for eight months before being detected.

Bulgaria's nuclear regulator didn't



acknowledge the control-rod problem for 13 days. The Harms report called the prior operation of the plant with inoperable control rods "an unprecedented example in the history of nuclear power."

In the event of an emergency requiring an immediate shutdown of the plant, it added, the Kozloduy system wouldn't have been able to prevent "severe damage of the reactor core."

Scientist M. V. Ramana has asked the government, what would happen if the core cooling system in any of the Russian reactors at Koodankulam failed?

Talking of accident scenarios, he writes, "Another dangerous combination could be a Loss of Coolant Accident and a failure of the Emergency Core Cooling system and ... other less severe possibilities that could lead to release of radioactivity" which should have been considered in the Environment Impact Assessment report for the Koodankulam campus but were not. DAE has no lessons to take from Bulgaria.

Ramana also pointed out that the EIA has "not consider at all the possibility of a 'beyond design basis' accident of a reactor, leading to a massive release of radioactivity to the environment".

This also includes earthquakes and tsunamis.

The December 2004 tsunami entered the Kalpakkam campus, near Chennai. It also affected Kanyakumari and Nagercoil coasts, close to the Koodankulam campus.

Yet, on June 10, Chairman of India's

Atomic Energy Commission, Anil Kakodkar said at the inaugurating of an advanced seismic testing and research laboratory at the CSIR's structural engineering research (SERC) centre in Chennai, "The Indian nuclear safety system is foolproof". He boasted that the world considered the Indian scientific community "the best" in nuclear technology.

He said, the Atomic Energy Commission wanted close coordination between SERC and AEC, "as SERC's services were needed for civil structure of the nuclear reactors". Tirunelveli (Koodankulam) district falls under seismically active zone II.

Curiously, Kakodkar quoted Georges Vandryes, the man who designed the first fast breeder reactor, to say that "nuclear complexes would act as refuge for thousands affected by quakes". In India, nuclear plants are out of bounds for the common man.

Was India's nuclear establishment trying to suggest that India would open its nuclear plants as quake shelters? Quakes happen without any warning, so was the official saying that after an earthquake hit an area with a nuclear reactor (when the reactor itself could be leaking radioactive material and dangerous), thousands of quake victims would be sheltered there?

Was the official 'talking in riddles', an exercise the government likes to indulge in whenever it talks nuclear? What on earth was India's top nuclear bureaucrat saying?

Papri Sri Raman is a veteran journalist from Chennai and also a leading CNDP activist





123 AGREEMENT: VARIOUS CRITIQUES

COALITION FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND
PEACE (CNDP),
INDIA CONDEMNS 123 AGREEMENT

[Reproduced below are some of the major critiques of the recently concluded 123 Agreement between the US and India as a vital step towards operationalising the Indo-US Nuclear 'Deal'. The text of the Agreement clinched on July 20 was simultaneously released in India and the US only on August 3. These critiques are from different quarters, from different perspectives - in part overlapping and in part squarely conflicting.]

The Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP), India notes with serious concern that the text negotiated between the designated US and Indian officials in Washington DC and finalised on 20th of this month for the "123 Agreement" - a major step forward towards operationalising the controversial nuclear cooperation deal between the US and India has already been okayed by the Union Cabinet in a hush hush manner without taking the citizens of India, not even the law-makers, into confidence. The media is only speculating based on selective, motivated, and perhaps misleading, "leaks". Yet even the official declarations by both the US and India confirming finalisation have already been issued.

This deal, as had already been pointed out, will have serious repercussions on the future relations between India and the US - and thereby the rest of the world, particularly India's traditional allies and neighbours not too friendly with the US; the prospects of global and regional nuclear proliferation and disarmament; and also India's energy security.

The CNDP is opposed to the deal on all these three counts.

Strategic proximity with the US would only provide further fillip to the US project for unfettered global domination, which has at the moment suffered serious setbacks being continually delivered bloody nose in Iraq, and also Afghanistan.

The unique exception for India, as is provided under the deal, would further aggravate the discriminatory nature of the NPT; undermine the current non-proliferation order - for whatever it is worth, by encouraging the threshold nations to cross the rubicon and in the process gravely damage the prospects of global nuclear

disarmament. It would also further worsen the ongoing nuclear arms race in South Asia by radically boosting India's capabilities for fissile material production by freeing up all the indigenously produced uranium for that purpose while imported stuff would be used for power production. The radically boosted nuclear power programme, following as a consequence, would throttle investments for developing environmentally benign renewable sources of energy including wind, solar etc., having grave impacts on the prospects of long-term energy security. This is apart from the fact that nuclear power is not only as of now uneconomic but also intrinsically hazardous - throughout the complete fuel cycle from mining to power plant, and potentially catastrophic. There is furthermore no fail-safe method for disposal of nuclear waste and outlived plants.

Given these serious implications, the CNDP reiterates its principled opposition. The claim that India's "strategic interests" have been taken care of only implies that India is out to further accelerate its downhill journey along the path of self-destruction by further intensifying its weaponisation programme and thereby making South Asia and the world even more dangerous and diverting scarce resources from social sectors even otherwise badly starved of funds.

The CNDP also strongly condemns the formal declaration regarding finalisation of the 123 Agreement without disclosure of the actual text followed by a full-scale public debate in the best democratic traditions.

Sukla Sen
Admiral (Rtd.) L. Ramdas For CNDP
[Issued on July 29 2007.]



PRESS RELEASE

NAPM Opposes the India-US Nuclear Cooperation Agreement August 9, 2007

The National Alliance of People's Movements, a network of over two hundred people's movements in India working for social and economic justice, believes that the India-US nuclear deal has grave consequences for India's national security and sovereignty, for India's relations with its neighbours, for India's economy, for the health of its people and for the state of its environment. It will directly impact the rights and well-being of the people of India for generations to come. On the anniversary of Quit India call given in 1942 and the atomic bombing of Nagasaki, we demand that the Government of India withdraw from the India-US nuclear deal and reject strategic partnership with the United States .

DEMOCRACY

In July 2005, President George Bush and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh announced a deal to exempt India from US laws and international rules that for almost three decades have sought to prevent states from using commercial imports of nuclear technology and fuel to aid their nuclear weapons ambitions. These rules were created because India secretly used nuclear materials and technology that it acquired for peaceful purposes to make a nuclear weapon. The deal is of profound importance since it allows for India to import nuclear fuel, reactors and other technologies, and will enable India to expand both its nuclear weapons and nuclear energy programme.

The US Congress took a year and half to discuss and approve the new US policy and change existing US laws to enable nuclear commerce with India. In India , the government simply told parliament that it had made a deal with the United States. Subsequently, the US and India have negotiated a '123 agreement,' a treaty that will cover nuclear cooperation between the two countries. But while this agreement will have to be approved by the US Congress, India's parliament will not be allowed a vote on it.

NAPM believes that the people of India have been denied the right to debate the

nuclear deal and the larger changes in foreign policy and other issues that it involves, and to express their opinion through their elected representatives. The nuclear agreement should not be accepted under these circumstances.

FOREIGN POLICY

The United States sees the nuclear deal with India as part of a process of building a strategic relationship between the two countries. The US seeks to use India as a client state in its new confrontation with a rising China and to achieve other strategic goals, for example putting pressure on Iran.

NAPM believes that India should not compromise its national sovereignty or its long standing tradition of an independent non-aligned foreign policy. The India-US strategic partnership and the nuclear deal in particular will escalate the nuclear arms race between Pakistan and India, and upset the India-Pakistan peace process. It will also create serious tensions between India and China, instead of helping improve relations. The deal with the US also threatens India's relations with Iran , which the US considers to be a rogue state. The US in particular is opposed to an Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline that could improve political and economic relations among these three countries and provide relatively cheap, clean energy to India.

ECONOMY

The US -India nuclear deal was first announced as part of a larger package of agreements that included a commitment to "deepen the bilateral economic relationship" between the US and India, and create in India an enhanced "investment climate" so that "opportunities for investment will increase." The US sees India as an increasingly important source of cheap labour and high profits for its corporations.

