



# IS BULLETIN

A Release of The Department of International Studies  
Stella Maris College ( Autonomous ) Chennai - 86

## CONTENTS

1. CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA  
ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE
2. PUBLIC LECTURE ON THE RISE OF CHINA
3. MUMBAI TERROR ATTACK:HOW INDIA RESPONDED
4. CELEBRATING 60 YEARS OF UDHR
5. THE CHALLENGES FACING INDIAN DEMOCRACY
6. CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY
7. MY INDIA MY VOTE
8. REGIONAL WORKSHOP ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

Issue : 1  
June 2008 - April 2009



# **IS BULLETIN**

**COMPILED & EDITED BY**

**Aarti. S & Priya Suresh**



**ISSUE I**  
**July 2008-**  
**April 2009**



## *From The Department*

The Department of International Studies in Stella Maris College, started in the year 2002 offers a Post Graduate Degree in International Studies . This programme is the first of its kind under the aegis of the University of Madras. The department endeavors to provide a broad and liberal based education which helps the students to understand the complexities of political, cultural, economic and social forces that shape international affairs.

The thrust area of the department right from its inception has been to significantly harness and sensitize the energy of the youth towards analytical and critical thinking, active involvement in policy making, creating awareness on issues of global concern and developing a sense of responsibility and involvement towards establishing a society free from conflict and war.

Enhancing and facilitating opportunities to achieve the goals has been the focus and over the years various capacity building programmes have been organised to this effect. The use of various methodological tools and resources have been introduced to combine the study of theory and practice together. Eminent scholars and academicians have been invited to lecture to the students. Other academic programs like the in house scholar-in-residence programmes, lecture series, workshops and discussion forums have been organized and there has been active student participation and presentations. Other than the academic programmes the students are exposed to various activities such as awareness campaigns, short term club programmes, creation and simulation of models and constant interactions with experts from research agencies, corporate, international agencies and members of civil society forums.

During the academic year 2008-09 the department as a part of its capacity building initiative launched an awareness campaign after the 26/11 terror attack in Mumbai titled “**Join Hands for Safer India**” and circulated questionnaires on “**Safer India**” to create awareness and instill a sense of responsibility among the student community in the college. To this effect a Panel discussion was organized with eminent resource persons from the intelligence services, media and think tanks .



The First Dr.Kamala Aravind Endowment Lecture on ***“The Challenges Faced by the Indian Democracy”*** was delivered by Mr. T.S. Krishnamurthy , Former Chief Election Commissioner of India, who spoke at length on the relevance and importance of strengthening Indian democracy . This was followed by an important initiative on ***“My India My Vote”*** before the Indian Parliamentary Elections 2009. This programme created an awareness among the students and also prepared all the eligible youth to vote in the 2009 elections.

A ***“Workshop for Young Researchers on Nuclear Disarmament”*** was organized by the Department in collaboration with Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi and this initiative created a great impact among the young researchers. Students presented and addressed issues relating to global disarmament maintaining complete safeguard of nuclear facilities and models and initiatives for a nuclear free South Asia.

Furthering its academic and industry interface the department has signed MoUs with leading research agencies in the country like the Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi and Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi.

The ***IS Bulletin***, a release of the Department of International Studies is a compilation of the activities that have been organized by the department during the academic year July 2008 to April 2009.

In the seven years of its existence, the Department of International Studies has carved a niche for itself as an unique Masters programme and looks forward to a more enriching journey ahead.

**Priya Suresh**  
**Head, Department of International Studies**





**THEORY MEETS PRACTICE**

**“CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA:ITS IMPLICATIONS  
FOR THE FUTURE”**



**REPORT 1**  
**10-11**  
**SEPTEMBER**

## WORKSHOP ON

# “CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA :IT’S IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE



The Department of International Studies as a part of its curriculum has constantly endeavored to combine theory and practice together through workshops, simulations and seminars. The two day workshop on “The Conflict in Sri Lanka:Its Implication For The Future” was one such initiative.

The Department would like to place on record its sincere appreciation to Mr. Natesalingam, M.Anbuselvaraj & Ms. Selvarani Members from Organization For Eelam Rehabilitation & Refugees (OFERR) for their valuable input and suggestions and for training and guiding our students to organize this two day workshop effectively.

A special word of thanks to Mr. Gladston Xavier , Lecturer, PG Department of Social Work, Loyola College, for his valuable inputs on Sri Lanka and for being present with us and sharing his expertise during the Workshop.

South Asia has always been in the global map of conflict and the people of the region face multitude challenges like issues relating to human development, separatism, militancy , nuclear weapons, gov-

ernance and terrorism. Sri Lanka is one such region in South Asia that has been reflected in the global map of conflict.

The issues which began between the Sinhala and the Tamils in the initial years of the conflict further was aggravated by the demand for the creation of Eelam or separate homeland for the Tamils. This was followed by the killing of innocents, human rights violation, indiscriminate use of landmines and small arms all of which have stalled the peace building initiative in Sri Lanka. The workshop on “*The Conflict In Sri Lanka:Its Implication For the Future*” is an earnest effort to sensitize students and to evoke their perspectives and responses of conflict transformation and peace building initiatives in Sri Lanka.

### **The workshop had five sessions :**

The **first** session addressed “The Conflict in Sri Lanka” tracing through the various reasons for the outbreak of conflict in Sri Lanka. The **second** session dealt with the effects of war on the economy. The **third** session dealt with the strengths and weakness of International Humanitarian Law. The **fourth** session dealt with the impact of war on the environment in Sri Lanka .The **fifth** and the final session dealt with various peace building models for Sri Lanka.

**SPECIAL  
INVITEES  
MEMBERS  
FROM  
ORGANIZATION  
FOR  
EELAM REHA-  
BILITATION &  
REFUGEES  
(OFERR)  
IN  
CHENNAI  
&  
MR.GLADSTON  
XAVIER  
LECTURER,  
DEPARTMENT  
OF  
SOCIAL  
WORK,  
LOYOLA COL-  
LEGE, CHEN-  
NAI**

**10 & 11  
SEPTEMBER  
2008**

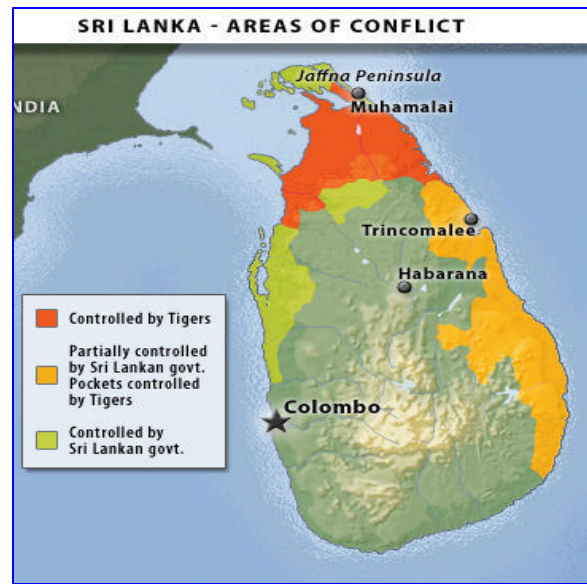
## SESSION 1: HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT

**Session I** traced the origins of the Sri Lankan conflict. It gave a brief history of the origins of the Lankan conflict and the clashes between the government of Sri Lanka and the liberation movement. The presentation encompassed the outbreak of the armed conflict in the backdrop of the demands of a separate homeland.

The attempts by the various governments under the leadership of J.R. Jayawardane, Bandaranaike, Premadasa and Kumaratunga and their initiatives at reconciliation and ceasefire enhanced the understanding of the context of the entire conflict. The effort of the government of India at peacekeeping such as the dispatch of the IPKF and its partially successful attempts were also analysed. The hardening of the Indian stand especially after the assassination of the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi by the LTTE was but a natural consequence and so also the subsequent banning of the LTTE as terrorist organi-

sation.

The various sources of conflict, the geographical concentration and the escalation of the conflict into one of the worst humanitarian crises of the world today and South Asia in particular set the tone for the following studies on the various dimensions of the conflict.



## SESSION II: IMPACT OF THE WAR ON THE SRI LANKAN ECONOMY

The study of the costs of the conflict that encompasses the economic losses and the cumulative losses suffered by the Sri Lankan economy in the period of the conflict provided deep insights into the impact of the war on the economy. The war torn Sri Lankan economy has degenerated into recession, high levels of inflation, underdevelopment and a general insecurity in the investment climate and nation has witnessed extreme turbulence in the past few decades and despite the sincere attempts

made by the Government of Sri Lanka to ensure economic stability, increase foreign investment and sustain high levels of foreign trade. The allegations that the northern and eastern portions of the island under the occupation of the LTTE have been offered step motherly treatment by the government and that the region has particularly suffered from poor infrastructure and development had been substantially disproved with extensive facts and statistics.



## SESSION III: ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW IN CONFLICT

The third session highlighted the role of International Humanitarian Law in mitigating the impact of the violent armed conflict had been analysed with emphasis on land mines, children and women, refugees, and the Internally Displaced People.

The impact of the planting of landmines in the conflict zones and the devastating impact it has had on the civilian population especially the young children has brought to light the need to implement the convention banning and prohibiting the planting of anti personnel land mines and the various improvised devices used to increase the impact of the explosion ensuring maximum damage. The role of the UNHCR, ICRC and other international aid agencies in regulating the flow of refugees and the internally displaced were discussed alongside the critical situation and the urgency to end the protracted conflict.

The air strikes conducted by the Air tigers has compelled the Government of Sri Lanka and the neighboring nations like India to adopt a cautious stance with regard to maintaining regional security. . Failure of the GOSL & the LTTE to abide by their obligations under International Humanitarian Law & to take all possible measures to protect civilian from harm and to adopt methods and means of warfare as prescribed in IHL where adequately discussed.



## SESSION 1V: IMPACT OF THE WAR ON THE ENVIRONMENT

This interesting dimension on the impact of the conflict on the environment was an attempt at Environmental Impact Assessment. As was evident from the study, the environment has been the most afflicted due to the violent and protracted conflict. The incessant violence has brutally destroyed the biodiversity and natural resource base and wealth of the Emerald Isle.

The most affected has been the tourism industry that has been witnessing disturbances throughout the period of this seemingly unending violence.

The study also highlighted the destruction of wildlife, flora and fauna all over the conflict prone territories. Elephants and their terrain, which are the one of the most fiercely guarded wildlife reserves of Sri Lanka, have been adversely affected due to the ongoing armed conflict. The entire ecosystem and biodiversity profile has been harmfully affected due to the bombings, planting of landmines and aerial attacks. Human habitation has also been through dreadful ruin and degradation and has been a cause of serious concern to the government and people especially after the colossal

## SESSION V : PEACE INITIATIVE A MODEL FOR SRI LANKA

The last session analysed the peace initiative model for Sri Lanka. The role of the government, the external actors, mediating agencies and the internal actors were thoroughly analysed .

The prospects for peace in the region and the role of the Sri Lankan government in the peace process ,the role of India, international agencies and other external actors were put into perspective.

The role of civil society, the Buddhist Sangha and the need for their involvement in the peace process in Sri Lanka was highlighted. However the continued conflict has stalled the involvement of these people and a prospect for peace looks bleak at this juncture. Non involvement of various agencies and groups has only derailed the peace process in Sri Lanka Different peace initiative models for the Tamils in Sri Lanka was discussed like the Separation Model, Federation Model, Assimilation Model and finally the Devolution Model.

The discussion also led to some understanding on the “Devolution Model” and it was rather emphasized that this Devolution model probably could be a one way stop over to look at as a solution for the Sri Lankan crisis. A devolution model based on the fact that the Tamil and the Sinhalese could share a common nationality and such a nation should be based on fundamental principle of unity in diversity. Whether any of these models are applicable .or not has to be really waited and seen.

