

US coming closer to India: Pallone

N C Menon
Washington, March 31

CONGRESSMAN FRANK Pallone, Jr, New Jersey Democrat and founder of the Congressional India Caucus, who accompanied President Clinton on his recent trip to South Asia, said in an address to the House of Representatives that as a result of the visit, he hoped to see significant changes in US South Asia policies in favour of India.

Pallone said the President's trip sent a message to the US Administration "about which South Asian nation can be relied upon to be an effective partner for the US in the years to come - namely, India - and which South Asian nation stands in direct opposition to America's interests and values - namely, Pakistan."

Meanwhile, Congressman Sherrowd Brown, congratulated Clinton on his successful trip to India, "the largest democracy and a pivotal player in the world."

Pallone added: "President Clinton went to South Asia with an agenda of promoting peace, stability, regional integration, democracy, trade, market reforms and the settlement of disputes through negotiation. India's elected leaders embraced this agenda. Pakistan's military dictatorship ignored it."

"In marked contrast to India's elected Prime Minister, Pakistan dictator did not echo the call for a peaceful solution of the Kashmir conflict. Instead, despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, the General fell back on the old claim that Pak had nothing to do with sending forces across the Line of Control last year," he added.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

- 1 APR 2000

The Washington summit

By K. K. Katyal

The September Vajpayee-Clinton meeting will be the first of the top-level contacts as part of a conscious effort to intensify and institutionalise the bilateral dialogue.

WHAT IS the right way of looking at the upcoming summit between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, in Washington? An opportunity for substantive dialogue or a get-together with a lame-duck chief executive? The meeting is fixed for mid-September — towards the end of Mr. Clinton's tenure. As such, the first impulse will be to treat it as a ceremony which needs to be gone through as a matter of courtesy.

Given the timing of the meeting, it is hard to reject this view altogether. All those who matter — in politics, in the Clinton administration, in the U.S. Congress — would be preoccupied with the presidential polls. They would be hardly in a mood to deal with foreign policy issues, barring the urgent ones. India does not fall in the exceptional category, strictly speaking. But then there is the specific context in which the summit was conceived — the momentum in Indo-U.S. relations generated by Mr. Clinton's trip to India in March. On balance, therefore, it may not be a routine affair altogether. But how substantive it becomes will depend on the nature of the exchanges. Will there be a meaningful follow-up on the issues that had figured in the first round? Not too hard to identify — nuclear matters and sanctions, investment and technology transfer, to mention only a few.

Most foreign policy issues in the U.S. have had bipartisan support traditionally. As such, no significant shift should be expected even if the Democrats fail to retain the presidency. In case there is no change in the party affiliation of the White House tenant, the chances of a departure from the present policies would be much less. The September meeting will be the first of the top-level bilateral contacts envisaged in Mr. Clinton's talks in New Delhi as part of a conscious effort to intensify and institutionalise the dialogue — in particular to hold summits "to review the bilateral relations and consult on international developments and issues". Obviously, they would proceed from the stage that was reached in March — both on the subjects on which they had agreed and the issues of disagreement. In case

there is an advance in the two areas, the summit would undeniably be substantive. If not, the sceptics may claim vindication. Either way, it will set the agenda for the new administration for continuing the rediscovers of the largest democracy in the world. There was nothing spectacular about the last round nor were there any surprises in it — but it was significant 1) for the understanding of New Delhi's position on major issues, as shown by Mr. Clinton's public statements and the inside accounts of his talks with Mr. Vajpayee and 2) for the architecture of dialogue, finalised by them.

To take the area of agreement first, the next summit, it is reasonable to assume, would pursue the goal already set and "endeavour to enhance trade and investment, cooperation in energy and environment, and to draw upon the vast array of talent, especially in the area of information technology and frontier sciences". India's main interest will be in specifics rather than in generalities especially in the chances of a change by the U.S. in its rigid definition of dual-use technology. How the U.S. rigidity worked to India's disadvantage was evident in a recent case — where the U.K. could not return spares for the Sea Harriers of the Indian Navy, supplied by it and sent to it for repairs, because the U.S. had, in the meantime, acquired an interest in the enterprise. Quite a few American embargoes still in place work to India's detriment.

As for trade and investment, the recent steps taken by New Delhi as part of the second phase of economic liberalisation could not have gone unnoticed in Washington. At one stage, the U.S. regarded the opening up of the insurance sector as a test for the Indian Government's political will to carry forward the reform process. Well, the embargo on foreign equity has been removed and other steps taken to facilitate the flow of capital from abroad. On the whole the U.S. should find consid-

terest of the U.S. is in India signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). The Government is committed to working for national consensus on adherence to the Treaty and has held consultations with party leaders. A finality, however, is ruled out in the near future — between now and the Washington summit. Neither has the consultation process made any appreciable progress nor has the stand of the Congress(I), the main opposition party, crystallised. The Congress(I), which has a pivotal role, complains it had not been taken into confidence on the talks with the U.S. and other interlocutors. And the matter rests there.

Because of the sensitive character of the subject, the Government is justified in enlisting the support of as large a section of the political establishment as possible. This is dictated both by national interest and realpolitik. The signatures on treaties and conventions, the decisions on ratification and on deposition of the instruments of ratification are the prerogatives of the Executive, there being no constitutional requirement to secure the approval of Parliament. This does not mean that once the signatures have been affixed, the other two steps follow automatically. There has to be a fresh application of mind at each stage. There were instances where the gap between the two stages was unusually big — the convention on the transit trade of land-locked countries, for instance, was ratified seven years after it was signed.

As regards Kashmir if not yet on the India-Pakistan relations, there are faint signs of movement, with a major militant organisation, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, making an offer of ceasefire and the Government inviting it for talks. These developments, as also the earlier decision to release the Hurriyat Conference leaders, fit in with the political process, commended by Washington to New Delhi (as against the exclusive reliance on the security forces) to sort out the internal part of the Kashmir problem. This should help Mr. Vajpayee secure increased understanding of India's stand on Kashmir. On resumption of talks with Pakistan, however, the present Indian stance may not be enough to win the appreciation of others.

erable improvement in the environment for foreign investment since Mr. Clinton's visit here. On terrorism, the two sides will have the opportunity to build upon their shared commitment.