NAPM believes that privileging business interests means pursuing neo-liberal economic policies which favour the interests of Indian and US corporations. These policies include the creation of Special Economic Zones and other such



measures that come at the cost of the poor. These policies have been followed for almost twenty years and have failed. In 2006, India was ranked at number 126 among 177 nations according to the United Nations Human Development Index. NAPM believes India should follow policies that will promote a just and equitable social and economic development aimed at meeting the needs of India's poor and disadvantaged.

ENERGY

The nuclear deal assumes that nuclear energy is an economic and safe way for producing electricity for India. Nuclear energy has failed in India and offers no solution for the future. After 60 years of public funding Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) produces less than 3% of India's electricity. For comparison, in less than a decade and without state support, wind energy now accounts for about 5% of India's electricity capacity.

To escape its failures, the DAE plans to import large nuclear power plants and fuel. The US, France, Russia and Japan hope to profit from this. This pursuit of nuclear energy comes despite that fact that the cost of producing

nuclear electricity in India is higher than non-nuclear alternatives and each reactor adds to the risk of a serious nuclear accident and worsens the problem of radioactive nuclear waste. The DAE's budget is ten times more than the budget for development of renewable energy technologies. India must reverse its priorities and invest more in wind, solar, biomass and micro hydel energy resources.

NAPM believes that the real energy challenge facing India is to meet the needs of the majority of Indians who still live in its villages. India needs an energy policy that works with the rural poor to develop and provide the small-scale, local, sustainable and affordable energy systems that they need. Renewable energy resources are better suited to fulfill this need.

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Srivastava, Thomas Kocherry, N.D. Koli, Sanjay
M.G, Anand Mazgoankar, Geetha
Ramakrishnan, P. Chennaiah, Arundhati
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LEFT PARTIES STATEMENT

(On the Indo-US Bilateral Nuclear Cooperation Agreement) Issued on Aug 7, 07

The Left parties have consistently held that the nuclear cooperation agreement should not be seen in isolation from the overall strategic tie up with the United States. The nuclear cooperation deal is an integral part of the July 2005 joint statement, which has political, economic and strategic aspects. It is also closely linked to the June 2005 military framework agreement signed with the United States.

It is therefore not possible to view the text of the bilateral "123" agreement negotiated with the United States as a separate and compartmentalized entity without considering its implications for India's independent foreign policy, strategic autonomy and the repercussions of the US quest to make India its reliable ally in Asia. Following from the July 2005 joint statement, steps have been taken to entangle India into a complex web of political, economic

and military relationships as part of the "strategic partnership". The talk of the two democracies working together on a global scale, the growing influence of US-India forums on economics and commerce and the increasing military collaboration seen through the negotiations for the Logistics Support Agreement, the steadily escalating joint exercises and the inevitable demand that India purchase expensive weaponry from the United States.

Even now, the briefing by the US spokesman on the bilateral nuclear agreement emphasises the cooperation India extended in efforts to isolate Iran by voting twice against it in the IAEA and the clear expectation that it will continue to extend this "cooperation".

Such an expectation is in line with the Hyde Act provisions, which looms in the background. The bilateral agreement cannot be seen



outside the context of the Hyde Act. However much the two sides have sought by skillful drafting to avoid the implications of the Hyde Act, it is a "national law" which is there, at present, and will be there, in the future. The agreement which binds India into clauses of perpetuity and which legitimises the US abiding by its "national laws" is something which should be seen objectively for its serious implications.

Serious concern had been expressed by the Left Parties about various conditions inserted into the Hyde Act passed by the US Congress. A number of them pertain to areas outside nuclear co-operation and are attempts to coerce India to accept the strategic goals of the United States. These issues are:

- Annual certification and reporting to the US Congress by the President on a variety of foreign policy issues such as India's foreign policy being "congruent to that of the United States" and more specifically India joining US efforts in isolating and even sanctioning Iran [Section 104g(2) E(i)]
- Indian participation and formal declaration of support for the US' highly controversial Proliferation Security Initiative including the illegal policy of interdiction of vessels in international waters [Section 104g(2) K]
- India conforming to various bilateral/multilateral agreements to which India is not currently a signatory such as the US' Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), the Australia Group etc [Section 104c E,F,G]

All of these are a part of the Hyde Act. The 123 Agreement refers only to the narrow question of supply of nuclear materials and co-operation on nuclear matters. The provisions of the Hyde Act are far wider than the 123 agreement and could be used to terminate the 123 agreement not only in the eventuality of a nuclear test but also for India not conforming to the US foreign policy. The termination clause is wide ranging and does not limit itself to only violation of the agreement as a basis for cessation or termination of the contract. Therefore, these extraneous provisions of the Hyde Act could be used in the future to terminate the 123 Agreement. In such an eventuality, India would

be back to complete nuclear isolation, while accepting IAEA safeguards in perpetuity. Therefore, the argument that provisions of the Hyde Act do not matter and only 123 clauses do, are misplaced.

The Left parties have well known views against nuclear testing for weaponisation, but that does not mean acceptance of any US imposed curbs on India's sovereign right to exercise that choice. The direction in the Hyde Act with regard to the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) is unacceptable.

An important aspect of the Indo-US nuclear cooperation is the relegation of India's traditional commitment to universal nuclear disarmament. By getting accommodated in a US led unequal global nuclear order, India's leading role in advocating nuclear disarmament as a major country of the non aligned community is being given the go by.

While the 123 Agreement is being presented as a victory for India's positions and conforming to the Prime Minister's assurances in the Parliament, we find that there are a number of issues on which it falls short of what the Prime Minister had assured the Parliament. While the Indian commitments are binding and in perpetuity, some of the commitments that the US has made are either quite ambiguous or are ones that can be terminated at a future date.

Under the terms set by the Hyde Act, it was clear that one of the key assurances given by Prime Minister to Parliament on August 17, 2006 -- that Indo-U.S. nuclear co-operation would cover the entire nuclear fuel cycle -- would be violated. The proposed 123 agreement while superficially using the original wording of the Joint Statement of 2005, "full civilian nuclear co-operation", denies co-operation or access in any form whatsoever to fuel enrichment, reprocessing and heavy water production technologies. The statement of intent in the agreement that a suitable amendment to enable this access may be considered in the future has little or no operative value.

Further, this denial (made explicit in Art 5.2 of the proposed agreement) also extends to transfers of dual-use items that could be used in enrichment, reprocessing or heavy water production facilities, again a stipulation of the



Hyde Act. Under these terms, a wide range of sanctions on a host of technologies would continue, falling well short of "full civilian nuclear co-operation".

It is also important to recognise that the fast breeder reactors under this agreement would be treated as a part of the fuel cycle and any technology required for this would also come under the dual use technology sanctions. This would be true even if future fast breeder reactors were put in the civilian sector and under safeguards. Thus, India's attempt to build a three-phase, self-reliant nuclear power program powered ultimately by thorium would have to be developed under conditions of isolation and existing technology sanctions.

It might be noted that dual-use technologies pertain to a wide variety of items, which are used well beyond the nuclear sector and by this clause the US has effectively armed itself with a lever for imposing sanctions on a range of Indian activities. Even in the new facilities built for reprocessing the spent fuel under safeguards, the onerous technological sanctions implied by the "dual-use" label will apply. This is certainly a major departure from what the Prime Minister had assured the House that this deal recognises India as an advanced nuclear power and will allow access to full civilian technologies.

Another key assurance that had been given by the Prime Minister was that India would accept safeguards in perpetuity only in exchange for the guarantee of uninterrupted fuel supply. While the acceptance on India's part of safeguards in perpetuity has been spelt out, the linkage of such safeguards with fuel supply in perpetuity remains unclear. The assurance that the United States would enable India to build a strategic fuel reserve to guard against disruption of supplies for a duration covering the lifetime of the nuclear reactors in operation appears to have been accepted in the agreement. The agreement also assures that in the event of termination of co-operation with the United States, compensation would be paid for the return of nuclear materials and related equipment. This will be small comfort for the damage caused.