The entire process of study, presentation and discussion were enriched and validated at every stage by the rich experience and first hand perspectives of representatives from the Chennai based Organisation for Eelam Refugee Rehabilitation ( OfERR ). It was their valuable insights, appropriate intervention and experiential learning which was shared that lent immense credibility and substance to this intellectual exercise.







**PUBLIC LECTURE  
ON  
“THE RISE OF CHINA”**



**REPORT 2  
30 SEPTEMBER  
2008**

## THE RISE OF CHINA

PUBLIC LECTURE  
BY

PROF SHIH CHIH-YU

DEPARTMENT OF  
POLITICAL SCIENCE  
NATIONAL TAIWAN  
UNIVERSITY,  
TAIPEI, TAIWAN

ORGANIZED

BY

DEPARTMENT OF  
INTERNATIONAL  
STUDIES

&

CHENNAI CENTER FOR  
CHINA STUDIES

ON

30 SEPTEMBER 2008

Prof Shih began his lecture by raising two important questions: one was on the indicators that has contributed to the rise of China and the second one on how one conceptualises the rise of China.



Prof Shih said that China could be a model where it depicts or represents opportunity and he called it the “Model Approach”. He went further calling China a different nations and termed it an “open land”. Prof Shih emphasised the fact that the world at this point of time required a new paradigm based on the spirit of Asianism and that segregation based on identity and

Asianism was an approach that constantly encouraged learning and opening and he said this would be the ideal way to conceptualise any country be it China or Japan.

Prof Shih also brought out the fact that “Rise of China” . He said China was an ancient civilization colonized by the imperialists and emphasized that civilisation will not pose a threat but will absorb from many other civilisations. The Indian view of China was different and closed.

However he reemphasized the fact that if China is seen as a Nation State then such a Nation State will pose to be a major threat. He concluded his lecture by a model based on a 2/2 approach and said that “India and China can be good neighbors” and that the “Rise of China could be seen as an opportunity, threat or otherwise.

The Public lecture evoked a very positive response from the audience comprising of students and academia. Prof. Shih concluded that politics among nations should not be competitive rather harmonious.



**JOIN HANDS FOR A SAFER INDIA**  
**“Mumbai Terror Attack:How India Responded”**



**REPORT 3**  
**12 DECEMBER**  
**2008**



The Department of International Studies launched a **three-day awareness campaign** on “**Join Hands For A Safer India**” in the aftermath of the devastating terror attacks in Mumbai on 26 November 2008. This awareness campaign intended to provide a stimulant for the student community personifying young India to rededicate themselves to the nation. As a part of the campaign the department organized a **Panel Discussion on “The Mumbai Terror Attack: How India Responded”** and distributed questionnaires to over 700 students and staff. The panel discussion provided the intellectual forum while the questionnaire campaign built on the emotional and expressive quotient.

The panelists were Mr. R. Swaminathan, Secy & DG Security (Retd), Govt of India, Commodore R.S. Vasan and Mr. Mukund Padhmanabhan, Senior Associate Editor, The Hindu, Chennai.

The panel discussion began with the entire audience rising for a moment of silence in memory of the victims who lost their lives in the terror attacks. This poignant moment was followed by the welcome address of **Ms. Priya Suresh**, Head, Dept of International Studies who outlined the significance of this campaign and the need of the hour to channel our energy into a unified voice against terror.

The first and senior most of the panelists, **Mr. R Swaminathan** shared his valuable experience with the audience and neatly outlined the process of gathering intelligence in India. He clearly elu-

cidated the various points of intelligence collection and how they ought to be logically and carefully pieced together very much like joining the numbered dots to reveal a latent image. He delved in detail on the lack of coordination amongst the varied police and intelligence agencies, which have provided for many costly errors of judgment.

He pointed out the glaring flaws in not linking the reconnoitering operation by an operative who has visited all the terror spots and made hand sketches of them, his subsequent arrest and confiscation of these vital evidence that are lying in court custody in an UP court, to these terror attacks in Mumbai.





He drove home the point that there was clearly the most urgent need to create a centralised intelligence database accessible by all those agencies involved, for faster and prompt action. He appropriately remarked that by reflex action the system should swing into action.

He spoke about the need to have a system where there would be minimal political interference and where the chain of command could be digressed with the availability of substantive and actionable intelligence. He suggested that immediate action could be initiated in the interim period on being assured of permission and instructions swiftly flowing in through proper channel Mr. Swaminathan highlighted the need for an increased consciousness and awareness on the part of the common man as well and the need for being more proactive and vigilant.

The next speaker **Commodore R.S. Vasan (Retd)** of the Indian Navy lashed out vociferously at the woeful inadequacy of the Indian Police force. His presentation skillfully weaved through the various aspects of coastal policing and the role of the coast guard and the navy.

Mr.Vasan pointed out that cooperation amongst these three marine agencies was nearly non-existent and that many of the promises of the commissions galore that had never been fully implemented. Cmdr.Vasan was quick to point out

the flawed coastal security architecture that India possess . The fact that there are no air assets which are very vital for effective surveillance given the long coastlines India possesses was strongly criticised. His angst at the slow and poor reaction India had to many of the obvious signals of a possible marine attack were aptly brought out. The fact that the fishing vessel Kuber had been hijacked ,its crew killed and the vessel taken over by the terrorists all in Indian coastal waters but without the knowledge of the coastal



security was an indicator of the lax security environment. He recommended the possibility of an improved harmonisation in the working of all the elements of coastal security and involving fishermen as the first line of defence. Commodore Vasan rightly pointed out the poor understanding of the notion of maritime and coastal security that India and its policy makers possessed.





The fact that several important security decisions were left with the Indian Registrar of Shipping whose office actually does not possess the core competence to deal with such overwhelming security concerns was a clear illustration of this lacuna. The last panelist was **Mr. Mukund Padmanabhan**, Senior Associate Editor, The Hindu, gave a perspective on media's coverage of the issue as well as the unprecedented response of the Indian citizenry. The 'vox populi' was instantaneous in pointing angry fingers at the incompetent and clumsy handling of the situation

Mr. Mukund although not extremely perturbed by the issue and the frenzied reaction it has churned out, did seem very astonished at the level of response that the Indian urban middle class had to offer. He was strongly on the Indian side in this issue.



He attributed the general anger and wave of resentment to the fact that this was probably the only time a live and prolonged drama of terror unfolded before the people in their own neighbourhood. He drew an appropriate and apt parallel between the 2001 attack on the Parliament in New Delhi, which was a near similar assault by terrorists who went on a shooting spree and this latest attack in Mumbai. He also spoke about the possibility of rallying with the US in its war on terror especially since the US is strongly on Indian side in this issue. Mr. Mukund also touched on the allegations of a clear class bias in the media's obsession with the iconic Taj and Oberoi over the CST railway station which is more a common man's identity. He acknowledged that there probably did exist some degree of discrimination in following up of events only at the select few spots.

Mr. Mukund Padmanabhan also argued that it was probably because the trail of destruction had been over at CST but was a more prolonged engagement at the Taj, Oberoi Trident etc and that the media did have a larger role to play at these locations.

The panelist ended with a note of hope that this momentum would be sustained in demanding for a more accountable and reliable system.



The floor was thrown open for questions and the panelists were bombarded with a flurry of questions from the enthusiastic students. There were several questions on political accountability, the role of the citizen and the role and responsibility of the media .

### ***AWARENESS CAMPAIGN***







# HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

## “CELEBRATING 60 YEARS OF UDHR”



**REPORT 4**  
**10 DECEMBER**  
**2008**



# “CELEBRATING 60 YEARS OF UDHR”



**ORGANISED**

**BY**

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**&**

**US CONSULATE IN CHENNAI**

The Department of International Studies & the US Consulate in Chennai organized an interactive session to celebrate the 60 years of the UDHR. The discussion was initiated by Mr. Wesley W. Robertson, Consul, Press & Information Affairs, Consulate General of the United States of America .

Mr. Wesley Robertson began the in-



troductory note with an appreciation for the UDHR and the positive contribution of this declaration to humanity. He emphasized the fact that fifty years after the Civil Rights movement in the United States of America the progress could be visibly seen in terms of equal representation for all groups of people. He cited the example of the recent Presidential elections in the United States of America

where Barack Obama was elected to the highest office in the country. The discussion gained momentum when the students of the department brought out some of the critical issues relating to the UDHR.

Ms. Krithika emphasized the durability of the UDHR but at the same time she pointed out some areas of con-



cern like segregation, the position of the Internally Displaced People and also the large scale civil conflicts and the role of international community in addressing these issues.

Ms. Leila was rather very pessimistic about the role of the UDHR in practical terms while she appreciated its worth in theory. In fact she raised the issue of Afghanistan, Cuba

where human rights violations have



been rampant and also stressed the issue of “Universality” in the declaration. She was quite critical on the role of United States of America in addressing issues relating to human rights.



Ms. Sharnaya cited the fact that lack of will or initiative among the Western powers to understand the problems and the security predicament faced by the third world countries

U” in the UDHR.

How do we strike a balance between the “Shari at Law” and the UDHR and which one would supersede was a very valid case in point raised by Ms. Kamakshi.

There was lot of optimism and Ms. Nisie voiced out the fact that it would be ideal to “Move ahead” rather than ramble and criticize the Universality of the UDHR.

Replying to some of the observations Mr. Robertson stated the fact that UDHR is a statement and implementation of the Declaration verbatim would be extremely a challenging task for the global community.

He spoke at length on the issue of State sovereignty and stressed the role of the State in implementing the principles enshrined in the Declaration.

He accentuated the importance of Article 24 and 25 in the UDHR and spoke on its applicability in the present global scenario. Mr. Robertson comparing the levels of implementation capability

among various forms government stressed that democracy speeds up the implementation process and it is the responsibility of people in this free world to implement the basic and fundamental requirement needed for the welfare of mankind. The most conspicuous statement that emerged at the end of the interactive session was how well can the articles of the UDHR in principle, be implemented.



Answering to the above question Mr. Robertson said it is daunting task and what is required is a kind of a consensus on how optimally one could use the UDHR in principle thereby upholding the important values that is :

**“We the peoples of the United Nations determined ... to reaffirm faith**

**it began, “in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, ...”**

### **Theme for 2008**

“The theme for 2008, *“Dignity and justice for all of us,”* reinforces the vision of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) as a commitment to universal dignity and justice. It is not a luxury or a wish-list. The UDHR and its core values, inherent human dignity, nondiscrimination, equality, fairness and universality, apply to everyone, everywhere and always. The Declaration is universal, enduring and vibrant, and it concerns us all”.





