

Indo-US Nuclear Deal and its Ramifications

BRIGADIER GENERAL SHAFAT AHMAD, *ndc, psc (Retd)*

PRESIDENT George W Bush's recent visit to India has heralded a new chapter in their relationship. The relationship is going through a qualitative transformation. Since independence of India, the USA had been trying to woo her, but India's non-chalant attitude; her love-hate relationship had irked the past US administrations. Probably the ice has finally started melting. India has shown indications that after all she might forego the Nehruvian ideology and start to move more in line with the US policies. India's recent vote at the IAEA on Iran issue has confirmed her departure from her well-known policies. India's positive attitude on Bush administration's controversial missile defence proposal and New Delhi's down playing of Washington's refusal of the Kyoto Protocol had earlier given the indications to Washington that India is ready to change her attitude on US policies.

Immediately after independence of India in 1947, the USA had shown interest in developing a close relationship with her. But India, under the guidance of Mr. Nehru had been charting a middle course during the cold war period. After the 1962 Indo-China war the USA along with other western countries came in a big way to help India. The USA hoped that after the Indo-China war and the US response for her security needs, India would show tilt in her policy towards the US. But because of US policies in the sixties, India maintained a safe distance from the US. With the rise of Mrs. Indira Gandhi as the Indian Prime Minister the situation further worsened. Happenings in 1971; the Bangladesh crisis and the US opening of relations with China brought the Indo-US relations to its lowest ebb. However, since 2001, there has been a gradual improvement of relationship between the two countries.

The end of cold war saw the USA

emerging as the sole superpower of the world. Soviet Union was in tatters, China is still trying to fix her moorings, European powers has been already out of race. The strategic planners of the USA needed someone 'other' to maintain her comparative pre-eminent position in the World. This led to the invention of the so-called 'enemies' in the shape of the 'Islamic Fundamentalist'. Thus the theory of the 'clash of the civilization' was formulated. China was added to this.

The USA was looking for a new strategic partner, one whose interests will be consistent with that of the USA and can also share some of her strategic role which European powers used to perform. India fitted very well into the scenario. Former Indian Prime Minister Mr. Narashima Rao in 1995 while discussing the Indian defence policy in the Indian Parliament laid out the guiding principles for the policy.

Two of the principles are:

a. "To be able to exercise a degree of influence over the nations in the neighbourhood to promote harmonious relationship in the tune with our national interest.

b. To be able to effectively contribute towards regional and international stability and to possess an effective out-of-the-country contingency capability to prevent destabilization of small nations in the neighbourhood that could have adverse security implications for us."

Since 1999, relations between the two largest democracies have seen a remarkable turnaround. The foreign policy makers of both countries realized that interestingly, there is now considerable convergence between the current neo-conservative strategic thinking in the US and ultra-nationalist discourse in India. Both share almost similar feelings towards Muslims and view China as threat to their respective national interest. The gradual improvement in their relations culminated in both countries signing the Indo-US

Joint Statement of 18 July 2005.

As per this agreement, India, in addition to other things, will:

a. Identify and separate the civilian and military nuclear facilities and programmes, file a declaration regarding its civilian facilities with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

b. Place voluntarily its civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards.

c. Sign and adhere to an Additional Protocol with respect to civilian nuclear facilities.

d. Continue unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing.

e. Work with the US for conclusion of a multilateral Fissile Cut Off Treaty.

f. Refrain from transfer of enrichment and reprocessing technologies to states that do not have them and supporting international efforts to limit their spread.

g. Ensure that the necessary steps have 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 Group (NSG) guidelines.

On the part of the USA, it will:

a. Seek agreement from the Congress to adjust US laws and policies.

b. Work with the NSG to adjust international regime s to enable full civilian nuclear energy cooperation and trade with India.

The 18 July agreement has far reaching implications on the Indo-US relationship. In addition to cooperation in the nuclear field, there will be acceleration in the field of trade, investment and technological collaboration. This agreement will also bring the two countries closer in their understanding of the global security matters.

