

**IPCS Regional
Workshop on
Nuclear
Disarmament**

Nuclear Disarmament & South Asian Security **A Regional Dialogue**

IPCS-MCC Workshop Report

Edited by

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IPCS Regional Workshop on Nuclear Disarmament

Nuclear Disarmament and Regional Security

The Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies New Delhi, along with the Department of Political Science, Madras Christian College (MCC), Chennai organized a two days workshop in September 2008.

Dr. J.Ramesh Sundar, Head of the Department of Political Science, Madras Christian College gave the introductory address and welcomed the gathering, followed by the presidential address delivered by Dr.V.J.Philip, Principal of the college. Dr. Ramesh Sundar emphasized on the focus of the Workshop on Global Nuclear Disarmament, Regional Nuclear issues and security of nuclear assets. Maj.Gen.Dipankar Banerjee, Director, IPCS, spoke about the objectives of the Workshop.

Global Nuclear Disarmament

The session was chaired by Mr.N.Sathyamoorthy, Director of the Observer Research Foundation, Chennai chapter. The panelists included Maj.Gen.Dipankar Banerjee, Director of the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, Gopalji Malviya, Head, Dept. of Defence and Strategic Studies, University of Madras, and Research Advisor to Defence Services Staff College, Wellington. The discussant, Dr.Ramu Manivannan, teaches in the Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Madras.

Maj.Gen. Dipankar Banerjee questioned the relevance of nuclear weapons, as well as the dangers posed by them. While the weapons of mass destruction provide an image of power: "Is it worth? Is there no other way? How many are enough?" asked Maj.Gen.Banerjee. The dangers posed by nuclear weapons include: accidents, breakdown of deterrence postures, accidental use scenarios, pilferage and leakages, and seizure by terrorists. The history of Nuclear Disarmament was then briefly dealt with by the panelist. The movement towards Disarmament began in the mid 1950's. The Partial Test Ban Treaty (1964) Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968, 70, 95); Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (1996): are some of the major steps towards Disarmament. Unites States, Russia, and Britain were identified as Nuclear War 'head gates', while it was asserted that India's interest will be best served in a World without nuclear weapons. Maj.Gen.Banerjee's views on Disarmament can be summed up as: 'elimination through binding commitment, irreversibility of politics, transparency and verification'.

Dr. Gopalji Malviya pointed out that disarmament conferences alone will not produce World Peace. His recommendations towards the whole issue included an emphasis on security in South Asia, especially focusing on India and Pakistan joining the discussions towards disarmament..

The discussant, Dr. Ramu Manivannan posed a thought provoking question: "Are we talking about a Global Nuclear Order, or Global Nuclear Disarmament?" India since her Independence in 1947 is a natural leader in Global Disarmament movement, observed Dr. Manivannan. Dr. Manivannan also reminded that India is not only committed to nuclear disarmament, but also to Global disarmament.



Discussion

What can India do in the issue of nuclear disarmament as a growing power? Can we implement our power in the Security Council effectively?

Dr. Gopalji Malviya, responding to the question, pointed out the need for a radical change in the structure, membership policy and their operatives in the Security Council. He was very positive about India's role in the field of Nuclear Disarmament especially as a developing, emerging power. Even when he spoke about the dialectics of issues like nuclear terrorism, Dr. Malviya was optimistic about a possibility for reduction or minimization of nuclear threat.

The destructive capacity of nuclear weaponry is much talked about: how about the effect of chemical and biological weapons?

Maj.Gen. Dipankar Banerjee who answered this question spoke about the various restrictions preventing the use of chemical and biological weapons. According to him, the threat posed by these weapons was less in comparison to the threat posed by nuclear weapons.

Regional Nuclear Security Issues

Dr. M. Abel, former Principal of Madras Christian College, who chaired the session, began by thanking the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies and the Department of Political Science (MCC) for having let him participate in the workshop. No nuclear weapons were used after the Second World War, but that did not mean that they would not be used in future. The World may face more threats and there was a need to discuss how to protect our country from more threats. People in America have found ways to protect themselves when there is nuclear war. Now South Asian region has to realise the importance of regional security and nuclear disarmament.