Now the area of disagreement which, at points, impinges on the issues of convergence, apart from obstructing the full realisation of the potential for cooperation. The nuclear issue tops the list. Last time, as recorded in the vision statement, the two sides could not agree on how to proceed towards the common goal of reducing and ultimately eliminating nuclear weapons — "The U.S. believes India should forgo nuclear weapons. India believes that it needs to maintain a credible minimum deterrent in keeping with its own assessment of its security needs." Nonetheless, the two sides were prepared to work together to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.

On Kashmir and India-Pakistan relations, Mr. Clinton's reference in his address to Parliament was a mixed fare. He stressed the need for restraint and for "respect for the Line of Control". He was emphatic he had not come to South Asia to mediate "the dispute over Kashmir" (a phrase India had objected to whenever used by foreigners). "Only India and Pakistan," he add, "can work out the problems between them. But if outsiders cannot resolve this problem, I hope you will create the opportunity to do it yourselves, calling on the support of others who can help where possible, as American diplomacy did in urging the Pakistanis to go back behind the Line of Control in the Kargil crisis." This, on the one hand, was an endorsement of bilateralism and, on the other, a call for resuming the dialogue with Pakistan, coupled with an implied American willingness to help. This was a paraphrase of the earlier offers to help, subject to the consent of the two parties.

On the nuclear issue, the immediate in-

THE HINDU

1 AUG 2000

Clinton calls up PM, to take up killings with Pakistan

HD-1
3/8
By Harish Khare
NEW DELHI, AUG. 2. The United States has expressed its sympathies and support to India in the aftermath of the series of massacres in Jammu and Kashmir in the last 24 hours, which have resulted in over 90 deaths. The President, Mr. Bill Clinton, rang up the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, this evening to express his disapproval of the wanton killings and promised to "speak to the leaders of Pakistan and do everything possible to contain such activities." The American President also "expressed his admiration for the Prime Minister's positive response to the ceasefire offer of the Hizbul Mujahideen."

This expression of support has come as a big relief to the Vajpayee establishment which was beginning to feel just a bit rattled after the militants staged a virtual death dance in Jammu and Kashmir. A high ranking official of the administration described the President's 10-minute telephonic talk as "significant" and a clear enunciation of the American stance of support for the incipient "peace process" in Jammu and Kashmir.



On his part, the Prime Minister pointed out to Mr. Clinton that the massacres of the last 24 hours fell into a pattern of "every peace initiative being responded to with terrorist acts sponsored by Pakistan." He cited the Kargil intrusion which followed the Lahore initiative and the Chattisingpura massacre during Mr. Clinton's visit.

Mr. Vajpayee told the American President that it would be difficult for India to "exercise restraint in the face of such out-

rages." Consequently, there could be no basis for any kind of "meaningful dialogue with Pakistan". Nonetheless, Mr. Vajpayee assured him that "the peace process in Jammu and Kashmir would continue."

The Indian Government is inclined to see three elements in the American President's message. First, a clear-cut expression of support in the face of such dastardly acts of terrorism; second, an indirect acknowledgment of the Pakistani culpability for the cold-blooded killings on such an extensive scale as has been witnessed in the last 24 hours; and, third, an endorsement of the peace process with the Hizbul.

This expression of unequivocal support for the Vajpayee Government's Kashmir initiative could not have come at a better time, because the ruling establishment was finding it difficult to answer the perception at home that the Government was allowing the U.S. to dictate a "peace" agenda; armed with the words of support from the American President, the Vajpayee regime need not, at least for now, bat on the back foot.

THE HINDU

3 AUG 2000

5-6 EYE ON AMERICA

India should court US support on Kashmir

SENIOR foreign office mandarins insist no policy initiative on Kashmir is happening with an eye on September when Vajpayee visits the US. They may be right in the obvious sense that the opportunity, dynamics and dangers of the present turn in Kashmir do not need the White House to happen. But equally, the MEA insistence is almost certainly designed to hide a finer shade of the truth — that it is in India's interest to keep Washington broadly sympathetic to its stand on Kashmir, and to that extent all official initiatives will keep, if not an eye on September, a very eager ear open to Washington. As happened, for example, with Clinton's phone call to Vajpayee following the Amarnath tragedy. In keeping with the stand he had taken since Kargil, Clinton, in effect, held the Pakistani Government responsible — music to India's ears, and invigorating enough, according to a senior cabinet minister, to be one of the reasons why Vajpayee's advisers quickly put together an all-party mission.

And why not? If the attempts to tackle an infernally complicated domestic situation can be in lock-step with American approval, this country can only gain. India should, therefore, be proactive about seeking American support on Kashmir. In fact, as talks with Hizbul get under way, and nasty saboteurs get more active, the knowledge that America remains friendly will do Indian negotiators a power of good. It would be nice, of course, were MEA mandarins a little more frank about this.

MEA's other point of severe insistence is "no talks with Pakistan". To buttress this, Indian diplomats add that "pressure" from America will not change this position. Again, the truth is a little different: there's as of now no real pressure from America. This US administration has abandoned the "both are equally to blame" thesis on Kashmir. New Delhi says its conduct during Kargil did the trick. Closer to the truth is that Pakistan's conduct since Vajpayee's Lahore trip and through Kargil and up to the coup made it impossible for the US not to notice the contrast between the two neighbours. Add to that the fact that India has some exciting economic possibilities for US business and Pakistan is a virtual basket case — you don't have to be the Foreign Secretary to see why the traditional parity has changed. So, India is, for the moment, in a position arguably not available to feuding parties elsewhere in the globe. Barak and Arafat talk, with American supervision; the British and the IRA talk, under Uncle Sam's aegis. But New Delhi, thanks to Islamabad, can ignore the latter's periodic, and increasingly desperate, diplomatic manoeuvres, and do so with Washington's unofficial blessing. Not a bad situation to be in, and it is up to our diplomats to exploit it, even if they don't admit they are doing so!

THE STATESMAN

7 AUG 2000

CPM demands removal of US consul-general

HT Correspondent
Calcutta, August 7

THE STATE CPI(M) wants US Consul-General in the city, Christopher Richard Sandrolini, removed.

State party secretary Anil Biswas today accused Sandrolini of dispatching a team to Nannoor to investigate the recent killings.

"We have specific information that the US consulate prepared a confidential report and sent it to the US Human Rights Commission," Biswas said.