**DR.KAMALA ARAVIND ENDOWMENT  
LECTURE  
“The Challenges Facing Indian Democracy”**



**FIRSRT LECTURE**

**9 JANAURY  
2009**



## “THE CHALLENGES FACING INDIAN DEMOCRACY”

**Delivered by Mr. T.S. Krishna Murthy,  
Former Chief Election Commissioner of India**

The endowment is created by the alumni and the faculty of the Department of International Studies as a mark of respect and gratitude to Dr. Kamala Aravind Former Reader & Head, Department of History & International Studies whose vision, zeal and passion led to the creation of this Master's Programme in International Studies in the year 2002. This programme is the first of its kind in the University of Madras and the only women's college offering this Unique Master's degree Programme. Dr. Kamala Aravind spent 33 long years at Stella Maris College in various capacities as the Reader & Head Department of History from 1999-2002 and Head Department of International Studies from 2002-05. She has served the college in various capacities as the Dean of Academic Affairs, Dean of students, Chief Superintendent of Examinations

She has been a part of various organizing committees in the College and has coordinated various National and International Seminars. Dr. Kamala Aravind was awarded the "Visiting Scholarship Programme" by the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia and she spent one semester at Davidson College, North Carolina, USA. In fact it was after this visit Dr. Kamala Aravind set up this innovative programme in International Studies. Her contribution to curriculum development has been immense and to name a few she designed the curriculum of "Semester in India" programme for the students of St. Mary's college, Notre Dam University, Indiana USA and also conducted Development Seminar on India for the Faculty of Delcab College Georgia System





University, Georgia and also has Designed credit structure for the department of History at Stella Maris College. She has been resource person at various workshops like the TQM workshop for the faculty of Stella Maris college, Indo-Swedish Faculty Exchange Programme, Quality Improvement in Higher education for Principals and selected school teachers, organized by the Tamil Nadu education Department, Building Self Esteem and Self Confidence for New Recruits at Cognizant Technology Solutions and the list goes on. She has presented papers at various National seminars and also has participated at various conferences like the Regional Consultation on Platform for Action for the Fourth World Conference on women Pre-Beijing conference organized by the Institute of Management in Government at Trivandrum. World Conference on women Pre-Beijing conference organized by the Institute of Management in Government at Trivandrum. She has been the Member Board of Studies in the Department of History at Loyola college, Political Science and International Studies University of Madras, Member Board of Studies for Tourism at Mother Teresa University Kodaikanal and of course Member Board of studies both at the Department of History and International Studies.

Dr..Kamala Aravind a willing teacher who was full of ideas, a master of simplification a source of inspiration who provided ample opportunity for stuning a business. She summoned positive

students to create their own image and develop natural curiosity. It is indeed apt to quote what Dr .A P J Abul Kalam said “The Best Teacher is the one who has the ability to teach, love teaching and build moral qualities and Dr. Kamala Aravind stands testimony to these words.

As a leader Dr.Kamla Aravind was strong minded and resolutely willed who had the capability to create out of nothing a business. She summoned positive emotions during the periods of intense stress and encouraged to face challenges and problems.

As a motivator Dr.Kamala Aravind set high goals and targets not only for herself but also for the team and strongly believed in essentially achieving the goals set. To achieve the goals she provided ample space and scope for intellectual freedom and innovative thinking .Her positive leadership empowered her to create a fund for the Annual Scholar in Residence programme and the Department ever year has been hosting scholars and practitioners in the field of International Relations.

Her tireless enthusiasm could be seen when the Department organized its First National Seminar on “The International System in the twenty first century” and today we can proudly say that with just 7 years of the creation of this department of International Studies we have conducted 6 National Seminars, organized workshops and Public lectures. The Department has hosted several eminent scholars and practitioners in the field of International Relations. Her willingness to accept innovative ideas has today seen its

fruition in the department entering into Memorandum of Understanding with ICES, Nante France and also with leading research organizations in India.

Dr..Kamala Aravind a willing teacher who was full of ideas, a master of simplification a source of inspiration who provided ample opportunity for students to create their own image and develop natural curiosity. It is indeed apt to quote what Dr .A P J Abul Kalam said “The Best Teacher is the one who has the ability to teach, love teaching and build moral qualities and Dr. Kamala Aravind stands testimony to these words.

As a leader Dr.Kamla Aravind was strong minded and resolutely willed who had the capability to create out of nothing a business. She summoned positive emotions during the periods of intense stress and encouraged to face challenges and problems.

As a motivator Dr.Kamala Aravind set high goals and targets not only for herself but also for the team and strongly believed in essentially achieving the goals set. To achieve the goals she provided ample space and scope for intellectual freedom and innovative thinking Her positive leadership empowered her to create a fund for the Annual Scholar in Residence programme and the Department every year has been hosting scholars and practitioners in the field of International Relations. Her tireless enthusiasm could be seen when the Department organized its First National Seminar on “The International System in the twenty first century” and today we can proudly say that with just 7 years of the creation of this department of International Studies we have conducted 6 National Seminars, organized workshops and Public lectures.

The Department has hosted several eminent scholars and practitioners in the field of International Relations. Her willingness to accept innovative ideas has led the department to sign more Memorandum of Understanding with leading think tanks in India.

While concluding the introductory remarks Ms. Priya Suresh, Head Department of International Studies said that the Department deem it an honor to express its sense of gratitude and appreciation Dr. Kamala Aravind “A great teacher, a leader and mentor who has led many students and colleagues together and has left a lasting impression and the will to carry on”.

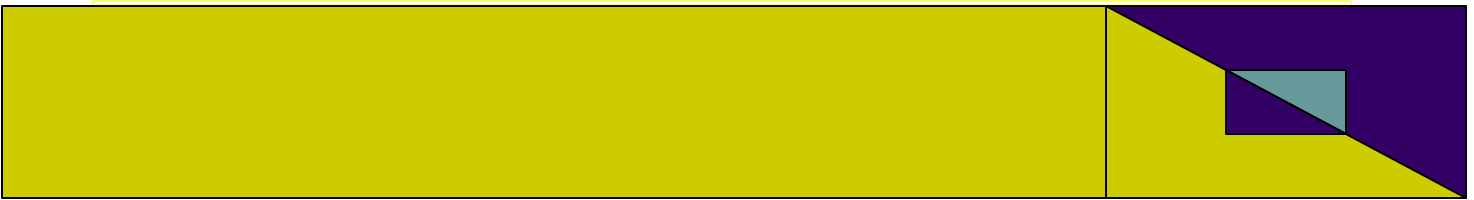
The endowment lecture was attended by the Faculty, alumni and friends of Dr.Kamala Aravind.





Mr. T. S. Krishna Murthy delivered the **First Dr.Kamala Aravind Endowment Lecture**. ,Speaking on "***The Challenges Facing Indian Democracy***" he said, it was indeed a very remarkable experiment in the country at the time of Independence when the level of literacy was less than 50 per cent and the country was gripped with poverty. Under these circumstances, the country in 1947 introduced the "Universal Franchise" much to the surprise of many people including the Indian press. One of the newspapers editors from Chennai said "***it was the greatest gamble in democracy***". Quoting from an article in 'The Hindu' written after India's independence. Mr. Krishna Murthy said the Universal franchise seemed to prove itself as a successful experiment in India in spite of the problems facing the Indian society and acclaimed this as the only country in the region which has been able survive in the island of democracy. Further quoting from the latest ***Time Magazine*** on democracy he said most of the Asian nations do not have the dearth of elections

yet full democracy still eludes the region. It is a fact that Asian countries though they are free to democratically experiment they have not been quite successful one of the reasons as mentioned in this article and I quite agree to the fact that most of us fail to be more subjects than citizens and we are trained that way in the years because of constant foreign invasions. In India in spite of the problem facing the Indian society and acclaimed this as the only country in the region which has been able survive in the island of democracy. Reiterating the problems that the country faced he said we definitely have good reasons to be proud of for in the last 60 years of independence, we are gradually moving into a mature democracy. He appreciated the bold initiative by Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru on the Universal Franchise system and said it was the best experiment in the country's democracy. Speaking on the "Reasonable Presence of the Rule of Law" Mr. Krishna Murthy said that in the recent years the Rule of Law itself seemed to be under trial and quoted the judiciary, the politicians and the bureaucrats as the contributing factor to the poor working of the Rule of Law in the country. The whole word was surprised the English Civil Service in particular which had quite serious reservations about the miracle system realized that India can survive the democracy and they did admit and admire the conduct of elections peacefully in 1952 .But at the same time he acknowledged the great effort made by the constitutional founders who aimed at preserving, protecting and nurturing democracy and said that we have substantially achieved the same and attributed the fact to the strong & unique Constitution that the country has.



The Indian constitution is the longest written constitution in the world and it has a blend of parliamentary and prudential system of government. Of course it is known fact that we have adopted the West Minster style of democracy and strongly felt that we have the Right to improve the Rule of Law by making the Judiciary more sacrosanct. Citing an example from the interaction he had with the American Senators, Mr. Krishna Murthy said he was asked on the successful working of the Principles of Checks & Balances operating in India. Answering to the question Mr. Krishna Murthy said that in the western society the Parliament is supreme and whatever it enacts is the law of the land. The Constitutionality of the Law of the Land cannot be challenged in a Supreme Court as we have in India and it is sad that we have given primacy and importance to the judiciary which have been functioning sadly thereby affecting the country. Mr. Krishna Murthy said that in the western society the Parliament is supreme and whatever it enacts is the law of the land. The Constitutionality of the Law of the Land cannot be challenged in a Supreme Court as we have in India and it is sad that we have given primacy and importance to the judiciary which have been functioning sadly thereby affecting the country. Further speaking on the International polity of Nations particularly in matters affecting international and world trade India is recognized as an important country primarily because of the fact that judiciary is independent and that the media in this country is reasonably free and so our democratic

journey started in 1947 and have been moving steadily forward except for a brief aberration in 1975 when the emergency was clamped down and the Fundamental Rights were suspended. With revelation indeed it was in the long history of India's independence this kind of suspension of Fundamental Rights was an anathema to the democratic aspirations of the people unfortunately or fortunately. People seemed to take that emergency was for good reasons by whatever it be, democracy cannot coexist in a situation where fundamental rights are not protected and nurtured and Judiciary has no ultimate stakes in the matter of preserving the fundamental rights. However he said in 1977 the democratic power was restored in the country and the democratic aspirations of the people and the freedom of the media and the judiciary was substantially restored. Speaking on the successful conduct of 1952 elections in India in spite of reservations, illiteracy, poverty and attributed this peaceful conduct of election as a big success to democracy .





The whole world was surprised the English Civil Service in particular which had quite serious reservations about the miracle system realized that *India can survive the democracy and they did* admit and admire the conduct of elections peacefully in 1952. Then on we have tried experimenting the working of our democracy but the most important aspect of democracy and recognized the uniqueness and importance of the Election Commission and they gave a unique status to an Independent Election commission in the Constitution itself. peacefully in 1952.


Then on we have tried experimenting the working of our democracy but the most important aspect of democracy and recognized the uniqueness and importance of the Election Commission and they gave a unique status to an Independent Election commission in the Constitution itself.

He said the Election Commission is the creation of the Act of the Parliament or the Act of the Legislature as the case may be but only in this country the Election Commission has been given a private place in the constitution itself and apart from that they have been specifically provided with sole authority in the conduct, supervision and direction of election in this country. These words in the article of Constitution specifically in the constitution have implemented the discipline code over the years in a manner that the uniqueness and independence of the election commission has always been asserted. In fact in the Supreme court in the famous case of Mohinder Singh Gill where it says "if there is a problem in the conduct of elections the Chief Election-Commissioner cannot throw up his hands in despair and appeal for restoring the conduct of election peace-

The Election Commission will almost take over the administrative expenditure for the electoral management and whatever it says will be the Law of the Land and that nobody on earth can question the authority of Chief Election Commissioner.

With this type of interpretation the Election Commission went about doing its job until 1991 it was known as a part of the wing of the Government of India but then a gentleman by name T N Seshan who tried to make use of the interpretation of the Supreme Court and said wherever there was Legislative back loop he will issue directions and assert the supremacy of the independent election process. In fact the history of Indian election commission has to be written you can broadly divide it as Pre Seshan era and the Post Seshan era in fact it was narrated to me by Seshan himself " when the Prime Minister of India Narasimha Rao announced the election date sitting in an international conference in Africa saying that the elections will be conducted on these dates in India and Mr. Seshan said the Prime Minister has got an authority to determine the period of election but he has no authority to announce the date of the election and that it will be the prerogative of the Election Commission .

