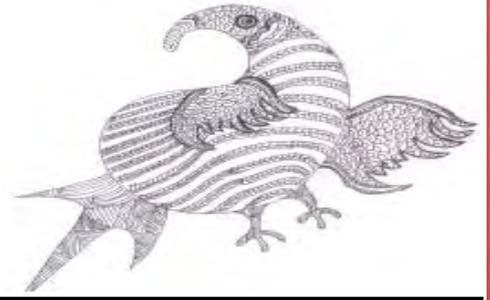


Peace Now!



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The Bulletin of the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament & Peace

Editorial

'Peace Now' wishes all its readers a belated happy 2006!

This issue comes out at a time when we are collectively at a crossroads in our contemporary history. On the one hand, the entire world appears to be poised on the edge of a conflict with its epicentre in the Middle East. On the other, situated where we are, we find that major shifts are taking place in Indian economic and foreign policies that have spin off effects on 'defence' agreements and arrangements. Iraq, Iran, and the Indo-US nuclear deal are the products of this particular conjuncture. PEACE is of critical importance today and needs to take the underlying dynamics of politics and economics into account, because to a greater and greater extent Imperialist policy constructs are manifested quite frankly as military strategies.

A large part of what is happening in the Middle East can be explained by the need of the American elites to have access to their needs for fossil fuels. The same elites are engaged in trying to reestablish the case for nuclear energy in their quest for centralized and controllable energy supplies. Again, it is the same elites and their corporate and state arms that are pushing for market integration in the name of globalization and free trade, totally regardless of the livelihood and democratic aspirations of the people of the rest of the world.

Within India, the penetration of imperialist market forces can be seen trying to establish control over the natural resources and development possibilities of even the regions that were so far remote from their attention. The mineral and forest resources of central and peninsular India are today a favoured destination of multinational corporate capital, totally unfazed by the destruction of traditional lives and lifestyles, rights and entitlements of the people of these regions. The growing conflict in these regions is exemplified by the events of Kalinganagar (Jajpur) in Orissa during January of 2006 where indigenous people fighting to preserve their lands from being taken over for a corporate steel giant were brutally massacred by the government police forces. Similar situations are reported from many other areas, and one wonders whether the forced displacement of people from their homes and villages, supposedly for protection from extremist political groups is really to vacate land for corporate industrial development.

This issue attempts to explore some of these questions and their interlinkages. Behind all of these, one question raised by the ecological movement that will not go away is the question of limits to energy use, energy requirement, and the limits to consumption.

Ilina Sen

IRAN, THE US AND INDIA

■ Achin Vanaik

In July when Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited the US he got a nuclear civilian deal which gave hope to the US nuclear energy establishment that their fortunes were rising. Since 1973 no new nuclear reactor of a commercial type has been built in the US, such is the domestic unpopularity and the poor economics of the industry, unless it receives heavy subsidies. But the US was making a big concession in one major respect. It was committing itself to changing both the domestic and international rules regarding the existing non-proliferation regime which till now has said that no country beyond the existing five de facto nuclear countries should, if it defies the world and goes openly for nuclear weapons, be rewarded with help in the area of civilian nuclear energy development since this is inherently of a dual-use character. In return for this big concession tantamount to the US formally welcoming India into the world's nuclear weapons club, India had to pay a price as well.

That price was essentially strategic – India should now tailor its foreign policy behaviour to fit in with the US global strategic plans for establishing its informal global empire. The promissory note that India had thus given to the US was called in on for encashment in September 2005 when the IAEA governing body put forward a shameful resolution condemning Iran for ‘violations’ and threatening a future referral to the UN Security Council for possible sanctions against Iran in the future. Accordingly, India buckled under by supporting this resolution although Russia, China, Pakistan and nine other out of the 22 member body abstained. This abstention was itself an unfortunate concession to the US and the three European countries of France, Germany and Britain who had formally pushed this resolution, which should have been completely struck down. But abstention was better than a vote for the resolution. In November 2005, India was saved an embarrassment of having once again to toe the US line because the US and EU, not yet confident of getting the approval of Russia and China for imposing sanctions in the Security Council, decided that they should not push matters against Iran by going in for a referral as yet. They still have to do their homework to get the Russians and Chinese aboard before pursuing their longer term plans to mark out and isolate Iran.

The Indian decision to vote against Iran at the recent IAEA meet, seen as something of a landmark event in India – the abandonment of a relationship both economic and strategic (Iran has long been opposed to Pakistan) dating back to

the time of the Shah – was a *response* to a situation created by the US. Left to itself, India would never have sought to precipitate such a showdown and would have preferred to maintain wider options by not having to choose between upsetting US or Iran. One needs to understand in this context how the NPT-IAEA comes into the picture.

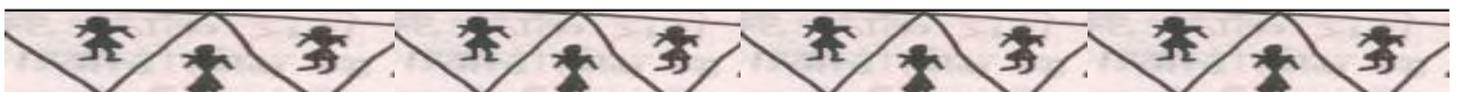
The NPT was a bargain in which non-nuclear member states signing up, agreed to renounce acquisition of nuclear weapons in return for two carrots. The first was Article VI whereby the three nuclear weapons states (NWSs) UK, Russia, USA (later joined by China and France) promised to take steps to ultimately disarm themselves. This carrot has long been thrown out the window. The second carrot was Article IV, wherein the non-nuclear signatories would be helped to build up their own civilian nuclear energy establishments albeit under IAEA monitored safeguards. Here, there has always been a basic contradiction inherent in the inescapably dual-use nature of civilian nuclear energy development. The NPT denies countries nuclear weapons,

yet the same Treaty helps them to develop some of the wherewithal to become nuclear if they choose to at some future time. For decades this contradiction was never attacked by the NWSs or by India, which confined its criticism to

To understand the whole story properly, one has to start not from evaluating what is in India's ‘national interest’ but from assessing what the most powerful player – the US – has been up to and why.

the ‘discriminatory’ aspect of the NPT. The only sustained criticism of this contradiction in the NPT came from the ranks of those who not only opposed nuclear weapons but also nuclear energy development.

In more recent times, the Western NWSs did become uneasy about how the NPT might be helping certain signatory countries like North Korea and Libya to develop their potential on the nuclear weapons front. But it is only after September 11, 2001 that the US dramatically changes its approach to the NPT. In the NPT 2000 review conference, the US along with other NWSs goes along with the ‘thirteen points’ that were supposed to encourage the prospects of global disarmament, i.e. agrees to give some face-savers to Article VI in order to reassure critics and enable that conference to be considered a ‘success’. In the 2005 NPT review conference, the US hangs tough and insists that the issue must shift from disarmament to non-proliferation and therefore from Article VI to Article IV, dealing with provision of dual-use help for civilian energy purposes. This is the inauguration by the US of a new and much more determined process than ever before of suborning and manipulating the NPT and the IAEA to prevent (selectively of



course) even the *potential* development of a nuclear weapons programme by its perceived enemies.

In short, it was not the detection of ‘cheating’ or ‘duplicity’ by Iran that was the dramatic and most important new development, but the duplicitous new course that the US has taken. So what were the principal aims of the US orchestration of this IAEA governing body resolution and vote?

1) To hamper if not prevent, select enemies, most importantly Iran, from developing even the potential – inherent though it is in any civilian nuclear energy programme – to have a nuclear weapons system in the future.

2) To promote and spread the falsehood that Iran is “non-compliant” and “cheating”. Many Indian observers in the media have swallowed this canard. Iran has clearly wanted to keep the nuclear weapons option open even though it is far from actually having nuclear weapons or even from deciding that it *must* have them in the future. It has had a programme of building dual-use uranium enrichment facilities on this unstated policy basis for many years. But this was in no way cheating or non-compliance since Iran has never violated any of the clearly stipulated conditions of the IAEA in regard to such construction

and equipping activity, which only eventually comes under formal IAEA inspection. Indeed, by voluntarily signing the Additional Protocol allowing much freer and frequent IAEA inspections, Iran was signaling that it was in fact moving in the direction of narrowing the option to make nuclear weapons in the future. That the E-3, the US and the IAEA nonetheless moved towards a resolution tabling “non-compliance” and laying the ground for referral of the case to the UNSC, was an expression not of Iranian duplicity but of E-3 and US dishonesty and IAEA suborning.

3) That Russia, China and 10 others decided to abstain and not vote against this disgraceful resolution, though obviously better than voting for it, is nevertheless a concession given to the US that also advances its overall project and which the latter can now try and further build upon. The US can now more confidently hope that it can, give a long enough rope to Iran, continue to maintain the threat of referral, and over time work on the Russians and Chinese to abstain at the Security Council if and when the time comes for the US to first refer Iran to the Security Council and second to press therein for sanctions.

4) To pave the way internationally for legitimizing a future US or Israeli military attack on Iran in the name of preventing a ‘cheating’ and ‘irresponsible’ Iran for going in for weapons of mass destruction. It must be understood that West Asia is the geopolitical pivot of the US project to

successfully establish an informal global empire. And here the greatest strategic defeat that the US has ever suffered since 1945 was not the emergence of Iraq under Saddam Hussein but the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979, a defeat that must be reversed.

5) No empire can be achieved or stabilized on the basis of force alone. It must achieve legitimacy as widely as possible – among client regimes and allies and their populations, among neutrals, amongst the populations of actual or potential rivals, amongst the populations whose governments are targeted. This requires covering up one’s imperial project through ideological disguises. For West Asia, there are four important ideological banners behind which the US hides – the war on global terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, humanitarian intervention, regime change to promote democracy. These banners either singly or in combination need to be repeatedly unfurled and endorsed by an ‘expanding audience’. In short, the building of Empire needs consent and this can be active, passive or bought. The best is active consent – the absorption of the belief that what is good for the US government is good for the world. Passive consent – the belief that one cannot

really take on the US though one dislikes or hates what it is doing – will do, since resistance is abandoned. Bought consent is what governments and their circle of supporting strategists call ‘intelligent diplomacy’, namely acceptance of US dollops in return for endorsement of US foreign

policies which are then sold to the receiving country’s population as the exercise of ‘national interest’.

The US is delighted that in India, consent to its imperial project is not merely being easily purchased, but a pro-US elite in India is also in myriad ways declaring that its acceptance is an active one. Can matters change despite the shameful bias of India’s elites towards the US? The answer is yes and the key lies in Iraq and behind it Palestine. Should the US politically come a cropper in Iraq then the political damage to it automatically opens up all kinds of possibilities for progressive forces and struggles elsewhere. Moreover, even the governing elites of countries like India, Russia and China will have to rethink how closely they want to back the US and how much more room they have to deflect its pressure and even benefit from its global political weakening. For progressives in India to fight for a more humane and just foreign policy by the Indian state means recognizing the crucial importance of providing for maximum solidarity with the struggles against occupation in Iraq and Palestine – the two weakest points in the US Empire project.

No matter whether we have a Congress-led or BJP-led coalition government at the Centre, the US is now assured (despite some dissidence) that the alliance of the two country’s elites will be stable and enduring.



Indo-US Nuke Deal: Disturbing and Destabilising Development

■ Sukla Sen

The much talked of July 18 joint statement issued by Manmohan Singh and George Bush, as the culmination of the Indian PM's visit to the US last year, is, in fact, a wide-ranging one. Nevertheless only a specific portion of this document, etching out the contours of a (possible and promised) nuclear deal between the two countries has attracted widespread and disproportionate attention. The reasons are not too far to seek. This is unarguably the most radical part of a document dealing with a number of vital issues together with some customary platitudes to democratic values and all that.

The promised deal just not only runs counter to the current global non-proliferation order, it will also call for a radical revision of the domestic laws of the US itself and its policies in this regard hitherto. While the deal has met with very considerable ebullience, mainly from India's ruling circles, it also continues to face stiff opposition, on very divergent grounds, from all the three major quarters: India, US and the 45-member Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). Apart from these, the global anti-nuke peace movement is also highly apprehensive of the deal.

Within the US establishment, there are individuals and sections, who view the deal too cheap for India and also an assault on the NPT, and thereby the non-proliferation regime, by making an exception in case of India, an aberrant nation. In fact, just before the issue of the declaration, no less than Condoleezza Rice herself had opined against any such possibility. And the US Congress is still busy examining the deal with no indication as yet that its assent would be accorded any time soon. Consequently a proposed reciprocal visit by Bush remains in a limbo.

Within the NSG, there are countries keen to do nuclear business with India. But there are many others, including those who had voluntarily given up their nuclear weapon options in the interest of global nuclear disarmament, who oppose this deal as an assault on the NPT, being clearly violative of its provisions, which debar nuclear commerce with any non-signatory. Incidentally, of the total 191 members of the UN, all but three - India, Pakistan and Israel, put their signatures to the NPT. North Korea, however, withdrew in 2003. But they have indicated their willingness to give up their weapons and weapon-making capability, developed clandestinely, in return for certain other concessions and rejoin

the NPT. The question of the NSG approving the deal will, however, arise only when the proposal formally comes before it after having been cleared by the USA.

The anti-nuke peace movement considers this deal yet another act of gross unilateralism on the part of the Bush administration and an assault on the NPT, and thereby the prospects of global nuclear disarmament, by making an impermissible exception in case of India - a non-signatory and a brazen 'proliferator'.