This agreement has confirmed that the United States has accepted that India, the World's largest democracy has nuclear weapons and technology and that it does not intend to use them against US

THE SEPARATION PLAN

How India may separate its civil and military facilities

KOTA: Four reactors generate 740 MW, two more under construction

KAKRAPAR: Two reactors generate 220 MW each, two more under construction

TARAPUR: Three reactors generate 860 MW total, one more under construction

KAIGA: Two reactors generate 220 MW each, two more under construction

NARORA: Two reactors generate 220 MW each

MUMBAI: Two reactors producing weapons-grade plutonium

MALAPPAKAM: Two reactors generate 220 MW plus a prototype fast breeder reactor

KUDANKULAM: Two reactors generate 1,000 MW each, two more proposed

India must separate 14 civil and 8 military nuclear reactors by 2014

IAEA to work out India-specific safeguards

India has right to designate future reactors as civilian

US laws will be amended for Indian N-deal



interests. The USA also accepts India's security needs and recognizes her growing role in regional and global security. This vindicates the guiding principles of Indian defence policy, which were laid out by the former Prime Minister Mr. Narashima Rao.

What were the American compulsions underlying the Indo-US agreement? First, the US would like to remould the architecture of Asia. China is the actor around whom a balancing act is being done. Secondly, India is the future third largest economy in the world,

a market of over 1 billion people. India's defence market is a very lucrative one. India is going to finalise US \$ 1 billion arms deal with Israel. It has also been projected that India's arms purchase in the next decade may be around US \$ 8 billion. India is also keen to replace her aging Russian armaments.

China has not so far reacted to this agreement. But it will be interesting to see how she reacts. It will probably not make much of difference to the Chinese policies. China will continue with her

existing policy of gradual improvement of relation with India. She will also continue to pursue her existing relations with Pakistan and Burma. The biggest loser in this deal will be Russia. Russia will slowly lose her armament market in India. She may eventually lose her nuclear fuel market also.

What effect this change in the US policy will have on the sub-continent is a matter of interest for India's neighbours. It will be interesting to see how India having been armed with the new

US blessings reacts with her neighbours? As regards Pakistan, she is used to the roller-coaster ride with the USA. It is a matter of concern for Pakistan, will it affect Pakistan's position as the 'major non-NATO' ally. How much will it affect the present delicate strategic balance that exists in South Asia? The recent utterances of the US Secretary of State Ms. Rice do not show any good omen for Pakistan.

As a regional power, India needs to understand the implications of the new Indo-US relationship.

THE OTHER DEALS

TRADE & INVESTMENTS: The CEO Forum sets target to double trade by 2009, hold an investment summit and facilitate FDI.

AGRICULTURE: Three-year financial commitment to support agricultural education and share research.

CLEAN COAL: Joint efforts for clean coal zero emission project, develop tech to reduce fossil fuel dependence

R & D: To generate collaborative partnerships in science and technology and IPR regulation.

LOGISTICS SUPPORT AGREEMENT: To protect free flow of commerce and safety of navigation.

FISSION FACTS

65% or 4,375 MW of installed capacity to be open to international inspection

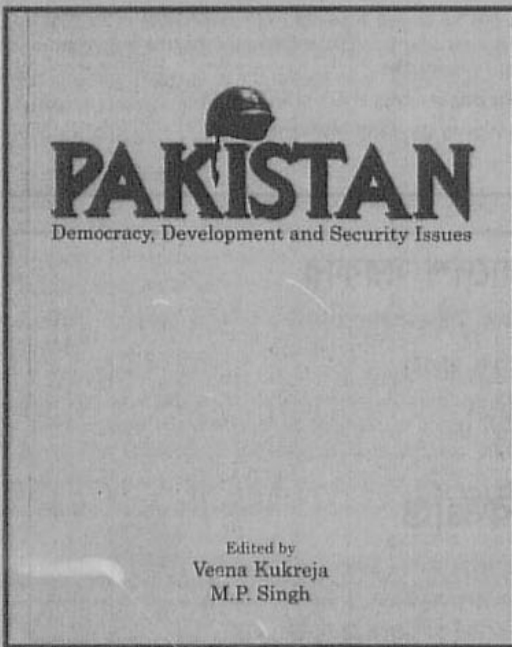
35% or 2,355 MW of installed capacity to be kept for military use

SOURCE: INDIA TODAY (MARCH 13, 2006)

BOOK REVIEW

BARRISTER HARUN UR RASHID

Pakistan: Democracy, Development and Security Issues
Edited by Veena Kukreja and M.P. Singh
Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2005,
Pages 301 and Price Indian Rs. 360.00



The book presents the readers an opportunity to look with a new perspective the challenging issues of Pakistan. The essays take a fresh look at the Islamic country which has been struggling towards achieving democracy for the last 58 years. The contributors examine, analyse and focus on what are the challenges for Pakistan at the beginning of the 21st century.