He said the election dates cannot be determined by the political leaders because the Election Commission have to assess the adequacy and arrangement for the conduct of the election and so it will be the prerogative of the Election Commis-



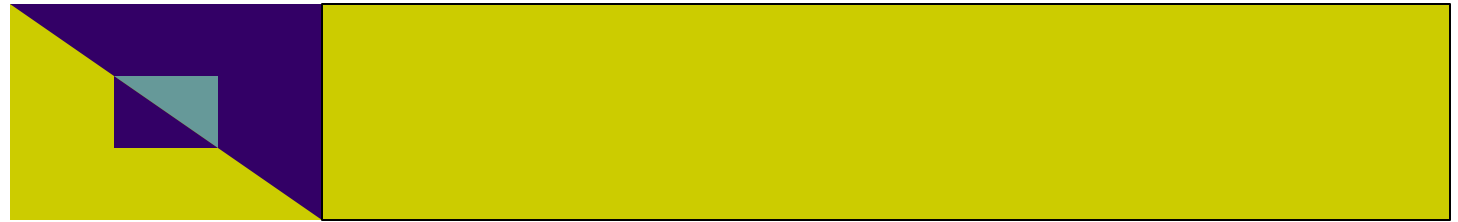
sion to decide the dates of the election and announce in the national media.

Thereafter there have been a regular difference of opinion between the Election Commission and then Prime Minister and Mr. Krishna Murthy quoting an anecdote from his conversation with Mr.T.N. Seshan said that “ the Prime Minister does not like me (Mr.Seshan) and I know I do not like him either but we have to carry on and you cannot get rid of me except by three methods: One is that I must resign or I must die or must or must be impeached by the Parliament” and he said “I do not propose to resign, I do not propose to die and I do not think you can impeach because you do not have a two thirds majority in the Parliament” .By this time PM Narasimha Rao brought two more Election Commissioners to check the authority of Mr. Seshan. Initially the Chief Election Commissioner was given the authority and status of the Supreme Court Judge where as initially the law they brought about laid rules that the other Elections Commissioners will be on par with High Court Judges. Mr. Seshan saw the loopholes and said they were my subordinates and need not listen to them and the war did not end immediately the law was amended and the Elections Commissioners were given the rank of the Supreme court Judge. Mr. Krishnamurthy used this as an illustration to show how attempts were made to check the independent authority of the Election Commission. Mr. Krishna Murthy stressed on the independent role of the Election Commission as a very crucial factor, and cited the example of America where they do not have is a

separate independent election commissions and which at times seem to be ineffective in controlling confusions during election process. The confusion could be seen during the 2000 and 2004 elections in Ohio and Florida. .

Mr. Krishna Murthy was quite appreciative of the Indian election system and said the country does not have this kind of a confusion as there are clear rules and Uniform Procedures laid for all the state and that is the reason why the Election commission of India is appreciated all over. In the UK there is supposed to be an Election Commission but it does not conduct the elections and it conducts only Referendum and in other countries particularly in the African countries the Election Commission functions almost as a Parliamentary Government for the day. Further speaking on the role of the Election Commission in India he said that they have been given an independent status in the Constitution itself and also said that there is another provision in the constitution that says that no court in the country can interfere in the election process until the election results are announced.

The election process start on the date of announcement of elections till the result is announced, thereafter from time to time when they are challenged to be taken up by the High Court within a six months period and decision to be given. In spite of the election petition system not functioning effectively, the election disputes are settled fairly or clearly by procedure. The effective functioning of the system could be seen during the time of Mrs. Gandhi, when two officials were



effective redressal mechanism that the country can boast off. Mr. Krishna Murthy was the first Election Commissioner to introduce for the first time in the history of Indian elections the concept of Speaking on the use of electronic voting machines he said the machines have been indigenously developed in India by two Public Sector companies Bharat Electronics Limited, Bangalore & Electronics Corporation of India and these indigenous units have been able to demonstrate to the world about a bias free voting machines. Contrasting with the Electronic voting machine in USA Mr. Krishna Murthy said the system was started and was given up because it was manufactured by a private firm and the firm that manufactured gave two donations to the Republican Party and the programming done for the electronic voting machines was questioned. Speaking on the manufacturing aspect of the electron Voting machine he said In India it is manufactured by the Government of India. Defense units and these machines are laid in such a manner that the strip in the electronic voting machine put into the machine cannot be reused by another person and once the vote is cast it is registered forever.

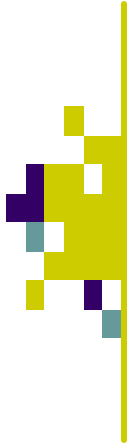
Mr. Krishna Murthy emphasized the fact the use of electronic voting in the country to a great extent has improved the awareness of the electoral process and it has made the middle class realize that the election process can be free and fair. Speaking on the 60 per cent turnout in the recent elections in J&K and Mr. Krishna Murthy cited a similar experience when he was the Chief Election Commissioner and said they had conducted the elections in J&K amidst threat from

separatist and boldly announced that police protection to the people and that the military will not interfere in the conduct of the elections and the turn out for that year's election was almost 55 per cent except in the case of Srinagar. He said this basically made the people reiterate their faith in the democratic system. Mr. Krishna Murthy said he has very vehemently argued in his book on ***Challenges Facing Indian Democracy*** that we should change the electoral system like the mixed system, the proportional representation system, the list system the mixed system, the proportional representation system, the list system and so on .If it is possible for us to change the ***First past the post system*** where the person who gets one vote more than the second one will become the representative for the entire cent percent. Concluding his talk Mr. Krishna Murthy said that in spite of all the challenges that India faces we definitely can work toward a positive change and become a very strong democracy.









SCHOLAR-IN-RESIDENCE PROGRAMME

**“CHINA’S FOREIGN POLICY”**



**REPORT 6**  
28-31 JANUARY  
2009

# “CHINA’S FOREIGN POLICY”

## SCHOLAR-IN-RESIDENCE PROGRAMME

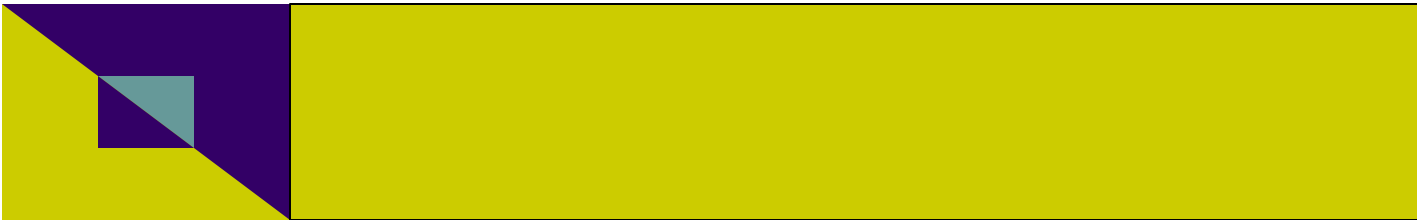
The Scholar-In-Residence Programme is an annual academic exercise initiated by the department. Renowned academicians and experts both from India and abroad are invited for a series of lectures on specific themes drawn from the curriculum.

The department organised the Scholar-In- Residence programme from 28-31 January 2009. Professor Srikanth Kondapalli, Chairman, Center for East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University was the scholar for the academic year 2008-09. The theme for this year’s programme was ‘**China’s Foreign Policy**’. The lecture series was based on China and the changing foreign policy dynamics of China. Professor Srikanth Kondapalli began the lecture series with an explanatory note on the historical aspects and its influence in Chinese foreign Policy making. He explained the various dynasties that ruled China and their contribution to Chinese culture, strategic thinking and foreign policy

formulation. Having explained the historical factors Professor Srikanth explained the various IR theories like Marxism, Neorealism, Critical theory and Constructivism and their contribution to China’s foreign policy. The determinants and evolution of National ethos, National Interests, Sovereignty, territorial integrity, policy making institutions and the role of pressure groups were discussed at length by Professor Srikanth .

Foreign policy discourse like struggle, United Front, peaceful evolution, hegemony, power politics, multipolarity, multilateralism, continuity and change were discussed. Domestic & external factors often determine foreign policy making and Professor Srikanth analysed China’s foreign policy determinants both at the domestic and external levels. Having clearly explained the formulation of foreign policy making he moved on to explaining China’s view on the world. Professor Srikanth explained China’s Middle Kingdom syndrome that played a vital role in shaping its external foreign relations. China’s fundamental and core Principles based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence was explained. He also spoke on the importance of leadership in Chinese Foreign policy making and analysed the role played by Sun Yat Sen, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai the conventional thinkers and Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemen and Hu





Jintao on radical thinking and modernisation principles. He analysed the 'lean on one side strategy' that China adopted immediately after the creation of the PRC in 1949. Right from the very inception Chinese foreign policy has been dominated by the following factors: sovereign territoriality and integrity, modernization of the economy and military, one China Policy and the issues of Tibet. With the formation of PRC in 1949, China's foreign policy was geared towards diplomatic alignment, adhering to internationalism, opposing parochial nationalism, upholding patriotism and collectivism and opposing globalism and individualism.

All thoughts and processes of Chinese foreign policy was based on Mao's thinking who believed in maintaining Proletarian discipline and strongly opposed the bourgeoisie. China's lean on one side strategy could be seen initially with China's close association with USSR during the first phase of the cold war and later a China that aligned with the west. Professor Kondapalli explained the Sino-American rapprochement and the visit of President Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger to China. Sino-American rapprochement began in the early 1970s and from then on Sino-American relation has dominated the foreign policy making of both the countries. However the association is not picture perfect there are serious issues of irritant between the two powers. Areas that the two countries collided were issues relating to human rights violations, of which China had been criticised

Their interaction could be visible in many areas

especially after the Tiananmen Square incident.. That apart issues relating to US arms supply and democratisation of Taiwan were also of concern. China has always has been a significant power in Asia much before the People's Republic of China was established .In the initial phases after the creation of PRC, China's foreign policy was extremely narrow and parochial and often China was accused of influencing the region with communism. With Deng Xiaoping coming to power in 1978 he clearly recognized the need for integrating China not only into the Asian region but also into the global arena. To this Deng worked to build long lasting relations and renewed China's existing policies. Professor Srikanth also spoke on China's Grand Strategy and explained four core concepts that underpin China's grand strategy from Sun Yat Sen to Jiang Zemin. As a first step to her changing attitude China started participating actively in regional and global multilateral institutions. This resulted in China's deep engagement with regional organizations and signed several multilateral

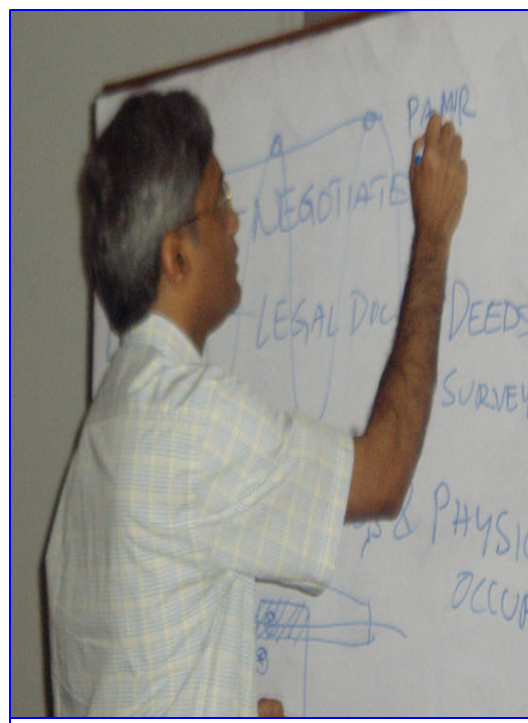


agreements like the ASEAN Plus Three which includes ASEAN, China, Japan and South Korea, ASEAN Regional Forum, ASEAN Vision group, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the Pacific Basin Economic Council, ASEM (Asia –Europe Meeting), ASEAN –China Free Trade Area and many others. The Asian Financial crisis of 1997 also gave China an opportunity to boost its image among the South East Asian Countries. Though China was not immune to the crisis it could withstand a crisis better than its neighbors. Beijing sent several billions of dollars in aid to affected countries and this enhanced its image as a responsible power in the region.