The angle from which Prof. Chari approached the subject was 'South Asia Ten Years from Now' and what it meant to regional security. The Nuclear tests held in May in India were an epochal event for international security. The present Congress led government did not want to give

credit to the NDA government led by the BJP in 1998. India's nuclear program traces back to the date when China's nuclear tests were first held in 1964, and there was great pressure on the then Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and his government regarding India's nuclear status. He was forced to give a statement in 1964 in the Parliament – a half hearted Statement- that India too would start developing nuclear weapons if necessary. The idea was to develop a theory on nuclear weapons but it was not explored. With the death of Homi Bhabha in 1966, Vikram Sarabhai who followed Homi Bhabha was

skeptical about the implications of India developing nuclear weapons. The programme was revived with Indira Gandhi's return to power in 1980. After Mrs. Indira Gandhi was assassinated, Rajiv Gandhi came to power. Though he had initial doubts about India's nuclear policy he convinced himself of the need for nuclear weapons and the program continued. In 1995, Narashima Rao came close to testing the nuclear weapons. Finally India conducted the three nuclear tests under the BJP Government on May 11th, 1998, and on the 13th of May two more tests were conducted.

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As a result of the tests, nuclear deterrence between India and China was perhaps strengthened. Deterrence depends on our missile capabilities as well as we have only short range missiles. We need extended range of missiles to stand against China. Nuclear deterrence is a mind game: 'what are your capabilities and what does your adversary believe your capabilities are' is important. Our adversary is China. If they believe our deterrence will work, it will work. In the case of Pakistan, India is inhibited from crossing the line of control because Pakistan also has nuclear weapons. As a result of the nuclear deterrence now obtaining between India and Pakistan, launching a total war between Pakistan and India has become unlikely. Now India is concerned about Pakistan's weapons development falling into the wrong hands. Nuclear thresholds between India and Pakistan must be raised. We cannot hope to get rid of nuclear weapons unless the Nuclear non-proliferation treaty is amended. The 1998 tests were definitely epochal as it raised mixed reactions in India. Pakistan tests were purely India centered. Nuclear Deterrence has not moderated Indo-Pak stability, but has gone into subterranean channels.

Dr. Lawrence Prabhakar's presentation on Nuclear Deterrence in Southern Asia presented a theoretical perspective of the problem. He defined the critical terms used in the nuclear discourse in Southern Asia: Crisis basically focuses on time and response to hostilities; Stability is equilibrium.

In Southern Asia, after the post Cold War phenomenon, we have a triangular setting: India-Pakistan, India-China, and China-Pakistan. Thus, there are three types of deterrence relationships; there is asymmetry of power, nuclear forces and intentions; and an asymmetry of doctrines. Objective factors do not determine the relationships of these three countries. The Indo-Pak conflict is a translation of internal conflicts into the external IR theory. Deterrence and Southern Asian regional Security are complex issues. In the Cold War context, there was bounded rationality between the US and the Soviet Union. Now, irrational factors have come to dominate Indo-Pak nuclear relations. In the place of 'Assurance of deterrence' what we have in South Asia is 'Uncertainty of intended capabilities' and unpredictability.

The Discussant Prof. J.Diviyani underlined two important points that were espoused by the panelists. 1) Tests have not moderated Indo-Pak tensions. 'There is no scope for war' would be a false statement to make. and 2) The Pakistan option of using nuclear weapons when there is massive internal political destabilization. The status of nuclear weapons in India and Pakistan is different from that of the US and the USSR during the Cold War period.

Discussion

What are the chances of Nuclear Weapons falling into terrorist hands?

Prof. Chari who answered the question said that the possibility of a fully assembled nuclear weapon falling into terrorist's hands is extremely low. Nuclear weapons are kept under guard. Nuclear weapons are kept in a way by which they can be assembled later and certain electronic codes need to be given before they could be made operational. However, about Pakistan, Prof. Chari himself was not personally sure. Today, they are with the Pakistan army, but what if the military becomes Talibanized?



Safeguarding Nuclear Assets And WMD Terrorism

The third session was chaired by Dr.Nageshwar Rao, Reader in History. Mr. L.V.Krishnan made a power point presentation on the threat of WMD terrorism. He argued that Nuclear weapons alone would qualify as WMD and not chemical or biological or radiological weapons. Thus the term 'CBRN' is a more apt term than 'WMD' (C- Chemical R-Radiological B-Biological N-Nuclear). He made a description of the chemical and biological weapon attacks in the past such as the Aum Shinrikyo attack in a Tokyo subway using Sarin nerve gas and the Anthrax attack in the US. He also explained the threat of radiological attacks owing to the inadequate control over radiological material. As for a nuclear attack by terrorists, It's difficult but not impossible.