This book has been edited by Kukreja and Singh, two professors of political science, of Delhi University. It is creditable that the editors have been able to get well-known contributors from both India and Pakistan which are mixed and consist of former diplomats, civil servants and academics such as J.N. Dixit, Saleem M.M. Qureshi and Ayesha Siddiqua.

The only foreign contributor is Lawrence Ziring, professor of political science in Michigan University. Ziring is an old hand of South Asia and taught at Dhaka University, Bangladesh and his books include Bangladesh: Mujib to Ershad (1992) and Pakistan, At the Crosscurrent of History (2003).

Among the essays, one question has been raised whether development precedes democracy or democracy precedes development. The answer remains difficult because each nation has its own history, culture and ethos. South Korea and Singapore progressed economically under authoritarian regimes, while Myanmar did not. Multi-party democracy in many developing countries has turned into a "democratic dictatorship" in the name of the people where majority people suffer from economic and social deprivation.

The book consists of 11 chapters and each chapter has been assigned to a contributor. The contributors have focused on a theme ranging from democracy, development, geo-political environment, prospects of South Asian cooperation, Islamic ideology in politics, high cost of military security, mismanagement of economy, and Indo Pakistan relations and terrorism. Lastly the editors, Kukreja and Singh address the ongoing peace process between the two rivals of South Asia.

The introductory chapter of the book provides a glimpse of the contents of the book. It states: "Half a century after its creation, Pakistan remains a nation in

the making'. It continues to be politically unstable, and is struggling to establish viable institutions and a viable political system'.

Politics in Pakistan is dominated by the military and bureaucratic elites. The first sign of political instability was the assassination of its first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951. Then the Governor General dismissed the Constituent Assembly and the Supreme Court found a new doctrine of "necessity" to justify the dissolution of the Assembly. Thereafter the Martial Law was declared in 1958 and the Constitution was set aside. One by one the foundations of democracy were demolished in Pakistan.

It is pathetic that during the 58 years of its existence, civilians ruled only 22 years, from 1947 to 1958 and again from 1988 to 1999. In 1998, the Chief Justice of Pakistan Ajmal Mian in a judgment observed among others that one of the reasons for the present state of affairs in the country was the imposition of martial law for long periods, lack of democratic rule and denial of fundamental rights in Pakistan.

The writers indirectly refer to the fact that Pakistan as conceived by the founder M.A. Jinnah does not exist in his mould. He wanted a vibrant, pluralist democratic nation. Neither the military nor civilian rule has been able to address adequately the contradictions within the state structure, leading to participatory democracy.

The book discusses several issues and some of them deserve mention:

(i) The politics of language in Pakistan and the ethnic problems that have arisen in different parts of Pakistan (for example current unrest in Baluchistan) are a challenge for its unity and social cohesion.

(ii) The core issue of centrism vs autonomy of states in a federal system remains unresolved

(iii) The obstacles of democracy, the rise of fundamentalist Islamic ideology and the role of military intelligence establishment do not augur well for political and social stability.

(iv) The future of Indo-Pakistan relations in the background of fractious Kashmir dispute remains uncertain because both India and Pakistan cautiously circle each other on the issue.

Although the book deals critically the issues that are challenging for Pakistan, it seems that Pakistan security issues have not appropriately been addressed in the background of India's acquisition of arms and weapons from the US and Israel. The on-going missile race between India and Pakistan including the proposed acquisition of India of Theatre Missile Defence (TMD) to neutralize Pakistan's missile capabilities did not find attention. The increasing militarisation of the Indian Ocean as a power projection finds scant mention.

Furthermore one important aspect appears to be missing from the analysis of the security of South Asia. South Asian security does not depend on what occurs in South Asia. It often depends on what occurs outside the region. For example, India defines its security position in the light of China's military strength, while Pakistan assesses its security concerns against India's position.