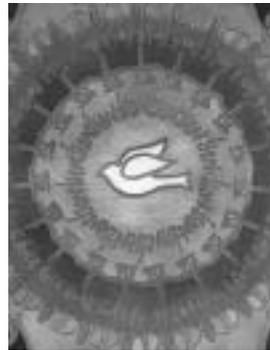
However, whether the fuel supply will continue even after cessation or termination of the agreement depends solely on the US Congress.

The Hyde Act explicitly states that the US will work with other Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) countries to stop all fuel and other supplies to India if the agreement is terminated under US laws. Since this agreement explicitly gives the domestic laws the over-riding power, it appears that fuel supply from the US will not only cease in case the US decides to terminate the Agreement but they are also required under the Hyde Act to work with Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) to bar all future supplies. The clause 5.2 on disruption of supplies therefore seems to be limited to "market failures" and not to cover a disruption that takes place under the clauses of the Hyde Act. In such an eventuality, the US will have to pay compensation to India but all future fuel supplies would stop. Therefore, the 123 agreement represents the acceptance of IAEA safeguards in perpetuity for uncertain fuel supplies and continuing nuclear isolation with respect to a substantial amount of technological know-how.

It is clear that the UPA government looks forward to an agreement with the NSG that would be more wide-ranging than the 123 agreement allowing for access to enrichment and reprocessing technologies, support for building a strategic reserve and provision of nuclear fuel in case of disruption of U.S. supplies or termination or cessation of the 123 agreement. In the likely event that the NSG does not oblige, the terms of the 123 agreement would impact even more negatively than they appear now. The same consideration applies to any agreement that would be made with the IAEA.

The Prime Minister assured the Parliament that all steps would be taken by India reciprocally with steps by the US. The Agreement ties India into long-term virtually irreversible changes in its nuclear institutional structures and arrangements. It is crucial to ensure that India is fully satisfied on all aspects of the agreement as also other strategic and foreign policy concerns before it actually implements its separation plan and placing of its civilian facilities under permanent IAEA safeguards. Not only the provisions of the Agreement but also the sequencing of actions is therefore of vital importance.

The flawed nuclear cooperation agreement cannot be justified on the debatable basis of augmenting our energy resources, or achieving energy security. The motivation for the US



side is commercial gains which will accrue for its corporates running into billions of dollars.

The bilateral nuclear agreement must be seen as a crucial step to lock in India into the US global strategic designs. Alongside negotiations for the nuclear accord, steps have been taken for closer military collaboration. The Access and Cross Servicing Agreement, otherwise known as the Logistics Support Agreement is being pushed ahead as provided for in the Defence Framework Agreement. This would lead to regular port calls by US naval ships in Indian ports for fueling, maintenance and repairs. The regular joint naval exercises have now been widened to include India in the trilateral security cooperation which exists between the US, Japan and Australia. The September joint naval exercises in the Bay of Bengal are a major step in this direction. The United States is exerting pressure on India to buy a whole range of weaponry such as fighter planes, helicopters, radars and artillery involving multi-billion dollar contracts. The aim is to ensure "inter-operability" of the two armed forces.

The Left parties had earlier cautioned the government not to accept nuclear cooperation

with United States on terms that compromises its independent foreign policy and its sovereign rights for developing a self-reliant nuclear programme. It had asked the UPA government to desist from proceeding with the negotiations for the 123 agreement till the inimical provisions of the Hyde Act are cleared out of the way.

The Left parties, after a careful assessment of the text of the 123 agreement and studying it in the context of the burgeoning strategic alliance with the United States, are unable to accept the agreement. The Left calls upon the government not to proceed further with the operationalising of the agreement. There has to be a review of the strategic aspects of Indo-US relations in parliament. The Left parties will press for a Constitutional amendment for bringing international treaties and certain bilateral agreements for approval in parliament.

(Prakash Karat)

Communist Party of India (Marxist)

(A.B. Bardhan) Communist Party of India

(G. Devarajan) All India Forward Bloc

(Abani Roy) Revolutionary Socialist Party



PRESS STATEMENT ISSUED

BY SHRI YASHWANT SINHA &

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE ON INDO-US NUCLEAR DEAL

Preliminary comments of the BJP on the Agreement between the Government of India and the Government of the USA concerning peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

1. The BJP has been expressing its reservations regarding the Indo-US nuclear deal from the very beginning. When the Joint Statement was issued at the end of the visit of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to Washington in July 2005, Shri Vajpayee issued a statement in which he expressed his reservations about the deal, specially with regard to its impact on our strategic nuclear programme. He had expressed his apprehension at the proposed separation plan of our nuclear facilities between civilian and military. Later, when the separation plan was presented to Parliament, we expressed our opposition to it. We warned the Government of India when the Senate

Foreign Relations Committee and the House International Relations Committee of the US Congress adopted the draft bills for enabling this cooperation between the two countries. We protested strongly when the Hyde Act was passed by the US Congress. We have consistently opposed the deal in Parliament whenever discussions on this deal have taken place.

None of our fears and apprehensions was ever given serious consideration by the Government of India. No effort was ever made by it to evolve a national consensus on this vital issue of national concern before making commitments to the US.

The text of the bilateral 123 Agreement has been made public on Friday, August 3, 2007. We have looked at the text and our preliminary comments are as follows:

(i) Each party is required to implement this

Agreement in accordance with its national laws and regulations and its licence requirements. There is no doubt, therefore, that the implementation of this Agreement shall be governed by the provisions of the Hyde Act of 2006, the US Atomic Energy Act of 1954, which are its national laws on this subject, and its licensing requirements relating to the supply of nuclear materials to India {article 2(1)}. The confidence with which US officials have asserted that the Agreement is Hyde act bound flows from this provision. Which act will India enforce on the US?

- (ii) The Agreement is supposed to lead to full civil nuclear cooperation between the two countries yet article 2(2)(d) talks of cooperation relating to "aspects of the associated nuclear fuel cycle". Aspects mean parts and hence all aspects of the nuclear fuel cycle are not covered under this Agreement.
- (iii) According to article 5(2) of the Agreement sensitive nuclear technology, heavy water production technology, sensitive nuclear facilities and major critical components of such facilities can be transferred to India only after an amendment to this Agreement has been carried out. The provision for such transfer should have been included in this Agreement itself instead of leaving it to a future amendment. It is a peculiar arrangement.

Under the same provision, the US will retain the right of end-use verification of all its supplies. This will ensure that American inspectors will "roam around our nuclear installations", a fear which was completely discounted by the Prime Minister while replying to the Rajya Sabha debate on 17.8.2006.

- (iv) As far as fuel supplies are concerned, the commitment of the US in the Agreement is vague and futuristic. "The US is committed to seeking agreement from the US Congress to amend its domestic laws". This assurance in article 5(6)(a) of the Agreement and the assurances contained in article 5(6)(b) of the Agreement is not

only bad drafting but deliberately repeats an old assurance given by the US at the time of the separation plan and remains as evasive as it was then. According to article 5(6)(c), the India specific Safeguards Agreement with the IAEA is to be negotiated on the basis of these evasive assurances and requires India to place its civilian nuclear facilities under safeguards in perpetuity.

- (v) India is required under this Agreement to establish a new national reprocessing facility dedicated to reprocessing safeguarded nuclear material under IAEA safeguards. If it is an agreement between two equal parties with reciprocal commitments, is the US accepting a similar provision for its reprocessing facilities? Is any such facility being created in any country belonging to the Nuclear Five?
- (vi) Following the cessation of cooperation under this Agreement either party shall have the right to require the return by the other party of any nuclear material, equipment, non-nuclear material or components transferred under this Agreement and any special fissionable material produced through their use. {article 14(4)} Thus, notwithstanding the sugar-coated language which has been used in the Agreement to soften the blow, the fact remains that the US retains the right to recall all the supplies that it has made to India under this Agreement. What is worse is that under article 16(3) despite the termination of this Agreement, the safeguards in perpetuity will continue to apply so long as any material or equipment or any of the by products thereof remain on Indian soil.

Clearly, therefore, with regard to fuel supplies, reprocessing rights and the right to recall the equipments supplied, the US has maintained its position as in the Hyde Act. India, on the other hand, has accepted legally enforceable commitments in perpetuity.