The party has assigned Rajya Sabha member Biplab Dasgupta to take up the matter with the Prime Minister.

Biswas lashed out at Sandrolini saying his party had "reports and evidence" to prove the Consul-General's "involvement" in sending a team to investigate the killings. Deputy Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee has endorsed Biswas's view. The Consul-General was not available for comment.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

8 AUG 2000

CLIPPINGS

Basu backs Sandrolini ouster demand

THE CPI(M) on Tuesday intensified its tirade against US Consul-General Christopher Richard Sandrolini with Chief Minister Jyoti Basu throwing his weight behind the party demand for his removal.

"The US consulate in the city has done wrong. But this is nothing new. The former US ambassador to India, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, had talked of similar US interventions in the affairs of West Bengal and Kerala," Basu said.

Backing the State party secretary, Anil Biswas, who has demanded Sandrolini's removal, Basu said: "I support his stand." Later, Biswas said party MP Biplab Dasgupta had written to the Prime Minister seeking his intervention.

Smelling a rat in the consulate's "investigations" into the Nannoor carnage, Biswas said: "They are committing a lot of nuisance these days."

Naming another consulate official, Daniel Harsh, Biswas said: "I am given to understand that he is an administrative officer. But he is handling the Nannoor probe. He is a CIA man. Why did he go there without intimating the State Government?" **HTC, Calcutta**

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

- 9 AUG 2000

'Gore or Bush, thaw in Indo-US ties will hold'

S. Rajagopalan

Washington, August 9

HR 14 1098

WILL THE election made in the US detract from the significance of Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's American visit next month? New Delhi does not think so. Diplomatic sources here are convinced that no matter the electoral preoccupations, Mr Vajpayee's visit will serve to build on the path-breaking Indian visit of President Bill Clinton last March.

These sources are equally emphatic that the spring-time in Indo-US relations would become abiding. As a high-ranking Indian source put it, there will be no looking back on the relations, be it Al Gore or George W. Bush at the helm after the November elections.

"Past suspicions have disappeared and a better understanding and goodwill is emerging between the two great democracies," the official said.

He paid a particular tribute to the fact that the United States is no longer viewing India in a restricted, South Asian context. "The role that India can play beyond South Asia is being appreciated now," the official added.

The Vajpayee visit, it is conceded by Indian channels, may not produce something as dramatic as getting the lame-duck Clinton Administration to lift the post-Pokhran II sanctions without India signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). But it will definitely proceed with vigour on other matters outlined in the Vision Statement unveiled during Mr Clinton's visit.



A file picture of Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee with US President Bill Clinton on the latter's visit to India

India, it is pointed out, is engaging the US over a broad front of issues, ranging from trade, environment, energy to strategic matters and the threat of international terrorism. All these will figure in the

exchanges coinciding with the Prime Minister's visit. Considerable follow-up action is said to have been taken on areas identified in the Vision Statement and these will now be reviewed.

High-ranking Indian officials have been coming here at intervals to work out the nitty-gritty of Mr Vajpayee's visit.

Mr Brajesh Mishra, the Prime Minister's Principal Secretary and National Security Adviser, was here a fortnight ago.

Mr H.K.Dua, the PM's Press Adviser, is currently here, apparently to work out the Prime Minister's media interface.

Mr Vajpayee arrives in Washington on September 13 after attending the UN millennium summit and his subsequent travel to the West Coast in honour of the Indians in the forefront of the ongoing IT revolution. Apart from his meetings with President Clinton, Vice-President Al Gore and other dignitaries, a highlight of the visit will be his address to the US Congress.

That the Prime Minister would be spending close to a day with the Congress is significant.

It is also a recognition of the lead taken by the Congressmen of both Democratic and Republican persuasions to improve bilateral ties.

Asked about the possibility of a meeting between Mr Vajpayee and Mr Bush, the Republican nominee, an Indian source commented that such a meeting would depend on the itineraries of both.

Both have busy schedules and their itineraries will have to intersect at some point to make a meeting possible.

Vajpayee's coming visit to Washington will help an ongoing process

What began in Geneva

DIPLOMACY
K.P. NAYAR

5-10
4/8

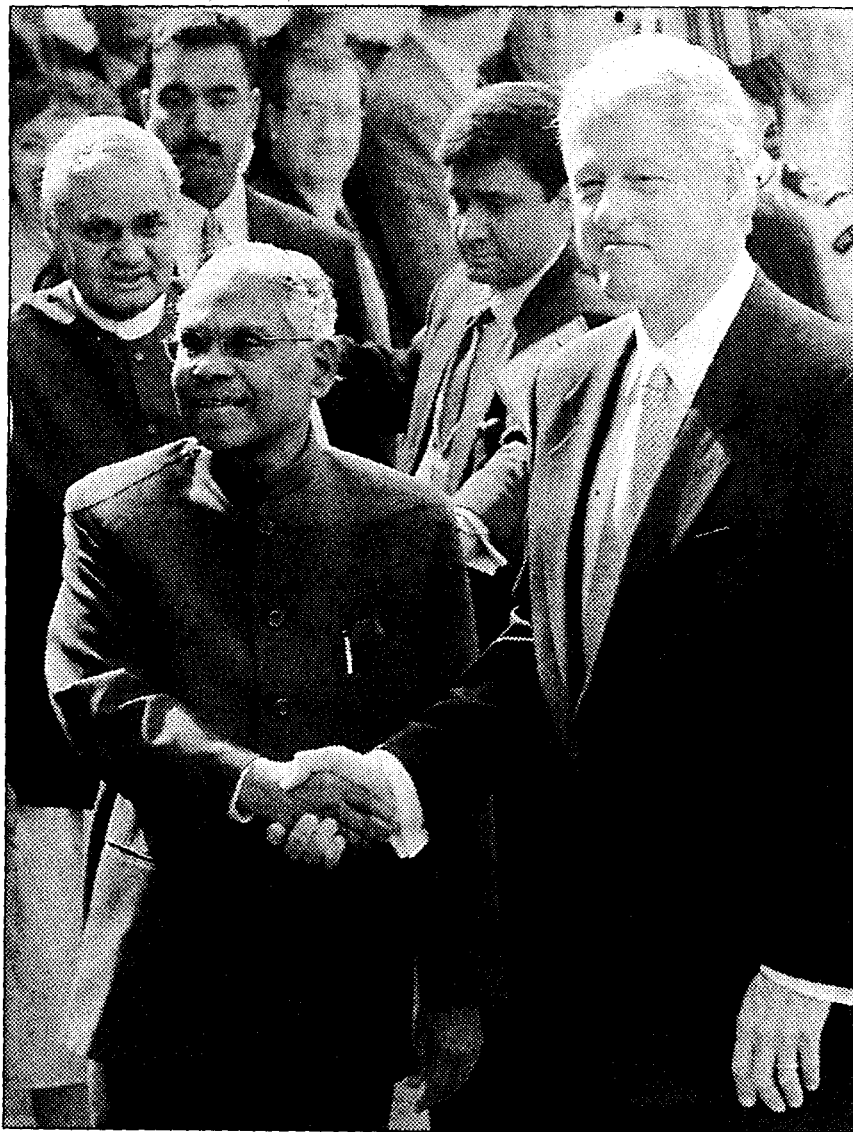
It is tempting, especially if you are in New Delhi, to interpret the conversation of the United States president, Bill Clinton, with the Indian prime minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, last week as evidence that India and the US have buried their past and are now on the road to close friendship and partnership. Many Indians will see this as a logical corollary to Clinton's successful visit to India in March. To the average Indian mind, the best rationale behind such an attitude is, perhaps Jawaharlal Nehru's call in the Fifties, albeit to the country's nascent tourist industry, to welcome a visitor and send back a friend. Those Indians who look at Clinton's visit through this prism and link it to any future success of Indo-US relations forget the lessons of history.