Within India, while the government and much of the nuclear establishment and its apologists have welcomed the deal with great gusto, the opposition came mainly from the rightwing "nationalists", the extreme nuclear hawks - and also major sections of the Left, albeit in a fairly muted tone.

The support has been justified on mainly two grounds. The deal, it comes into force, will confer a sort of quasi-recognition as a nuclear weapon power on India by the

international community, which it has been denied all along. This will also de-hyphenate India from Pakistan. A dream for the Indian elite. At a more mundane level, this would be a lifeline for India's nuclear power plants, given the paucity of fuel - naturally

occurring uranium, available indigenously. Currently uranium is being mined only from Jadugoda in Jharkhand. Attempts at exploration in Nalgonda district in Andhra Pradesh and West Khasi Hills district in Meghalaya have been stalled by massive popular resistance.

The opposition, as was articulated by Vajpayee on the floor of the Indian parliament, claims that it will restrict India's 'sovereign option' to keep on endlessly piling up the weapon of deliberate mass murder and also hinder the prospect of further upgradation from the present level of fissile weapon to fusion weapon, or Hydrogen Bomb.

The deal as and when - and if at all, it comes into force will obligate India to open its 'civilian' plants to IAEA inspection. As per the deal, it's for India to designate, "voluntarily" and "in a phased manner", which are the 'civilian' plants, notwithstanding a strong element of tug of war on this score. In return, India will be entitled to "full civil and nuclear energy cooperation and trade", or unfettered nuclear commerce - in terms of fuel, technology, plants and machineries etc., - only as regards its 'civilian'

If the civil-military separation plan is good enough to share with a foreign power, it is certainly good enough to share with the Indian public.

- Sidharth Varadarajan in THE HINDU



plants. So even without being a signatory to the NPT, it will enjoy the status of a signatory as regards its 'civilian' plants, which, as on date, it is not entitled to. As regards the balance, or 'military', plants its status will remain unchanged. Neither any inspection, nor any commerce. And for this India will not have to give up either its existing nuclear arsenal or its future programme. The future programme will, however, be somewhat curtailed in as much some of the plants will go out of its purview having been designated as 'civilian'. But this notion of 'curtailment' applies only if we assume India would have been able to carry on with its programme unhindered - unrestrained by non-access to fuel, technology and hardware from external sources - evidently a very questionable assumption.

One must, however, keep in mind that the deal is yet to be cleared by the US itself, despite all the ballyhoo and the support from Bush himself. After that will come the turn of the NSG. While Bush may very well ignore even the NSG, the approval of the US Congress remains a must.

From the Indian side, the main driver is its elite's mindless obsession with attaining a full-scale nuclear status – global recognition of its nuclear weapon capability and continuing programme, and also safeguarding and promoting its nuclear energy industry. From its point of view, a closer relation with the US, even as a sub-junior partner, will serve also the other major 'strategic goals' viz. emerging as a mini-hegemon in Asia / South Asia, firmly establish its clear superiority over Pakistan, the traditional rival and neighbour – one-sixth of its size in terms of population, and neutralise

(much stronger) China – to whatever extent possible. India will, however, not like to completely surrender its autonomy of options within this broader framework, in so far as these are perceived to be in alignment with these 'strategic goals', and engage with other regional/global powers – including Russia, France and even China, who pose varying degrees of challenge to the global hegemon. Indian Prime Minister's recent sojourn to Russia goes to further underscore this aspect and the complex nature of the game it is out to play in the global arena.

By offering this sop, Washington evidently wants to coopt India as a (sub-junior but nevertheless valuable) partner in its global gambit for unilateral domination. To demonstrate its power and sincerity it has already engineered India's inclusion as a member of the (highly prestigious!) International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor (ITER) project. Evidently this would have had not been possible without aggressive string pulling by the Bush administration.

The US's civilian nuclear facilities are operated by private or municipal utilities. But it has placed only a handful of its 100-odd reactors under IAEA safeguards. The IAEA rarely inspects these, citing shortage of funds/manpower. The safeguards regime has always been unequal and based on the assumption that the five NWSs have the "right" to divert materials to military uses—because they are, so to speak, "legitimate" possessors of nuclear weapons.

**-Praful Bidwai
in ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL WEEKLY**

It goes without saying that from the perspective of the peace movement, this is a very worrying development. On the one hand, it aids, abets and further encourages the neocon coterie-led US drive for an unfettered global Empire and, on the other, signifies India's transmutation from a champion of the global underdogs and consequent emergence as a continually growing threat, as exemplified through its earlier rejection of the CTBT in 96 culminating in the May 98 nuclear explosions, to the prospects of regional and global peace and nuclear disarmament in its own right – US, or no US.

Statement by eight Bangalore-based former Indian Ambassadors on Indo-US Nuclear Agreement

....A comprehensive statement by the Government had been promised, but two sessions of Parliament have come and gone and there has been none. No Standing Committee of Parliament has had an opportunity to consider the matter.

....The fear shared by many is that the price we will be asked to pay to ensure U.S. Congressional ratification will be too high, not only in the specific area of our future nuclear programme, but even on broader issues of nuclear proliferation, and perhaps also on other foreign policy aspects. An added anxiety is the not so very encouraging past record of the U.S. in adhering to agreements; modifications and withdrawals from bilateral/multilateral accords driven by shifts and reversals in U.S. doctrine and policy are not unknown.

....Even if Iran is guilty of obfuscation and is covertly nurturing a weapons programme, how far would India wish to go in terms of applying pressure on it to prevent it? U.S. policy does include the

use of force to achieve this; but would India be ready to join the U.S. all the way? Even the closest of friendship and partnership should leave room for differences in perception and prescriptions for action based on historical links, economic interests, including energy supplies, regional compulsions and variations in world vision. If the U.S. truly wants to develop a new partnership with India, it should recognise this fundamental truth and not expect or demand total compliance with U.S. global view and policy. Given the sharp divergence of opinion on this landmark agreement and the strong passion that it has generated in the country, the very least that the Indian Government could do, before finalizing the terms of implementation of this agreement, is to present a full picture to the Indian public at where we are heading. Even admitting that the security consideration may have to be kept in mind the present ambiguity and paucity of information is not acceptable in a democratic country.



Book Extract

Economic Reconstruction in Iraq

.....One of the most important tasks facing the US, if it is to achieve the goals that it set out with, is to control the reconstruction of the Iraqi economy, distribute the profits that come from these tasks to important client corporations and secure control over the future direction of the Iraqi economy. How far have they proceeded along this road?

The so-called reconstruction of Iraq really boils down to two things. First, the distribution of patronage to a number of corporations close to a US government that is rife with cronyism. Second, to decisively change the economic fundamentals of the Iraqi economy and turn it firmly in the direction of the neoliberal policies that the US favours.

The Reconstruction Racket

The distribution of patronage commenced even before the onset of hostilities. Companies like Halliburton and Bechtel received contracts for the reconstruction of Iraqi oilfields, infrastructure, telecommunications networks, schools, hospitals, etc. Halliburton and its subsidiary Kellogg, Root and Brown (KRB) have been the largest beneficiaries so far. This is despite the repeated findings by auditors of overcharging by this company.¹ As of July 2004, Halliburton had received \$11.4 billion in reconstruction contracts.² Apart from being a major contributor to the Bush election campaign, Bush's vice-President, Dick Cheney, was a chairman and CEO of Halliburton. He continues to receive deferred payments from them to the tune of \$180,000 a year. He also holds \$18 million in stock options with the company.

The favourable conditions for the companies undertaking the reconstruction have also been guaranteed by the US administration. President Bush signed Executive Order 13303 in May 2003 which grants sweeping legal immunity to U.S. corporations that gain possession or control of Iraqi oil or oil products.³ President Bush also persuaded the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), a U.S. government agency, to insure U.S. businesses in Iraq. Which means that if in the near future the Iraqi government expropriates any businesses, the U.S. Treasury—supported by U.S. tax dollars—will have to compensate those businesses for their losses.⁴

At the same time, many irregularities have been re-

ported with regard to the granting of these contracts. The procedure is not transparent and a number of contracts have been awarded without entertaining any other bids. Only a handful of Iraqi companies have been awarded contracts. Companies like Halliburton prefer to employ South Asian workers despite Iraqi unemployment levels of up to 67%.⁵ The result of this has been on one hand, to undermine the possibility of these contracts leading to a revival of indigenous industry, or even create a limited distribution of wealth among Iraqis. At the same time, this has also meant that the expenses incurred with respect to reconstruction have been inflated. Naomi Klein describes the process of reconstruction as, “a vast protectionist racket, a neocon New Deal that transfers limitless public funds—in contracts, loans, and insurance—to private firms, and even gets rid of the foreign competition to boot, under the guise of ‘national security’.”⁶

Meanwhile, President Bush was able to get the US legislature to sanction funds to the tune of \$18.6 billion as aid to Iraq. Of this money, however, very little has actually been expended. Furthermore, only a small proportion of that which will be spent will reach the Iraqi people. This is partly an outcome of corruption. However, another major drain on this sum is the fact that a huge amount of money is spent on ensuring security – of workers and infrastructure. Private security agencies are among the biggest beneficiaries of the situation in Iraq. One estimate of the breakdown of this aid is as follows⁷ –

- Security – 30%
- Insurance, foreign workers' salaries – 12%
- contractor profits – 6%
- Overhead – 10%
- Corruption and Mismanagement – 15%
- Iraqis' share – 27%

Undermining Economic Sovereignty

The reconstruction of Iraq, however, has also been about reconstructing the structure within which the economy is to be run. It will be recalled that Iraq, before the Gulf Wars, had a functioning welfare state, with the active involvement of the state in the economy. Occupied Iraq, it would appear, must cede economic independence as well. At the heart of the new economic structure of Iraq are the orders of Paul Bremer. Before handing over power to the Interim Governing Council, Bremer passed a 100 Orders that laid out the structures within which the new authority was to govern. Among these, was the notorious Order no. 39. This slim order, only about six pages in length pushed through elements of economic structures some of which are



clearly detrimental to Iraqi economic sovereignty and all of which are contentious provisions in developing nations. These are, in fact, some of the most hotly debated clauses of treaties like the World Trade Organisation (WTO), Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), and General Agreement on Tariffs and Services (GATS).

The main elements of this order were:

- (1) Privatization of state-owned enterprises
- (2) 100% foreign ownership of businesses in all sectors except oil and mineral extraction, banks and insurance companies (the latter two are addressed in a separate order)
- (3) “national treatment” of foreign firms
- (4) unrestricted, tax-free remittance of all funds associated with the investment, including, but not limited to, profits

The American commitment to put Iraq onto a road where the private sector controls the economy has been repeatedly stated. This could include services like health, education, television, perhaps even water. The provision of “national treatment” and 100% foreign ownership together can seriously impact the economic sovereignty of an independent Iraq. Developing countries need to protect indigenous industries that are in their infancy and maintain some possibility of a level playing field between the necessarily smaller capital of these firms and the much larger amounts available to foreign companies. Under such a regime, tax incentives for instance, cannot be used by government to encourage indigenous industry since the same would extend to multinational firms. In other words, this rule effectively de-fangs any economic policy that the Iraqi government might want to follow to encourage its own businesses or even impose controls (for instance according to amounts of employment generated, or purchase of local materials, etc.) on foreign investors.

The provision that all foreign capital can be repatriated tax-free, removes any ability of an Iraqi regime to control capital flows. It is widely accepted that the East Asian economic crisis of 1997 was caused due to the volatility of capital flows. The case in South American countries was often the opposite. Domestic elites were able to ship out their capital in large amounts causing banks to collapse and the economies to crumble. The complete lack of capital controls that is mandated here is a recipe for disaster.

Other orders passed also have potentially crippling effects on various aspects of the Iraqi economy. One such order is

the imposition of a Patent regime on agriculture via Order 81. Some of the provisions, however, are antithetical to the interests of farmers. For instance, farmers cannot re-use seeds bought from such companies and must purchase them again every sowing season. Bremer’s Order No. 37 im-

poses a flat tax of 15% for both corporations and individuals. Thus, an Iraqi earning .50 cents per hour will pay the same tax rate as another earning \$1 billion an hour. Flat rates have a record of reducing the tax

burden on the poorest in the economy, increasing the burden on the middle class tremendously, and drastically reducing the taxes paid by the wealthiest in society - particularly corporations.⁹

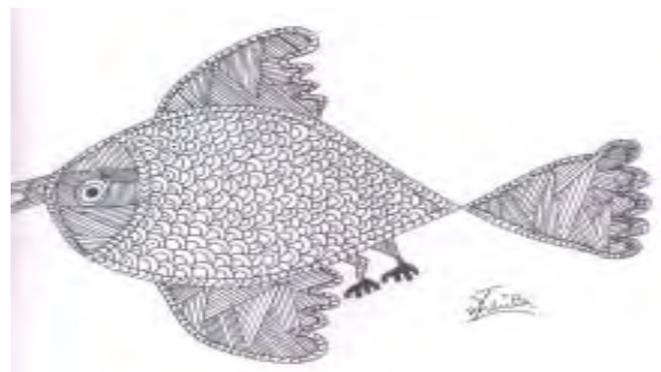
A number of countries in the South, have been forced for various reasons, at various times to implement some of these policies. However, in many countries, across South America, Africa and Asia, these have come in for much criticism. The claim that these neo-liberal policies good for development have been found to be false. In fact, the experience has been one of growing inequality and deterioration in the provision of basic services to most of the population. In any case, in most of these countries, there has been the scope for opposition to be voiced to such policies and the possibility of their revision by the mandate of the people. In the case of Iraq, however, this fundamental restructuring of the economy was achieved through the wave of a foreign pen and imposed on a tired people at the end of a gun....

from

The Agony of Iraq A Study on US Invasion and Future Prospects by Anish Vanaik.