Dr. Suba Chandran brought in a change by making his presentation an interactive one. He raised key questions such as whether the possibility of WMD terrorism is real? Who will make such weapons and why? Who will be the target? And how prepared are we if there is an attack. The major issue is preparation. How would civilians react? How can one manage psychological terrorism? Who is likely to respond immediately? Today, there is awareness at the highest level and the Government has created a National Disaster Management Society.

The discussant Prof. Sridhar sought to distinguish conventional terrorism from unconventional terrorism. We can carry on with our lives if it is mere conventional terrorism, but unconventional terrorism is unacceptable (like CBRN terrorism). An example of unconventional terrorism would be the 9/11 incident which was catastrophic, an incident that really brought terrorism to the centre stage. He wondered if WMD terrorism were feasible, then why it is that no one has tried it so far? We have very little case studies and data available on WMD terrorism (LTTE once tried using chlorine gas at a SLAF base).We are thus, talking in a largely hypothetical manner. In this context, one should still ask the question Is it logical from the terrorists point of view? Are there no moral constraints on terrorism?

Discussion

What should be India's response – particularly the common man's response to terrorism?

Prof.Sridhar who answered the question said that in India terrorism is a psychological war. In the Indian context terrorism of any sort is a ploy to create tension, particularly communal. The important thing is not to give into such communal tensions and let the terrorist take over. The resilience that Indian's have shown – that is the best response to terrorism by Indians.

Indo-US Nuclear Deal

Dr. Gabriel, Head, Dept. of Philosophy, Madras Christian College chaired the session. Mr. Raghavan said he would term Indo-US nuclear deal as "Unnecessary and unwanted". He provided reasons for his argument. Mr.Raghavan addressed issues hampering the success of the deal. Mr.Raghavan opined that deal would not add significant value to power generation

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nor bring substantial benefit to us. He stated that at present we produce less than 3% of nuclear power in our country he said that if this would increase to 30-40% in 25 years, it can be termed productive. But the current approximate value of three to eight percent increase, according to him is not productive.

Dr. Vidhya Shankar Aiyar provided a few propositions for the audience to think about. He commented on certain issues of the Indo-US nuclear deal. Dr. Aiyar said that this deal would give India a lot of scope to develop the civil defense structure. He also indicated that this deal would supply Uranium or nuclear fuel to India, a trade which has been forbidden by the international non-proliferation treaty. Dr. Aiyar brought to light the subtle difference between the general nuclear deal between India and US which is called "deal A" and this particular nuclear deal which will be "deal B". Dr. Aiyar pointed out that people are not against the Indo-US nuclear deal in general but only this particular deal.

The discussant Dr. Sonika Gupta asked whether the nuclear deal was about nuclear energy or about regional interests. She said that projecting the deal as a pinnacle for India's future is not proper. She stated that the United States needed the "Hyde act" to amend the Atomic Energy Act which prevents US nuclear trade outside the members of the Nuclear Security Council.

Discussion

One of the questions asked was about China's view on the Indo-US deal and about why India did not choose Russia for the deal. This question was answered by Dr. Aiyar. He stated that China has been ambiguous regarding the deal calling for consensus, balance between the concern over nuclear proliferation and the energy deal for India. Dr. Aiyar commented that the deal was implemented by the United States not India. He said that US has a domestic law which prohibits nuclear deal with India. It wants to change the rule and thus influence other countries. He also stated that as a super power the US carries more power than Russia or Australia in the council. Therefore signing a deal with US would increase India's chances of becoming a recognized nuclear state.

The Road Ahead

The Round Table was chaired by Maj. Gen. Dipankar Banerjee, and the panel included Prof. P.R. Chari, Dr. Lawrence Prabhakar, Dr. Suba Chandran, Dr. Sonika Gupta, Dr. Vidhya Shankar Aiyar and Mr. B.S. Raghavan. This session focused on looking ahead at the nuclear issues already raised in the Workshop. The session was interactive with the audience raising issues of concern and expressing its opinions. The first issue that was raised was whether India did need nuclear weapons. The arguments for and against were discussed.