With regard to prospects of cooperation within SAARC, the contributor does not fully address why regional cooperation has failed in South Asia. For example, the absence of common security doctrine of the member-states together with the asymmetrical position of India in the region creates distrust among member-states and this aspect has not been addressed adequately.

Despite these shortcomings, the book is a welcome addition to discourse of issues of South Asia. The contributors provide a thoughtful and balanced analysis of South Asian challenges. The essays are mercifully free of jargon and well-structured. It is a good resource to diplomats, academics, students and readers who are interested in South Asian studies.

COMMODORE MD KHURSHED ALAM *ndc, psc BN (Retd)*

NAVIES do protect the legitimate rights and economic interests of the country's national maritime areas and also maintain the naval tradition of few hundred years old as well the net expertise required to effectively run the naval ships. The creation of an efficient navy is a very hard task, because while the building of a warship may only take a year, the naval tradition is the product of entire generations. Very often questions have been asked by many why and how a warship or man-of-war is called battleship, cruisers, or destroyers etc. Many even in my own service wondered why all ships are termed as she and not he or it as per gender classification. Every service has the distinction about its operations and no where it is true than the navy. A ship is called "she" simply because of the fact that she behaves like a mother (there are 100s of sailors on board ships depending on its type), they run around, do their job, shout, eat and sleep, make it dirty, but she never rebukes them; like a lady-ship needs lot of cosmetics, some where it is painted red, somewhere black, yellow etc (ships' husbandry); like a lady- certain parts of ships' body is always covered and cannot be seen and specially when a ship comes to port/harbour, it looks for a buoy (pronounced as boy) to secure and rest. Warships are also generally differentiated by construction, displacement, dimension and purpose, the weapon it carries for warfare. It is a field that has changed over the times and is not an area of international agreement, still an effort will be made here to give an idea why over a period of time a particular type warship is classified as such.

Battleship (BB)-In fact these were called "battle ship of the line," which were the largest and most heavily armed sailing warships. After the end of the age of sail, the most heavily armed and protected warships were just called "battleships." Battleships also carry the heaviest armour of all warships, generally intended to protect them from guns of the approximate size they themselves carried. These were fitted with 13.5" to 16" guns with speed 20-24 knots (knot=one nautical mile per hour, and one nautical mile=6000ft).

Conventional Take Off and Landing (CTOL) Aircraft Carriers (CV/CVN) requires steam catapults, an angled recovery deck, and arresting gear; features that significantly increase cost and ship size. Currently, Brazil, France, and the United States are the only nations that operate large-deck aircraft carriers that can accommodate CTOL aircraft. Short Take Off and Vertical Landing (STOVL) Aircraft Carriers (CVS) are usually fitted with a ski jump forward to facilitate short take offs. A number of nations-India, Italy, Russia, Spain, Thailand, and the United Kingdom, operate smaller

aircraft carriers (generally, 11,000 to 21,000 tons). Short Take Off But Arrested Recovery (STOBR) Aircraft Carriers (CV) is fitted with an angled recovery deck and arresting gear, but like a STOVL aircraft carrier, it has a ski jump forward and no steam catapults.

Submarines (SS- Submersible Ships). General Purpose Diesel-Electric Submarine (SS) - Diesel-electric submarines are the most common submarines and are operated by a large number of the world's navies. Nuclear-Powered Attack Submarines (SSNs) are the most capable general-purpose submarines, but only a few blue-water nations like China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States operate nuclear submarines. Ballistic Missile Nuclear Powered Submarines (SSBNs) are the most powerful warships afloat, operated by only a few of the world's nuclear powers: China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. They can remain under water for about two and half years once submerged.

Cruisers (CG) literally meant cruising the world; showing the flag, and representing overwhelming force that could be operated alone on the high seas to interdict enemy commerce, and also to protect the battle line against enemy cruisers. A cruiser generally displaces over 10,000 tons, and is fully capable of a wide-range of independent warfare operations in a multi-threat environment. Heavy cruisers (CA) carried 8 to 10, 8 inch guns, light cruisers (CL) carried 12 to 15, 6" guns, and both carried a heavy battery of Anti Aircraft (AA) guns. Both types usually had top speeds in excess of 30 knots. Guided Missile Cruiser also carried missile in addition to guns and torpedo.