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Text of Recent Indo-US Agreements

I. THE DEFENSE FRAMEWORK

Signed on June 28, 2005 in Washington DC by Minister of Defense of India, Pranab Mukherjee & Secretary of Defense of the United States, Donald Rumsfeld

NEW FRAMEWORK FOR THE US-INDIA DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP

1. The United States and India have entered a new era. We are transforming our relationship to reflect our common principles and shared national interests. As the world's two largest democracies, the United States and India agree on the vital importance of political and economic freedom, democratic institutions, the rule of law, security, and opportunity around the world. The leaders of our two countries are building a U.S.-India strategic partnership in pursuit of these principles and interests.

2. Ten years ago, in January 1995, the Agreed Minute on Defense Relations Between the United States and India was signed. Since then, changes in the international security environment have challenged our countries in ways unforeseen ten years ago. The U.S.-India defense relationship has advanced in a short time to unprecedented levels of cooperation unimaginable in 1995. Today, we agree on a new Framework that builds on past successes, seizes new opportunities, and charts a course for the U.S.-India defense relationship for the next ten years. This defense relationship will support, and will be an element of, the broader U.S.-India strategic partnership.

3. The U.S.-India defense relationship derives from a common belief in freedom, democracy, and the rule of law, and seeks to advance shared security interests. These interests include:

- maintaining security and stability;
- defeating terrorism and violent religious extremism;
- preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction and associated materials, data, and technologies; and
- protecting the free flow of commerce via land, air and sea lanes.

4. In pursuit of this shared vision of an expanded and deeper U.S.-India strategic relationship, our defense establishments shall:

- A. conduct joint and combined exercises and exchanges;
- B. collaborate in multinational operations when it is in their common interest;
- C. strengthen the capabilities of our militaries to promote security and defeat terrorism;
- D. expand interaction with other nations in ways that promote regional and global peace and stability;
- E. enhance capabilities to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- F. in the context of our strategic relationship, expand two-way defense trade between our countries. The United States and India will work to conclude defense transactions, not solely as ends in and of themselves, but as a means to strengthen our countries' security, reinforce our strategic partnership, achieve greater interaction between our armed forces, and build greater understanding between our defense establishments;
- G. in the context of defense trade and a framework of technology security safeguards, increase opportunities for technology transfer, collaboration, co-production, and research and development;

- H. expand collaboration relating to missile defense;
- I. strengthen the abilities of our militaries to respond quickly to disaster situations, including in combined operations;
- J. assist in building worldwide capacity to conduct successful peacekeeping operations, with a focus on enabling other countries to field trained, capable forces for these operations;
- K. conduct exchanges on defense strategy and defense transformation;
- L. increase exchanges of intelligence; and
- M. continue strategic-level discussions by senior leadership from the U.S. Department of Defense and India's Ministry of Defense, in which the two sides exchange perspectives on international security issues of common interest, with the aim of increasing mutual understanding, promoting shared objectives, and developing common approaches.

5. The Defense Policy Group shall continue to serve as the primary mechanism to guide the U.S.-India strategic defense relationship; We hereby establish the Defense Procurement and Production Group and institute a Joint Working Group for mid-year review of work overseen by the Defense Policy Group.

-The Defense Procurement and Production Group will oversee defense trade, as well as prospects for co-production and technology collaboration, broadening the scope of its predecessor subgroup the Security Cooperation Group.

-The Defense Joint Working Group will be subordinate to the Defense Policy Group and will meet at least once per year to perform a midyear review of work overseen by the Defense Policy Group and its subgroups (the Defense Procurement and Production Group, and the Joint Technology Security Group), and to prepare issues for the annual meeting of the Defense Policy Group.

7. The Defense Policy Group and its subgroups will rely upon this Framework for guidance on the principles and objectives of the U.S.-India strategic relationship, and will strive to achieve those objectives.

Signed in Arlington, Virginia, USA, on June 28, 2005, in two copies in English, each being equally authentic.

II FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY JULY 18, 2005

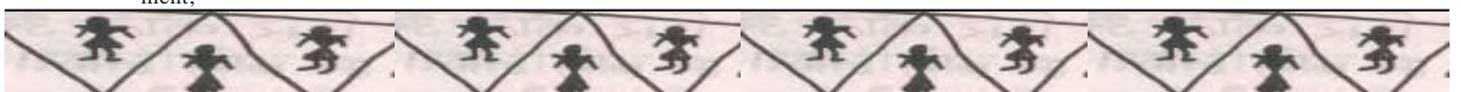
Joint Statement between President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President Bush today declare their resolve to transform the relationship between their countries and establish a global partnership. As leaders of nations committed to the values of human freedom, democracy and rule of law, the new relationship between India and the United States will promote stability, democracy, prosperity and peace throughout the world. It will enhance our ability to work together to provide global leadership in areas of mutual concern and interest.

Building on their common values and interest, the two leaders resolve:

* To create an international environment conducive to promotion of democratic values, and to strengthen democratic practices in societies which wish to become more open and pluralistic.

* To combat terrorism relentlessly. They applaud the active and vigorous counterterrorism cooperation between the two countries and



support more international efforts in this direction. Terrorism is a global scourge and the one we will fight everywhere. The two leaders strongly affirm their commitment to the conclusion by September of UN comprehensive convention against international terrorism.

The Prime Minister's visit coincides with the completion of the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP) initiative, launched in January 2004. The two leaders agree that this provides the basis for expanding bilateral activities and commerce in space, civil nuclear energy and dual-use technology.

Drawing on their mutual vision for the U.S.-India relationship, and our joint objectives as strong long-standing democracies, the two leaders agree on the following:

FOR THE ECONOMY

- * Revitalize the U.S.-India Economic Dialogue and launch a CEO Forum to harness private sector energy and ideas to deepen the bilateral economic relationship.
- * Support and accelerate economic growth in both countries through greater trade, investment, and technology collaborations.
- * Promote modernization of India's infrastructure as a prerequisite for the continued growth of the Indian economy. As India enhances its investment climate, opportunities for investment will increase.
- * Launch a U.S.-India Knowledge Initiative on Agriculture focused on promoting teaching, research, service and commercial linkages.

FOR ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

- * Strengthen energy security and promote the development of stable and efficient energy markets in India with a view to ensuring adequate, affordable efficient energy supplies and conscious of the need for sustainable development. These issues will be addressed through the U.S.-India Energy Dialogue.
- * Agree on the need to promote the imperatives of development and safeguarding the environment, commit to developing and deploying cleaner more efficient, affordable, and diversified energy technologies.

FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

- * Develop and support, through the new U.S.-India Global Democracy Initiative in countries that seek such assistance, institutions and resources that strengthen the foundations that make democracies credible and effective. India and the U.S. will work together to strengthen democratic practices and capacities and contribute to the new U.N. Democracy Fund.
- * Commit to strengthen cooperation and combat HIV/AIDs at a global level through and initiative that mobilizes private sector and government resources, knowledge, and expertise.

FOR NON-PROLIFERATION AND SECURITY

- * Express satisfaction at the New Framework for the U.S.-India Defense Relationship as a basis for future cooperation, including in the field of defense technology.
- * Commit to play a leading role in international efforts to prevent the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction. The U.S. welcomed the adoption by India of legislation on WMD (Prevention of Unlawful Activities Bill).
- * Launch a new U.S.-India Disaster Relief Initiative that builds on the experience of the Tsunami Core Group, to strengthen cooperation to prepare for and conduct disaster relief operations.

FOR HIGH-TECHNOLOGY AND SPACE

- * Sign a Science and Technology Framework Agreement, building on the U.S.-India High Technology Cooperation Group (HTCG), to provide for joint research and training, and the establishment of public-private partnerships.
- * Build closer ties in space exploration, satellite navigation and launch, and in the commercial space arena through mechanisms such as the U.S.-India

Working Group on Civil Space Cooperation.

* Building on the strengthened nonproliferation commitments undertaken in the NSSP, to remove certain India organizations from the Department of Commerce's Entity List.

Recognizing the significance of civilian nuclear energy for meeting growing global energy demands in a cleaner and more efficient manner, the leaders discussed India's plans to develop its civilian nuclear energy program.

President Bush conveyed his appreciation to the Prime Minister over India's strong commitment to preventing WMD proliferation and stated that as a responsible state with advanced nuclear technology, India should acquire the same benefits and advantages as other such states. The President told the Prime Minister that he will work to achieve full civil nuclear energy cooperation with India as it realizes its goals of promoting nuclear power and achieving energy security. The President would also seek agreement from Congress to adjust U.S. laws and policies, and the United States will work with friends and allies to adjust international regimes to enable full civil nuclear energy cooperation and trade with India, including but not limited to expeditious consideration of fuel supplies for safeguarded nuclear reactors at Tarapur. In the meantime, the United States will encourage its partners to also consider this request expeditiously. India has expressed its interest in ITER and a willingness to contribute. The United States will consult with its partners considering India's participation. The United States will consult with the other participants in the Generation IV International Forum with a view toward India's inclusion.

The Prime Minister conveyed that for his part, India would reciprocally agree that it would be ready to assume the same responsibilities and practices and acquire the same benefits and advantages as other leading countries with advanced nuclear technology, such as the United States. These responsibilities and practices consist of identifying and separating civilian and military nuclear facilities and programs in a phased manner and filing a declaration regarding its civilian facilities with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); taking a decision to place voluntarily its civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards; signing and adhering to an Additional Protocol with respect to civilian nuclear facilities; continuing India's unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing; working with the United States for the conclusion of a multilateral Fissile Material Cut Off Treaty; refraining from transfer of enrichment and reprocessing technologies to states that do not have them and supporting international efforts to limit their spread; and ensuring that the necessary steps have been taken to secure nuclear materials and technology through comprehensive export control legislation and through harmonization and adherence to Missile Technology Control regime (MTCR) and Nuclear Suppliers Groups (NSG) guidelines.

The President welcomed the Prime Minister's assurance. The two leaders agreed to establish a working group to undertake on a phased basis in the months ahead the necessary actions mentioned above to fulfill these commitments. The President and Prime Minister also agreed that they would review this progress when the President visits India in 2006.

The two leaders also reiterated their commitment that their countries would play a leaders role in international efforts to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear, chemical, biological and radiological weapons.

In light of this closer relationship, and the recognition of India's growing role in enhancing regional and global security, the Prime Minister and the President agree that international institutions must fully reflect changes in the global scenario that have taken place since 1945. The President reiterated his view that international institutions are going to have to adapt to reflect India's central and growing role. The two leaders state their expectations that India and the United States will strengthen their cooperation in global forums.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh thanks President Bush for the warmth of his reception and the generosity of his hospitality. He extends an invitation to President Bush to visit India at his convenience and the President accepts that invitation.



Fact Finding

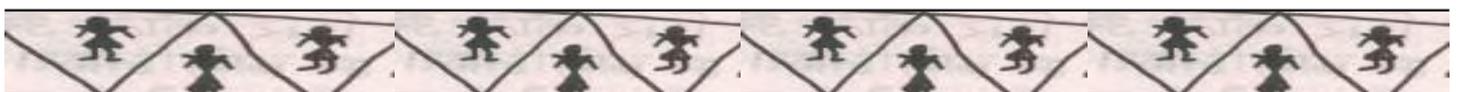
Militarism in the Indian Heartland

Since June 2005, Dantewara District (formerly part of Bastar district), Chhattisgarh, has been in the news for an alleged uprising of adivasis against the Communist Party of India (Maoist). Most media and official reports described this movement, known as Salwa Judum, as a spontaneous and self-initiated reaction to Maoist oppression, and hailed it as a turning point in the fight against Naxalism. At the same time, a few reports indicated that people had been displaced in large numbers and were living in miserable conditions in camps. While this was officially attributed to Maoist threats and retaliation against those joining the Salwa Judum, stray news also came in about the excesses committed by members of the Salwa Judum and security forces.

An all India team decided to investigate the situation, focusing specifically on the violation of human rights and the impact on people's everyday lives. A fourteen member team from five different organizations conducted an investigation between 28th November and 1st December in Bijapur and Bhairamgarh blocks of Dantewara district. The team visited both camps and villages, met people arrested during the operation, as well as leaders of the Salwa Judum, Police and Civil Administration officials.