There is nothing in the Agreement regarding the reprocessing of the spent fuel of Tarapur which has accumulated over the last 33 years.



Nuclear testing has not been mentioned in the Agreement. According to the Government of India this is a matter of great comfort for us. This view is entirely untenable. When national laws apply, which includes the NPT, the provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 and the Hyde Act of 2006 which specifically forbid nuclear tests, where is the question of India having the freedom to test once we enter into this agreement? In other words, we are being forced to accept a bilateral CTBT with more stringent provisions than the multilateral CTBT.

In his very first statement in 2005, Shri Vajpayee had raised the issue of the financial cost of separation of our facilities between civilian and military. The Government of India has kept mum on this. To this cost has now been added the cost of setting up a dedicated reprocessing facility, the cost of holding strategic fuel supplies for the life time of all our future reactors and the cost of mammoth and intrusive IAEA inspections.

In the separation plan prepared under the surveillance of the US, two thirds of our reactors will be put in the civilian category under safeguards. The recently refurbished CYRUS reactor will be shut down. In course of time, 90% of our reactors will be in the civilian category. In the ongoing negotiations in the

Committee of Disarmament in Geneva, we have agreed to work together with the US for the early conclusion of the FMCT. We appear to have given up our insistence on international verification and all countries complying. All these, along with the intrusive provisions of the Hyde Act are bound to have a stultifying effect on our strategic nuclear programme.

The BJP is of the clear view that this Agreement is an assault on our nuclear sovereignty and our foreign policy options. We are, therefore, unable to accept this Agreement as finalised.

We demand that a Joint Parliamentary Committee be set up to examine the text in detail; that, after it has submitted its report, parliamentary approval be secured before this deal is signed; and that all further action on it should be suspended until this sequence is completed.

The manner in which this agreement has been pushed through, leads us to further demand that appropriate amendments be made in the Constitution and laws to ensure that all agreements which affect the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity and national security shall be ratified by Parliament.

*[Issued on August 4 2007.
Source: <http://www.bjp.org/>]*



ABOLITION 2000 (PRESS RELEASE 14 AUGUST 2007)

ABOLITION 2000, a network of over 2000 organizations in more than 90 countries working for nuclear disarmament, today urged leaders of the 45 countries that control international nuclear trade as members of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) to reject the proposed US-India nuclear deal.

The US-India deal exempts India from US non-proliferation laws that have banned the sale of nuclear fuel and technology to India for about three decades. These laws were created because India used nuclear technology provided for peaceful purposes to make nuclear weapons. For the deal to proceed, the NSG countries must reach a consensus to grant India a similar special exemption from their nuclear trade rules.

Philip White, Coordinator of ABOLITION 2000's US-India Deal Working Group, said, "The agreement will fuel an arms race in South Asia. The International Panel on Fissile Materials has shown how the deal will enable India to increase many fold its production of fissile material for nuclear weapons, and Pakistan is already taking steps to expand its nuclear weapons program."

Mr. White noted that "The deal undermines the basic bargain of the nuclear non-proliferation regime - you cannot benefit from nuclear trade if you make nuclear weapons. Pakistan and Israel, who are also outside the NPT, have already asked for exemptions. North Korea may echo join these demands. Some countries may ask why stay in NPT if you

can get the same benefits by being outside it."

Mr. White said, "All the NSG countries, especially those who claim to take non-proliferation and disarmament seriously, must ensure that the US-India deal comply fully with international nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation agreements, principles, and norms. Otherwise, it must be rejected."

He added, "The deal marks such a fundamental shift in the international non-proliferation regime that any decision to exempt India from the rules should be submitted for approval by all the countries of the NPT at their next Review Conference, in 2010."

The text of the working group's letter, along with a list of endorsing members and a list of NSG countries follows.

CONTACT

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Working Group Web Site: <http://cnic.jp/english/topics/plutonium/proliferation/usindia.html>

Letter sent to heads of NSG governments on 14 August 2007 (First sentence of paragraph 3 reworded slightly for governments which are not currently represented on the IAEA Board of Governors) Prime Minister ... / President ...

We write to you on behalf of ABOLITION 2000, a global network of over 2000 organizations in more than 90 countries working for a global treaty to eliminate nuclear weapons, to share our concern about the nuclear agreement that has been negotiated between the US and India. We hope that, like us, your government will consider the deal to be deeply flawed and reject it.

As you know, the United States and India recently finalized details of a proposed agreement that will exempt India from long-standing restrictions on nuclear trade. For this deal to proceed, India must negotiate a safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the 45 member-states of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) also must decide to grant India a special exemption from their rules governing nuclear trade.

Your government is represented on both the Board of Governors of the IAEA and on the NSG, so it is in a position of great responsibility. We urge you to ensure that there is no rush to judgment in the negotiation of a safeguards agreement between India and the IAEA or at the NSG. The goal of members states in both bodies should be to ensure that the US-India deal comply fully with current international nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation agreements, principles, and norms.

In the case of the NSG, all 45 member countries have a power of veto over implementation of the US-India nuclear agreement. For the reasons outlined below we urge you to exercise that power. Furthermore, we believe that the deal is of such consequence for the international non-proliferation regime that the final decision on this matter should be made by the NPT parties at the next Review Conference, in 2010. The currently applicable consensus within the NPT framework is that countries should not receive nuclear assistance unless they have made "internationally legally binding commitments not to acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices". (See paragraph 12 of the 'Principles and objectives for nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament' Decision 2, 1995 NPT Extension Conference). We urge you to make it clear that any effort to force a decision in the NSG prior to a new consensus among the NPT parties will be opposed by your government.

BACKGROUND AND ANALYSIS

The text of the agreement (referred to as a "Section 123" agreement after the section in the US Atomic Energy Act) was released on 3 August 2007. Key features are an unusual arrangement for a dedicated reprocessing facility and U.S. fuel supply assurances to India. In both areas the proposed agreement grants preferential treatment to a non-NPT party. These attempts to finesse concerns about compliance with US law (the Atomic Energy Act and the Hyde Act) must not be allowed to blind the governments of other countries to the broader concerns discussed below.

Since its nuclear test in 1974, India has been subject to sanctions on trade in nuclear technology. After India and Pakistan conducted nuclear tests in 1998, the United Nations



Security Council passed a resolution (SC1172) condemning the tests. The "Section 123" agreement violates SC1172, which calls on India and Pakistan "immediately to stop their nuclear weapon development programs, to refrain from weaponization or from the deployment of nuclear weapons, to cease development of ballistic missiles capable of delivering nuclear weapons and any further production of fissile material for nuclear weapons." The Resolution also "encourages all States to prevent the export of equipment, materials or technology that could in any way assist programs in India or Pakistan for nuclear weapons." In the absence of India halting the production of fissile material for weapons, the supply of uranium to India by the international community for the reactors on its civilian list would still free up India's limited supply of indigenous reactor fuel for the sole purpose of fueling plutonium production reactors, thus indirectly assisting India's nuclear weapons program. (2)

The Section 123 agreement would allow for the transfer of sensitive reprocessing technology under certain circumstances.

But the supply to India of equipment that may also be used in reprocessing, uranium enrichment, and heavy water production facilities risks that such equipment may be replicated and used in India's unsafeguarded nuclear weapons program.

Such cooperation, if allowed by the NSG, could violate the original five Nuclear-Weapons States' NPT obligations under Article I of the NPT, which prohibits nuclear-weapon states from assisting non-nuclear-weapon states in any way to acquire nuclear weapons.

Despite developing and testing nuclear weapons outside the framework of the NPT, India is getting more favorable treatment than any NPT state with which the United States has a nuclear cooperation agreement. The Arms Control Association made the following comment in a Background Memo (3) issued in response to the August 3 release of the text of the "Section 123" agreement:

"The U.S.-India nuclear trade deal would grant India benefits not available to the non-nuclear weapon states parties to the nuclear

Nonproliferation Treaty without even requiring it to meet all of the responsibilities

expected of the five original nuclear-weapon states." For example, unlike China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, India has refused to sign the 1996 Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and it has refused unilaterally to declare a halt to the production of fissile material for weapons-as France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and United States have all done."