Professor Srikanth spoke on China-South Asia relations and explained the key characteristics underlying China's policy and perceptions about South Asia. South Asia ranks third in importance after North East Asia and South East Asian regions in China's foreign policy. The most important factor in China's South Asia policy is the most powerful state of India, coupled with territorial disputes. Beijing's South Asia Policy has been India Centric and this has resulted in China playing a proactive role in the region vis- a -vis Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives. China-Central Asia relations have expanded after 1991. Several of the small states in the region along with Russia have found reasons to cooperate with China. Transport links have been built between Xinjiang province of China and Central Asia and this has led to significant Chinese influence in the region.

China's hostile approach towards South Korea, Vietnam and India went through a dramatic change and this

transformation could be visibly seen in terms of growing economic interaction and ministerial level meetings with these countries. In fact, with Vietnam, forums have been established to resolve conflicts to the disputed Paracel and Spratly Islands and in the case of India progress has been made to address the long standing boundary dispute. China has been actively building its global constructive strategy and the affirmative change in the Sino-Russian relations could be called as a positive step in this engagement. The Sino-Russian relationship was first defined as a "constructive partnership" in 1994 and "strategic" was added in the Sino-Russian Joint Communiqué published on April 25, 1996. The relationship was finalized as a "strategic cooperative partnership oriented towards the 21<sup>st</sup> century in 1997.



.In 2001 the presidents of the two former communist countries signed the Good Neighborly Treaty of Friendship and cooperation. The crux of the partnership emerged from the basic concern of US domination of Europe and Asia. Washington's enduring support to Taiwan and its strong presence in the region had paved way for this Cooperation. The US missile forces which enjoy undue superiority over the Chinese and the Russians is a grave concern for both the countries. China wanted to maintain good relations with countries bordering Central Asia and Jiang Zemin signed the "Treaty of Enhancing Military Mutual trust in Border Areas" with Russia, Kazakhstan Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan in Shanghai in April 1996. This group since then has been known as Shanghai Five.

In the initial phases the Shanghai Five was designed to address minor issues of border and territory among china and Central Asian neighbors. Within few years the countries in the Shanghai five started addressing political and military questions. They signed the "Treaty of Mutual Reduction of Military Forces in Border Area" in April 1997. In June 2001, Uzbekistan joined the Shanghai Five and the members decided to meet under a new name "Shanghai Cooperation Organization. The six countries agreed on political and military and intelligence cooperation for the purpose of cracking own terrorism, separatism and extremism and to maintain regional security .

China preferred a multipolar balance of power in the international system and this led to search for new partners so that it could stop the emerging American preeminence in the region.

.American preeminence in the region. This led to the establishment of formal relations between China and European Union. The EU Commission had already started a political dialogue and worked out a definitive strategy.

Most of the African countries have been receiving technical and economic aid from China. China's past colonial legacy coincides with the legacy of the African countries and it is quite sensitive to the third world dignity. Chinese governments over the last four years have heavily invested in Africa and has been promoting China-Africa Cooperation Forum .China has been actively promoting its economic development as a brand model to most of the African countries. China's soft power strategy can be seen heavily in the area of education and its investment in Africa's educational system.

Professor Srikanth summing up his lecture series on China's foreign policy said China's policy is committed to peace, development and cooperation. China pursues road of peaceful development and endeavors to build together with other countries a harmonious world of enduring peace and common prosperity".







**JOIN HANDS FOR A SAFER INDIA**

**“MY INDIA MY VOTE”**



**REPORT 7**

**6 APRIL 2009**



# “MY INDIA MY VOTE”

## JOIN HANDS FOR A SAFER INDIA CAMPAIGN-PART II

As a part of the “**Join Hands For A Safer India**” programme held in December 2008 the department conducted a questionnaire campaign ‘**My India My Vote**’ to assess the levels of political awareness and participation among college going students and first time voters. The survey was open to the students of the college and the sample size was six hundred and fifteen.

The special invitees and panelists were Shri.T.S.Krishnamurthy former Chief election commissioner of India and Sri.A.K.Venkatasubramaniam, Managing Trustee, Catalyst Trust, Chennai.

The eminent panelists were able to provide valuable insights into the functioning of the Indian political system and the election process

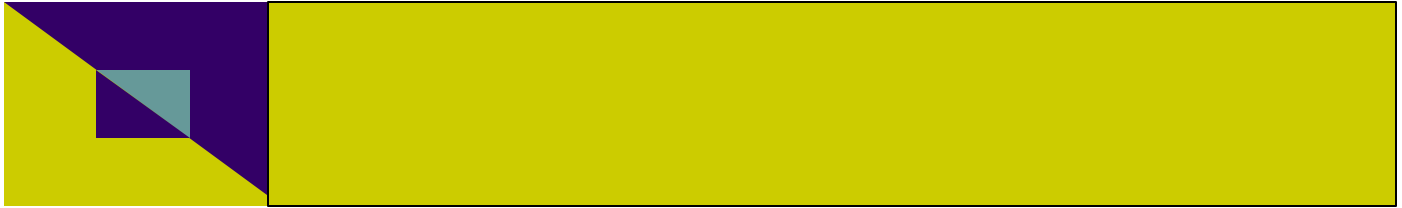
The values of Democracy and the essence of a successful democracy were clearly highlighted by them. Both the panelists demystified several complexities in the electoral system to the students and explained in detail the role and responsibility of the youth in the forthcoming election.

They clarified on the various aspects of ensuring active political participation and the efforts of the election commission in ensuring a fair conduct of elections in the world’s largest Democracy. Of special mention was the 49 O option available to every voter, which could be exercised if the voter did not find any candidate, fit enough to represent the constituency.

The panelists voiced out their concern about the lack of political activism amongst the younger generation today and that the youth in India were yet to be fully mobilized about making informed decisions while choosing their representatives.

Mr.T.S.Krishnanmurthy rightly pointed out that if the individual did not vote or duly exercise their franchise in the forthcoming election then they forfeit the right to complain against the government and its inefficiency. There was therefore an urgent need to actively engage the young minds in the governance of their nation.





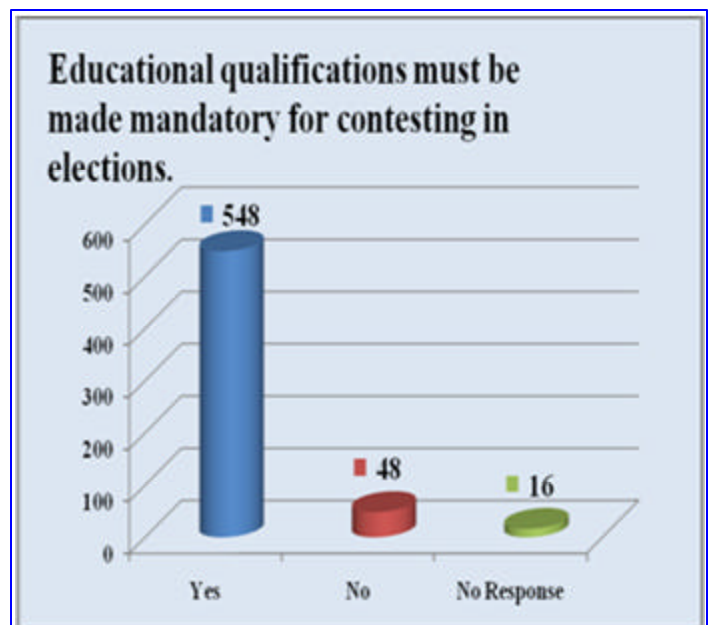
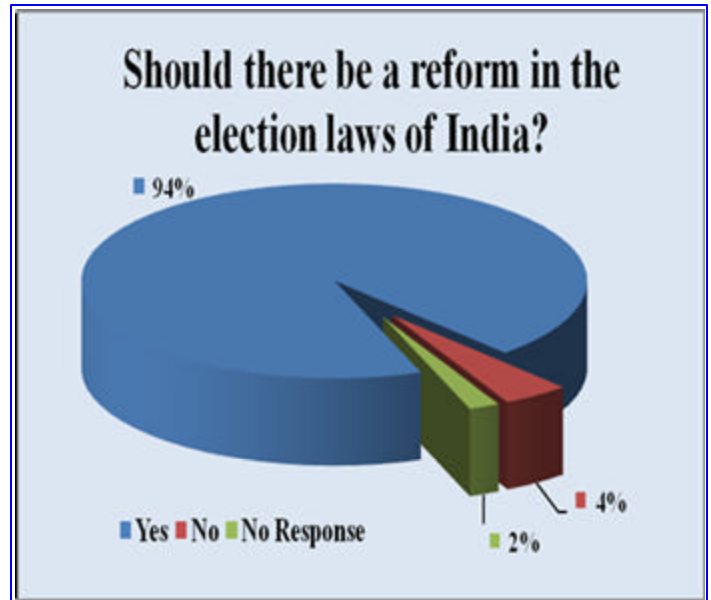
This questionnaire campaign was aimed at mobilizing the student community to engage proactively in the governance of the nation.

**Questionnaires were circulated among the student community. Over 600 students and members of the faculty took part in the campaign.**

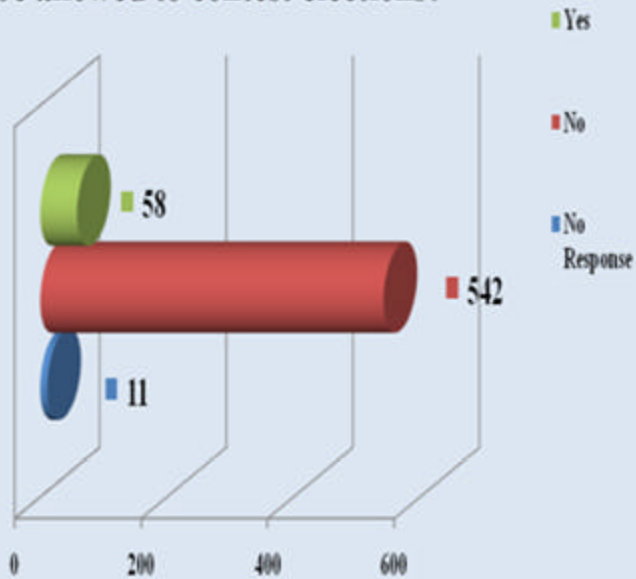
According to the findings of the Questionnaire campaign, the college community was overwhelmingly in favour of bringing in electoral reforms.

- Setting minimum educational qualification for MPs
- Elected representatives without any criminal charges.

The findings of the report were presented by the students of II MA International Studies and it was highly appreciated and well received by both the resource persons and the student community. Some of the findings of this survey are graphically represented below.

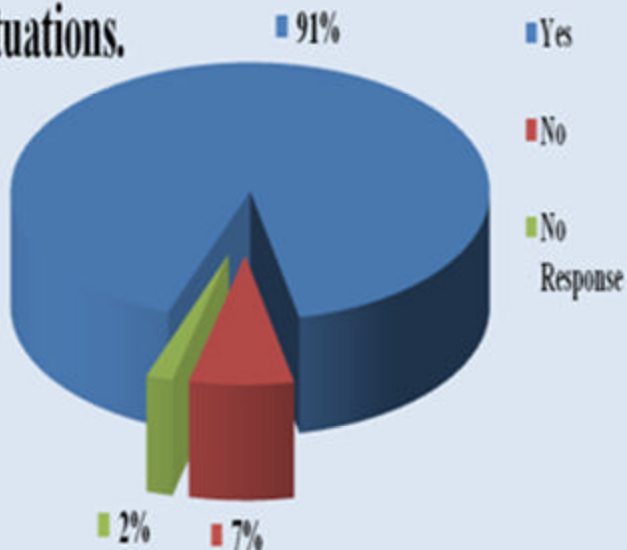


## Can politicians with criminal charges be allowed to contest elections?



On this occasion the department released its annual newsletter "Focus" which is entirely a student initiative. In keeping with the broad theme of polity and democracy the students had written articles on Democracy and political systems around the world. The newsletter was testimony to the creative and intellectual abilities of the students of the department.

