

INDIAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM THE US ROLE AND INTERESTS

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Indian Nuclear Program: The US Role and Interests

By: Senator Professor Khurshid Ahmad

The day May 28, 1998 registered a unique impression on Muslims of not only Pakistan but also the entire Millet-e Islami. The day shall go a long way down the political history of Pakistan, worthwhile to be written in golden words. The milestone test explosions' event is significant enough to be counted with our prime national celebration days like Aug. 14, March 23 or Sept. 6. On this day, Pakistan defied world pressure and threats, and ignored quite justifiably and with great courage, all sorts of pressures, sermons and temptations. The government, the Army leadership, the daunting team of scientists - all have added a new, glowing and graceful chapter to the history of Muslim Ummah by conducting five atomic explosions on May 28 and one on May 29.

Pakistan's emergence on globe as the only atomic capable Muslim country is not a minor achievement. It cannot be reckoned merely as reciprocation of India's explosions. It was neither an emotional decision nor manifestation of ego. It was an epoch-making move. It can have far-reaching visionary, political, economic and civilizational effects. However, all this can only actualize when its natural concomitants are duly fulfilled. When we say we have been waiting for this courageous advance since years, we have strong and healthy feelings of great majority of Pakistanis. Need of the hour is that this achievement be measured not from the perspective of timely expediency or economic and financial eventualities, but its worth realized keeping in view the world scenario and present juncture of history. With this approach, we also need to formulate strategy to fulfil future requirements. Whole nation should take part in the emergent surge for unity to make Allama Iqbal's dream come true.

Background of West's Reaction:

West's present so-called global elite status is because of their awareness of environs in which they lived through all past eras. We need to understand the manner in which the way was paved for them. Their economic and political revolutions were in stages, e.g. discovery of gunpowder, the industrial revolution, invention of printing press, machine age followed by industry and thus development of new technology, fast means of land, sea and air communications, international business and trade, etc. All these factors contributed to their strength and their consequent dominance during the last five centuries. For shaping our future, it is important that Muslims too ponder on their surroundings, the events that are taking place and the changes occurring rapidly. The last part of 20th century is significant in that it carries connotations for rise of Muslims. Following are some important indicators:

1. **Vanishing Imperial Regimes:** The 19th century Imperialist powers (Britain, France, Italy, Spain, Holland and Portugal) lost supremacy during 1st half of 20th century. In their place, America and the Communist Russia emerged as world powers. By end 20th century, Russia lost grounds and disintegrated. Germany and Japan, though strong economically could not attain world power status. Europe is making last ditch efforts to regain lost glory through formation of European Union. However, it has not yet been able either to fully organize or to absolve itself of American defense umbrella. Japan rose as 2nd strongest economic power pole but could not get recognition either of its economic or political status. It has recently been a victim of internal dissension and is now facing severe currency crisis that has almost limited its international role.

In this scenario, America has successfully emerged as the sole super power - the cherished role it has since centuries longed for. After assuming this position, America has been formulating world policies with a method that no other nation could emerge in future as its rival. Potential contender is coaxed down by a campaign launched through the secret agencies, the media and through the diplomatic efforts. The examples of American corollaries are: circumscribing China on pretext of Tiananmen Square event; Japan's economic crisis; thumping down Eastern Asian economic tigers; frustrating African dream of development; draining Middle East oil wealth, and; Gulf War of 1991.

The top American intelligentsia (including Kissinger, Brezhnev, Brentano, Fukuyama and Ty Junior) - who have say in foreign policy as well - have been advocating 'one power center and one ideology' idea since long. Based on this concept, several American presidents (particularly Carter, Reagan, Bush and Clinton) have been issuing timely guidance to State Department and military brass. Kingpin has been: No 'surrogate world power should be allowed to emerge now or in future against America in Western Europe, in Asia or in former Russian territories. In words of Patrick Taylor: "To ensure that no rival super power is allowed to emerge in Western Europe, Asia or the Territory of the former Soviet Union." (Ref: 'Bush Global Backyard' by Fukuyama, Guardian, London, Sept. 9, 1992)

New York Times, in its issue of March 1992, published an article by Patrick Taylor based on these presidential directions. The sum and substance of these guiding principles is: "The US must show the leadership necessary to establish and protect a new order that holds the promise of convincing potential competitors that they need not aspire to a greater role or pursue more aggressive posture to protect their legitimate interests."