There is an immediate risk that the US-India nuclear agreement will fuel a nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan.

Pakistan's National Command Authority (NCA), chaired by President Pervez Musharraf, has declared that "In view of the fact the [U.S.-India] agreement would enable India to produce a significant quantity of fissile material and nuclear weapons from unsafeguarded nuclear reactors, the NCA expressed firm resolve that our credible minimum deterrence requirements will be met." This suggests a South Asian fissile material race may be imminent.

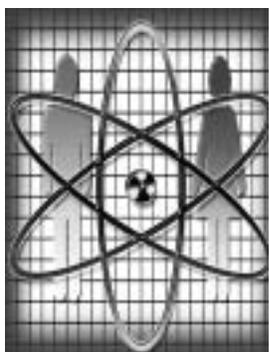
Exempting India from international rules governing trade in nuclear technology threatens to undermine the nuclear non-proliferation order and thereby the prospects for global nuclear disarmament. Regardless of claims that the exemption will apply only to India, inevitably other nuclear proliferators will expect the same treatment. There is a danger that Pakistan, Israel and North-Korea, and possibly other countries in future, will see this as an opportunity for them to lay similar claims.

For this and all the above reasons we urge you to reject this ill-conceived nuclear agreement.

Philip White, US-India Deal Working Group Coordinator
Steven Staples, Global Secretariat to Abolition 2000
14 August 2007

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. ABOLITION 2000's US-India Deal Working Group was established at ABOLITION 2000's Annual General Meeting held during the May 2007 NPT PrepCom in Vienna. ABOLITION 2000 lobbied governments at the NPT PrepCom.
2. Zia Mian, A.H. Nayyar, R. Rajaraman and M. V. Ramana, Fissile Materials in South Asia: The Implications of the US-India Nuclear Deal, International Panel on Fissile



Materials, Research Report #1, 11 July 2006
http://www.fissilematerials.org/ipfm/site_down/ipfmresearchreport01.pdf

3. Arms Control Association Background Memo, "U.S.-Indian Nuclear Agreement: A Bad Deal Gets Worse", August 3, 2007
http://www.armscontrol.org/pressroom/2007/20070803_IndiaUS.asp

Endorsed by Members of Abolition 2000 US-India Deal Working Group Lisa Clark (Italy), Beati i costruttori di pace (Blessed Are the Peacemakers) and Italian Disarmament Network Beatrice Fihn (Sweden), Womens' International League for Peace and Freedom Hamsa Genedy (Egypt), International Section, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization Jim Green (Australia), Friends of the Earth Australia Regina Hagen (Germany), International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Proliferation Xanthe Hall (Germany), International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War John Hallam (Australia), People for Nuclear Disarmament NSW David Heller (Belgium), Friends of the Earth Flanders & Brussels Hidemichi Kano (Japan), Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs Akira Kawasaki (Japan), Peace Boat Daryl Kimball (USA), Arms Control Association Ak Malten (The Netherlands), Global Anti-Nuclear Alliance Nouri Abdul Razzak Hussain (Egypt), Secretary-General, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization Sukla Sen (India), National Coordination Committee Member, Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace Hari P. Sharma (Canada), Professor Emeritus of Sociology,

Simon Fraser University and President, SANSAD (South Asian Network for Secularism and Democracy) Steven Staples (Canada), Director, Rideau Institute on International Affairs, Global Secretariat to Abolition 2000 Heinz Stockinger (Austria), PLAGE - Independent Platform Against Nuclear Dangers Aaron Tovish (USA), International Manager, Mayors for Peace 2020 Vision.

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List of countries which are represented on the NSG and the IAEA Board of Governors: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belarus, Brazil, Canada, China, Croatia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Japan, Norway, Russian Federation, Slovenia, South Africa, South Korea, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States of America.

List of countries which are represented on the NSG, but not on the IAEA Board of Governors: Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine





CNDP IN ACTION

DELHI
(PEACE Week August 6-9, 2007)

In taking up the process of peace initiatives with school students, a weeklong Hiroshima and Nagasaki week was observed in schools of Delhi during August 6 - 9, 2007. Inter School Peace Assembly on August 8 was held at the Banyan Tree School in commemoration of the Hiroshima Day. Total number of 17 schools participated and presented various performances in form of dance, songs and short plays. Students also made a power point presentations documenting the Hiroshima and Nagasaki incidents providing various other related information.

Students presented the hard facts on the Hiroshima and Nagasaki incidents and called for ending such disastrous act of humans. The inter school peace assembly also provided a space for interaction among the students, while it also gives them the opportunity to present their ideas and concepts. The events also helped realising the role of the children as peacemakers and their contribution to make a better peaceful world. This also brought together teachers and provided a platform for outside classroom learning and sharing. A Peace Board with the theme " Give PEACE a chance" was displayed with creative paper cutting and slogans by the students.

Many students and teachers iterated their willingness to carry forward the process, where

students would form a volunteer group and be involved as peace activists in their own schools. Noted film actor and social activist Nafisa Ali attended the event and shared her experience as regards the effects and risk of nuclear weapons. She also motivated the students that they too have a role in the peace process. Praful Bidwai, a leading CNDP activist, brought before the students the current issues on nuclear disarmament and the Indo-US nuclear deal. Anuradha Sen, academician and peace activist, also shared her thoughts on the need for peace, while challenging and encouraging students to be peacemakers and peace activists in their respective schools.

Certificates of appreciation for participation were distributed among the students to generate enthusiasm and motivation.

The inter school interaction provided a space for learning and sharing among the students, the teachers and the CNDP members. Various schools like the Springdales School and Salwan Public School organized "peace week" in their own school with activities including creative writing, skit, poem, and interaction with CNDP members, Achin Vanaik, Anish Vanaik and Satyajit Rath.

[Prepared by Ms. Dalia Kar.]

IDPD PAYS HOMAGE TO VICTIMS OF HIROSHIMA & NAGASAKI
(Opposes Indo-US Nuclear Deal)

Indian Doctors for Peace and Development (IDPD) organised functions to pay homage to the victims of atomic bombing at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Speakers in these seminar expressed serious concern over the presence of 27,000 nuclear weapons on earth today . These pose grave danger to the mankind. They are the weapons of mutually assured destruction. They said that even if the governments decide against the use of such weapons, these could be used by non-state actors or misfired in a natural calamity. The only way is to abolish them and prevent such a catastrophe from occurring. They also expressed concern at the eagerness of the government of India to

install nuclear power plants through the Indo US nuclear deal. These plants could be a serious health hazard. The Chernobyl tragedy on 26th April 1986 is still not forgotten. Our nuclear plants as per reports had about 300 accidents. They stressed on the need for the utilisation of renewable energy resources. They stressed that war and violence are a health issue since medical professionals have to deal with their consequences. Doctors and medical students can play a big role in generating public opinion against arms race and thus impress upon the decision makers. They quoted several exchange programmes and dialogue with decision makers undertaken by the



IDPD and other affiliates of IPPNW in the countries of South Asia as a part of confidence building measures

On 4th August 2007 the Kolkata unit of IDPD along with IMA Dumdum branch organised a seminar which was addressed among others by Com Ajoy Chakraborty - MP of Communist Party of India, Dr Arun Mitra-General secretary IDPD, eminent scientist Dr M V Ramanna and Dr Subhas Chakraborty - Secretary IDPD West Bengal. The Patna unit organised a seminar on 5th August which was addressed by Dr Satyajit Kumar Singh-Vice President IDPD, Dr Shakeel Ur Rahman-Secretary IDPD and state Preesidnt of IMA Bihar along with Dr Arun Mitra and Dr M V

Ramanna. The Pune unit organised a meet on 7th August at the D Y Patil Medical College in which students presented papers and posters. The Dean and Deputy Commandant of Armed Forces Medical College, Major General G.Rajagopala chaired the seminar. From the D Y Patil Medical college, the Dean, Brig. Dr. Amarjeet Singh; Medical Director, Dr. D.L Ingole and Registrar of the D.Y Patil University, Mr. B.S. Mane graced the occasion by their presence. At Ludhiana the function was organised at the Dayanand Medical college on 9th August. Dr L S Chawla, Dr Arun Mitra and Dr Daljeet Singh - Principal of the college along with Dr B S Shah and Dr G P I Singh addressed the seminar.