## Increased participation of youth in elections will help change such situations.





**REGIONAL WORKSHOP ON NUCLEAR  
DISARMAMENT**

**ORGANISED BY**

**INSTITUTE OF PEACE & CONFLICT STUDIES,  
NEW DELHI**

**&**

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES,  
STELLA MARIS COLLEGE (AUTONOMOUS), CHENNAI**



**REPORT 8**

**6  
SEPTEMBER  
2008**

# **Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security**

## **Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia**



### **Workshop Report**

Organized by

**Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS)**

**New Delhi**

**&**

**Department of International Studies**

**Stella Maris College (Autonomous)  
Chennai**

Edited by

**Aarti. S**

**Priya Suresh**

**Suba Chandran**

**6 September 2008**

## Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia

### Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia

The Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies along with the Stella Maris College, Chennai organized a one day workshop on 6 September 2008. on nuclear disarmament and regional security. The Workshop focused on the following four themes: Nuclear Weapons in South Asia and Regional Security, Safety and Security of Nuclear Weapons, Indo-US Nuclear Deal and Global Nuclear Disarmament. Students from leading colleges in Chennai and the Madras University, along with young scholars from institutes, think-tanks and media in Chennai took part in this Workshop and made presentations. The primary objective of the workshop is to address the contemporary challenges in disarmament and reintroduce the debate among young scholars on global and regional nuclear issues. This workshop is a part of series, which the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS) has been organizing along with Universities/Colleges/Think-tanks at national and regional levels. The first workshop was organized in New Delhi on 19-21 August 2008. These workshops aim to debate the possibility of a world free of nuclear weapons and build a more informed younger community of scholars.



### Nuclear Disarmament and Regional Security:

**Maj Gen Dipankar Banerjee, Director, IPCS**



Do nuclear weapons contribute to regional security or are they the cause of insecurity in a region with the added risk of a possible nuclear exchange? The Kargil conflict, following soon after the nuclear tests the previous year, tested the situation intensely and demolished the idea that nuclear weapons deterred conventional conflict. So, does deterrence actually work in South Asia? It cannot be proved conclusively either way. If this was not alarming enough, the possibility that some nuclear weapons may actually fall in to the hands of terrorists challenges the very notion of deterrence. How does one deter someone bent on killing himself and who is not accountable to any one that can be deterred?



## **Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia**

This was the essence of a workshop the IPCS organized in collaboration with the Stella Maris College (Autonomous), Chennai in September 2008. Post graduate students selected from among leading colleges of Chennai presented papers and debated intensely over these themes. A lively debate took place over the Indo-US Nuclear Deal. While the advantages from the Deal were patent and obvious, major steps remained in its actualisation. As the debate was in progress, word came through from Vienna that the Deal had been cleared by the Nuclear Suppliers Group.

The final session was devoted to exploring the possibilities of a world without nuclear weapons. Participants concluded that this goal was both desirable and possible. Rajiv Gandhi's proposal at the United Nations in 1988 of a nuclear free world was recalled. In June this year at Delhi, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh made a similar call. The challenge is now to the civil society around the world to realize this goal.



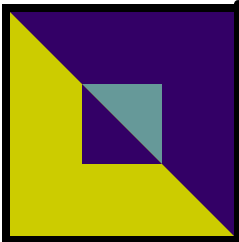
### **SESSION I : NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND REGIONAL SECURITY**

#### **South Asia in a Tinder-box?**

**Poornima Weerasekara, Asian College of Journalism**



South Asia has already teetered on the brink of nuclear annihilation twice: First in 1999 in Kargil, followed by the India and Pakistan standoff during 2001-2002. During the Kargil crisis, nuclear threats were exchanged 13 times in just 5 weeks. The rhetoric included that they won't hesitate to use "any weapon" ushered in the era of nuclear tyranny in South Asia. The non-nuclear neighbors in South Asia watched utterly helpless, without any diplomatic, military, political or economic muscle to influence the choices of these regional giants. There are no multi-lateral agreements to ensure restraint. What can the non-nuclear neighbors do to safeguarding their people, when



## **Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia**

the nuclear bullies threaten to showcase their power?

Using military judgment to guess the targets and postulating that most but not all the weapons would be used, the US Defense Department estimated 9 million to 12 million deaths, and injuries ranging from 2 million to 7 million people, due to a nuclear clash in the region. Not included in the estimate were subsequent deaths caused by urban firestorms ignited by the heat of a nuclear exchange, or deaths from long-term radiation, or the disease and starvation expected to spread.

Pokhran took South Asia by surprise. Then the region watched aghast as Pakistan “replied”. While the world thoroughly reprimanded both countries for this, South Asian neighbors like Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal issued “soft statements” – some even refusing to use the words “nuclear testing” and merely alluding to this ominous twist as “the latest developments” instead. Our fear of antagonizing the Big Brothers made us grudgingly accept this hegemony, without a hum.

The nuclear race has distracted South Asia from its burning problem - poverty alleviation. Therefore, it has become a root cause of social discontent that gives rise to terrorism. The A.Q. Khan episode shows the real possibility of nukes becoming the new expensive toys of terrorism – more fireworks in an already flashy, volatile region – home to the LTTE, the Pakistani Taliban, Maoists, the naxalites and Kashmiri separatists. This has

posed a severe threat to the national security of many sovereign nations in region.

Therefore, nuclearization has failed to create regional stability and security. Deterrence has become a mere delusion due to inherent flaws in its theoretical construct. The security-insecurity paradox created as countries opt for military/ nuclear security detracts from the efforts to find a sustainable solution through political dialog. Plus, one’s own minimum is linked to the opponents level of preparation, which makes the notion of a “stable minimum posture” a myth.

The need to sustain “a credible-second strike capacity” has helped evolve “survivability-enhancement practices” which includes high-alert deployment, launch-on-warning and constantly airborne bombs/ missile carrying planes. This has led to brinkmanship politics with the “use them or lose them” philosophy. Once nuclear weapons become tools of foreign policy, it is impossible to restrict the sphere of influence or the goals for which these “deterrent producing weapons “ would be used, making them the new god’s of Realpolitik.

So what is the way forward? The civil society, media and policy makers in the South Asian region needs to take immediate action to push for the following policy reforms:





## Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia

**Declaring a South Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone:** The Treaty of Tlatelolco, 1967 made Latin America nuclear free, with all the nuclear powers at the time agreeing to it. The Bangkok Treaty (1995) declared Southeast Asia nuclear free. This would ensure that nuclear powers do not transport nuclear material over non-nuclear states, deploy weapons other countries in the region or dump waste on territories belonging to non-nuclear neighbours. **Non-deployment and non-induction of nuclear weapons:** Ensuring that nuclear warheads and bombs are not fitted into the delivery mechanism and refraining from training the military in nuclear warfare would takeout the nuclear option from the strategic defenses arsenal.

**Non – conversion of fissile material stocks:** Both the Indian and Pakistani governments have to adopt a transparent state policy of refraining from enriching material for weapons production to bolster their stockpiles. **No further nuclear explosives testing:** A clear, firm commitment to testing explosives testing would help to build mutual confidence between neighbouring states. **Dismantling the small arsenal:** Long term commitment towards disarmament should be underlined.

The nuclearisation of South Asia has not lead to security and stability as envisaged. The flawed deterrence argument, the opportunity cost of an exorbitantly expensive nuclear program in two countries grappling with inadequate literacy, health care etc and the potential for

nuclear technology to fall into the hands of terrorists, who will not hesitate to take “suicidal annihilation” to the next level, has created a perpetual sense of volatility and insecurity in the region.

### Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia

**Abhishek Joseph, Loyola College, Chennai**



It's almost 10 years since India and Pakistan conducted nuclear tests in 1998, heralding them into the nuclear elite. Concerns however remain whether these nations are responsible enough to have nuclear weapons and whether they can ensure stability in South Asia, considering that it is one of the most volatile regions after the Middle East. Can nuclear deterrence actually be practiced in this region?

Ever since independence both India and Pakistan have pursued efforts to attain nuclear capability.

## Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia

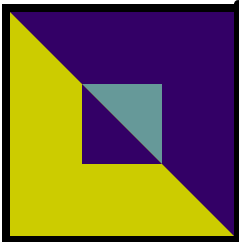
Instead of containing low intensity conflicts, it has fuelled low on violence conflicts, exemplified by the Kargil as well as the 2002 face off between India and Pakistan. The Chinese angle also makes it quite complex. On one hand, China wants to project itself as an international power (it has all the reasons to do so) but regionally it perceives India as a threat, given the border disputes between the two nations. That probably explains the strategic and military support it provides to Pakistan, following the policy of appeasement.

The asymmetry existing between the nuclear doctrines of two nations makes the establishment of deterrence stability extremely difficult to achieve. India believes in proving and projecting itself as a responsible nuclear power and hence emphasizes on the concepts of credible minimum deterrence and 'no first use' policy, whereas Pakistan's nuclear doctrine remains to be the most ambiguous of all, with no mention of 'no first use' and neither that of credible minimum deterrence. Credibility clearly is not a word Pakistan associates itself with. Given the case of proliferation by A.Q.Khan and the transfer of nuclear know how from china, India's apprehension to get down to the negotiating table, is certainly justified. What this apprehension is leading to is an unstable deterrent condition in the ever so volatile region of South Asia. Many believe that the deterrence theory doesn't hold good for the region .This statement



may be classified as partial truth. Deterrence as a concept might hold relevance but what we need to understand is that the model of the classical deterrence theory applicable in the cold war era is not compatible to the South Asian region to the complete contrast in the geo strategic environment. Hence the concept of deterrence needs to be adapted to the South Asian context. This can be done by a shared realization that both the sides are nuclear capable and that the reaction time and hence the devastation is going to be humungous.

Though deterrence stability doesn't exist at the moment, it can definitely be brought about by analyzing what's missing and what needs to be done. This could also be done by bringing in a certain degree of transparency between the intention and the capability.



## **Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia**

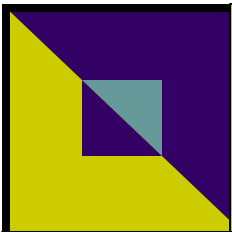
Whatever may be the case, it is accepted that nuclear deterrence is in the vital interest of both the nations. Both countries have been working to settle and resolve issues. Confidence building measures such as advance notice of ballistic missile testing and a continuation of their unilateral moratoria on nuclear testing have shown signs of progress in the region.

The question that remains to be answered is as to how nuclear deterrence has helped? To an extent, it can be said that with the advent of nuclear weapon states in the region, the situation has become more complex. The possession of nuclear capabilities by India and Pakistan creates a situation where serious political crises, heated religious and ethnic tensions and frequent border clashes do not escalate to full scale warfare. This provides a greater level of stabilisation in the region. The acquisition of nuclear weapons capabilities in the region have also at the same time produced a variant of Glenn Snyder's 'stability/ instability paradox', where stability induced by nuclear weapons through mutual deterrence at the strategic level opens up the possibility of more frequent resort to force, and hence increased instability, at lower levels of violence. This has created '...a perceived mutual deterrence that might have influenced the prolonged proxy war in Jammu & Kashmir and disabled India from using its assumed conventional military superiority over the last ten years.'

