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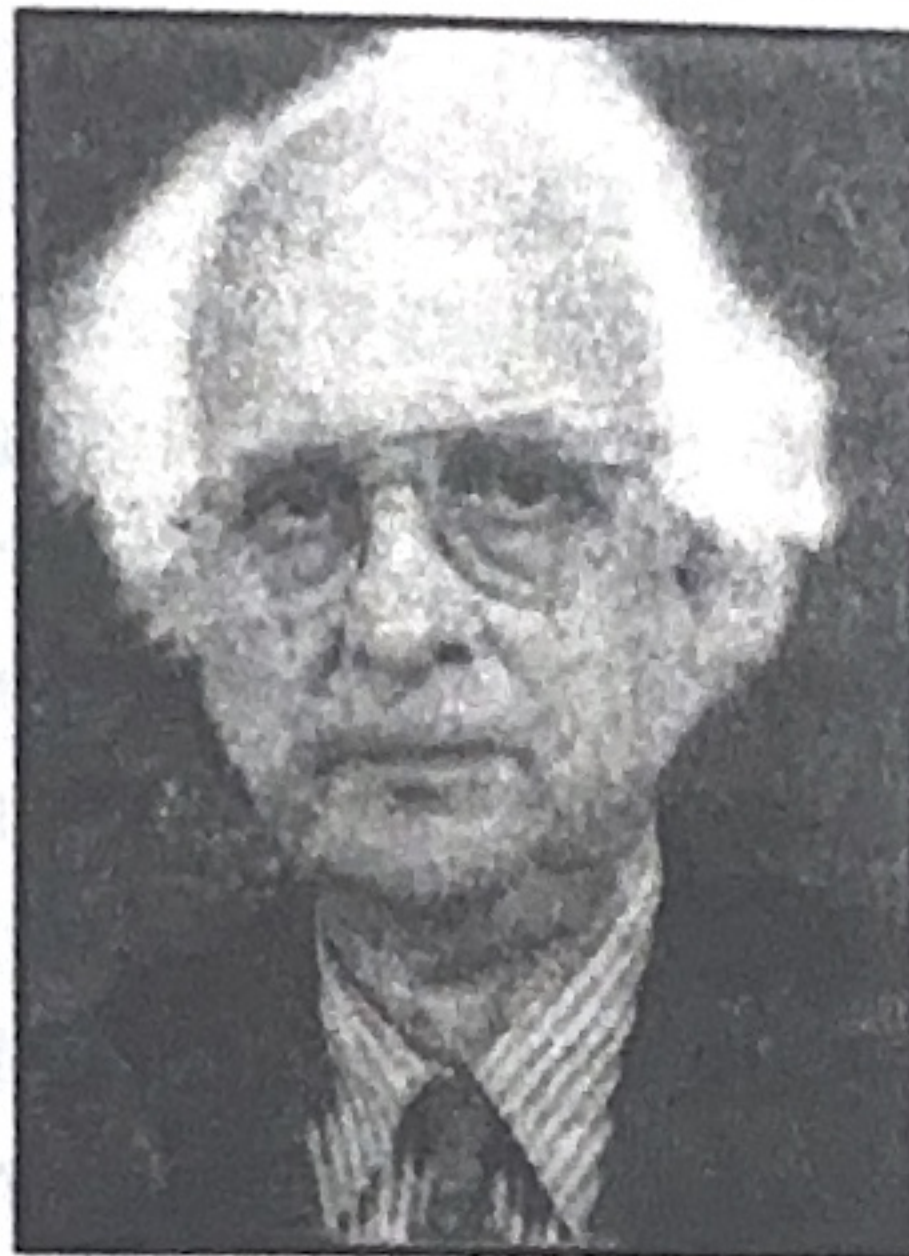
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EULOGY

Professor Matinuzzaman Zuberi



1930 - 2006

Professor M Zuberi was born at Mareha in Etah district of Uttar Pradesh on 15 July 1930. He obtained his Master's degree from Aligarh Muslim University. He went to St Antony's College in the University of Oxford and was Senior Scholar there. Later, he was a Senior Fellow with the Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla. He joined the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) in 1978 and rose to become Head of the Department of Disarmament Studies. He supervised 60 M Phil dissertations and 15 Ph D theses and trained a large number of young security analysts. He continued there till 1995. He breathed his last on 4 March 2006 at New Delhi.

Professor Zuberi was a member of the National Security Advisory Board for three terms, in which capacity he contributed significantly in preparation of the Draft Indian Nuclear Doctrine. He travelled widely to discuss nuclear and disarmament issues and was much respected. He has a number of memorable publications to his credit.