The main findings of the team are reported below (a more detailed report will follow shortly)

1. The Salwa Judum is far from the spontaneous uprising of tribals against Maoists that it is claimed to be. It is an organized, state managed enterprise that has precedents in the Jan Jagaran Abhiyans that have occurred earlier under the leadership of the current Dantewara MLA, Mahendra Karma. The Collector himself has been part of 75% of the Salwa Judum meetings and security forces have been backing the Judum's meetings. The main cadre of Salwa Judum are comprised of Special Police Officers who are being paid and armed by the state, at a rate that is standard in counter insurgency operations across the country.
2. The Salwa Judum has led to the forcible displacement of people throughout Bhairamgarh, Geedam and Bijapur areas, under police and administrative supervision. According to official estimates approximately 15,000 people from 420 villages are living as refugees in temporary camps. People have left behind their cattle and most of their household goods. The entire area is being cleared of inhabitants even as new roads are being built and more police and para-military stations are being set up. The region is being turned into one large cantonment. In many places regular economic activities like weekly haats have stopped.
3. We observed a pattern in the dislocation: when Salwa Judum meetings are called, people from neighbouring villages are asked to be present. Heavy security forces accompany the meetings. Villages that refuse to participate face repeated attacks by the combined forces of Salwa Judum, the district force and the paramilitary Naga battalion, which is stationed in the area. In addition, there are separate raids by the Naga Battalion. These raids result in looting, arson and killings in many instances. In some villages, the raids continue till the entire village is cleared and people have moved to camps while in other cases, only old people, women and children are left. Many villages are coming to camps to avoid these attacks in the first place.
4. Once in camps, people have no choice but to support the Salwa Judum. Some of them are forced to work as informers against members of their own and neighbouring villages and participate in attacks against them, leading to permanent divisions within villages. Individual families are sometimes being split between Judum supporters and those who wish to remain in their villages. We also came across instances where the Salwa Judum took young people away from the village and their families were unaware of their whereabouts.
5. It is frightening to note the collapse of civil administration in many parts of Dantewada District. Salwa Judum members man checkpoints on roads, search people's belongings and control the flow of transport. They enforce an economic blockade on villages that resist coming to camps. They also try to force civil officials to follow their dictat.
6. FIRs registering the looting, burning, beatings/torture by Salwa Judum mobs and the security forces are not recorded. We were told of specific instances where Security Forces threw dead bodies inside or near villages. The intention seems to be to terrorise people into leaving their villages. These killings are not reported, and therefore hard to corroborate. Some reports suggest that 96 people from 34 villages have been killed. However,



the only killings that are officially recorded are those by Maoists. In the period since Salwa Judum started, it is true that the killings by Maoists have gone up substantially and the official figure today stands at 70. Rather than being a “peace mission” as is claimed, the Salwa Judum has created a situation where violence has escalated.

7. The Salwa Judum does have support among certain sections of local society. The leadership comprises of non-advansi immigrant settlers from other parts of India, sarpanches and traditional leaders whose power has been threatened by the Maoists, powerful local politicians like Karma, and his network of supporters. Both the local Congress and the BJP are supporting the Salwa Judum together.
8. Militarisation: We have heard from several high ranking officials that there is an undeclared war on in Bastar, and we fear that the worst is yet to come. There is a heavy presence of the paramilitary like the CRPF and the Naga Battalion. This creates a situation where forces from other states are behaving like an occupation army. We ourselves saw a number of cattle and people being herded by the Naga Battalion after a raid. One of these cows was slaughtered on the main road in full view of all present.

In addition, people are being encouraged to carry arms. Village defence committees are being created, SPOs are being trained and armed, and the entire society is becoming more militaristic.
9. Although Chhattisgarh is claimed to be a tribal state, advansi society and culture is being actively destroyed. People, for whom the earth of their village is sacred, are being forcibly removed from it, and the whole social fabric is being torn.

What is happening has to be interpreted in the context of the general trend of ‘development’ activity in the resource rich region of central India. To take the case of Chhattisgarh alone, in the recent past, the people of Chhattisgarh have faced a continuous onslaught on their human rights through displacement in the wake of several ‘development’ projects like dams, factories and express highways, and through the blatant loot of natural resources like forests, minerals, land, water and natural resources. Thermal Power Plants and Sponge Iron factories have destroyed the once pristine environment, and Peoples’ legitimate protests about such invasive policies have been brutally suppressed. Workers are forced to work in subhuman conditions in the many older and

new industries of the region like the Bhilai Steel Plant (BSP), National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC), Bharat Aluminium Corpn (BALCO), and Jindal Steel and Power (JSP). In all these industries, there is widespread prevalence of the contractual system, and deaths and injuries in industrial accidents are extremely common. Land Mafiosi and industrial concerns violate the rights of indigenous communities; ordinary people are victims of malnutrition, police excesses, and shrinking life and livelihood opportunities.

We demand:

- ◀ that the government stop using people as a shield and creating armed vigilante groups in villages as a part of its anti-naxal operations.
- ◀ that all killings of civilians and non-combatants by the state as well as by Maoists must be stopped forthwith.
- ◀ that para military forces be withdrawn from the area, authority of the civil administration restored and dialogue with CPI Maoist be initiated.
- ◀ that a judicial enquiry be held into all killings committed by the Salwa Judum/Security forces which have gone unrecorded.
- ◀ that camps should be dismantled and government should assist people in regaining their livelihood in their villages.
- ◀ that both the government and the CPI Maoist must ensure that people return to their homes in peace and security.

from

Report on the Salwa Judum, Dantewara District, by an All-India team (PUCL Chhattisgarh and PUCL Jharkhand, PUDR, Delhi, APDR, West Bengal and IAPL), Nov-Dec 2005

On Prison Conditions

Before we Indians get all smug and self-righteous about those horrible Yanks, let’s remind ourselves that Abu Ghraib and Guantamos became the norm in Indian jails throughout the 1970’s and 1980’s, and probably still are in some prisons and police thanas throughout the country. No one went around with a camera recording the abuse and torture of prisoners, no commissions of inquiry were appointed to investigate the scandalous conditions of most Indian prisons.

Gautam Sen in Gyanoprobha



Nuclear Energy

Is nuclear power a realistic option?

■ Peter Bunyard

Today, 440 nuclear reactors, with a capacity totalling 363 gigawatts (109 watts), provide 16 percent of electricity used worldwide, and 6 percent of total energy worldwide. The reactors need about 67,000 tonnes of natural uranium annually. Uranium, like petroleum is a finite resource. Once the high-grade uranium ores are exhausted, the energy required to extract and process the more common but much poorer grade ores for continuing use in nuclear reactors will result in the production of more CO₂ than if fossil fuels were burned directly. Hence, a massive worldwide nuclear programme will add cumulatively to energy demands, rather than solve them.

- Current uranium reserves, according to 2003 data from the World Nuclear Association, are about 3.5 million tonnes, enough to last 50 years but only at present consumption rates. If large numbers of nuclear reactors were to be built to satisfy our ever-increasing demand for electricity, reserves of high-grade ore would be rapidly exhausted, leaving huge quantities of low-grade ores most of which would cost more energy to utilise than it would deliver in electricity. Even if useful uranium resources were found to be much larger than now estimated, it would only satisfy global demand for several decades and then the world would be left with huge quantities of radioactive waste with no source of energy to sequester it safely.
- According to detailed research published this year (2005), if all the world's electricity, currently 55 exajoules (1018 joules) or 15,000 terawatt(1012 watts)-hours, could be generated by nuclear reactors, the world's known uranium reserves would last years, if full dismantling costs of nuclear plants are included.
- As 2003 data from the World Nuclear Association shows, there is not even enough uranium left to provide the world's current annual total electrical production of 55 EJ for a decade, even if the large amount of energy needed to properly dismantle the reactor is also used,

Nuclear power actually requires large amounts of fossil fuel, carbon dioxide-producing energy, used in the mining of uranium, its milling and enrichment; in the building of nuclear plants and reactors, the transport and storage of large quantities of highly dangerous radioactive waste for millennia; and in the decommissioning and final dismantling of nuclear plants.

thus leaving the dangers of radioactive waste pollution of the environment for future generations to bear.

- A disturbing feature of the cost of nuclear power is many of the costs will have to be paid by unborn generations, who will not have benefitted from the nuclear-produced energy. A great deal of fossil fuel is needed after a nuclear power plant has stopped producing energy. To date none of these huge debts incurred by existing nuclear power plants have been paid.
- An analysis shown in the study Nuclear Power, The Energy Balance of the complete lifecycle of nuclear power, shows generating electricity from nuclear power emits 20-40% of the carbon dioxide per kiloWatt hour of a gas-fired system. this is a temporary situation, true only as long as rich, high-grade uranium ores are available. Once high-grade ores are exhausted, and lower grades used, the carbon dioxide emissions from nuclear power will increase until more energy is used than produced.
- Nuclear power also emits other greenhouse gases besides carbon dioxide with far stronger global warming consequences, such as CFCs. - see article, Nuclear power creates potent climate warming gas by Dr Caldicott.
- Seawater contains 3.3 milligram of uranium per cubic metre of seawater and has been considered a possible future source for energy use. Total seawater volume is estimated at 1.37 billion cubic kilometres, with the oceans containing around 4.5 billion tonnes of uranium. It's technically possible to extract uranium from seawater but enormous, prohibitive energy and chemical inputs would be necessary as the uranium is in such dilute quantities in the vast oceans. Existing research shows uranium from seawater can't be considered a practicable option for the global energy supply. Energy consumption of the extraction processes would equal the energy content of the uranium.

Aside from the scarcity of high-grade nuclear ore, if the



world were to embark on the construction of nuclear plants to replace all coal-fired power plants, it would require one gigawatt-sized nuclear reactor to be built every two and a half days for 38 years. According to William Keepin, in his 1990 report for Greenpeace, 5,000 nuclear plants would be needed to displace the estimated 9.4 terawatts of coal required for electricity generation in the world by 2025. With highly optimistic assumptions about capital costs and plant reliability, total electricity generation costs (1990 US dollars) would average \$525 billion per year.

Is nuclear power safe?

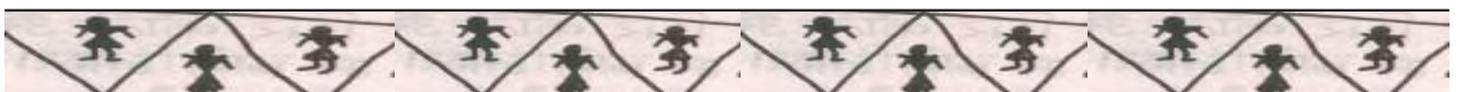
- Reprocessing spent fuel over the past 40 years, at Sellafield in Cumbria and similar plants at Cap de la Hague over the Channel in Normandy, has led to the spread of radioactive material, such as tritium and carbon-14 into the Irish Sea and in waters around the Channel Islands. Many, including the Irish government, believe significant increases in childhood cancers around Sellafield and Down's syndrome in Ireland, have resulted from radioactive contamination. Imagine the long-term consequences of a world deriving its energy primarily from plutonium.
- Currently, in Western Europe, with numerous nuclear power plants, rivers are used for disposing of the cooling water from the reactors of nuclear power plants, as well as being used for drinking water. The cooling water becomes highly tritium-radioactive. The long-term effects and biochemical reactions of tritium and carbon-14 in living organisms are not understood. A sustainable energy system would require all tritium be sequestered from the biosphere. But this has not been done because of the huge costs of trying to safely keep very large numbers of containers with tritiated waste, which would also require a similar immense use of energy.
- A leaked document from the UK Parliamentary Office of Science & Technology reported by New Scientist magazine on 26/5/04, said a terror attack such as a large plane crashing into a reactor could release as much radioactivity as the Chernobyl accident in 1986, while a crash into waste tanks at Sellafield in Cumbria could cause at worst, "several million fatalities".
- Other reports reveal although no-fly zones around nuclear sites in the U.K. have been doubled since the Sept 11 attack in the US., there have been many breaches by

An accident could also claim millions of lives. The 2004 leaked report acknowledges the risks are difficult to assess because so much information - including operators' estimates of the health impacts of radiation releases - is kept secret.

both military and civilian aircraft straying into the no-fly zones. "It is totally unacceptable that the information we need to judge the risks is kept confidential, and that we have to take so much on trust," says Llew Smith, a Welsh MP investigating the risks of nuclear attacks by terrorists.

- Uranium-238, the most prevalent isotope in uranium ore, has a half life of about 4.5 billion years. Its associated decay products, thorium-230 and radium -226 will remain hazardous for thousands of years. Current U.S. regulations only cover a period of just 1000 years for mill tailings, although the half lives of the principal radioactive components of mill tailings, thorium-230 and radium -226 are about 75,000 years and 1,600 years respectively. This means future generations, far beyond the promised protection limits of these regulations will face significant risks from our uranium mining, milling and process.
- Continuing to store depleted uranium hexafluoride, DUF6, the by-product of uranium enrichment, in cylinders requires constant maintenance and monitoring because the estimated lifetime of the cylinders is measured in decades, whereas the half-life of the main constituent of DU, uranium-238 is about 4.5 billion years. Storage cylinders must be regularly inspected for evidence of corrosion and leakage. Long-term storage presents environmental, health and safety hazards, due to the instability of UF6. When exposed to moist air, it reacts with water in the air to produce uranyl fluoride and hydrogen fluoride, both of which are toxic.
- Sloppy maintenance in the nuclear industry raises serious concerns. Radioactive material leaked unnoticed for eight months from a fractured pipe for eight months from August 2004 until April 2005, at the British Nuclear Fuels thermal oxide reprocessing plant at Sellafield. No one noticed concentrated nitric acid, containing 20 tonnes of uranium and 160 kilograms of plutonium spewing onto the concrete floor. No alarm bells rang. Spillage of highly radioactive nuclear waste containing enough fissile material for several nuclear weapons does not inspire confidence. Huge costs of shoring up the nuclear plants when equipment fails are another concern.

(This article has been extracted from a larger article by Peter and updated for Pacific Ecologist by its editor.)



Nalgonda

Padayatra against Proposed Uranium Mining

■ Satyalakshmi

Recently a padayatra - marathon walk, meandered its way through the dusty terrains adjoining the Krishna River Reservoir, the Nagarjuna Sagar Dam, in the Nalgonda District of Andhra Pradesh to highlight the gross dangers that the proposed uranium mining pose to the lives of the local populace and also those getting their water supply from the Sagar.

The Movement Against Uranium Project (MAUP), a constituent of the CNDP took the initiative in organising the people's protest. Dr. Satya Lakshmi and Dr. Chenna Vasavaiah, both CNDP NCC members, played a leading role in organizing this initiative.