Twenty-two years earlier, Jimmy Carter too made a visit to India that was short neither in paraphernalia nor in atmospheric, notwithstanding New Delhi's proximity to Moscow forged in the Seventies. But in 1978, unlike in 2000, it was clear to Indians even before Carter left New Delhi that the welcome received by the president had made no impact whatsoever on American policy.

We will write a stiff letter to prime minister, Morarji Desai, the stubborn old man, on India's nuclear policy when we get back to Washington, Carter had told an aide, unaware that thousands of Indians were listening to his words because a microphone close to the president had been switched on by mistake even before the function attended by Carter had begun. Indo-US relations have taken a turn for the better and the potential for this relationship in the decades ahead is immense. But this has happened not merely because Clinton made a high profile visit to India.

The upward turn in Indo-US relations is the result of a process that began 10 years ago when both New Delhi and Washington realized that the time had come to look afresh at their engagement with each other. Indeed, this process itself had many false starts and those setbacks actually offer valuable lessons in how the current euphoria in Washington and New Delhi could still be belied. Actually, Clinton's visit this year was the result of a gradual, often difficult, improvement in Indo-US relations in the last decade, not the other way round. Of all the pitfalls that Indo-US friendship faces, the biggest is the fundamental asymmetry in their relationship.

For India, irrespective of which government is in power, the US represents the biggest priority in foreign policy. But to say that the reverse is by no means true is to merely state the obvious. In dealing with the former Soviet Union, it was enough to have periodic visits at the highest levels, orchestrated by public demonstrations of support for such exchanges. What is more, the success or failure of those visits was judged



by the number of treaties and agreements signed by the two governments. The very nature of the US political system, where decisionmaking is a consensual process spread across various elements of the state, prevents replicating in Washington what was possible in Moscow.

This makes it imperative that New Delhi have clearly defined goals and objectives in dealing with Washington in very specific areas that it considers to be important, never mind the "vision statement" endorsed by Vajpayee and Clinton setting out the broad parameters of future Indo-US ties.

Vajpayee's forthcoming visit to Washington is an appropriate occasion to take stock and judge whether this has been the case with Indo-US relations. It has been one of the quirks of diplomacy throughout history that "turning

points" in relations between states are often not the ones that receive the public spotlight or come under scrutiny. The turning point in ties between Washington and New Delhi after the end of the Cold War came during a short flight from Geneva to Zurich and was preceded by a crucial meeting in Geneva between two key men in the respective administrations of Vajpayee and Clinton.

In June last year, at the height of the Kargil fighting, Brajesh Mishra, princi-

pal secretary to the prime minister, travelled to Geneva for a hastily arranged and unpublicized meeting with Sandy Berger, national security adviser to Clinton. The meeting was low key, but its results were electrifying, not only for India, but for all of south Asia.

The meeting led to a chain of events: for the first time, the Americans proclaimed the sanctity of the line of control in Kashmir; they sent General Anthony Zinni of the US central command to Rawalpindi to convince General Pervez Musharraf that his attempt to alter the LoC must be abandoned, and finally, Clinton summoned the Pakistan prime minister, Nawaz Sharif, to Washington to make him agree to a withdrawal of Pakistani forces from the heights of Kargil.

After the meeting between Berger and Mishra, the latter left Geneva to fly back to New Delhi via Zurich. On the short flight from Geneva to Zurich, Mishra had an important co-passenger — Karl Inderfurth, the assistant secretary of state for south Asia.

At Geneva airport and on the flight to Zurich, Mishra and Inderfurth had the opportunity to flush out in greater detail the key points that emerged at the Geneva meeting. Whenever there is peace in Kashmir, howsoever distant the dream may be, that peace will be traced to this crucial Geneva meeting: because the Americans categorically declared the LoC to be inviolate, the rest of the world followed Washington's line. It subsequently led to the new US policy on Kashmir enunciated by Clinton in New Delhi on March 21.

India's stand, unpublicized but communicated to friendly nations, that if Pakistan was to reduce the perpetration of violence across the border, India would then not be found wanting in reciprocating in Kashmir, also has its roots in this Geneva meeting.

If and when the LoC becomes the international border in Kashmir, a process begun in Geneva at that fateful meeting would have reached its logical conclusion. With only weeks left for Vajpayee's trip to Washington, it is necessary to closely examine the Geneva meeting and its outcome. In half a century of relations between independent India and the US, it represents one of the few instances where New Delhi had a crystal clear idea not only of what it expected of Washington but also of how to go about getting what it wanted.

The debate over Vajpayee's Washington trip ought not to be about whether it is worth his while to spend time with an outgoing administration, but whether the prime minister's meetings in the US will afford the opportunity to repeat the Geneva experience in the years to come, irrespective of who wins the November elections to the White House.