Prof. Chari pointed out that traditionally speaking there are two reasons for nuclear weapons to exist: 'Security' as in the case of US, Russia, China and Pakistan, and 'Prestige' as in the case of U.K. and France. India's nuclear policy is a little more complicated for it depends both on security and political pressure. He reminded the possibility of nuclear accidents: the history of cold war is replete with several instances of human careless means of handling these weapons.



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Gen Banerjee argued that we cannot speak of World peace and use weapons too! First and foremost we should understand our present status as far as nuclear disarmament is considered. We should weigh our own genuineness in considering nuclear issues. It is very costly in the case nuclear deterrence. The US has spent 4 trillion dollars on its nuclear programme whereas the GDP of India hardly crosses a trillion dollar. Also if India opts for nuclear weapons, so can Bhutan, Sri Lanka, etc.... will that make India any safe? What is the use of nuclear weapons if we can't use them? Today one cannot use nuclear weapons in the battlefield, nor can one use it politically. After the Second World War nuclear weapons prevented the outbreak of a third world war. Nowhere else has nuclear weapons played a role in any other context. We have not resolved any conflict with nuclear weapons. We would be perhaps better off with the world having no nuclear weapons

Dr.D.Suba Chandran argued that we all would like to live in a nuclear free world, but whether it is possible is a difficult question to answer. It is often argued that India cannot opt for nuclear disarmament when the world around is producing nuclear weapons as it will only jeopardize the security of our nation. But one can think out of this box and consider an India that will stand for Global peace and disarmament.

Maj.Gen..Banerjee spoke at the concluding session summing up the two day Workshop. He said that India stands for peace and nuclear disarmament, but has nuclear weapons at the same time which is contradictory. If only India will reduce its military expenses then we can concentrate more on economic and agricultural growth. India is emerging as a super power in this world. We should strive to present our nation as a peaceful nation in the World. Without this vision India lacks a future and to a great extent this vision depended on the youth of this country.

Short Note on Participants

PARTICIPANTS: A SHORT NOTE

MAJ GEN DIPANKAR BANERJEE (Retd) is the Director of the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi. He was also the Executive Director of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, a South Asian think tank located in Colombo. He has held various operational and planning assignments as a combat officer of the Indian Army followed by research on national and international security issues as the Deputy Director of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi.

GOPALJI MALVIYA earned his Doctorate in Defence and Strategic Studies from the University of Madras. His doctoral thesis was on Chinese Strategic Threat to India's National Security. Dr. Malviya has written five books and over thirty articles in leading national and international publications. He is a Research Advisor to Defence Services Staff College, Wellington, and National Defence College, New Delhi. Dr. Malviya is also a visiting faculty to Officers' Training Academy, College of Naval Warfare Mumbai. He specializes in India's National Security, South Asian Peace and Security, Nuclear issues and Legal Dimensions of International Security. He is a founding member of Centre for Security analysis, Chennai and Convener of Society for



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RAMU MANIVANNAN teaches in the Department of Politics & Public Administration, University of Madras. His major areas of interest include Peace and Conflict Resolution, Social Movements and Theory and Practice of Nonviolence. He combines peace and social activism along with his academic research/teaching at the university. He has been part of several national and international civil society initiatives on unarmed intervention in conflict areas including Sri Lanka and Myanmar. He is an international trainer in nonviolence and methods of Conflict Resolution. He has also been engaged in experiments on education methodology and peace education at the schools. He has published six books which include Asian Future : Dialogues for Change (co-edited with Pracha Hutuanuwatr), Zed Books, London, 2005.

PR CHARI is a Research Professor at the IPCS. He was a former member of the Indian Administrative Service and Director of the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, and Research Professor at the Center for Policy Research, New Delhi. He has worked extensively on nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation, and Indian defence issues. He has published over 1200 op-ed articles in newspapers/websites and over 110 monographs and research papers in journals/chapters in books in India and abroad.