ANDHRA PRADESH MEDICOS RESOLVE TO BUILD PUBLIC OPINION (To Abolish Nuclear Weapons)

As a part of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), the doctors & medical students of Andhra Pradesh resolved with firmness to work for peace, health and development. In the city of Vijayawada a seminar was organized under the patronage of Dr Ram Prashad - Chairman A.P-Medical Council. Dr V Sadanandam & Dr Sujatha took initiative to organize this seminar. Doctors who addressed the meet stressed that whereas India and Pakistan should come forward to make the region nuclear weapons free, it is the USA and Russia which posses nuclear weapons in much large number should take such initiative. They were critical of the Indo-US 123 agreement and demanded the use of renewable energy resources instead of nuclear power. Dr Arun

Mitra - General Secretary IDPD addressed the meeting and gave a detailed account of the coming 18th World congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) to be held in Delhi in Mar 2008.

In Hyderabad doctors and medical students while resolving to effectively participate in ICAN decided to hold a state conference in near future. Dr Janardhan Reddy chaired the meeting. Drs Tamara Gour, Shyam Sunder Reddy, P Srinivas, Raju, Rajni, Kiran, Pradeep Karmanchi took part in the discussion. They assured Dr Arun Mitra for substantial representation in the world congress.

Press conference was organized at both places and both events were well covered in the media.



ICAN AT AGRA

As a part of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), the Indian Doctors for Peace and Development (IDPD) organized a seminar at Agra, the city of Taj Mahal in the state of Uttar Pradesh on 27th April 2007. Dr Sudhir Dhakre - National Secretary IDPD gave introductory remarks about IPPNW and IDPD. Dr Bill Williams - Vice President MAPW Australia gave a detailed account of the ICAN. Dr L S Chawla - President

IDPD elaborated on the relationship between poverty, war and nuclear weapons. Dr Arun Mitra - General Secretary IDPD dwelt at length on the need for renewable energy resources as against nuclear power for electricity generation. Dr R S Chauhan presided over the meeting. Dr Davinder Gupta presented vote of thanks. Dr Sanjeev Verma - Secretary IDPD UP assured of spreading the message of ICAN. Dr S K Singh helped in organising the meet.

IDPD LAUNCHES INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO ABOLISH
NUCLEAR WEAPONS (ICAN) DECIDES TO OPPOSE NUCLEAR
POWER PLANT AT RAJOULI IN BIHAR

With a resolve to build public opinion to abolish nuclear weapons from earth, the Indian Doctors for Peace and Development (IDPD) launched the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) in India from Gaya and Patna.

In Gaya over 150 faculty members and medical students participated in a meeting at the A N Magadh Medical College, Gaya- the place of enlightenment of Lord Buddha, in the state of Bihar on 21st April 2007 - the eve of Earth Day. Chief Guest at the function Dr.Sandeep Pandey - Magsaysay awardee supported the IPPNW initiative ICAN which is essential to save mother earth. Dr Arun Mitra-General Secretary IDPD called upon all medical professionals to come forward to fulfill their duty to prevent disease and save mother earth from catastrophe of nuclear weapons. Dr Satyajit Kumar Singh-Secretary Bihar state said that they would continue this campaign till the world congress to be held in Delhi. Mr.Shri Prakash an activist from Jadugoda Organisation Against Radiations gave a detailed account of the effect of radiation on people around Jadugoda mines. Abhinav Singh- medical student assured that the students of his college and state would strive hard to make the campaign a success and reach out to the general public. Others who addressed the meeting include Dr Ramadhar Tiwari - Associate Professor Gyane & Obst, Dr S.N.Sharma -Medical Superintendent of the col-

lege and hospital, Dr K K Lohani - Associate Professor Medicine, Dr.V.K.Singh - Dept of Psychiatry. Besides medical students Ujjwal, Mehtab, Rakesh, Pranay and Gaurav actively participated to make the event a success. They assured of full cooperation of their institution in this movement. Literature on ICAN was distributed on the occasion.

On 22nd April, the Earth Day a big public meeting was organised at Patna jointly by the IDPD, Indian Medical Association and Shri Krishna Science Center. Over 300 doctors, medical students, teachers, lawyers, social activists, youth activists and women activists attended this meeting. The session began with a peace song by the popular theatre group -Indian People's Theatre Association. Dr S L Mandal one of the founders members of IDPD, Dr Sajidanand Kumar Secretary IMA Bihar and Dr Devi Singh Shekhawat-Director of the Science Center assured of full support to this initiative. Dr Sandeep Pandey, Dr Arun Mitra, Dr Satyajit Kumar Singh, Mr.Shri Prakash, Dr Shakeel Rehman and Dr Abhay Gaur addressed the meet. A very vibrant question answer session was held after the speeches.

A resolution opposing the government's move to install a nuclear power plant in Rajouli, about 90 km from Patna was passed. The IDPD would build a broader movement to oppose this by holding a public march at Rajouli in early August 2007. *[Posted by Dr. Arun Mitra.]*



MUMBAI

In the run up to the Hiroshima Day, two well-attended meets with college students were organised.

The first one was on July 5 forenoon at the Vivek College in Goregaon (W). Professors Ms. Neelu Khosla and Anthony Carvalho chaired the session. Sukla Sen from the CNDP explained in details the significance and relevance of Hiroshima and Nagasaki today and India's recent role in aggravating the nuclear danger in the South Asian region and worldwide. He therefore emphasized on the conse-

quent need to strengthen the anti-nuke peace movement in India. Asad Bin Saif, a prominent local peace activist, elaborated upon the deleterious effects and dangerous implications of nuclear power.

The second one was held on July 22 in the Mumbai Sarvodaya Mandal. Sukla Sen spoke broadly on the same lines as above. Veteran journalist Jatin Desai was the other speaker. He emphasized on the need for peace between India and Pakistan. Noted Gandhian Tulsidas Somaiya chaired the session.

FREE DR. BINAYAK SEN!

Dr. Binayak Sen, General Secretary, People's Union for Civil Liberties (Chhattisgarh) and Vice President, PUCL (National) is under arrest under the draconian Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 2004 and Chhattisgarh Special Public Security Act 2006 since May 14 2007. He is a leading activist of the CNDP in Raipur.

While various human rights organizations

like the PUCL, PUDR etc., the Medico Friends' Circle and the students and alumni of his alma mater, the Christian Medical College, Vellore, are at the forefront of the vigorous nationwide, and international, campaign to get him released; a number of leading CNDP activists are actively engaged in collaboration with these organizations to get him released.



DISCUSSION DOCUMENT

BUILDING A BETTER AND STRONGER CNDP:
SOME THOUGHTS ON THE NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT
MOVEMENT IN INDIA, PAKISTAN AND SOUTH ASIA

Achin Vanaik

There are always two stages in the process of developing an effective progressive force like the nuclear disarmament movement, whether regionally in South Asia, or globally. In the first phase it cannot hope to change policy but aims to attack and undermine the popular legitimacy that all governments seek to obtain from their publics for their policies. It is only when such disarmament movements develop on a very large scale and achieve a critical mass that they can then hope to impact on actual policy. The Indian and Pakistani anti-nuclear weapons movements are, and will remain for a considerable period of time, in the first phase. But to expand in the first phase and then to transit towards and further expand in the second phase, the pre-requisites are the same - to develop the appropriate political perspectives that must guide propaganda and agitational activities and to develop the necessary organizational skills and practices to carry out such activities successfully. This paper aims to be a modest contribution to clarifying thinking in respect of building a strong disarmament movement in India specifically, and in South Asia more generally.