For India, the United States represents the biggest priority in foreign policy

US to ask Pakistan to end violence

Indrani Bagchi

NEW DELHI 14 AUGUST

THE US will attempt to use its 'fundamentally friendly relations' with Pakistan to pull them back from whatever levels of involvement the establishment may have in the violence in Kashmir.

However, according to senior US administration officials here, there continues to be some kind of confusion both in the US and in India about exactly who's pulling the levers in the entire peace-violence-jihad process in Kashmir from the Pakistani establishment.

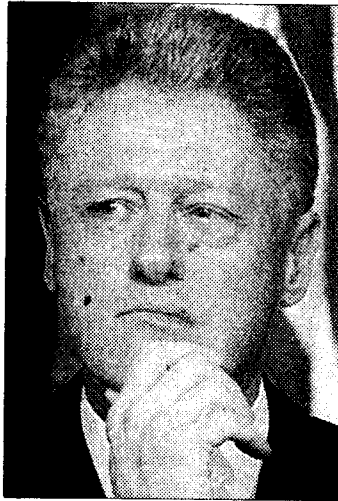
The US position on Kashmir has evolved over the past couple of years, finessed during Kargil and been given shape by Mr Clinton in Delhi in March this year. Acknowledging that he believed that there were elements in the Pakistani establishment that were involved in the violence in Kashmir, Mr Clinton also set out the framework of the US policy on Kashmir — rejection of violence, restraint, respect for the LOC and renewal of dialogue. In fact for the past few years, the US state department has quoted 'credible' reports to establish significant links between the Pakistani establishment and ter-

rorism in Kashmir.

Therefore, notwithstanding the 'bilateral' nature of the Kashmiri dispute, it will be right up there with other strategic issues to dominate the discussions between the Prime Minister, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee and the US President Mr Bill Clinton next month.

While dialogue is the desired goal, US officials agree that a reduction in violence is necessary

to create an atmosphere for that dialogue. In the light of the "high level" of violence on in Kashmir, it is unlikely there will be any serious attempt to get Mr Vajpayee and General Musharraf to meet in New York. The White House recently clarified there was no likelihood of a meeting between Gen Musharraf and



Clinton: Giving it a thought

President Clinton during the former's visit to New York.

This will not mean however, that US interest in Kashmir is wavering, for, after nuclearisation, the US is convinced this is the most volatile region in the world.

For the time being, India can rest secured in the international appreciation of the fact that in the just-aborted peace process, it talked the talk and walked the walk.

The Economic Times

15 AUG 2001

Kashmir issue likely to figure prominently during PM's U.S. visit

By Seema Guha
The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: The situation in Kashmir and the India-Pakistan stand-off is likely to figure prominently during Prime Minister Vajpayee's first official visit to the US. A senior American diplomat said there would be no pressure on Vajpayee from Washington to take up the stalled dialogue with Pakistan's military ruler General Pervez Musharraf.

"We believe it is for the two leaders to decide when the time is ripe for talks," the US diplomat, who did not wish to be identified, told reporters on Monday. Though it is well known that the Clinton administration had hoped that India would sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) before the Prime Minister's US trip, Washington is not going to make a hoo-ha publicly about it.

In fact, Washington has realised the importance of not hectoring and lecturing New Delhi. President Clinton himself had described the situation in South Asia, where a nuclear India faces a nuclear Pakistan, as the "most dangerous place on earth". The US believes that the world can sleep in peace once India and Pakistan get on board the non-proliferation regime. But the way to tackle India, they feel, is through quiet diplomacy and appeals to the maturity and good sense of Indian leaders. Whatever Washington's thoughts are on the delay in signing the CTBT, it is unlikely to go public on them.

Instead, the US has been praising India's initiative in starting a dialogue with the "people of Kashmir". The US diplomat noted the PM's statement that the "doors are wide open" for talks with all relevant forces in Kashmir.

Asked whether the US had the leverage to persuade Pakistan to stop the violent killings in Kashmir, the diplomat said: "We want the level of violence in Kashmir to go down, it is a matter of serious concern... but it is not a switch which can be instantly turned on and off." By which the US official meant that there were wheels within wheels in the present Pakistan set-up.

He also said it was not possible to know who really was in charge. Pakistan, he noted, had been co-operating with the US on many occasions. "When we asked them to hand over certain people who were wanted by us, they did so." What he left unsaid was that Islamabad is not willing to play ball with the US on Kashmir. It suits the current military regime to generate violence in Kashmir, and the regime is not in the mood to rein in the terrorist outfits.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

16 AUG 2001

Defence may not get priority during Vajpayee's US trip

SRINJOY CHOWDHURY
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

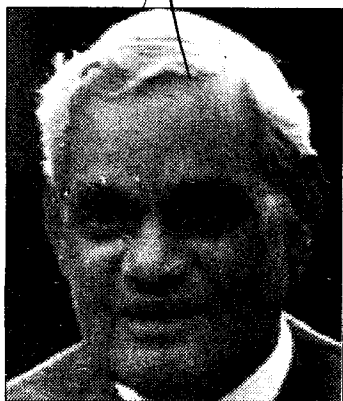
NEW DELHI, Aug. 16. — During the US President's visit here, defence issues were on the back burner. Military issues may not get top priority when Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee visits the USA next month either, senior defence sources said.

As a result, some senior armed forces officers are likely to request the defence ministry to bring up the issue with top officials. For, though sanctions have been partially lifted, the clampdown continues in a number of areas, affecting a large number of projects including the indigenous light combat aircraft (LCA).

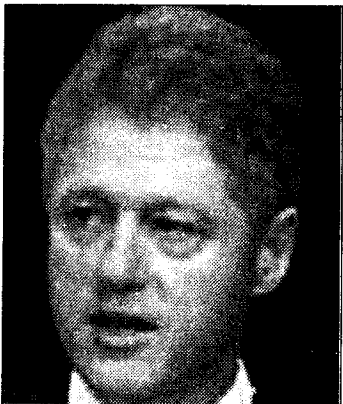
A US company, General Electric, was supposed to help with the engines and another Western firm with fly-by-wire technology.

Recently, the scientific advisor to the defence minister, Mr VK Atre, said the project has been delayed but the Defence Research and Development Organisation had finally managed to solve the fly-by-wire problem. The LCA, being readied by the ADE, is yet to fly and may be ready only by 2005.