In this connection, this sentence from the Defense Policy Guidelines (DPG) of American president carries great importance: "It is not in our interest or those of other democracies to return to-earlier periods in which multiple military powers

balanced one against another in what passed as security structures, while regional or even global peace being in the balance."

It has also been clarified in this document that end of multi-polarity only is not enough but side by side the system of collective security through the UN also needs to be changed so that the real center should not be the UN. It should be America and America alone. The UN may be associated but only in the capacity of an auxiliary, not as a central decisive force. In the words of Fukuyama: "The DPG was making a radical break with a post-war American tradition that placed emphasis on UN collective security... the UN merely served as window-dressing for US Unitarianism during the Gulf crisis and would have been impotent were it not for US leadership. As the DPG itself recognized collective action through the UN is not an alternative but a complement to American leadership."

It needs to be fully comprehended that the real American plan is to render all oilier countries so subdued and ineffective militarily, economically, politically, culturally and civilly that they accept American supremacy, willingly or unwillingly. America seeks not simply protection of its own interests but also wants to render other countries so helpless that they seek its help for protection of their legitimate interests as well.

2. **Apprehension about Muslim Might:** In this background, the emancipation of Islamic world and emergence of 56 free Muslim states; achievement of a new economic might based on strength of oil in Middle East; emergence of South Asian Muslim countries as economic entities and even development of Germany, Japan, China and Korea as economic powers - all these are impediments in successful implementation of American game plan. Therefore, keeping these nations bridled, weak, instable and devising novel machinations for that purpose are essential components of modern world politics.
3. **Importance of Technology:** Technology development in later half of 20th century played effective role in escalating American supremacy. Possibilities of this technology becoming common for all countries also cropped up which posed challenge to American world supremacy. In this context, atomic fission and fusion power; long range striking capacity; availability of effective and less costly weapon - the missile; computer-based technology and information transfer, and; media's revolutionary potential, etc. have altogether changed working capability, productivity and balance of power among nations. This change is expected to further during next century.

Today, acquiring ability to run sophisticated technology is not a cumbersome process. It is not necessary to repeat whole historic process the West endured during the last two centuries. Moreover, this technology's use does not call for that

much of financial resources that West had to invest for installing its authority and monopoly. It is not mandatory to possess equal strength to challenge these powers today. What is most essentially needed is the critical optimum capability to use the West's own branded technology. This capability renders strength of traditional weaponry ineffective. Nevertheless, wars and use of force remain effective to some extent as a tool of foreign policy. That is why America and the Western nations are so sensitive about proliferation of these capabilities. They struggle to maintain American monopoly on one and on the other hand aggress in name of globalization. The intent is to render entire world nations ineffective and subdued to America's whims while all military, economic and financial, learning and scientific power should remain concentrated in hands of America and its allies. Thus, it should not be strange to find world nations bereft of blessings of atom's powers, hi-tech computers, missiles etc. While on the other, the world capital market, the international trade, multinational corporations, Western culture, highly resourceful NGOs etc. - all are being utilized to establish new Imperial hegemony.

American discriminatory artifice:

To understand world apathy towards Pakistan's atomic tests, it is necessary to grasp features of American world order. America is not alone in its efforts, to destabilize Pakistan; India and Israel are its accomplice. Any strategy framed ignoring this background shall be unrealistic and may prove to be suicidal as well.