Destroyer (DD)-Historically the term is derived from "torpedo boat destroyers". The torpedo boats began to appear in the latter 1870s with the invention of the whitehead (self-propelled) torpedo. Suddenly this torpedo could be carried on a small, fast, cheap motorboat type of craft that could strike a capital ship (battleships and cruisers) underwater, bypassing all its armour protection, which at that time was designed to protect against gunfire above the surface, not threats below. Thus the torpedo boat destroyer came about and later on, the name was shortened to just "destroyer." Destroyers were used to protect convoys and larger warships against submarines. When aircraft became a major threat to ships, destroyers became AA ships as well. They were fast ships, generally capable of 30-knots. Destroyers have steadily grown in size (now 5,000 to 10,000 tons), expense (nearly US\$700 million apiece) and capability. A number of world navies are currently building ships that are fitted with guided missiles and are more accurately represent destroyers in size and capability called Guided Missile destroyers (DDG). Destroyer Escorts (DE) less expensive ocean escort against submarine threat are no longer in

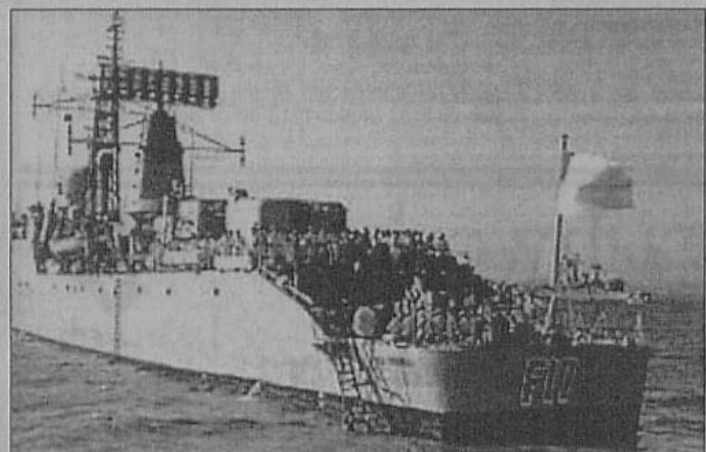
use.

Frigate (FF or FFG) may be less capable than a destroyer, but is a sophisticated and expensive (costing around US\$300-500 million) platform having between 2,000 and 5,000 tons and can be suited for one specific role (anti-submarine warfare or anti-air warfare or Surface to surface warfare), or has lesser all-around capabilities than a destroyer with a speed of about 27 to 30 knots. FFGs are fitted with guided missile. Corvettes (FS) are fast with about 25 knots or more speed, well-armed ships that displace between 700 and 2000 tons. Corvettes are generally the smallest platforms capable of accommodating the sensors, weapons, and combat systems needed to operate in a medium threat environment.

Fast Attack Craft (FACs) operate under 700 tons having 25 knots or

multi-day patrol operations (anti-smuggling, search and rescue, coastal security, etc.) in coastal waters filling the range between 100 and 700 tons. She is armed with small to medium caliber gun (typically a 76mm and/or 40mm gun) and machine guns. It may also be fitted surface-to-surface missiles (SSMs). Patrol Craft (PC) are under 100 tons and intended to conduct short patrols (anti-smuggling, search and rescue, harbour security, etc.) in relatively sheltered coastal waters, or rivers.

Mine Countermeasures Vessels (MCMV) are designed to locate and neutralize naval mines and Mine Countermeasures Support Ship (MCS) provides command, control, communications, and logistics support to mine warfare operations. Mine hunting Ship (MHS) generally over 500 tons, and is usually fitted with a remotely operated vehicle



more speed that are intended for quick, hit-and-run strike operations within 100 miles of the coast. FACs are primarily armed with a number of guns, torpedoes, and surface-to-surface missiles (SSMs) and thus present a credible threat to surface ships. However, a FAC lacks the range, sea keeping qualities and defensive systems needed to operate independently for any extended length of time in a high or medium-threat environment.

Offshore Patrol Vessels (OPV) are capable of patrolling the waters of an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) for extended lengths of time. By virtue of its mission, OPVs are generally over 700 tons and possess the necessary range and sea keeping characteristics needed for extended offshore patrols. OPV is often built to commercial standards and is slower (generally around 20 knots) than its corvette and frigate cousins. OPV is lightly armed (a medium-sized gun), but is sometimes fitted to carry surface-to-surface missiles (SSMs) or ASW equipment in wartime. Most new construction OPVs are also equipped with a helicopter deck and hangar to enhance its patrol capabilities. Offshore patrol vessels will have slower speed, less armament, and greater space for provisions and habitability thereby allowing for greater endurance and range.