"During the Clinton visit, there were few if any discussions on defence and the trend may be repeated during this visit... We are not sure whether the Prime Minister is going to request Mr Clinton to lift the



Mr A B Vajpayee and
Mr Bill Clinton



sanctions. We hear he will meet Mr Clinton as an equal and not plead with him. Therefore, the sanctions could stay unless the Americans lift them on their own," a senior official said.

The lack of discussions between the USA and India on military issues has upset sever-

al other sectors. For instance, the Naval Steering Group was formed between the Indian Navy and the US Seventh Fleet and initially, there was talk of joint exercises. In the last three years, not a single exercise has been held even though the chief of staff of the US Pacific Command visited India before the Clinton visit. But so far, only the committee exists, with the deputy chief of naval staff and the commander of the Seventh Fleet as co-chairmen.

A similar paralysis appears to be happening with Russia. A visit by the Russian President, Mr Vladimir Putin, is due later this year. A large number of defence projects that should have been cleared are still to be officially announced. The T-90 tank deal worth several thousand crores of rupees has had a price negotiation committee and discussions have reached an advanced stage but now, now Indian armoured personnel are likely to go for training this year as winter could set in soon.

Meanwhile, even the inter-governmental agreements on the purchase of the Admiral Gorshkov, the 46 MiG-29K naval fighters and the TU-22ME Backfire bomber are not ready. Both governments want a package deal for different reasons but if an IGA, which does not discuss money but is merely an intent to purchase, is not signed, price negotiation committees cannot begin talks.

THE STATESMAN

17 AUG 2000

RETURN VISIT

5-18
19/8
But the PM needs his own script

VAJPAYEE being invited to address a joint session of the US Congress next month is a logical outcome of improved Indo-US relations since the Kargil war, significant milestones besides Bill Clinton's India trip being the Americans coming out unambiguously in favour of the LoC as the final dividing line between India and Pakistan, and more recently backing India's initiative for a comprehensive conference on terrorism at the UN General Assembly. Decision-making in the US is decentralised, with the onus for foreign policy not resting on Bill Clinton or the Democrats alone; in this context, it is important that Vajpayee gets to address a bipartisan audience, particularly with the prospect of the Presidential torch passing out of Democratic hands come November. By contrast, General Musharraf will be in the US at the same time, but it is not even clear whether he gets to see President Clinton. From the Indian point of view, good relations with the US makes political sense — the US backing the Indian position on Kashmir led the rest of the world to follow suit. But it also makes economic sense — Indian industry in order to become globally competitive requires massive infusions of technology and capital, and the US has both. Strengths in information technology as well as English as the common language of business makes for synergies between the two economies. The Kargil war and subsequent militant intrusions also showed up lacunae in the technological levels of the Indian military. India could gain significantly if it had access to US military technology, albeit contingent upon India signing the CTBT.

The changing Indian attitude to the US is a sign of dawning pragmatic considerations, jostling for space with the phobias and *idee fixes* of Nehruvian socialism, although the ghosts of the past are still evident in Ghulam Nabi Azad's questioning of President Clinton's phoning in condolences to Vajpayee for the massacres in Kashmir as unwarranted interference in Indian affairs. Not to put too fine a point on it, India backed the wrong horse during the Cold War, and is still paying the price. This does not mean that India should make it a habit of reading from a script prepared by Uncle Sam. It is likely that something of the kind happened during the collapse of the peace process in Kashmir, handled largely by the PMO. It now appears that Brajesh Mishra, the national security advisor who deals often with Sandy Berger, his American opposite number, played a major role in dealings with the Hizbul. The handling of the Hizbul was inept and ham-handed, a particular blunder being to hold discussions under the glare of media publicity, while simultaneously boasting of having cut its links with Pakistan. The indecent haste and insufficient groundwork characterising those dealings may have been occasioned by the PMO's anxiety to have something concrete in hand before Vajpayee's visit to the US. There is no substitute for self-help and forethought. Uncle Sam will not provide all the solutions, even in cases where it appears to have them handy.

THE STATESMAN

19 AUG 2001

US hurdle to Israeli jet for India

ERIC SILVER
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

JERUSALEM, Aug. 20. — Opposition from the USA is jeopardising Israel's proposed sale of an advanced radar aircraft to India. The USA has already blocked sale of the *Phalcon* airborne-warning system to China.

The USA is worried that the \$250 million *Phalcon*, that combines Israeli technology with a Russian airframe, will undermine stability in South Asia by changing the military balance between India and Pakistan. Israel, a world leader in the field, has sold sophisticated land-based radar to India, its third largest arms export market.

Although the *Phalcon* owes nothing to US technology, Washington retains hefty leverage over Israel, which gets more than \$3

billion a year in aid from the USA. Israel buys its own fleet of F-15 and F-16 combat planes from the USA on favourable terms.

It depends on US funding for development of its crucial Arrow anti-missile defence system, as well as for continued diplomatic and financial support in its quest for peace with its Arab neighbours.

If Israelis and Palestinians reach an agreement, massive US and other international investments will be needed to compensate Arab refugees and relocate some Jewish settlers, and create a security infrastructure for both states.

A new understanding governing the sale of international weapons is currently being negotiated between the USA and Israel. The Tel-Aviv daily, *Haaretz*, said the *Phalcon* deal with India was the main stumbling block. Washington is demanding

an Israeli promise of prior consultation on military sales to four countries: India, Pakistan, China and Russia.

The USA is said to have stopped short of an automatic veto, but their anxiety about a South Asian arms race was heightened by the Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests in 1998.

Earlier this summer, the USA, backed almost unanimously by Congress, pressured Israel to cancel the *Phalcon* sale to China, although most of the work had been completed. Washington contended that the spy plane would endanger the lives of US pilots if China went to war against Taiwan. They do not expect to become embroiled in any future Indo-Pakistani conflict, but the lesson is clear: when it comes to Israeli arms sales, Uncle Sam calls the shots.

THE STATESMAN

21 AUG 2000

Hizb on US team agenda

FROM OUR SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Aug. 22: The aborted peace talks between the Centre and the Hizbul Mujahideen is likely to come up in the second meeting of the Indo-US joint working group (JWG) on terrorism scheduled for September 26 and 27. The first meeting of the JWG was held in Washington six months ago soon after the hijacking of the Indian Airlines Airbus.