Ostensibly, during the last fifty years, Pak-US friendship has been the cornerstone of our foreign and defense policies. Pakistan's first premier's visited and thus represented nation's inclination towards America rather than Russian friendship. Pakistan firmly believed prosperity and security to follow toeing US dictates. It joined American world defense system during the period of Mohammed Ali Bogra and showed its such resolve practically. General Ayub Khan as Chief of Pakistan Army (1952) firmed up country's defense by joining hands with America and virtually made the country subservient to American strategy after assuming power in 1958. These steps taken during the initial phase of Pakistan's birth have all along been responsible for shaping our foreign and defense policies. Leaving aside all that happened later, we constantly pursued dependence on America and stood by its policies as an ally - rather as a servile supporter. Recounting the past events, it becomes certain that it was one way friendship. America used us for its own motives. It patronized a privileged class in our country that continued to hold the nerve centers of authority and power, knowingly or unknowingly, and acted as its agent. Despite our high hopes and claims of friendship, America never cared for our interests. It betrayed us in every hour of need. Ironically enough, the privileged ruling class in face of rotten US policies towards Pakistan, even today seeks its pleasure.

US-India Active Cooperation:

Admiral Nimitz and Dickson admitted in clear terms that India was impediment in the implementation of UN Resolutions in Kashmir, yet no pressure was exerted on it. Total discriminatory policy towards Pakistan became clear in Sino-India war. India attacked China in 1962 on the instigation of America and suffered defeat. The then US president Kennedy withheld supply of arms and spare parts to Pakistan, stalled action on Kashmir and provided huge defense aid to India under the cover of its being a non-aligned country. Now all sorts of facilities are being provided to India with a view to keep it prepared against China. America, Canada and Israel made joint efforts to introduce India on world horizon as nuclear capable nation. In spite of its 1974 atomic explosion, all American presidents from Carter to Clinton provided full-scale aid to India. This aid ranged from atomic reactors to the supply of heavy water and hi-tech super-computers plus the technical expertise. On other hand, 'friendly' Pakistan has always been easy target for economic and military sanctions.

Irrefutable evidence exists that confirms India secured atomic wherewithal from America and Canada under cover of 'US Atom for Peace Program.' The Plutonium used in 1974 Indian explosion was processed from reprocessing plant of Trombe near Bombay, which was constructed with American expertise and technical cooperation.

No counter-action has been taken until today despite American information sources own confirmation of Indian nuclear program. The reports of Carnegie Foundation, proceedings of Congress Defense and Intelligence Committees, articles in world media and research books have all along cried hoarse since the last 15 years that India possesses 35 - 65 atomic bombs and processed material for making 100 - 200 such bombs. Now according to Jane's Intelligence Review of June 1998, if all the atomic products (including that prepared for commercial purposes) processed in Tromby and Dharova Research Centers, is accounted for, Indian stock of weapons-grade Plutonium shall suffice to make 390 to 470 atom bombs. If this capability is compared with the report based on the information from the National Resource Defense Council, Washington upto Dec. 1996, India lies close to the nuclear capable Britain, China and France. According to that report, the atomic capability of Britain is 260, China 400 and France 450 atomic bombs. Jane's Intelligence Review (June 1989) reveals Tritium for 1998 Indian explosions was obtained from Bhabha Atomic Center, Bombay that was established in 1992 with support of big powers. Irrefutable sources bear it out that their firing system was put to test in the explosions of 11th and 13th May. Israel provided system with the benediction of America that made it possible for India to make several explosions simultaneously. Heavy water was openly supplied to India from America in 1995 with special

permission of American president. Super-computers to facilitate preparation of Indian atomic bomb and missiles were also provided by the US. In addition, Dr. Abdul Kalam with his team of nuclear scientists, remained associated with American atomic research institutions and had on many occasions participated in their programs. During 1970 through 1980, around 100 Indian scientists and engineers received first-hand training in various American research institutions and atomic plants.