Patrol Vessels are designed for

(ROV) to locate and destroy mines. Fleet Minesweeper (MSF) generally over 500 tons and is fitted to tow sweep arrays to locate and neutralize moored and bottom mines. Coastal Mine hunter (MHC)/Coastal Minesweeper (MSC) generally under 500 tons, and are intended for operations in coastal waters or conducts sweep operations in coastal waters. Minelayer (ML) is designed to lay naval mines; however, it often performs additional tasks.

Amphibious Assault Ship, General Purpose (LHA) is a medium to large-sized ship (20,000 to 40,000 tons) for operating helicopters and supporting VSTOL aircraft. Amphibious Assault Ship, Multipurpose (LHD) is of same tonnage with full flight deck and hangar for carrying and operating helicopters and supporting VSTOL aircraft and Amphibious Assault Ship, Helicopter (LPH) with approximately 20,000 tons having the same role as LHD. Amphibious Transport, Dock (LPD) is used for carrying and operating embarked landing craft and large numbers of troops. There are Landing Ship, Dock (LSD) with 10,000 to 25,000 tons having flight deck, Landing Ship, Tank (LST) designed to beach and discharge personnel, vehicles, and cargo, Landing Ship, Logistic (LSL) without beaching capability, Landing Ship, Medium (LSM)

designed to beach and discharge personnel, vehicles, and cargo via a bow ramp. Amphibious Transport (LPA) ship can carry assault troops and Amphibious Cargo Ship (LCA) carry vehicles and cargo to the site of an amphibious operation.

Amphibious Craft are Landing Craft, Assault (LCA) under 20 tons with high-speed up to 35 knots, Landing Craft Air Cushion (LCAC) with speed up to 40 knots vessel, able to carry troops, vehicles, and cargo, Landing Craft, Medium (LCM) able to carry up to 100 tons of vehicles, cargo, and personnel. Landing Craft, Personnel (LCP) is a small 10 tons vessel used to transport personnel, Landing Craft, Tank (LCT) over 700 tons that can carry heavy armoured vehicle, Landing Craft, Utility (LCU) - open-topped vessel designed to beach and discharge troops, vehicles, and cargo onto the beach via a bow ramp, and Landing Craft, Vehicle/Personnel (LCVP) - is capable of carrying troops, cargo, and small vehicles to the beach.

The Auxiliary ships include Intelligence Collection Ship (AGI), Missile Range Implementation Ship (AGM), Oceanographic Research Ship (AGOR), Hydrographic Survey Ship (AGS), Cargo Ship (AK) Salvage and Rescue Ship (ARS) and Submarine Rescue Ship (ASR). Oiler (AO) carries fuels to naval ships at sea and can transfer those fuels via underway replenishment operations. She often carries small quantities of ammunition, cargo, and provisions as well. Replenishment Oiler (AOR) can carry a full-range of fuels, ammunition, cargo, and provisions (dry and refrigerated) for underway replenishment operations.

There are more than 162 navies in the world and the Bangladesh navy is one of them. Bangladesh Navy, according to published sources, is equipped with 3 frigates of 1960 vintage, one of 1980 and the only brand new Korean built frigate "BNS Bangabandhu" has remained in decommissioned state, for reasons not known to many. Bangladesh Navy has no cruisers, destroyers and submarines but has old OPVs, FACs, Missile boats, Torpedo boats, Mine sweepers and some landing craft and auxiliaries. To guard over 40,000 sq mile of Exclusive Economic Zone, it needs very badly to introduce new technology, smarter weapons and efficient sensors on board state-of-the-art ships. Unfortunately policy makers of the navy have never shown any interest in retiring those economically not at all cost effective 45 years old ships but they very very prompt in retiring the meritorious officers from the navy in one pretext or the other with the aim to appoint professionally incompetent and relegated officers to the top job who themselves were considered a burden not only to them but also to the 33 year old service. Probably we can only hope against hope to see some reduction of incidents of possibilities of impossibilities occurring here than there happenings of calculated/expected one.