DEVELOPING THE APPROPRIATE POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Nine years down the line from Pokharan and Chagai in May 1998, where do matters stand for South Asians committed to regional and global nuclear disarmament? The US remains committed doctrinally to developing the Ballistic Missile Defense system and Theater Missile Defense systems, to developing battlefield and mini-nukes, to blurring the distinction between conventional and nuclear weapons on one hand and to doing the same with respect to weapons of mass destruction

so that the use of nuclear weapons might be justified as a retaliation against enemy use of chemical or biological ones. India and Pakistan have not made overt deployments of nuclear weapons systems but remain committed to further quantitative and qualitative development of warheads and of related delivery vehicles. The Indian government reiterates from time to time its commitment to No First Use even as this pledge has now been diluted to exclude non-nuclear allies of nuclear opponents and to allow for possible retaliation against a non-nuclear opponent using other weapons of mass destruction against India. It has called on Pakistan to follow suit with a similar NFU pledge, while Pakistan under Musharraf's reign has, on a number of occasions declared its willingness to contemplate regional nuclear disarmament as its way of obtaining diplomatic one-upmanship vis-à-vis India.

There can be no doubt that regional disarmament is greatly facilitated by progress in respect of global nuclear disarmament and that the latter must mean, above all, changing the behaviour of the US. How is this to be achieved? There are two strategic directions that a global disarmament movement can take, faced as it is today by the determination of the US government and political establishment to secure an informal global empire. The crucial foundation for this project of Empire-building is, of course, the US's exceptional military power including its expanding nuclear capacities. It is the credibility of this military foundation that must be undermined. One way of trying to do this is to demand that the global anti-war movement recognize the importance of the specifically nuclear dimension and shift some of its resources and some of its focus to precisely



the issue of pursuing global nuclear disarmament. The other way is to press the global nuclear disarmament movement to recognize the priority of opposing the US occupation of Iraq and its general imperial ambitions, and therefore for it to shift some of its resources and some of its focus towards support for this anti-war/anti-imperialist movement, even as it must maintain its distinctive concern with the nuclear issue.

The second way is, to my mind, the better strategic avenue to follow today. Iraq (and behind it Palestine) is the crucible of world politics now and for some time into the future. The best way to undermine the credibility of claims made for the military-political value of nuclear weapons is to help undermine the general credibility of the military-political value of the US's conventional and overall military might. And the best way to do that is to be part of a global movement that will help defeat the US's imperial ambitions in West Asia where Iraqi resistance (and Palestinian resistance to Israel/US) is already undermining the political will and authority of the US-led occupying forces and its local puppets. In short, the best route today towards generating a greater momentum in the future against nuclear weapons is to generate an ever greater and stronger momentum of opposition to the US's imperial ambitions today. A political defeat of the US in West Asia in the coming years will have profoundly positive effects for all progressive movements concerning issues of global scope.

It is sometimes claimed that to build the widest possible nuclear disarmament movement we must not allow this single focus to be diluted by taking positions on issues, which many actual or potential supporters of nuclear disarmament would disagree with it. In today's political context, such an approach would be seriously mistaken. If it is mistaken for the worldwide anti-nuclear movement and for the specifically US branch of this global anti-nuclear movement, it is even more so for the Indian and Pakistani anti-nuclear movements. Both the PPC and the CNDP (as the two main umbrella bodies opposing regional nuclearisation) must be deeply involved in the development of the wider

anti-war/anti-imperialist movement in solidarity with Iraq and Palestine. We introduce our specific concern with nuclear issues into this broader movement of opposition to US imperialism, a movement whose breadth and strength we are ourselves committed to consolidating and expanding. In India it is precisely this perspective that justifies the involvement of the CNDP in the Indian Anti-War Assembly.

But if the role of the South Asian nuclear disarmament movement in the anti-war movement is more modest, namely to be a serious participant and even among the front-runners in it; it still has the responsibility to be the leading spearhead in the more specific struggle against nuclear weapons. In this respect one cannot hope to build a strong campaign and an enduring movement simply by talking about and fighting for global nuclear disarmament or concentrating overwhelmingly on the P-5 or on the US as the biggest culprit, which it is. We have to have a movement focusing on the iniquities of our own governments in South Asia, namely the governments of India and Pakistan, and to mobilize against them. The principal regional goal of our nuclear disarmament movement can only be the call and demand for a South Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone. From a political-tactical point of view this is far superior to alternatives like calling for unilateral disarmament in India or Pakistan. This can, of course, be a demand expressed by individuals and groups within a wider movement united by collective agreement to this particular demand for a regional NWFZ. The merits of such a demand are several: (i) it is much more politically attractive than say, unilateral disarmament, to people in India and Pakistan; (ii) it brings in, as it should, the governments and peoples of the neighbouring countries of South Asia who do not like what happened in 1998 and resent the new danger that is also imposed on them since a nuclear exchange is not likely to leave their countries unscathed. The wider and deeper is the spread of anti-nuclear sentiment in South Asia, the better. Here, the already existing sentiments against the 'big brother' attitudes of India and Pakistan are



an invaluable asset that progressives need to collectively tap into.

Moreover, two other developments since the 1998 tests make this call for a regional NWFZ the best overarching objective that should guide the propaganda and agitational activities of the anti-nuclear movements in South Asia. Since General Musharraf's accession to power in Pakistan, there have been six occasions on which he has officially declared his government's willingness to entertain and move towards such a denuclearised zone provided India is willing to do the same. Obviously, much of the motive for Musharraf making such a declaration is simply embarrassing an Indian government that he knows will not accept this, as well as projecting a more 'responsible' image for himself. But being an official government position it provides our movement with a handle it would be extremely foolish not to use. The second positive development is that the CPM, the major mainstream party of the left in India finally came out with a signed article by its former general secretary, Harkishen Singh Surjeet, (in the October 3, 2004, issue of "Peoples' Democracy" - the party paper) declaring for the first time that even as the goal of global nuclear disarmament must be pursued, we must also seek denuclearisation of this region. In mid-December 2004, at the closing plenary of the Anti-War Assembly in Hyderabad, Prakash Karat, senior politburo member and later the general secretary of the CPM, was reported in the press as saying the same thing. This too, is a political advance that must now be seized upon, especially by disarmament activists in India. However, the CPM's and CPI's position on the Indo-US Nuclear Deal (the 123 Agreement) has been disturbing since instead of forcefully opposing it, the two parties have tail-ended certain scientists whose principal objection to the Deal is that it would encroach on India's "nuclear sovereignty", e.g. make it more difficult for India to carry out future tests! Is a left that opposed the 1998 tests now saying it does not like this Deal because it could prevent India from having further tests? There can be no successful movement without clarity regarding final objective, and maximum

unity in support of achieving that objective. In my view, the CNDP must move towards achieving this clarity, the sooner the better. The same can be said of the PPC and it would be tremendous if both coalesce around the same central demand - hence the cross-border value of a call for a South Asian NWFZ. Of course, arriving at such an agreement will be done through the distinct national structures and norms of the PPC and of the CNDP, separately from each other.

Apart from making the establishment of a South Asian NWFZ our central demand, the very concept of an NWFZ lends itself to all kinds of fruitful tactical possibilities. Even though it might seem to go against the idea of a South Asian NWFZ, could not the idea of Nepal as a 'nuclear free-nation' along the lines of existing declarations to this effect by Mongolia and Austria, be seen as a useful plank to promote discussion around in Nepalese civil society; and one whose achievement is quite compatible with the eventual achievement and declaration of a wider and encompassing regional NWFZ? It could even be seen as a valuable transitional approach towards popularizing the general idea of NWFZs and of introducing the thin end of the wedge to legitimize NWFZs in the South Asian region. Moreover, this is something that, unlike a wider regional NWFZ, would not require agreement between several governments but is something that Nepal can on its own declare under pressure from its own populace. There is something of a political precedent for this in the earlier idea of Nepal declaring itself a 'zone of peace'. This angered the Indian government, which correctly saw this as partly or largely directed against it, expressing a suspicion of its possible intentions and of its future behaviour. It also suffered from being the proposal of a reactionary monarchist government in Nepal's past. But it was still a good proposal. Nepali anti-militarist groups can begin pushing both the ideas of a wider South Asian NWFZ and that of a Nuclear Free Nepal which in turn can have as its corollary demands not just the call for India and Pakistan to respect such a zone formally, but also to show their respect in a more practical form by 'thinning' their



own deployments, i.e., by declaring that they will not deploy nuclear armed delivery systems near the Nepali border nor overfly Nepal with such delivery systems (don't forget the India-China nuclear face-off).