Professor M Zuberi became an Associate Member of the United Service Institution of India (USI) on 10 May 1993. The USI and its members greatly benefited from his participation in the various activities of the Institution and his written contributions from time to time. He was of great help in drawing up the rules and regulations for award of fellowships when the USI was in the process of setting up the Centre for Research. His outstanding contributions to the book on *Weapons of Mass Destruction: Options for India* brought out by the USI in the year 2004 will be remembered not only for the quality of his own work but also for the guidance he provided to other members of the team that put the publication together. His endearing qualities of head and heart will be sorely missed.

EDITORIAL

The 18 July 2005 Indo-US Nuclear deal and its implementation process have provoked debate both in the US and India about the efficacy of civilian nuclear cooperation in the context of the global non-proliferation regime. Dr. Anupam Srivastava in the lead article titled "US-India Nuclear Negotiations: How Equal and Reciprocal?" points out that while most critics of the deal in the US have limited their arguments within the narrow domains of non-proliferation, critics in India have questioned the real US motives behind the deal. The author argues that the deal is crucial because it registers for the first time the US recognition of India as a responsible state with advanced nuclear technology. The author dispels some of the fears of the critics that the deal is against non-proliferation by indicating that the supply of nuclear technology to India's civilian nuclear programme would not accelerate its weapons programme on account of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards. According to the deal, India has to separate its civilian and military nuclear programmes in order to receive civilian nuclear technology from the US. The author states that the deal would place a high percentage of India's unsafeguarded fissile material and facilities under IAEA safeguards. This would significantly benefit the global non-proliferation regime. Besides the P-5, and amongst the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) non-signatories, India possesses the largest nuclear stockpile. India is also a growing nuclear energy market, with the potential of generating enormous profits to American companies. The author asserts that the deal is good for India on four counts. First, it does not curtail India's right of sovereign decision making regarding its strategic programme. Second, the deal, after implementation, would create a viable international framework that would accommodate India's unique status outside the NPT and access to civilian nuclear energy. Third, it would remove all constraints and uncertainties about India's nuclear programme by enabling an unlimited supply of uranium, of which India has a limited domestic reserve. Fourth, international participation in the civilian nuclear sector will bring newer technologies, proven designs for larger and safer reactors. India provided the US with a credible separation plan during the visit of the US President George W. Bush in March 2006. The proposed Indian separation plan placed 14 out of the 22 Indian Nuclear Power Reactors under IAEA safeguards. It now remains to be seen how the Bush Administration engineers the passage of the nuclear deal in the US Congress and amends the 1978 US Non Proliferation law, which prohibits civilian nuclear cooperation with India, and also clinch an exception for India within the Nuclear Supplier's Group (NSG).

Lieutenant General Eric A Vas, PVSM (Retd) in his article titled "The American Offer: Uncertain Risk or Beneficial Opportunity?" focuses on tremendous changes in the Indo-US relations, from the Cold War years of

hostility to the present stage of pro-active engagement. During the early Cold War years, India was heavily dependent on PL-480, and suffered a defeat in the 1962 war with China. India tilted heavily towards the erstwhile Soviet Union, the then adversary of the US. However, India's victory in the 1971 war with Pakistan, the peaceful nuclear explosion in 1974, the successful green revolution and its vibrant democratic ethos increased US interest in India. The end of the Cold War, the rise of India's economic potential since the 1990s and the nuclear tests in 1998 demonstrated India's growing strength. The author indicates that the 11 September 2001 incident was a turning point in the US approach to India. India was "acknowledged" as one of the nations with a very large Islamic population free of Al Qaeda and Jihadi influences". The author states, " the US initiative to help India to develop itself as a world class power is related to the creation of balance of power in Asia...". The emphasis in the US foreign policy is to develop a strategic partnership with India as well as tap its reservoir of brain power and vast market for the US goods and services. The author argues that the US is a hegemonic power but it will have to accept the discipline of a global balance of power and a norm based international system in the future.

In the article titled "Impact of Domestic Economic Influences on Indo-US Relations", Lieutenant Colonel Vivek Chadha focuses on trends of the Indian economy and its influence on the Indo-US relations. The author asserts that India's infrastructure development, increased spending potential of its population, and opportunities and avenues for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), would have a strong influence on future economic policies of the US. Citing from the *Goldman Sachs Economic Paper* of 2003, the author states that the Indian economy would rise from a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of US \$ 604 billion in 2005 to US \$ 27,803 billion by 2050. This would make India the third largest economy in the world. However, the rapid growth of the Indian economy will imply an increase in India's energy needs. The projected energy demands of the US, China, Japan, India, and Russia by 2025 are likely to have far reaching implications for the economic equilibrium of not only their economies but also the global economic scenario. The Indo-US economic relations would increase phenomenally primarily because of low cost of Indian services in the arena of software, in comparison to the high cost of the US service providers. The author points out that the future Indo-US economic relations would be dominated by the software development, telecommunications, infrastructure and knowledge based industries. India and the US are also co-operating in the field of use of cleaner energy sources, especially the nuclear energy.