Although discussions will largely focus on six broad subjects, including sharing of information on terrorist organisations and militants, the issue of the Hizb's ceasefire call and initiative to launch a peace process in

Jammu and Kashmir is expected to be broached by the American team which will be led by US state department coordinator on terrorism, Michael Sheehan.

The Indian delegation will be led by Union home ministry, special secretary (internal security), M.B. Kaushal. Kaushal had been designated leader of the central team that was to chalk out the ground rules for effecting the ceasefire that never took off.

Preparations are already underway in the home ministry to make a foolproof case of the involvement of Pakistan in "abetting" and "sponsoring" terrorism in India. The home ministry will impress upon the Americans how Pakistan pressured a section of

the Hizb leadership to scuttle the peace process.

It will also focus on New Delhi's "desire" and "willingness" to continue to pursue "the path of peace" in Jammu and Kashmir in spite of pressures from Pakistan and other foreign mercenary groups.

North Block expects to put across the fact that the Jaish-e-Mohammad, a terrorist organisation launched by Masood Azhar, one of the three top militants released by New Delhi in exchange for the hostages who were on board the IA Airbus at Kandahar, has become the largest and the most powerful foreign mercenary groups in Jammu and Kashmir.

THE TELEGRAPH

23 AUG 2000

India should not be too optimistic about the results of Vajpayee's US visit

Small talk on a tightrope

CUTTING CORNERS

ASHOK MITRA

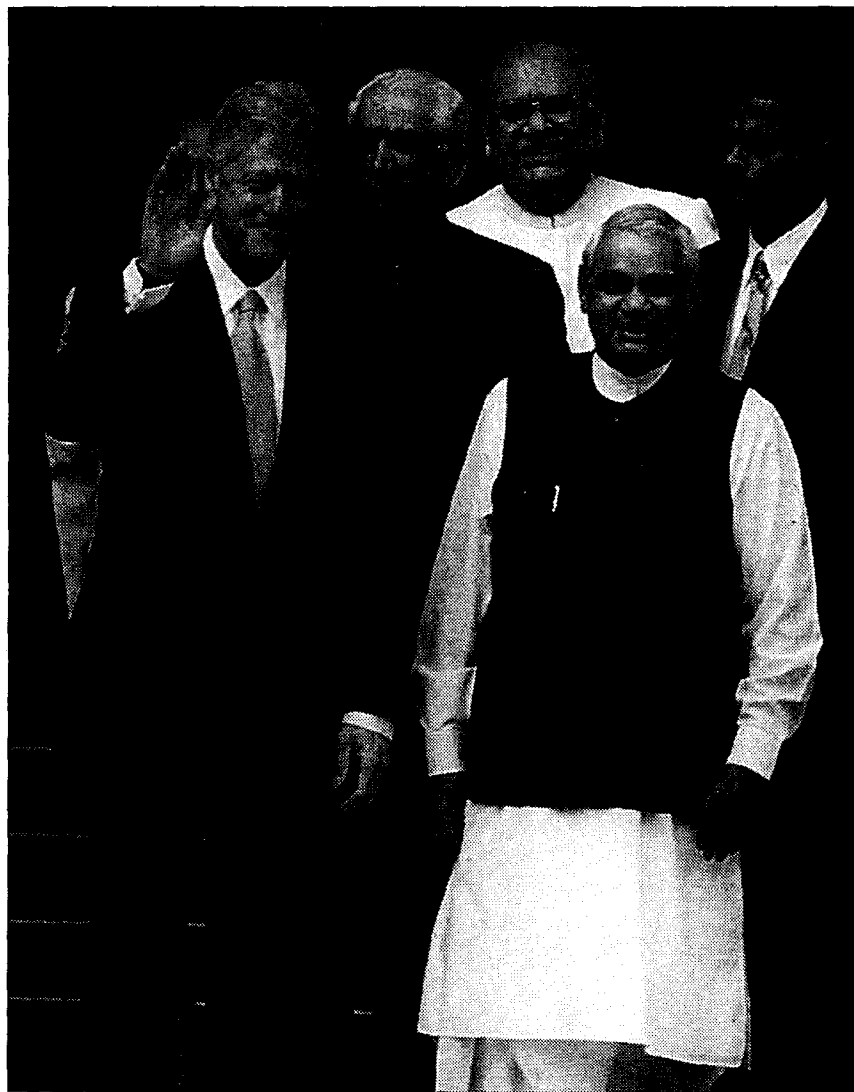
One day international cricket matches richly deserve to be brought down a peg or two, especially in the context of the goings-on in this subcontinent. Many of the shady deals involving cricket players and cricket officials, including matchfixing, are closely linked to speculation and betting on the outcome of these international fixtures. The government of India's decision to call off the Indian team's participation in the Sahara Cup tournament at Toronto might therefore seem to be unexceptionable.

On the other hand, it could be construed as a riposte to the termination of the Hizbul negotiations with India's official representatives in Srinagar, presumably at the prodding of the military rulers in Pakistan. Whether two wrongs make a right is however a problematical issue. The directive of the Union sports minister has to be considered against the background of the impending visit of our prime minister to the United States. The American official spokesman has castigated Hizbul for walking away from the talks. India's announcement not to send its cricket team to play Pakistan at Toronto could be regarded with similar disfavour by US officialdom. The authorities in New Delhi may not like it; the response to the decision within the country has also been somewhat mixed.

A strong body of opinion supports the point of view that sports should be separated from the turmoil of subcontinental politics. India's fixtures abroad with Pakistan in hockey, football, athletics or, for that matter, kabaddi, it has been pointed out, have not been put under embargo. The invidious treatment meted out to cricket might well raise several eyebrows. The official rebuttal of such criticism has been along expected lines. In hockey, football and athletics, India and Pakistan constitute only a twosome among several competitors.

Cricket is on a different footing, particularly the competition at Toronto, since it was scheduled to be a contest exclusively between the two subcontinental countries — India and Pakistan — and there was a distinct possibility of tension rising to an undesirable pitch were the matches actually to take place. Viewed in this light, the Indian decision, it is claimed, is a blow for peace and tranquillity. These platitudes are perfectly all right for home consumption, but whether foreigners, including the American administration, are to buy it is altogether a different proposition.