The result of nuclear deterrence therefore has been the

following: both countries can only engage themselves in limited warfare, with limited political and strategic objectives. Conflict between states has been reduced to a conventional (low intensity) war. Hence, nuclear deterrence to a marked extent works in attaining a mid term stability in the region. We can deduce three areas in which Indo-Pakistani cooperation has become necessary; each state must accept that military victory over the other is impossible; neither side must attempt to use the fear of nuclear war as a lever to change the territorial and political status quo; and both the countries should avoid initiating or escalating bilateral crises, especially those that could escalate to military and potentially nuclear conflict. Somewhat more controversial is a fourth implication – the need for arms control to stabilize deterrence, to provide reassurance that each side grasps the need to cooperate to avoid nuclear war. Bernard Brodie viewed this imperative as 'the need to limit or control the unsettling effects of our deterrent posture'.

We must find a solution with accepting the fact that nuclear weapons cannot be phased out from the region. Countries like India and Pakistan need to work together to ensure that nuclear proliferation is kept to a minimum and a greater understanding exists between countries so as to avoid situations spiralling into unmanageable propor-



## **Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia**

tions. Poor command, control and intelligence in the region could well contribute to a spiral of misperception and inadvertent escalation. Nuclear weapons as deterrence, work to a marked extent work in providing regional stability and help nations in the region to pursue a co-operative and realistic process for co-existence.

### **India and Pakistan: Nuclear Weapons and Deterrence Stability**

**Vaishali Moorthy ,M A International Studies, Stella Maris College,**



Stephen P.Cohen once stated, “Nuclearization of South Asia had been predicted for decades, yet, when it came, it came as a surprise”. This more or less summarizes the reaction of the other nations in the region and also the international community as a whole, when India and Pakistan went ahead with their respective nuclear tests. It’s going to be a decade and yet nuclearization of south Asia, symbolized by the set of ever volatile

touch and go issue. With the recent escalation in border tension and the civil nuclear deal in the pipeline, which may or may not come through, due to the recent revelations between India and the US, South Asia is definitely attracting a lot of attention!

India went ahead with the nuclear tests, primarily because of three reasons, to begin with to deter the growing threat from China and Pakistan, not to mention the aspiration of attaining an international status and what seems to be the most overriding reason, domestic compulsions. The Vajpayee led BJP government had a lot at stake and they definitely looked at going nuclear as an arrival of sorts of India onto to the international arena. For Pakistan, it has been an absolute blatant acceptance that building a deterrent capability vis-à-vis India, was the prime motivator for the Pakistani programs and testing.

In the present anarchic world order, where realism is the theory to reckon with, nuclearization of South Asia may seem to be a fairly placed deal, given that the largest two countries of the region possess nuclear weapons. But what makes it a cyclic and sensitive issue is the series of complexities attached to these two nations. Contrary to beliefs, the nuclearization of the region hasn’t led to deterrence but in turn has resulted in the



## Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia

Intention, here, mentions about the political will and how the polity of one nation perceives the other and capability, implies the nuclear arsenals one owns. We need to realize that the existing CBMs aren't exactly working and hence they need to be revamped and emphasized upon. The basis of this would be to accept each other as responsible nuclear power, which will help in creating a sense of trust. For this, Pakistan really needs to put forth its nuclear doctrine in clear terms, which would lessen the Indian apprehension of its neighbor's stance.

Both the nations need to emphasize on deterrence stability as it will also address the problem of accidental or unauthorized use that may come from dispersion or delegation of authority to use the arsenal.



Both countries need to understand how each understands the other. The region of south Asia is extremely asymmetric in terms of socio-politico structure and the existing territorial as well as ethnic issues don't make it any better. Nuclearization of south Asia is looked upon

ewith this amount of apprehension due to the geographical expanse and the rapid economic development of India, making it a presumed hegemonic power in the region.

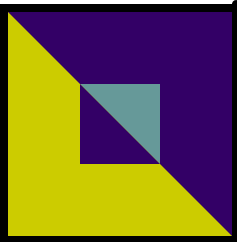
For India to break this notion and maintain congenial relations with the rest of the world, Pakistan and china included, is the need of the hour. Whereas for Pakistan, it has never really abided by the norms, and now courtesy the Chinese support and partnership with US in the "fight against terror" and not to forget the domestic political turmoil, it is now to be seen how and who accounts for the Pakistani actions.

### SESSION II :SAFETY & SECURITY OF NUCLEAR ASSETS

#### Safeguarding Nuclear Assets: India & Pakistan

**Tanya Saira George**, M A International Studies, Stella Maris College, Chennai

The entirety of the nuclear age has been dominated by debates about whether the destructive weapons are a force of stability or a source of danger. Today, the primary focus is, and ought to be, about the ability of new nuclear states to adequately safeguard and secure their nuclear deterrents—an aftermath of the AQ Khan nuclear supplier network which constituted the most severe loss of state control over nuclear technology ever.



## Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia

C2 or Command and Control is a concept of Cold War origin—'Command' has to do with the usability of nuclear weapons, and 'control' with the prevention of their use. At the heart of nuclear command and control lies the Always/Never Dilemma—weapons should work when directed and also never be used in the absence of authorized direction. The threats that aggravate the dilemma are the potential for unwanted use and decapitation; accidental use and unauthorized use.

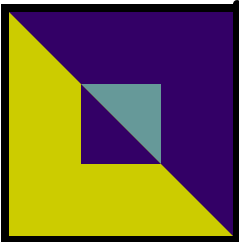


The nuclear command and control system of a country is based on its nuclear doctrine, policy and posture. The nuclear command and control system links the strategic concepts of a country to the nuclear weapons. Neither the strategic concepts nor the nuclear weapons themselves demonstrate deterrence, but it is demonstrated by the nuclear posture permeated through the nuclear command and control system. If properly developed, C2 serves the deterrent interest of a state and at the same time helps to avoid inadvertent, unauthorised, or acci-

C2 involves assured high-level (preferably political) control of nuclear forces; the prevention of accidental, irrational or unauthorised use of nuclear weapons; the assurance of nuclear weapons operations to meet the requirements of strategy; and, arrangements for escalation control and nuclear war termination



In the South Asian context, the unique, crisis-prone environment makes issues of command and control important. India–Pakistan relations constantly remain on the edge; crises suddenly emerge and deepen rapidly, with rapid troop assembly, sabre-rattling political rhetoric and nuclear signalling. Point at issue here is whether a stable nuclear relationship can be constructed in South Asia. Much of the answer to this question rests on whether robust command and control (C2) arrangements can be put in place to meet the re-



## **Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia**

requirements of strategy; and, arrangements for escalation control and nuclear war termination.

In the South Asian context, the unique, crisis-prone environment makes issues of command and control important. India–Pakistan relations constantly remain on the edge; crises suddenly emerge and deepen rapidly, with rapid troop assembly, sabre-rattling political rhetoric and nuclear signalling. Point at issue here is whether a stable nuclear relationship can be constructed in South Asia. Much of the answer to this question rests on whether robust command and control (C2) arrangements can be put in place to meet the requirements of stable deterrence.

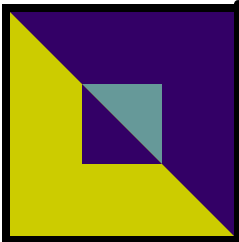
The small size of India and Pakistan's nuclear arsenal does not imply that the command and control structure would be simple. It would require the same infrastructure, capabilities, and operating concepts possessed by countries with larger number of nuclear weapons, but maybe on a smaller scale. A small arsenal is easy to control, but then it is vulnerable to attack, and hence the issue of command and control becomes more complex.

Both India and Pakistan practice a control-oriented rather than a command-oriented nuclear posture. India and Pakistan enhance the stability of their relationship by keeping their weapons in a disaggregated condition. Delivery vehicles are not mated with warheads, and the warheads themselves are not assembled—nuclear cores are stored separately from the remaining compo-

nents. This allows control over the crucial and potentially problematic factor of time.



The two states have installed Nuclear Command Authority—the nodal agency for all command, control and operational decisions regarding the nuclear weapons arsenal. An area of concern in terms of control involves people. First, the record of proliferation in the region has been a disconcerting one. On the Pakistani side, revelations about the entrepreneurial activities of AQ Khan have shown the region's immense potential for the spread of nuclear materials and knowledge. The second problem, which compounds the first, is that terrorism abounds in the region. Several of the terrorist groups active in the region are linked to Al Qaeda, which is known to have had an interest in acquiring nuclear capability.



## **Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia**

This creates the possibility of nuclear terrorism that could seriously destabilise South Asia. Unlike the Indian nuclear command-and-control structure, which is dominated by a civilian authority under the leadership of the prime minister, Pakistan's nuclear command system has been placed under the control of a military-dominated NCA—another issue of concern keeping in mind the current political imbroglio in Pakistan.

Possible improvements include installation of Personnel Reliability Measures, Code management, sophisticated Permissive Action Links (PALs)—a system which has two separate electronic operators that requires enter codes to arm and launch nuclear warheads—and possible outside assistance in crisis management.

Although the region is often labelled 'the most dangerous place on earth', the fact remains that, through all the crises, tension and rhetoric in the region, nuclear weapons have played no direct role. Despite learning from the experience of the N-5, both India and Pakistan still face the technical challenges of developing, deploying and maintaining a robust nuclear command and control system in the subcontinent.

Many of the requirements are presently in the process of being met on both sides. This does not mean there are no risks, gaps or potential instabilities, but it does suggest that the nuclear situation is more stable and the problems more subtle.

### **SESSION III. INDO-US NUCLEAR DEAL**

Indo-US Nuclear Deal: Security Issues

Kishore Sundaram, Loyola College, Chennai

In the following work I have dealt about the nuclear deal between India and united states of America and the consequence in the security regarding world peace and especially south asia. I have also made an effort to analyse the difficulties in enacting this by-law between both the countries and also what the act means and intends.

The following features in the Hyde act and 123 agreement needs reiteration:

123 means section 123 of U.S atomic energy act ,which prohibits united states from transferring nuclear technology to any other countries. Hyde act is an excemption to the act , for exempting only India from the clutches of the act. Right from the inception of this act it has been put under several pressures to both the parties. The Congress government in India was constantly threatened by the allies for withdrawing their support, if the deal went through further considerations, which they also did. Secondly the NSG waits for chance to do its scrutiny for the proposed deal, but in the recent meeting concluded by the nuclear suppliers





## Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia

group they declared their consent by showing a green flag , except for Australia which has not agreed to supply uranium to India.



At the global level, the concerns are as following: if India is given an access to the global nuclear market , it will secure all its indigenous uranium reserves to enrich its nuclear warfare; and empowering India with nuclear capabilities will create a insecurity in South Asia .



### Indo-US Nuclear Deal: Implications for India

**Bhuvaneshwari, II MA, International Studies,**  
Stella Maris College

In 2005 the George Bush administration announced to negotiate a civilian nuclear deal with India. This move represents a transformation in the American non-proliferation policy. This transformation is as a result of a new US strategic vision which has been chosen to reflect a rapidly changing global security environment. The key policy of the proposed deal is to balance non-proliferation goals with other foreign policy objectives and this shift remains relevant with respect to American export interest as well as the technology transfer and democratic values which India possesses. Dating back to 1999 and 2001, 'democracy' factor was viewed as a stabilizing force for Asia and Middle East and began to consider India as a 'natural ally'.