Ms. Saraswati K, a young environmentalist and filmmaker, and Mr. Kishan, an environmentalist from Hyderabad, were among other leading organisers. The CPI, the CPI-ML (New Democracy) and the Jana Vigyan Vedika were among organizers actively involved. The local unit of the CPI(M), the Congress and TDP activists publicly proclaimed their support and concerns.

The padayatra commenced on January 3 from the Peddagattu village, on the top a hillock, earmarked for underground mining. On the first day the padayatra passed through four villages stretching over 22 kilometres. On the second day it covered eight villages and 26 kilometres. Three major towns on the way joined enthusiastically. On the third day, it started from PeddaVoora Mandal and reached PA Pally Mandal covering 30 kms. and eight villages enroute. The next day, the marchers proceeded to Mallepally and from there to Devarakonda town. By then the support had significantly swelled and major political parties like CPI(M), Congress(I) and the Telegu Desam came forward to express their solidarity. On the fifth and concluding day, the paadayatra started at Devarakonda and ended at Seripally, the proposed site for uranium processing, in the afternoon

covering a number of small hamlets and villages on the way. A largely attended public meeting was held as the culminating event. All the groups were represented. The meeting expressed its determination to take the people's struggle further forward and foil the life-threatening Project at all costs.

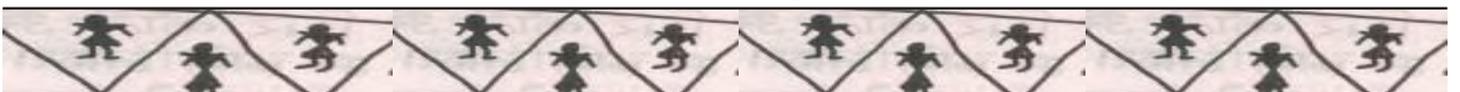
The CPI MLA from Munugodu spoke at length and conveyed the message of solidarity by Mr. Suravaram Sudhakar Reddy, the MP from Nalgonda. Other speakers included Ms. Padma, a state level front ranking woman leader. Dr. Satya Lakshmi talked of the recent MAUP letter

The march was a perfect foil, reflecting the 'real' concerns of the 'real' people as regards ongoing scientific-technological 'developments' and its effects on their own lives, for the glittering razzmatazz under way at the same time in the not too far away state capital Hyderabad in the name of deliberating science and technology for the rural folks under the exalted banner of the Science Congress.

to the Secretary, Ministry of Environment & Forests protesting against the Environmental Clearance dated 21.12.2005 accorded to the UCIL for the Uranium Mining Project at Peddagattu-Lambapur in Nalgonda district disregarding the overwhelming opposition from the public, voluntary organizations and

experts pointing to and elaborating the dangers arising out of the proposed project abutting the Nagarjuna Sagar Reservoir, catering drinking and irrigation water to about one third population of the state, including the Hyderabad.

The prominent activists who had participated in the march includes Dr. Surendra Gadekar and Ms. Kesri Das from Sampurna Kranti Vidyalay, Vedchi, Gujarat; Mr. Rajan Naidu, a human rights activist from Auroville, Pondicherry; Mr. Gummadi Narasaiah, CPI-ML (New Democracy) from Yellendu, Khammam; Prof. Vishnu Kamat and Mr. Ramakrishna from CANE (Citizens for Alternatives to Nuclear Energy), Bangalore; Ms. Meera – a social activist from UK; Dr. K Balagopal, a leading human rights activist from Hyderabad. Dr. Srikumar from NIT, Suratkal, Mangalore and Mr. Sukla Sen from CNDP. Apart from the local people, a good number of prominent social activists, filmmakers, writers, journalists, doctors and lawyers from Hyderabad had also joined the Yatra.



CNDP Activities

Children for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace

Children for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace

Rememberin the victims of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings in August 1945 by America, Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP) observed “ Hiroshima and Nagasaki Week” at its various state chapters across India in commemoration of its 60th anniversary. During this week from 6th to 12th August 2005, CNDP made a call for an action against the race for nuclear arms and appeal for peace to various institutions and civil society organizations in Bihar, Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Chhattisgarh, Delhi, Goa, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab, Pondicherry, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh.

A weeklong campaign for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament at various schools in the form of Children’s programme were carried out. In an attempt to inculcate the need for peace and the threat of nuclear arms in the minds of the young children intensively. And that the issue of peace would be taken as an important agenda by schools and institutions.

Sanjha Chulha - Sanjhi Roti in Jaipur

A two-day programme was organized by CNDP at Jawahar Kala Kendra (Jaipur) on the theme of *Sanjha Chula Sanjhi Roti*. More than hundred students, volunteers and teachers from various schools attended the programme.

On November 12 all participants assembled at children’s park (India gate) and performed there a short cultural programme. Then the caravan proceeded towards Jaipur. In Jaipur They prfformed as well on November 13 and 14, 2005

It was a follow up of weeklong commemoration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and to celebrate children’s s day with the theme “justice and peace” The main objective was to transform children in a pressure group that can contribute in resisting the nuclear arms and war with a long-term vision since children are the future generation as CNDP believes that inculcating the issue of peace and justice in their young minds could help them to grow up as a messenger of peace and be a peace makers.

Jaipur children in Delhi

More than hundred children from Jaipur schools alongwith their teachers came to Delhi and performed different cultural programmes in favour of Nuclear Disarmament and Peace during 2nd-3rd October 2005. The Rajasthan Chapter of CNDP played a vital role in organizing this tour from

Jaipur to Delhi. They performed all along the way to Delhi at villages. Apart from schools in Delhi, Jaipur children performed at Rajghat and Dilli Haat also. On October 3, 2004, students from delhi and Jaipur

schools jointly performed at Dilli Haat. The whole event was comprised of dozens of plays, film shows, songs and musical items. A number of peace activists and journalists attended the event with full support for peace and nuclear disarmament.

CNDP-NCC meets in Goa and Chennai

The CNDP-NCC Meeting was held at Panjim, Goa on June 25-26, 2005 and in Chennai on October 8-9, 2005.

Apart from the reports from CNDP state chapters, other issues were discussed in Goa such as Nuclear Audit in South Asia, Landmines in Rajasthan, Indo-Pakistan Peace March, Special issue of Peace Now on 60th anniversary of Hiroshima & Nagasaki and other programmes in the schools/ colleges. NCC endorsed the proposed seminar on Palestine. Members present in the meeting were discussed the proposal of Pakistan Peace Coalition on the issue of South Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone. It was decided that the next venue and date for the CNDP, NCC meeting to be in Chennai.

In Chennai, The editorial Board for Peace Now was finalised. It comprised of J.Sri Raman, Sukla Sen, Qamar Agha, Anil Chaudhary, Iilina Sen, M.V.Ramana and Zia Mian. Four issues in a year will be committed. However, there may be some deviations based on exigencies. There cannot be a committed number in case of special issues. Special issues will be specially priced. There was a discussion on the UP and Maharastra state conventions. Other issues discussed there were the proposed Palestine seminar, and the forthcoming children’s book by Orient Longman.



A ten-minute film on the Chernobyl disaster is to be attempted through an independent filmmaker. The next CNDP-NCC would be at Nalgonda (Andhra Pradesh) on February 18-19, 2006.

UP convention at Lucknow

The UP chapter of CNDP organized a state level convention around the theme of *Ideology of Bomb Destruction or Preference to Development* on November 26-27, 2005 in Lucknow. The themes of the different sessions were Emergence of uni-polar World- threat to world peace, India's Iranian Dilemma – in the context of Indo-US Nuclear deal, India's Iranian Dilemma – in the context of Indo-US Nuclear deal, Peace movement in South Asia. In the evening of November 26 a cultural evening was planned, when the renowned Pakistani theatre artist Sheema Kirmani of Tehrik-e-Niswan performed a part of a play Zikr-e-Nasunida. On November 27 there was a demonstration against Indo-US Nuclear deal at Sardar Patel statue (Hazratganj) Lucknow. Followed by a press conference, where the Lucknow Declaration by CNDP was released.

Seminar on “Palestine Today”

CNDP organized a two-day seminar on Palestine on October 22-23, 2005 to express solidarity with the Palestinian Struggle, which was attended by representatives from India and particularly from Malaysia and Palestine. The theme of the seminar was *Palestine Today: Realities & Perspectives for Struggle*.

The Seminar began Dr. Raji Sourani's paper read out by Qamar Agha from CNDP. Followed by other speakers Prof. Aijaz Ahmad, JMI (India), Mr. Chandra Muzaffar, and President of International Movement for a Just World (JUST) and Founding Member of ICPCSS (Malaysia), Dr. Jan Selby of Sussex University and Dr. Bashir Barghouti (Palestine). Prof. Zoya Hasan, JNU, INDIA, chaired the session.

In the second session presentation by representatives of Indian Political parties was made. The presentatives were Com. Manoj Bhattacharya of Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) and Com. Raja of CPI and Com. Prakash Karat, General Secretary of CPI (M). Mr. Praful Bidwai, Independent Journalist and Columnist chaired this session. After the round of discussions it was said the leftist government would ask the present UPA government to ask them to review about their stance on Palestinian issue and subsequently ask them to follow an independent Foreign Policy.

On October 23, the first session was on *Media vis-a vis*

Palestine, chaired by Ms. Pamela Philipose (Senior Editor, Indian Express). The speakers included Sukumar Muralidharan (Frontline), Seema Mustafa (The Asian Age) and Amit Sengupta (Teelka). This was followed by a plenary session wherein the participants put forth their observations, comments and queries. Presented below is compendium of the same:

The second session was focussed on *Building Civil Societies Linkages in India and the South*, which was chaired by Anil Chaudhary. Among speakers were Bashir Barghouti, (Palestine), Chandra Muzaffar, Ram Karthigasu, Founding Member, ICPCSS and Achin Vanaik. Mr. Chaudhary appreciated the fact that the seminar has had a sustained focus on practical steps that need to be taken in each segment.

After the presentation was made, the next session was the round of discussion, which was attended by N D Jayprakash, Anil Chaudhary Asad from Mumbai, Thomas Matthew from Samajik Nyaya Morcha, Jameela Nishat, Shaadi, Achin Vanaik, Chandra Muzaffar and Bashir Barghouti,

A film made by BBC on Shatilla and Shabira Camp massacre of Palestine in Lebanon in 1982 by Flangelist Militia was viewed and the two days seminar was concluded.

Tony Blair Go Back!

The CNDP participated with loud Anti-War and Anti-Blair slogans “War Criminal Tony Blair – Go back!” in a march in Delhi on the visit of British Prime Minister Tony Blair in Delhi on September 7, 2005. The campaign initiated and led by CNDP and Lok Raj Sangathan and was joined by all anti-war, anti-fascist, anti-racist forces including AIFTU, People's Front, PUDR, Saheli, Anhad, INSAF, Hind Naujawan Ekta Sabha, PSU, TWSC, CITU, AIDWA, SFI, DYFI, DSF, JANAM, AITUC, AIPSO, AISF, AIYF, NFIW, AISA and FDI.

Prakash Rao, Sucharita, D Raja, Amarjeet Kaur, Achin Vanaik, PK Shahi, Sheomangal Siddhantkar, Kavita Krishnamurthy, Radhika and leaders of various participating organisations were at the head of the demonstration. Police and Rapid Action Force of central government was deployed in full force to stop the demonstration for reaching Hyderabad House, where the summit was taking place.

Hundreds of demonstrators participated in the March carrying beautiful placards and shouting slogans – “War Criminal Tony Blair – GO BACK!”, “Racist Blair, Fascist Blair, Tony Blair, GO BACK!”, “Butcher of Baghdad, Tony Blair,



GO BACK”.

Panel Discussion on A Critique of the India-US Accord

The Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP), India organised a panel discussion on 28th July 2005 at India International Centre (Delhi) to present a critical perspective on the Agreement and the Accord that has otherwise been widely welcomed in many circles and in much of the mainstream media.

The Panelists were Siddarth Vardarajan, Deputy Editor of *The Hindu*, Praful Bidwai, columnist, Achin Vanaik, Professor of International Relations and Global Politics, Delhi University and Anil Chaudhary of PEACE. Panelists discussed and expressed their opinion on the recent “New Framework Agreement on the India-US Defence Relationship” in conjunction with the Accord signed between Manmohan Singh and George Bush in Washington in late July 2005, which has been widely seen as serious developments in the fields of Indian defence, nuclear energy and foreign policy making and behaviour. They discussed the implications for the future of the Indian nuclear energy sector, the prospects of global nuclear disarmament, the strategic implications regarding the tie up with the US and US ambitions to be a global hegemony.

Lucknow Declaration

This LUCKNOW DECLARATION was drafted during the two-days CNDP Convention being held in Lucknow, UP from November 26-27, 2005.

1. The CNDP (UP Chapter) categorically opposes the US attempt to victimize Iran for exercising its sovereign and legal right to have full control over its civilian nuclear fuel cycle. In this context the CNDP condemns India’s vote alongside the US at the September 2005 IAEA governing body meeting in support of a resolution threatening Iran’s future referral to the UN Security Council for the possible imposition of sanctions on Iran.

2. The CNDP opposes the development and possession of nuclear weapons everywhere and by any country. The UP Chapter of the CNDP declares the following:

- a) India having carried out nuclear tests in May 1998 provoking Pakistan to do the same has no moral right to call for global or regional disarmament elsewhere while retaining it’s own nuclear arsenal. The UP chapter of the CNDP therefore calls for the establishment of a South Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone inclusive of India, Pakistan, Nepal,

Bangladesh, Sri Lanka.