W.LAWRENCE S.PRABHAKAR is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science Madras Christian College, Chennai, India & Visiting Research Fellow, S.Rajaratnam School of International Studies and Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He is also Visiting Professor, Department of Geopolitics, Manipal University, Manipal. He specializes in academic and policy research in Nuclear Missile issues in Southern Asia, Maritime Security issues in the Indian Ocean and the Asia-Pacific Region, India-United States Strategic Relations, Grand Strategy of India, and Grand Strategy of China. His recent books are "The Maritime Balance of Power in the Asia-Pacific: Maritime Doctrines and Nuclear Weapons At Sea" and "Maritime Security in the Indian Ocean Region: Critical Issues of Debate". He is a Founding Member, Centre for Security Analysis, and his earlier research fellowships have been Visiting Fellow, the Henry Stimson Center, Washington DC USA.

GEETA MADHAVAN is the First Woman in the country to have done her Ph.D in Law on International Terrorism and works on security based issues on International Terrorism. She has published many articles on several international issues like extradition, human rights, refugees, international arbitration, cross border terrorism, international protection of human rights, terrorism and trade.

DR. SUBA CHANDRAN is Deputy Director at the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi. His research interests include J&K, Pakistan and Indo-Pak relations. He also edits annual – Armed Conflicts in South Asia. Earlier, he was a Visiting Fellow at the ACDIS, University Urbana-Champaign and Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford. Until recently, he was a Visiting Fellow at the University of Jammu, J&K

L.V.KRISHNAN joined the BARC in 1958. He studied Nuclear Technology in Oak Ridge School of Reactor Technology, USA and specialised in Safety Evaluation of Nuclear Installations and participated in the safety analysis of several of Indian nuclear facilities. He spent a year at the Cadarache Nuclear Research Centre in France working on fast reactor safety. After serving 14



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years in BARC, moved to Kalpakkam in 1973 to set up a Safety Research Laboratory in IGCAR. Spent six months as Visiting Scientist at the Engineering and Public Policy Dept of Carnegie Mellon University, USA examining India's nuclear power programme. Retired as Director of Safety Research Group in IGCAR, in 1997. Post-retirement, served in some of the Safety Review Committees of the Atomic Energy Regulatory Board and also coauthored two books: one titled 'Atomic Energy in India - Fifty Years' with C.V. Sundaram and T.S. Iyengar, being an official history of the DAE and another titled 'Elements of Nuclear Power' with Raja Ramanna.

R.SRIDHAR is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science, Madras Christian College. He teaches India's National Security, and International Relations. His areas of interest include International Terrorism, India's National and Human Security concerns and Indo-US relations. His ongoing Doctoral Research is on the US War on Terrorism Post 9/11. He has attended the Study of the United States Institute course on US National Security, conducted by the Delaware University, USA. He has participated and presented papers in international conferences organized by the RCSS, IPCS, ORF, Austrian National Defence Academy, and the Delaware University. He was earlier associated with the Observer Research Foundation as a Research Fellow working on the 'International Terrorism Watch Project'. He is currently Program Director, Davidson Semester in India Program.

DR. VIDYA SHANKAR AIYAR, Executive Editor, IBN World/CNN IBN is one of India's top TV news anchors with a doctorate in International Affairs. He has spent over two decades internationally in radio and television. Shankar is unparalleled in the tough live coverage of international news events, including Gen Musharraf's imposition of emergency in November 2007, and the wars on Iraq and Afghanistan. In 1996, he helped establish the IPCS, where he worked as an analyst in Asian and nuclear security matters.

B.S.RAGHAVAN IAS (Retd.) is an Ex-US Congressional Fellow, ex-Policy Adviser (Food Policies) FAO of UN, and an ex-Adviser to International Commission on Peace and Development. He has held top administrative positions in the Government of India as Director, Political & Security Policy Planning Division overseeing the working of the Intelligence Bureau (IB) and Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) in the Ministry of Home Affairs; Member (Vigilance) Railway Board; Member, Joint Intelligence Committee, Secretary, National Integration Council; and Additional Secretary in the Ministry of Food & Agriculture.

DR. SONIKA GUPTA is Assistant Professor, Department of Humanities and Social Science, IIT Madras, Chennai. She has a MA and PhD from School of International Studies in International Relations and Politics and Chinese Studies respectively. She has worked with prominent think tanks in New Delhi (Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies & Observer Research Foundation) and Bangalore (National Institute of Advanced Studies). Her major research interests are Chinese foreign policy, Chinese politics, international relations theory, human security and nuclearisation of South Asia. At the IIT, she teaches courses on International Relations Theory and Global Politics.



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