There were three pressing geopolitical concerns for the new strategic framework. Firstly, the growing power of China, which aspires to become an Asian power. Secondly Iran's nuclear weapons program which has been a constant source of concern and lastly the volatile and instable political condition of Pakistan. The events of 9/11 set these policy changes in motion after the occur-



## Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia



rence of which US and India strengthened its defence ties to an unprecedented degree and high- technology trade tripled in and value over the next two years (2002-2004). In the energy front it is obvious that India will have access to the latest technology in civilian nuclear energy generation as also the fuel for the same. Currently Indian civilian nuclear energy programme produces 2400 MW of energy and the indigenous nuclear energy production can at best be enhanced to 10,000 MW with the available fuel.

Thus to compliment other resources the minimum Indian nuclear energy requirement is estimated to be 40,000 MW. Despite more than fifty years of generous funding, nuclear power currently amounts to only 3,300 megawatts, barely three percent of India's installed nuclear capacity and the only way India can meet this demand is by importing from US and other nuclear capable countries in a big way.

On the military front, there would no longer be a trade off between uranium for electricity generation and weapons plutonium production. The deal will allow India access to international uranium market, this will enable it to free up more of its domestic uranium for its nuclear weapons program. As against the number of war heads and their level of sophistication, India can now concentrate on the modernization of delivery means, their longer range and accuracy will be an asset to counter potential threats such as China and Pakistan. Thus India could, for example build third weapon plutonium reactor and begin enriching uranium for weapons. Most importantly, India being a country with No First Use nuclear doctrine can now develop its second strike capability through supplying enriched uranium for the nuclear submarine.





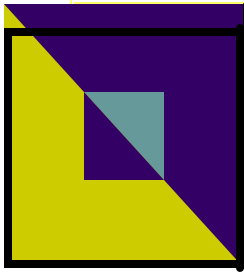
## **Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia**

Both countries have almost simultaneously achieved nuclear weapons capability, although according to Pakistani sources, the nation acquired the ability to carry out a nuclear explosion in 1987. The day of reckoning came in 1998, when both countries exploded nuclear devices. Pakistan's nuclear doctrine is essentially India centric. Its primary objective in achieving nuclear capability was to negate India's conventional superiority over it. Other motives can be listed as power, prestige and primacy among Islamic states. However, these as the causes to achieve nuclear capability are flawed in argument .

Pakistan does not believe in no-first-use doctrine. Former President Pervez Musharraf made it clear in a statements during May 2002. According to a FAS note, He has been quoted stating that he did not want a conflict with India. However, if there was a war between India and Pakistan, he would "respond with full might." The same note also observed that these statements "were interpreted to mean that if pressed by an overwhelming conventional attack from India, which has superior conventional forces, Pakistan might use its nuclear weapons." Thus, nuclear weapons have given Pakistan confidence to deal with India on equal terms. It uses nuclear deterrence as a shield to weaken India through proxy war. India's nuclear doctrine, on the other hand is based on No-first-use. This also means assured retaliation of "unacceptable damage" against any state

allows a counter-strike doctrine where nuclear weapons are a deterrent to the use of nuclear weapons and conventional forces are deterred with conventional forces. It also states that universal nuclear disarmament is in India's security interest (which in turn provides scope for conventional superiority over Pakistan and China at lesser cost and complexity), and its long term plan is to envisage a global nuclear disarmament. This is basically the crux of both Indian and Pakistan's doctrine.

We shall now deal with nuclear deterrence in detail and its various aspects. The effective operation of deterrence over the long term requires that the other party be willing to live with our possession of the capability upon which it rests. Observers argue that nuclear deterrence is nearly automatic: the mere presence of nuclear forces in a conflict prone region creates a situation of such obvious danger that neither side to a dispute would dare threaten the vital interests of other. Others argue that nuclear deterrence is a delicate condition, the achievement of which requires thoughtful defence planning, clear communication of interests, adroit handling of crises and a little luck. As Lavoy says, "stability of any relation of nuclear deterrence ....rests on the willingness and ability of concerned states to understand the responsibilities of nuclear ownership."



## **Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia**

The deal has also opened doors for traders and business organizations in both the countries. A group of scholars are of the opinion that business and commercial interests that are transforming the two nuclear-unfriendly nations into strategic partners. Earlier, greater economic interplay was handicapped by the question of India's nuclear status which has improved tremendously in the recent decades. Apart from the above facts, the US economy has not been functioning as per the predictions of the policy makers and has not seen development in nuclear activities in the past few years which does not augur well for a country like US. From the Indian perspective, increase in the electricity generation capacity through nuclear means will require plant investment of more than \$100 billion. Sensing this lucrative market, the US nuclear lobby is widely believed to have acted behind the scenes for the smooth passage of the nuclear co-operation bill. Company's like Areva, GE, Westinghouse and Rosatom were the key interest players and the public sector Nuclear Power Cooperation of India is a key beneficiary.

One obvious opportunity is that US companies will be allowed to sell both nuclear reactors and technology to India. According to US India Business Council (USIBC) has predicted business of \$150 billion. The economic and the military implication will definitely have repercussions on the existing relationships of India. It could be said that among the India-Russia China axis and India-US-Israel alliance, India's inclination to the latter is in-

creasing in my opinion. The invitation for India for the first time to attend the Israel-Palestine summit in Annapolis in the US was a sign of the visible change in the shifting relationships. The Indian strategic and political experts decided that it was essential for India to engage with the sole super power to attain global status, bypass nuclear apartheid and get superior high tech items. In a way this attitude puts an end to the ambiguity in India's foreign policy and the vision of the country.



The relationship with Russia was not sacrificed but it certainly has come into the US bandwagon. Though it was encouraged by the commercial prospects, it was alarmed of the motivations of India which made Russia to press India to sign an intellectual property rights agreement. Lately, it has become concerned about India's cold feet about the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the



## **Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia**

India-Russia-China triangle. This could have possibly led to the delay in leasing the nuclear submarine. Pakistan and China are obviously worried because the deal could alter the strategic landscape of the world with India becoming the sole country which would be recognized as a nuclear power without signing the CTBT or NPT. This fear was reaffirmed with US stating that India would become a global player.

Another disappointing factor is the denial by the 'Big Brother' to strike a similar deal with Pakistan with the A Q Khan's episode still fresh in their memories.



With respect to the Iran issue, India voted twice against India in the nuclear issue which according to be could be the result of pressure from US. This has led to deterioration of the relationship between the two as a result of which the gas pipe line has become uncertain. This has however opened new doors for Iran, with China

supplying new weapons system with a view to Iran- US conflict. India's vote against Iran and proximity towards the US is being interpreted as India's support towards an anti-Islamic state by some political parties and experts. Thus the Deal seems to have indicated communalisation of India's foreign policy.

It could be said that the exception being made for India is very much within the tradition of the NPT in the first place—a regime built around an unexceptional date, January 1, 1967—and the door was opened for further exceptions to be made, which has been made by countries of the NSG which is a major breakthrough for the talks

### **SESSION IV. GLOBAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT**

#### **Nuclear Disarmament: Is peace worth fighting for?**

**Krithika S**, II M.A. International Studies, Stella Maris College, Chennai

No-1st-use, legally binding agreements, proliferation, stockpiling, and deterrence are some phrases and terms that have been occupying mind space of every individual by being one of the most important and indispensable aspect of discussions at every level, right from a dinner table conversation to the most bombastic conclaves



## Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia

and conferences. Nuclear Disarmament as an issue, problem, stumbling block or an opportunity for economic advancement is inescapable. Be it the brain child (today) of the "Big four" or the "Quartet" or an idealistic ambition of a visionary prime minister this Discussion rather Debate stages a comeback after Twenty years

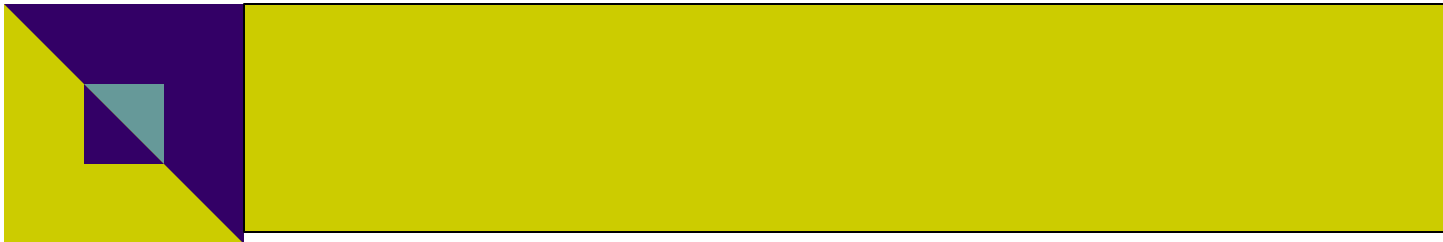
The most difficult aspect of nuclear disarmament is the question of defining DISARMAMENT as a concept. While the dictionary definition restricts itself to the quantitative reduction, it's hard to classify or tabulate disarmament into a process or practice or policy. In the theology of nuclear weapons Nuclear Disarmament, on one hand is a very pragmatic and much needed strategic vision while on the other hand is an identified and much glorified, sometimes it is a "utopian" mission and sometimes rhetoric. Nuclear disarmament is all of this and more. And in the present day scenario it is an unavoidable Reality. It is a way of life.

There are those states which have weapons, those who don't and a third category of those who could have the weapons but voluntarily, unilaterally decided not to cross to threshold which bring us to the classification, as spoken by Mr. Mani Shankar Aiyer; Nuclear Weapon States (NWS), Non-Nuclear Weapon States (NNWS) and Threshold Nuclear Weapon States (TNWS). Each of these, carry with them strategic objectives which might not always be morally credible. While the NWS justify their stand by due to the existence of security dilemma or a threat (which is perceived than conspicuous), NNWS are so, (mostly) not voluntarily but because of their inability to be or become "Nuclear". No logical or moral explanation has been thought of (yet) about the TNWS, it will only be a short while before we will know of the underlying reason which will be more political than anything.

None will live to tell the tale!

Call it blissful ignorance or the negation of the most obvious future; people sometime refuse to come to terms with what will be the most natural next step. An all out nuclear war, massive destruction, unimaginable death tolls etc... , will no longer be things that one can conveniently abhor if we continue to tread the current path. About a century ago the economist Norman Angell gained great





## Nuclear Weapons and Regional Security Reintroducing the Disarmament Debate in South Asia

fame when he spoke about the economic rationale behind the impossibility of a war in the European continent and yet five years later, the same region was embroiled in a war which began in 1914 after killing millions of people. So, the complacency in the argument that there will never be any use of nuclear weapons will no longer be valid in this world where any sort of global or universal good is being treated as a “utopian” school of thought.

As in the terms of a “growth-sustainability” paradox, the options being spelt out so far have been either the strategic reduction of arms or complete non-proliferation henceforth. The issue of vertical proliferation, is in the opinion of many nations unfair and illogical due to its ability to provide impetus for horizontal proliferation as well. And the two options aforementioned are more for arms control rather than a definitive solution towards a world free of nuclear weapons. However the only plausible and possible way out of this situation is “Disarmament”.

Nuclear disarmament is as indivisible as the atmosphere that encompasses us, as morbid and all-pervasive as the spread of the HIV virus, as classified a piece of information as the policies of a nation and as rapid and voracious as the growth rates of the economies today.

There is no contesting the differences, difficulties, doubts and misgivings that lie in understanding Nuclear Disarmament as a concept or a policy to be followed. As mirth among the various strategic experts, so called pragmatist leaders, policy makers and people whose opinions are of “high regard” will continue for a while now, non-proliferation can no longer be ignored or mocked at. The gulf between the goal and ground reality is wide and deep and cynicism or call it realism persists.

As in the famous words of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi; “First they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight you, then you win”- shall be the watchwords of a few of us who are sensitive and sensible enough to understand the fact that the world is not something we inherited from our ancestors but something we have borrowed from our predecessors.