- b) The UP Chapter of the CNDP also calls for the unconditional establishment of a Middle Eastern Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone (MEWMDZFZ). This obviously includes nuclear weapons and incorporates among the countries in the region, both Iran and Israel. We demand that India declare its unequivocal support to this proposal irrespective of any objections by the US, Israel or any other country in or outside the region.
- c) The CNDP calls on all the nuclear weapon powers to set up along with the non-nuclear weapon states an international conference to immediately initiate the process of global nuclear disarmament through verifiable steps of steady and cumulative nuclear disarmament carried out by all nuclear weapon states.

3. Since a military potential and dual-use capacity is inherent in all civilian nuclear energy programmes, there is a vital need to establish complete transparency in the functioning of all such programmes everywhere. The UP Chapter of CNDP therefore opposes all selective and hypocritical approaches (e.g., as in the case of Iran) in this respect and calls for the establishment of a universally applicable, multi-lateral treaty aimed at ensuring such complete and global transparency in the civilian nuclear energy programmes of all countries, including those of the nuclear weapon states, de jure (the P-5) or de facto (India, Pakistan, Israel). An international and impartial agency not beholden to or manipulable by any country or group of countries must be set up as part of the terms of such an international treaty to carry out the vital and necessary functions of global monitoring, verification, recording and publicity.

Mayors for Peace

“...Over the Next year, Mayors for Peace, which consists of Mayors from over 1,000 cities worldwide, will work with nations, NGOs and others to launch a great diversity of campaigns for the abolition of nuclear weapons....”

Unfortunately, the Review Conference of Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty this past May left no doubt that the U.S., Russia, Britain, France, China, India, Pakistan and North Korea, and a few other nations wishing to become nuclear-weapon states, are ignoring the majority voices of the people and governments of the world..”

-Hiroshima Mayor **Tadatoshi Akiba.**



Peace Initiatives

Crossing Borders through the Performing Arts

■ Sheema Kermani

This paper will deal specifically with the contribution and inputs of Tehrik-e-Niswan Cultural Action Group to the Peace movement between India and Pakistan. The raison d'être of this paper is that artists should try to be conscious of what they are trying to do; while they are endeavouring to attain self-awareness as artists, they should also communicate their findings to society. On the other hand, the intellectuals must put away blinkers of arbitrary theories and examine their genuine and spontaneous responses to works of art.

We artists believe that culture, the arts and creative media in general, present many opportunities for the promotion of the understanding of human rights and for forging unity amongst the peoples of India and Pakistan. Dance, music, visual and performing arts transcend language barriers and serve as incredible, almost magical means of communication and bonding.

In a broad sense, a culture cannot be developed! It emerges over time. It may change and at best evolve. To me it seems that it is not possible to talk of a society without talking about its culture; the development of a society is not only about economics and finance but also about how developed its culture is. To treat literacy and art in a purely instrumental way, as most development programs do, is to reinforce values that are part of the problem, not the solution. Do we want only materialistic development? Have we no interest in spiritual, artistic and political development? How can we address the question of literacy, if we ignore the question of what there is to read? Culture therefore to me means not just art, music, dance and drama but a whole way of life. It includes thought and action and speech, food and clothing, love and friendship, the relationship between the sexes, the position of women and children, beauty and enjoyment, sport and recreation, the pursuit of knowledge and happiness, and the attempt to discover the meaning of life. Culture is how an individual expresses one's self and the sum total of how all members of a society express themselves.

Tehrik-e-Niswan was formed in 1980. The main aim was to try and integrate art and politics with especial emphasis on women's rights. In a society where there is conflict, art, if it is truthful, must also reflect the conflict and the decay. It

must show the world as changeable. And help to change it. Whenever Tehrik sets out to produce a work of art, be it dance or drama, this world outlook, this ideology and a highly conscious rational process is kept in mind. Some of these ideas are:

- To create awareness and change moral attitudes especially about relations between India and Pakistan and between Hindus and Muslims.
- To fight obscurantism and all kinds of fundamentalism especially religious fundamentalism.
- To empower the oppressed people of India and Pakistan so that they take control of their lives and try to bring about a social change.
- To create an atmosphere of Peace and Harmony between the peoples of the two countries.

“Who Am I?” is a one-woman dance theatre. It uses the narrative as well as dialogic performance along with music, song and dance. It comments on “History” as being “His” story because “Her” story has never been written. Even though it was created to depict the lives of women in Pakistan it raises universal issues /problems.

The very first theatre production of Tehrik-e-Niswan in 1980 was an adaptation of Safdar Hashmi's play “Aurat”. This play shows short vignettes on the lives of women in different situations and belonging to different classes. Tehrik has

held over 300 performances of this particular play and it always receives very popular applause. However, Tehrik made one major change to the script by Safdar. The original script starts off with describing woman through the defined roles given to her by society. Safdar wrote his opening scene:

Woman: I am a mother,
I am a sister,
I am a wife,
I am a daughter,
I am a woman.

Tehrik from its very inception has strived towards a feminist and humanist ideology. Our ambition is not only to represent reality but also to shape it. We felt that this is surely the manner a decadent society defines a woman, but a woman is more than the roles patriarchal society gives her. She is a human being first and then a wife, mother etc. So our opening scene is:

Man1: She is a mother
Man 2: She is a daughter
Man3: She is a sister



Man 4: She is a wife
 Woman: I am a human being.

It is men who define these roles for a woman. They would never do the same for themselves. No man will define himself as a father, brother, husband etc. So the woman has to protest. She has to say that she is a human being first and then she is a woman.

Another feminist play was adapted from the short stories of Amrita Pritam. The collection of stories was entitled “Dard Kay Faslay”- a line from Faiz Ahmed Faiz. We kept the same name and there was hardly any difference in the lives and problems of the female characters. This play was performed in 1981. At the premiere of the play we invited Amrita Pritam to Pakistan but she could not get a visa.

In 1985 Tehrik found a script by Vijay Tendulkar, a contemporary Marathi playwright. This was “Anji”- short for Anjali Sharma in India and Arjumand Ara in Pakistan, a young single workingwoman who sets out on a journey to find a husband for herself. We happily found that the perils for a single workingwoman were exactly the same in India as in Pakistan.

Surendra Verma is a well-known name in the field of Hindi literature both as a short story writer and a playwright. In 1989 Tehrik performed three of his one-act plays “Neend Kyun Raat Bhar Nahi Ati”, “Samjhaoon Tou Samjha Na Sakhon” and “Woh Naak Say Boltey Hain”. These plays bring out the conflicts and dilemmas of contemporary society- the pangs of transition, a renewed search for identity and the discovery of new emotional bonds amidst crumbling values.

The same year, 1989, Tehrik-e-Niswan was invited to present a play from Pakistan by the India International Centre, Delhi. Since there was no budget for the performance we decided on a small two-member cast play by Rafi Peerzada. The play was entitled “Raaz o Niaz” and was set in a houseboat in Kashmir. This play had two performances at the India International Centre and was the first theatre play from Pakistan to be performed in India.

In 1988 Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi came to Islamabad to meet Benazir Bhutto the then Prime Minister of Pakistan. India and Pakistan signed a Cultural Accord that Pakistani and Indian artists would be given scholarships through an exchange programme between the two countries. I was lucky enough to get an ICCR (Indian Council of Cultural

Relations) scholarship to study Indian Classical dance at Delhi. This gave me an opportunity to meet many Indian artists, performers, writers etc. I spent some time with Habib Tanvir and his Chattisgarh troupe. Habib sahib was working on an anti-communal play “Jinnay Lahore Nahin Vekhya” written by Asghar Wajahat. I spent many days observing his rehearsals and many evenings discussing the aesthetics of theatre with Habib sahib and with Monica Habib. In 1991 with the writers permission Tehrik-e-Niswan slightly adapted the play and was preparing to perform it. The play is set in Lahore immediately after the partition of the sub-continent. The main protagonist is an old Hindu woman who has refused to leave her haveli while all her family have left. The play is basically for religious harmony tolerance and anti fanaticism.

The play (Lahore) was not allowed public performances – i.e. we could not sell tickets, hold the performance at a public place and could not advertise. So the play became subversive. But art is always subversive- because art tells the truth.

We in Pakistan still have to get the NOC, a No Objection Certificate from the local government authorities for all public performances; and to get the NOC the script has to pass through the

editor of the Ministry of Information. “Jinnay Lahore Nahin Vekhya” did not pass the censor as they had two objections:

- 1- A good Hindu may not be the main character.
- 2- A Maulvi may not be murdered

The play was performed in the premises of the Goethe Institut, Karachi, to packed houses for a week. It received much publicity. What is banned becomes controversial. Both Habib Tanvir and Asghar Wajahat were invited by Tehrik but were refused visas.

These are some of the interventions that Tehrik-e-Niswan had initiated itself without any support from other organisations. They are an example of how Pakistani culture and Indian culture shares similarities and it is these similarities that we need to own and be proud of. I am proud to belong to a multilingual, multidominational, multi-racial country. I cherish the fact that we have a great many languages, religious denominations, literatures, traditions of music and dance and great many distinct cultural traditions within us. There is something very comforting and deeply humane about a country so heterogeneous. When I was studying in Karachi I had 4 Parsi girls, 3 Hindus and 5 Christian girls in my class. Now you find only Muslims –all others have left the country! It is the very suppression of all of this that has been the greatest tragedy of Pakistan and if we can revive our links with what we have lost we may be able to survive.



One is always amazed to discover the various elements that become part of traditions and culture. I have always believed that it is not religion alone that creates different cultures! In fact, living in Pakistan one has for the last so many years been told that dance is not part of our culture and that it is part of Indian culture; by calling it Indian culture they obviously imply that it is part of Hindu life and not Muslim life. My experience in the field of performing arts has reaffirmed my belief that it is not religion but the Patriarchal system that determines the status of women and the status of artists. Gangubai Hangal, a much respected female classical vocalist had once said, "If a male musician is a Muslim, he becomes an Ustad, if a Hindu he is a Pundit, but women like Kesarbai and Gangubai and Akhtaribai always remain just Bais".

All these problems we share with our Indian counterparts! Where is the difference I ask?

Pakistan India Peoples Forum for Peace and Democracy's first Convention was held at Delhi in 1995. For this convention I had specially choreographed two poems by Faiz Ahmed Faiz "Aaj Kay Naam" and "Yaad", a poem by Fehmida Riaz "Aao Aye Humwaton Raqs Karo" and one by the Punjabi Sufi Saint-Poet Baba Bulleh Shah in the classical Odissi style. I presented these dances at the Sapru house cultural event on 24th Feb 1995. The Sufi/Bhakti tradition symbolises the great cultural synthesis that took place in the sub-continent and which gave birth to a large variety of creative arts. Bulleh Shah who is sung in Pakistan as well as in India is one of the finest examples of this synthesis.

"Peace is partly institutional and mainly individual. Its basic locus is the mind of the individual. If it is not deep and firm there, its institutional form cannot be durable and effective. Unless we, as individual human beings, are peace-loving, i.e. unless we love our fellow human beings, our institutional behaviour cannot promote peace and culture in the desired direction and at desired pace."

D.P. Chattopadhyaya

I choreographed Rabindranath Tagore's poem "Where the Mind is without Fear", as a tribute not only to a great man but as an acknowledgment of our shared heritage. As I interpreted and understood this poem I found so many layers in it. It not only seeks a better world and a better life but also is a tribute to nature and can be seen in the light of male female relationships. This is how I present it in my dance drama. I performed it at Nishtar Hall, Peshawar for the PIPFD Convention on 21 Nov 1998, then at the Pakistan Peace Conference at Karachi in 1999 and in 2004 at Kolkata, where the Bengal chapter of PIPFD invited me. Tehrik's production of "Aik Hazar Aur Aik Theen Ratain" was invited to the Nandikar Festival in Kolkata in Decem-

ber 1998. It was the first Pakistani play to be sponsored by ICCR and shown at Kolkata, Kalyani, Kamani Auditorium, Delhi and also at Lucknow. The play is adapted from stories taken from "A Thousand and One Nights". The main character Shahrazad transforms an inhuman chauvinist male Prince Shahriyar into a compassionate and wise human being, through the art of story telling.

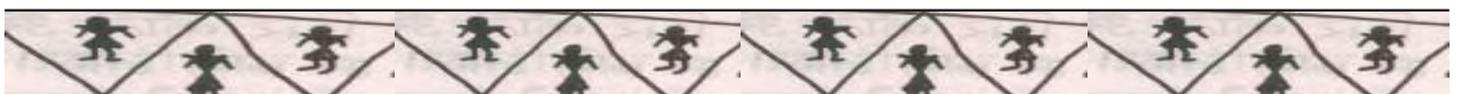
Whenever and wherever I have performed it, women have always warmed towards it and found relevance. I have performed it in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal and in Bangalore, India at the PIPFD Convention in April 2000.

We have held two workshops with Indian Theatre Directors, Mohan Maharishi and Rati Bartholomew who came to Karachi for this purpose in 1997 and 1998. These workshops were conducted by them for the Tehrik Theatre group.