India's 1st nuclear reactor was built with Canada's Deuterium Uranium Reactor assistance. General Electric provided Uranium enrichment reactors to India at 2/3rd price (\$126m.) as compared to that of France. Thus the Atomic Power Station, Tarapur came into being in the North. The Kuljian Corporation of Philadelphia, Nuclear Utility Service of Washington, The Bechtel Corporation - specialized firm for defense buildings of America - provided practical cooperation plus an aid of \$80m. by US Aid helped in establishment of the said institution. Further, the Atomic Power Commission of America provided enriched uranium worth \$14.5m. to help start it.

Work started on Tarapur Reactor with American assistance in Oct. 1964 (a year before 1965 war) and continued despite India's military onslaught on Pakistan until completion in 1969. America openly participated in India's Uranium enrichment process till 1973 making India capable to conduct its first test explosion in May 1974 and given the title "Buddha's Smile." Four years before 1974 Pokhran explosion, America provided India 150 tons of Uranium enriched fuel. Restrictions were imposed on India after 1974 explosion but ostensibly, from 1974 - 1980, America itself provided 90 tons of atomic fuel to India and the rest it made France to supply. It is interesting that Congress passed Atomic Non-Proliferation Treaty in March 1978. According to this, no country was to be provided with atomic material who did not form part of NPT and kept its atomic program beyond international inspection. Under this law, restrictions were imposed on Pakistan, which continue till now in different forms. India neither signed NPT nor opened its reactors and atomic institutions to international inspection, nevertheless, the flow of American exports of nuclear material to India continued unabated. When president. Carter visited India in 1978, the then Indian premier Morarji Desai put up demand for further atomic supplies. Carter whispered into his ears, "Don't worry, I shall issue orders for the supply of seven and a half tons of atomic material." However, India's demands know no limits. Per force Carter had to say, "We have to think twice before we incur displeasure of India."

Besides America, another country from where India secured atomic cooperation was Norway where CIA was behind the deal. This cooperation continued overtly and covertly uninterruptedly. It is not strange after this much of discussion that between 11th and 12th May, when sanctions were supposed to be imposed,

American companies dispatched high capability computer software to institutions that produced Pirthavi and Agni in India. This fact has been disclosed by a scientist Gerrimal Helen (The Nation, London, June 9, 1998).

The reality behind CIA's hide and seek game about the explosions of May 11 is not difficult to understand. India's foreign secretary visited America in the 1st week of May. Richardson, American ambassador to UN, toured India and Pakistan a little earlier and during Indian visit he remarked, "Harmony of views that exists today had never been so in the past." As for CIA's drama that they were not aware of the explosion, the article by the Chief Editor of Indian daily The Asian Age (May 18) is a revelation. He writes with reference to America and the highly placed sources of CIA: "However, our satellite did pick up activity at Pokhran a few days before the tests, but no one in Washington linked it to a possible test. The satellite did not fail completely. However, clear evidence was available to the surveillance teams in the United States a good six hours before the tests took place around midnight of Sunday-Monday in Washington. There was enough time theoretically for America to take preemptive action at diplomatic level or even sound an alarm through the media."

In this background, it can be assuredly said that the intelligence agencies of America were not ignorant - they were waiting patiently. The press briefing given just after the explosion (May 11, 1998) by James P. Rubin, the spokesman of American Foreign Office, throws more light over the issue:

Question: Did the US have any fore knowledge of India's conducting tests, because the Indian Foreign Minister (acting secretary) was apparently in town last Friday (9 May) meeting officials?

Rubin: I do not believe that any of our officials knew for sure that there was going to be such an announcement today.

Question: So this caught you unawares?

Rubin: Well, I did not say that. I said that in those meetings that there were no, to my knowledge, warnings that this was going to happen. I would not be in a position to get into any of the areas using the words that I did not use and if you use, I get to say no comment." (Daily Press Briefing of US State Dept., 11 May, 98)"

In this context, it is not difficult to recognize hands at work behind entire Indian atomic program and the explosions from 1974 to 1998.