Also, what about the idea of stretching the existing Southeast Asian NWFZ or Bangkok Treaty to include Bangladesh and/or Sri Lanka? Again, while such demands might seem to go against the idea of fighting for the establishment of a South Asian NWFZ, could they not also be seen as transitional demands towards this goal or as measures that are not incompatible with the idea of an eventual single regional NWFZ, and perhaps even conducive towards its formation? Again, this is something that the Bangladesh government and civil society organizations, for example, can pursue irrespective of support from neighbouring governments and publics. What in the end can the Indian and Pakistani governments do if in pursuit of its 'national interest' and in exercise of its sovereign independence Bangladesh decides to become a part of a 'stretched' (there is a precedence for this in the stretching of the Treaty of Tlatelolco to include parts of the Caribbean) Bangkok Treaty? They would certainly be unhappy about it and the political value lies of such a measure lies precisely in its being a resounding political slap in the face to the Indian and Pakistani governments and their nuclear postures. At the same time, since it is quite conceivable that the other nuclear weapons states (P-5) and the existing members of the Southeast Asian NWFZ can see the value of such a stretching, there is real space for diplomatic negotiations between Bangladesh and the relevant countries irrespective of India and Pakistan. Once again, Bangladesh civil society can at least begin a public debate on this and the South Asian NWFZ proposal.

There is, again, yet another possible application of the NWFZ perspective in the South Asian context that, I believe, can prove very fruitful. We should also be consciously promoting the idea of a NWFZ in Kashmir, i.e., a zone covering all of Kashmir on both sides of the border. In what way would this be useful? Consider the following points.

Even the Indian and Pakistani governments say they don't like the constant references from other governments and 'outside' bodies about Kashmir being a nuclear flashpoint, suggesting as it does their distinctive irresponsibility in going nuclear as compared to other nuclear powers. Well, declaration of an NWFZ in all of Kashmir, we can argue, is an excellent way of both the governments assuring each other's publics, the governments and publics of neighbouring countries, and the governments and publics of the rest of the world that India and Pakistan are 'responsible' nuclear powers determined not to allow Kashmir to become such a feared flashpoint. What is more, it does not require either government to make any practical adjustments or changes to their nuclear preparations and deployments since neither country has or intends to have nuclear related deployments in their respective occupied parts of Kashmir. The value of such a declaration lies in its political message! It also becomes a form of reassurance on the part of both governments to the people of Kashmir itself. It is, furthermore, a truly creative political initiative whose impact on announcement would be quite dramatic.

Pushing such a proposal allows us, the peace movement in South Asia to say to the two governments -- "okay so unlike us, you think you must have nuclear weapons. You also say that you are responsible nuclear powers and that you will not let Kashmir drag the two countries into a nuclear war at least. Well, in that case, why are you afraid to declare Kashmir a NWFZ, especially since it does not hamper your nuclear preparations? Indeed, if you are serious about not letting Kashmir drag the two countries into any kind of war then what about a no-war pact? If on the Indian side you feel this might legitimize cross-border terrorism indirectly supported by the Pakistan establishment, then on this score you can certainly have no objections to declaring a NWFZ in all of Kashmir." Since even substantial sections of pro-nuclear people in both countries, who do not otherwise support the peace movement's call for nuclear disarmament, can be attracted to this idea it becomes on our part a creative initia-



tive to strengthen our movements and to put pressure on our governments. But apart from its already described virtues, it is also of value for two other important reasons. Once you legitimize the existence of a part of South Asia as a NWFZ you are introducing the thin end of the wedge with regard to the general legitimization of the concept and therefore strengthening the prospects of further such applications of the principle of the NWFZ in the region. In this way it would be a tremendous gain in our effort to mobilize support for a South Asian NWFZ. Second, one of the big problems so far in the discussion by the two governments over Kashmir is how the people of Kashmir are separated from each other and not allowed to propose any 'unified' initiative. An NWFZ for all of Kashmir (including Jammu and the Northern Territories) would also be the first such measure, if sanctioned, that implicitly, if not explicitly, expresses the unity of the region since its division in 1947-48.

On this issue of South Asia and NWFZs, I believe, the respective peace and disarmament movements must now move very seriously towards the following actions and positions. (1) Adopt as its fundamental and unequivocal operational goal the establishment of a South Asian NWFZ. (2) Work towards a more selective workshop comprising legal experts, civil society activists, progressive media people, from all the main countries of South Asia ~ namely, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal- to discuss the various forms of NWFZ projects (including the idea of city and municipal NWFZs not discussed above) and whether and how they should be promoted and pursued collectively and/or nationally. (3) Actually go about preparing a Model South Asian NWFZ Treaty along the lines of the Model Nuclear Weapons (Abolition) Convention, but of course learning from the already existing NWFZ treaties and making our own Model Treaty even better and stronger in its provisions. We should even spell out possible verification measures and mechanisms for monitoring any such Treaty.

The point is that by undertaking and fulfilling such a task we can take the public

debate to a higher level of not just demanding such a regional NWFZ, but actually declaring that there are really no serious technical difficulties in establishing regional de-nuclearisation, only the lack of political will on the part of governments. While you pay lip service to eventual nuclear disarmament we in the peace movement are more serious - we actually undertake the task of working out how such a disarmament regime would operate. This becomes another way of pushing the two governments, of embarrassing them, of putting pressure on them and winning over more public support. It is to the credit of MIND (Movement in India for Nuclear Disarmament) and to such eminent anti-nuclear activists in India and Pakistan like M.V. Ramana, Pervez Hoodbhoy, Zia Mian, Abdul Nayyar, Prof. Rajaraman that they prepared in great detail, nuclear risk reduction proposals as a way of reducing current dangers. But these transitional measures are neither seen nor proposed as substitute measures replacing the need for pursuing complete regional and global disarmament. Once again, our pro-nuclear experts have not done anything comparable, though they incessantly talk of the importance of nuclear risk reduction measures, although from their point of view, as a way of eliminating issues of actual nuclear disarmament from the public agenda.

Among the transitional risk reducing measures we in the peace movement should be promoting and demanding are the following: a) In the interests of enhancing nuclear safety there should be de-mating of warheads and delivery vehicles and maximization of the time taken to then put the two components together. There should also be institutionalization of transparent monitoring of this fact of separation and public accountability of what has been done in this regard in both countries. b) There should be a certain no-deployment zone for all nuclear equipped delivery vehicles on both sides of the border between India and Pakistan. c) Both countries should go in for a bilateral nuclear test ban pact. d) There should be periodic joint inspection teams comprising scientific personnel from both countries to some of each other's nuclear related facilities to be followed by



expansion of the frequency and range of such visits.

What, finally, of the issue of nuclear power or energy? As far as the Indian anti-nuclear weapons movement is concerned, this continues to be a source of division. While for many the link between the two is seen as being of such an obvious character and of such obvious import that they would insist that the CNDP move towards declared rejection and opposition to the development of nuclear energy and all its attendant policies and apparatuses, others are not prepared to accept such a position. What has held as the position of the CNDP so far is the lowest common denominator of insisting on maximum transparency, the highest standards of safety, and appropriate compensation for all those harmed in one way or the other by the work-

ings of the Department of Atomic Energy in India. But after the Indo-US Nuclear Deal (the 123 Agreement) and the equivocating position of the mainstream left parties (the CPM and CPI) the time has now come to put an end to earlier hesitancy. I believe that the CNDP can no longer afford to avoid taking the clearest stand against nuclear energy. The Indo-US Deal is paving the way for a substantial acceleration of the civilian nuclear energy as well as nuclear weapons programme and must be forcefully opposed on both counts. I believe our CNDP Charter should now be amended to make clear our support for a regional south Asian NWFZ and our unequivocal opposition to nuclear energy.

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