"The Elephant and the Tragopan" is a poem taken from a collection "Beastly Tales from Here and There" written by Vikram Seth. This poem was especially translated into Urdu by Fehmida Riaz for Tehrik-e-Niswan and then choreographed and directed by me into a musical play "Jungle Jungle Zindabad" and performed at Karachi in 2001 and at Lahore in 2005

Tehrik-e-Niswan's "Jang Ab Nahin Ho Gi", is based on Aristophanes' Greek classic "Lysistrata", written in 411 B.C. "Lysistrata" is one of the most remarkable Peace plays in world literature and today, nearly 2500 years later, it still holds amazing relevance anywhere in the world. The Urdu version "Jang Ab Nahin Ho Gi" has been skilfully adapted

and translated for Tehrik by the well-known Fehmida Riaz. Having gained their independence through a joint struggle against foreign colonial rule, two tribes, the Khaebani and the Phool Machhi, are kept in constant state of strife, conflict and war amongst themselves by their chauvinistic rulers. Pained and disgusted by the state of affairs in this patriarchal set-up, the women of both of the warring tribes unite to bring about a change by refusing the men their (so-called) conjugal rights. To render the men completely helpless, they also manage to gain control of the state coffers. The war machinery, thus, comes to a grinding halt and the men folk finally are made to see reason.



For me this is a feminist play as well as an anti-war play. The comic element underpins a dire situation – the destructive nature of war is an extension of the destructive nature of patriarchy! To treat a situation as serious as war in a comic way is difficult - but then comedy has long been recognized as a very powerful tool by which to make a comment on society and on the characters in society. I had actually planned this play as an Indo-Pakistan production with Rati Bartholomew as the director from India but Kargil happened and of course Rati could not come. “Jang Ab Nahin Ho Gi” was first performed in Karachi in 2002. It has been performed repeatedly in Karachi, Lahore and excerpts were presented at the PIPFD Karachi Convention.

“Rhythms of Peace”, a classical dance programme held in 2003. I had planned this dance performance with Sharmistha Mukherjee from India but she was refused visa on the grounds that dance is not allowed in Pakistan. We held the programme without her. The programme included dances choreographed on poems by Tagore, Amir Khusrau and Sarojini Naidu.

“Zikr-e-Nashunida” was performed in Karachi in March 2005 and we hope to take this to neighbouring countries.

Our belief is that sustainable change needs culture to thrive

and endure. Indeed, we have seen how culture can be a powerful mobilizing tool to increase awareness, encourage debate and even change significant realities.

I hope that it is clear to all of us how Peace and Culture are indivisible. Peace is not mere “ceasefire” or “cessation of hostilities”. Nor is it a mere prevention of war brought about by military threat or economic sanction. Peace, as I understand it, is a positive moral disposition and evident in conduct. Gandhi, following Buddha and Christ, calls it love. Love for all, human as well as subhuman creatures. Even plant life and environment do not fall outside its scope. To destroy environment and misuse natural resources

are acts of violence and offence against humankind and our posterity.

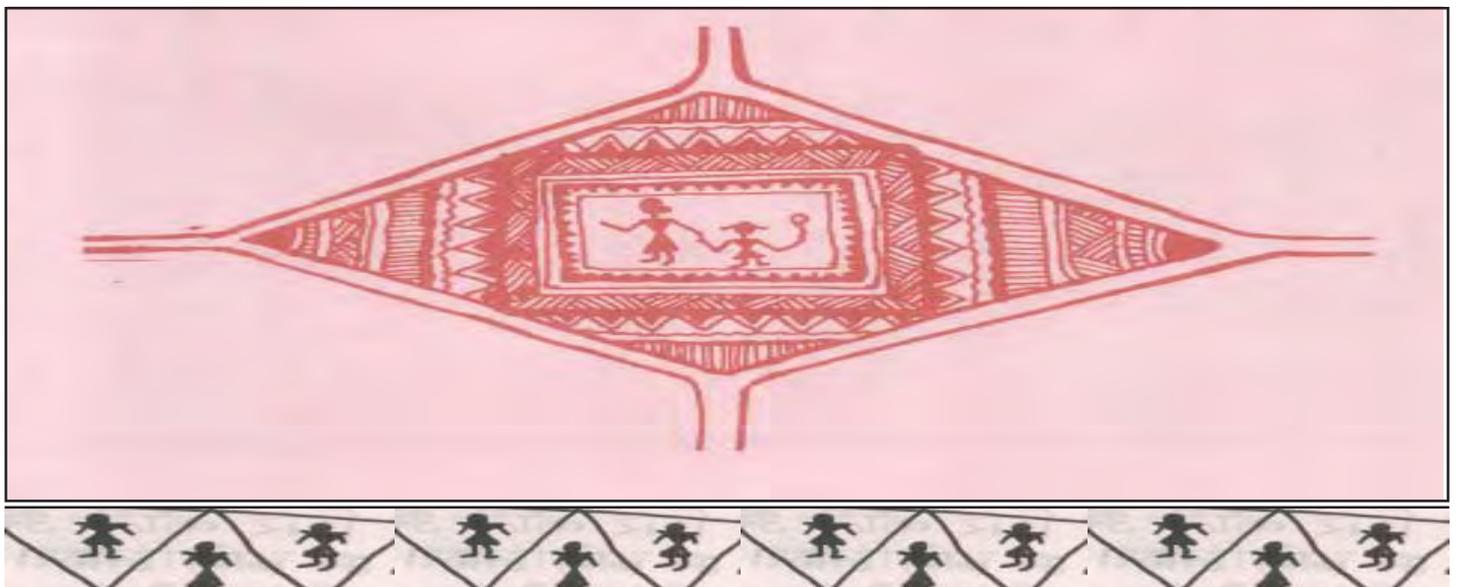
So it is a culture that has to be created, a culture that has to evolve, a Culture of Peace.

The aim of this paper is two fold: to analyse our work from the point of view of how it communicates at a larger collective level, and secondly to emphasise that without culture Peace is not possible. Also to determine our role as artists so that the performing arts act as a social phenomenon for the welfare, refinement and growth of the hearts/minds of the people of both India and Pakistan, to be able to play a productive role in their rebirth, both on the individual and collective level, leading to a better state of human coexistence.

Media has reduced the true trauma of war to “events’ and the benumbed consumption process sets aside the tragedies of the people, dislocation of communities and destruction of the environment. The reality of the crimes, oppression, cruelty and inhumanness are garbed in the shimmer of martyrdom, medals, patriotism and the notion of the nation state, while those who suffer plunder, loot, rape, loss of dignity.. are reduced to mere data.

The process which brought together the two geographically separated sensibilities on a platform to examine and exchange ideas, to invent an idiom and aesthetic cohesive, to speak about a shared philosophy of life, was one more occasion of reassurance.”

Prasanna Ramaswamy



PARLIAMENTARIANS AND CIVIL SOCIETY APPEAL ON IRAN AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS

A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE IRAN CRISIS AND A NUCLEAR-FREE MIDDLE EAST NO FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

To,

President George Bush
Secy of State Condoleeza Rice
Secy of Defence Donald Rumsfeld
UN Ambassador John Bolton
President Ahmadinejad of Iran
Foreign Minister of Iran, Kamal Jharze
Iran UN Ambassador, H.E. Zarif-Khonsari
Ariel Sharon, Prime Minister of Israel,
Israel Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom,
H.E. Mr. Dan Gillerman, Israel UN Mission

cc:

Mr Jose Manuel Barroso,
President of the European Commission

Tony Blair,
Prime Minister of UK and Exercising President of the
European Council

Jack Straw,
Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
The Hon. John Howard, Prime Minister of Australia
The Hon. Alexander Downer, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Australia

M. Jacques Chirac, Président de la République Française
M. Dominique de Villepin, Premier Ministre
M. Philippe Douste-Blazy, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères

Herr Horst Köhler, Bundespräsident Deutschlands
Frau Angela Merkel, Bundeskanzlerin Deutschlands
Dr. Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Deutsche Bundesausssenminister

Mr Kofi Annan, General Secretary of the United Nations
Mr Mohamed ElBaradei, Director of the IAEA

Dear Presidents Bush and Ahmadinejad, Presidents, Prime Ministers,
Foreign Ministers, Secretaries of State and Defence and Ambassadors,

The proliferation of nuclear weapons is possibly the single greatest threat
to civilisation. If a feared cascade of proliferation occurs, the probability

that by malice, madness, miscalculation or malfunction, nuclear weapons
will at some point be used will increase sharply. All nations have a respon-
sibility to ensure that the number of nations with nuclear weapons does
not grow, to prevent non-state actors from obtaining them, and for those
who possess nuclear weapons to eliminate and abolish them.

Threats and rumours of military action or even nuclear weapons use only
worsen a growing crisis between Iran, the United States, and Israel.

Reports of preparations for and explorations of military options, no mat-
ter how speculative, are highly disturbing and are in themselves dangerous.
Such explorations must cease. There must be no talk of war.

But there IS talk of war, both from the United States and from Israel.
President Ahmadinejad, you have spoken of “wiping Israel from the map.”

In the US and Israel, ‘hotheads’ call openly for “swift military action”,
while ‘responsible’ leaders speak of “no option being ruled out.” Presi-
dent Bush, we heard these same two formulations used just months before
the invasion of Iraq. We urge that the explorations of military or nuclear
options cease immediately, and support IAEA General Director, Mohamed
ElBaradei in calling for this belligerent talk from all parties to stop now.

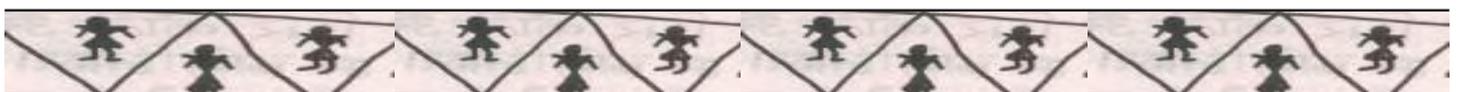
The United States and other Nuclear Weapon States and de facto nuclear
weapon states -nations that already possess nuclear weapons- have made
little progress toward the internationally mandated goal of the total and
unequivocal elimination of those weapons. Although there has been some
limited progress in lowering total nuclear stockpiles, the established nuclear
weapons possessors continue to rely on those weapons in their security
doctrines, and do not envisage change in that posture ‘for the foreseeable
future’.

This continues in spite of a clear international consensus to the effect that
nuclear weapons are a continuing threat to civilisation and life, in spite of
repeated calls by the international community for progress toward their
total and unequivocal elimination.

Nations that possess large nuclear arsenals cannot consistently or credibly
call for others to eliminate or cease the pursuit of nuclear weapons arsenals
of their own while not moving to eliminate their own nuclear weapons. A
global commitment to the elimination of nuclear weapons applies equally
to all parties. There can be no exceptions. Those who now possess nuclear
arsenals are obliged to eliminate those arsenals. Those who do not have
them must not pursue them.

Similarly, the violation of the goal of a nuclear-free Middle East by one
party does not in any way excuse its violation by another party. However,
the renunciation of the nuclear option by one party will facilitate its
renunciation by another party.

Israel’s nuclear arsenal and the pursuit of nuclear weapons by Iran -if
indeed that is taking place - are dangerous per se and open the gate for
further proliferation by other Middle Eastern nations, and for a middle



eastern arms race that would be dangerous in the extreme. This must not happen.

Serious concerns exist over the possibility that US nuclear doctrine may envisage strikes against other nations that involve a first use of nuclear weapons, or possibly the use of nuclear weapons against nations that are not themselves nuclear-armed. We note with approval the recent letter by US senators and others in this matter.

A third use of nuclear weapons must never take place. It would be a catastrophe not only for Iran or Israel but for the entire region and even for the entire world, because of its radioactive fallout, its chaotic effects, and because it would break the taboo against the use of these weapons that has so far held place for the last 60 years.

Breaking this taboo could result in the further use of nuclear weapons, with a lower and lower bar for such use. The widespread use of nuclear weapons would be catastrophic for the world. We urge all parties to renounce the pursuit of nuclear weapons, and to adopt policies that rule out their use.

The Parliamentarians, civil society organisations, and prominent individuals signed below hereby urge a solution to the crisis in relations between the US and Iran, as well as Israel and Iran, based on the following clearly defined principles:

- 1) No use of any military option whatsoever by any party for any reason.
- 2) A clear commitment by all nuclear-armed parties not to use nuclear weapons in this situation, and a broader commitment to the doctrine of no first use of nuclear weapons.
- 3) The implementation of the 1995 Non-Proliferation Treaty Resolution on a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone in the Middle East, implementation of the annual consensus-adopted General Assembly resolutions on 'Establishment of a Nuclear-Weapons-Free Zone in the region of the Middle East', and particularly the full implementation of this year's resolution on nuclear proliferation in the middle-east.
- 4) A clear commitment by all parties to the global elimination of nuclear weapons, including through reaffirming the Final Declaration of the 2000 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference, and relevant General Assembly resolutions.
- 5) A diplomatic path to the removal of tensions between the US, Israel, and Iran, involving compromise on both sides, recognition of the legitimate security concerns of all parties including both Israel and Iran, and refraining from inflammatory statements or the exploration of military options by any party.

Announcement

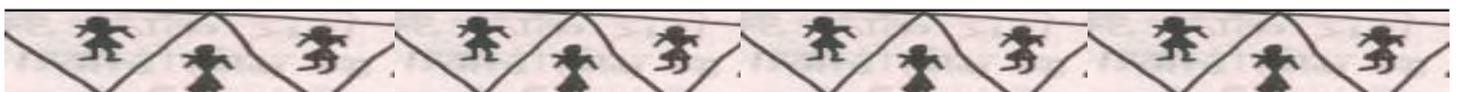
After the WSF 2004 in Mumbai, organizations which were part of the WSF process and also others have been working on issues of conflict-peace, security-justice and gender issues. We now feel a strong need to re-energize ourselves, and re-gather the momentum that was built during the World Social Forum, to reiterate the notion of peace and justice rather than national security and to understand the inter linkages between the myriad issues impinging on peace processes in our region. It gives us great pleasure to announce an **international conference on "Peace and Justice in South Asia" to be held at Keshav Gore Smarak Trust, Goregaon, Mumbai on February 24-26, 2006.**

We think it is important to continue the debate and dialogue among us against the backdrop of the continued aggression of the US, the marked shift in the foreign policy of India, the crisis in Nepal and the 6th Ministerial of the World Trade Organization in Hong Kong. These developments epitomize the onslaught of the imperialist globalization. and the nuclearization of India and Pakistan looming large over our region since 1998.

We hope this conference will help re-vitalise the South Asia peoples' alliance against militarization, nuclearization, communalism, terrorism and the other conflicts in South Asia, and will lead us to discuss and concretize action strategies. Another important aim of the conference is to link the issues and the movements working on Trade issues and Peace issues. The main themes of the conference include US Empire building in South Asia, War and Trade, the India Pakistan Peace Process, the Regional Nuclear Threat, Gender Perspectives on Peace and Violence, Masculinity and Militarization and an analysis of Nationalism and Sovereignty. There will be a plenary devoted to discussing the impact of neo liberal globalization on each country in the region giving rise to conflicts and strife thus threatening peace and justice. We expect around 300 participants from within India and neighbouring countries. A few comrades from West Asia, other parts of Asia, Europe, USA, Africa and Australia may also join us. Your contribution is extremely important for us. We hope you will agree to come and share your insights with us. Since time is short, may we request you to confirm your participation at the earliest? We'll try to arrange accommodation on a very reasonable payment at actual cost on first come first served basis. We look forward to a positive reply. Please get back to us should you have any query.

with warm regards, **Peace Mumbai:**

Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP), National Alliance of Peoples Movements (NAPM), India Center for Human Rights and Law (ICHRL), Asia South Pacific Bureau for Adult Education (ASPBAE), Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA), National Youth Federation (NYF), Pakistan-India Peoples Forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFPD), Bombay Urban Industrial League for Development (BUILD), Focus on the Global South, India, Indo-Pak Youth Forum for Peace, Media for People, Vikas Adhyayan Kendra (VAK), Akshara, Documentation Research and Training Center (DRTC), Explorations, Initiative, Institute For Community Organization and Research (ICOR), Movement for Peace and Justice (MPJ), CEHAT Supporting Organisations: AIPSO, SAAPE, SANGAT, PILER



Documents

Text of Recent Indo-US Agreements

I. THE DEFENSE FRAMEWORK

Signed on June 28, 2005 in Washington DC by Minister of Defense of India, Pranab Mukherjee & Secretary of Defense of the United States, Donald Rumsfeld

NEW FRAMEWORK FOR THE US-INDIA DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP

1. The United States and India have entered a new era. We are transforming our relationship to reflect our common principles and shared national interests. As the world's two largest democracies, the United States and India agree on the vital importance of political and economic freedom, democratic institutions, the rule of law, security, and opportunity around the world. The leaders of our two countries are building a U.S.-India strategic partnership in pursuit of these principles and interests.

2. Ten years ago, in January 1995, the Agreed Minute on Defense Relations Between the United States and India was signed. Since then, changes in the international security environment have challenged our countries in ways unforeseen ten years ago. The U.S.-India defense relationship has advanced in a short time to unprecedented levels of cooperation unimaginable in 1995. Today, we agree on a new Framework that builds on past successes, seizes new opportunities, and charts a course for the U.S.-India defense relationship for the next ten years. This defense relationship will support, and will be an element of, the broader U.S.-India strategic partnership.

3. The U.S.-India defense relationship derives from a common belief in freedom, democracy, and the rule of law, and seeks to advance shared security interests. These interests include:

- maintaining security and stability;
- defeating terrorism and violent religious extremism;
- preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction and associated materials, data, and technologies; and
- protecting the free flow of commerce via land, air and sea lanes.

4. In pursuit of this shared vision of an expanded and deeper U.S.-India strategic relationship, our defense establishments shall:

- A. conduct joint and combined exercises and exchanges;
- B. collaborate in multinational operations when it is in their common interest;
- C. strengthen the capabilities of our militaries to promote security and defeat terrorism;
- D. expand interaction with other nations in ways that promote regional and global peace and stability;
- E. enhance capabilities to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- F. in the context of our strategic relationship, expand two-way defense trade between our countries. The United States and India will work to conclude defense transactions, not solely as ends in and of themselves, but as a means to strengthen our countries' security, reinforce our strategic partnership, achieve greater interaction between our armed forces, and build greater understanding between our defense establishments;
- G. in the context of defense trade and a framework of technology security safeguards, increase opportunities for technology transfer, collaboration, co-production, and research and development;

- H. expand collaboration relating to missile defense;
- I. strengthen the abilities of our militaries to respond quickly to disaster situations, including in combined operations;
- J. assist in building worldwide capacity to conduct successful peacekeeping operations, with a focus on enabling other countries to field trained, capable forces for these operations;
- K. conduct exchanges on defense strategy and defense transformation;
- L. increase exchanges of intelligence; and
- M. continue strategic-level discussions by senior leadership from the U.S. Department of Defense and India's Ministry of Defense, in which the two sides exchange perspectives on international security issues of common interest, with the aim of increasing mutual understanding, promoting shared objectives, and developing common approaches.

5. The Defense Policy Group shall continue to serve as the primary mechanism to guide the U.S.-India strategic defense relationship; We hereby establish the Defense Procurement and Production Group and institute a Joint Working Group for mid-year review of work overseen by the Defense Policy Group.

-The Defense Procurement and Production Group will oversee defense trade, as well as prospects for co-production and technology collaboration, broadening the scope of its predecessor subgroup the Security Cooperation Group.

-The Defense Joint Working Group will be subordinate to the Defense Policy Group and will meet at least once per year to perform a midyear review of work overseen by the Defense Policy Group and its subgroups (the Defense Procurement and Production Group, and the Joint Technology Security Group), and to prepare issues for the annual meeting of the Defense Policy Group.

7. The Defense Policy Group and its subgroups will rely upon this Framework for guidance on the principles and objectives of the U.S.-India strategic relationship, and will strive to achieve those objectives.

Signed in Arlington, Virginia, USA, on June 28, 2005, in two copies in English, each being equally authentic.

II FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY JULY 18, 2005

Joint Statement between President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President Bush today declare their resolve to transform the relationship between their countries and establish a global partnership. As leaders of nations committed to the values of human freedom, democracy and rule of law, the new relationship between India and the United States will promote stability, democracy, prosperity and peace throughout the world. It will enhance our ability to work together to provide global leadership in areas of mutual concern and interest.

Building on their common values and interest, the two leaders resolve:

- * To create an international environment conducive to promotion of democratic values, and to strengthen democratic practices in societies which wish to become more open and pluralistic.
- * To combat terrorism relentlessly. They applaud the active and vigorous counterterrorism cooperation between the two countries and



support more international efforts in this direction. Terrorism is a global scourge and the one we will fight everywhere. The two leaders strongly affirm their commitment to the conclusion by September of UN comprehensive convention against international terrorism.

The Prime Minister's visit coincides with the completion of the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP) initiative, launched in January 2004. The two leaders agree that this provides the basis for expanding bilateral activities and commerce in space, civil nuclear energy and dual-use technology.

Drawing on their mutual vision for the U.S.-India relationship and our joint objectives as strong long-standing democracies, the two leaders agree on the following:

FOR THE ECONOMY

- * Revitalize the U.S.-India Economic Dialogue and launch a CEO Forum to harness private sector energy and ideas to deepen the bilateral economic relationship.
- * Support and accelerate economic growth in both countries through greater trade, investment, and technology collaborations.
- * Promote modernization of India's infrastructure as a prerequisite for the continued growth of the Indian economy. As India enhances its investment climate, opportunities for investment will increase.
- * Launch a U.S.-India Knowledge Initiative on Agriculture focused on promoting teaching, research, service and commercial linkages.

FOR ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

- * Strengthen energy security and promote the development of stable and efficient energy markets in India with a view to ensuring adequate, affordable efficient energy supplies and conscious of the need for sustainable development. These issues will be addressed through the U.S.-India Energy Dialogue.
- * Agree on the need to promote the imperatives of development and safeguarding the environment, commit to developing and deploying cleaner more efficient, affordable, and diversified energy technologies.

FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

- * Develop and support, through the new U.S.-India Global Democracy Initiative in countries that seek such assistance, institutions and resources that strengthen the foundations that make democracies credible and effective. India and the U.S. will work together to strengthen democratic practices and capacities and contribute to the new U.N. Democracy Fund.
- * Commit to strengthen cooperation and combat HIV/AIDs at a global level through an initiative that mobilizes private sector and government resources, knowledge, and expertise.

FOR NON-PROLIFERATION AND SECURITY

- * Express satisfaction at the New Framework for the U.S.-India Defense Relationship as a basis for future cooperation, including in the field of defense technology.
- * Commit to play a leading role in international efforts to prevent the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction. The U.S. welcomed the adoption by India of legislation on WMD (Prevention of Unlawful Activities Bill).
- * Launch a new U.S.-India Disaster Relief Initiative that builds on the experience of the Tsunami Core Group, to strengthen cooperation to prepare for and conduct disaster relief operations.

FOR HIGH-TECHNOLOGY AND SPACE

- * Sign a Science and Technology Framework Agreement, building on the U.S.-India High Technology Cooperation Group (HTCG), to provide for joint research and training, and the establishment of public-private partnerships.
- * Build closer ties in space exploration, satellite navigation and launch, and in the commercial space arena through mechanisms such as the U.S.-India

Working Group on Civil Space Cooperation.

* Building on the strengthened nonproliferation commitments undertaken in the NSSP, to remove certain India organizations from the Department of Commerce's Entity List.

Recognizing the significance of civilian nuclear energy for meeting growing global energy demands in a cleaner and more efficient manner, the leaders discussed India's plans to develop its civilian nuclear energy program.

President Bush conveyed his appreciation to the Prime Minister over India's strong commitment to preventing WMD proliferation and stated that as a responsible state with advanced nuclear technology, India should acquire the same benefits and advantages as other such states. The President told the Prime Minister that he will work to achieve full civil nuclear energy cooperation with India as it realizes its goals of promoting nuclear power and achieving energy security. The President would also seek agreement from Congress to adjust U.S. laws and policies, and the United States will work with friends and allies to adjust international regimes to enable full civil nuclear energy cooperation and trade with India, including but not limited to expeditious consideration of fuel supplies for safeguarded nuclear reactors at Tarapur. In the meantime, the United States will encourage its partners to also consider this request expeditiously. India has expressed its interest in ITER and a willingness to contribute. The United States will consult with its partners considering India's participation. The United States will consult with the other participants in the Generation IV International Forum with a view toward India's inclusion.

The Prime Minister conveyed that for his part, India would reciprocally agree that it would be ready to assume the same responsibilities and practices and acquire the same benefits and advantages as other leading countries with advanced nuclear technology, such as the United States. These responsibilities and practices consist of identifying and separating civilian and military nuclear facilities and programs in a phased manner and filing a declaration regarding its civilian facilities with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); taking a decision to place voluntarily its civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards; signing and adhering to an Additional Protocol with respect to civilian nuclear facilities; continuing India's unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing; working with the United States for the conclusion of a multilateral Fissile Material Cut Off Treaty; refraining from transfer of enrichment and reprocessing technologies to states that do not have them and supporting international efforts to limit their spread; and ensuring that the necessary steps have been taken to secure nuclear materials and technology through comprehensive export control legislation and through harmonization and adherence to Missile Technology Control regime (MTCR) and Nuclear Suppliers Groups (NSG) guidelines.

The President welcomed the Prime Minister's assurance. The two leaders agreed to establish a working group to undertake on a phased basis in the months ahead the necessary actions mentioned above to fulfill these commitments. The President and Prime Minister also agreed that they would review this progress when the President visits India in 2006.

The two leaders also reiterated their commitment that their countries would play a leaders role in international efforts to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear, chemical, biological and radiological weapons.

In light of this closer relationship, and the recognition of India's growing role in enhancing regional and global security, the Prime Minister and the President agree that international institutions must fully reflect changes in the global scenario that have taken place since 1945. The President reiterated his view that international institutions are going to have to adapt to reflect India's central and growing role. The two leaders state their expectations that India and the United States will strengthen their cooperation in global forums.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh thanks President Bush for the warmth of his reception and the generosity of his hospitality. He extends an invitation to President Bush to visit India at his convenience and the President accepts that invitation.



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Graphics : Pranhita and Vishakha

Editor of this Issue : **Dr. Ilina Sen**

CNDP

The coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP) is India's national network of over 200 organisations, including grassroots groups, mass movement and advocacy organisations, as well as individuals. Formed in November 2000, CNDP demands that India and Pakistan roll back their nuclear weapons programmes. Our emphasis:

- No to further nuclear testing
- No to induction and deployment of nuclear weapons.
- Yes to global and regional nuclear disarmament.

CNDP works to raise mass awareness through school and college programmes, publication, audio and visual materials and campaigning and lobbying at various levels.

CNDP membership is open both individuals and organisations so if you believe nuclear weapons are evil and peace is important, fill in the membership Form !

Membership Form

**Annual Membership Fee : Students Rs. 20,
Individuals Rs. 100, Organisations Rs. 500.**

Name :

Organisation :

Address :

Phone :

E-mail :

**Please mail your Draft/Cheque drawn in favour of
"PEACE-CNDP", payable at New Delhi to CNDP**



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