The assumed advantage which India had banked upon in their interaction with the US state department on account of the unilateral withdrawal of the Hizbul delegation from the negotiating table is therefore in danger of evaporation, following the refusal to



play Pakistan in cricket. In the eye of the American superboss, we and the Pakistanis are once more reduced to the same level of intransigence. The prospect of much good resulting from the prime minister's impending visit to the US is, to that extent, rendered more uncertain.

That apart, a question mark will continue to hang with regard to the timing of the American visit. For all practical purposes, Bill Clinton is now a lame duck president; what he promises — or declines to promise — will be of little or no consequence. The Democrat as well as the Republican top brass will, in any case, be immersed in the election campaign, which is supposed to reach high noon by mid September, coinciding with the prime minister's arrival in New York and Washington D.C. For courtesy's sake, some of the leading politicians belonging to both parties may nonetheless set aside some time from out of their

┌ A question mark will continue to hang with regard to the timing of the prime minister's US visit ┐

busy schedules to make some small talk with the Indian prime minister. This is unlikely to be of any serious import. What is worse, our prime minister too will have to walk the tightrope; he will not know which party is going to win the presidential and congressional elections and will have to be constantly on his guard lest he make an uncautious remark to a politician of one party which could be interpreted as either for or against the opposite party. The scope of misunderstanding is therefore bound to be high.

If the prime minister had to wait till the results of the elections were out, the mandarins of New Delhi could argue, it might turn out to be a long wait indeed. Irrespective of whether he is the Democratic candidate or the Republican one, the new president, once he is installed, would be busy at least for six months from January onwards for getting familiarized with the intricacies of office; he would have little time for visiting dignitaries, especially for the prime minister of, by now, a minor country such as India.

This, in fact, is the major problem. Despite attaining nuclear capability, India has currently little standing in international affairs. Accumulation of half a dozen nuclear bombs does not signify military strength of an overwhelming proportion. A nation's economic performance, more than anything else, attracts international respect and attention. That we have refused to sign the comprehensive test ban treaty is a datum which will continue to be held against us by the world's only superpower. True, Pakistan too has been hemming and hawing over the signing of the treaty. Once again, according to the American point of view, two wrongs do not make a right.

At the same time, the prime minister's domestic constraints cannot be wished away. There are few signs of industrial recovery, agriculture is marking time, denationalization and disinvestment are creating havoc with employment. Because of the International Trade Organization stipulations, import restrictions have been generally scrapped so that imports have risen to dangerous levels, while the increase in exports is still of a modest order.

Growing political instability inside the country has been an additional contributory factor that has made even speculative investment from overseas unusually shy of late, on top of the constipative accretion of direct foreign investment. It is in the tradition to seek benediction from the Almighty when cornered from all sides. It is necessary to propitiate the American supergod in the hope that he would condescend to bail out the tribes of India's ruling politicians.

Economic reforms, the prime minister has said from time to time, are irreversible. That is a disputable premise. What is irreversible is the slavish attitude of our unable-to-see-beyond-the-nose political leadership. Even assuming that, for pity's sake, the US administration loosens its purse strings, that would, in all probability, be of little avail, for as price the Americans would demand further liberalization of the economy, thus deepening the domestic crisis. But, then, please pay heed to the adage: those whom god wants to destroy are first made imbecile.

Foreign secretary to leave for talks in Washington

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Aug. 29: On the eve of Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's visit to the United States, foreign secretary Lalit Mansingh is leaving for Washington to hold foreign office consultation with his counterpart US undersecretary of state Thomas Pickering.

Mr Mansingh will be in the US on Thursday and Friday and will later join the Prime Minister in New York. The Mansingh-Pickering meeting is being described as part of routine consultation between the officials of the two countries which was a direct result of President Clinton's India visit in March this year. The Indo-US dialogue on Asian

security was formulated during President Clinton's India trip in March.

Mr Pickering, US undersecretary of state on political affairs, was the first high ranking US official to visit New Delhi in May after Mr Clinton's trip to the sub-continent.

The two officials will carry on from where they left in the talks held in New Delhi in May. The US undersecretary had emphasised on the need to respect line of control between India and Pakistan. In Washington, the two sides will discuss the latest developments in Kashmir and review the talks on terrorism.

Between May and now a series of developments have taken place in Jammu and Kashmir which will dominate the talks. The US

has made it clear that it would like to see India and Pakistan to come on a negotiating table but has adopted a public posture that it will not play the role of a matchmaker.

Washington has already made its view on the security in the region clear by expressing dismay the continued instability on the line of control.

The US officials have said that terrorism and instability along the Line of Control were destabilising factors for the stability in the region. The issue is going to figure prominently in the talks with the foreign secretary and also during Prime Minister's state visit.

The US has also acknowledged that there has been "no detectable change" in Islam-

abad's approach since president Bill Clinton visited South Asia in last March and that infiltration by terrorists into Jammu and Kashmir continued unabated.

After his meeting with Mr Pickering, Mr Mansingh will join the Prime minister in New York. The foreign secretary will also attend a Commonwealth meeting in New York on September 2. Mr Vajpayee is leaving for the US on September 5.

Washington has already made its view on the security in the region clear by expressing dismay the continued instability on the line of control. Speaking with reporters in New Delhi, the US official said that terrorism and instability along the LoC were destabilising factors for the stability in the region.

THE ASIAN AGE

AUG 2000

Vajpayee, Clinton & Kashmir

By C. Raja Mohan

It must be Mr. Vajpayee's endeavour in the U.S. to get the Clinton Administration to make good on its words that it will pressure Pakistan to end support to international terrorism.

HERE IS no doubt that the focus of the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee's visit to the U.S. will be on consolidating the recent forward movement in bilateral relations. But it is inevitable that the question of Kashmir will figure prominently in Mr. Vajpayee's talks with the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton. It is essential then that Mr. Vajpayee prepares himself to formally lay down, during his extended American sojourn, a few unmovable markers in India's approach to Kashmir.

The Kashmir question has become central to recent American policy towards South Asia for two reasons. One, the escalation of tensions between India and Pakistan over Kashmir have undermined all the prospects for peace and progress in the subcontinent. Reducing this tension has become a principal U.S. diplomatic objective in the region. Two, from the American point of view, the issues of Kashmir and nuclear stability have become inextricably intertwined. The U.S. has convinced itself that there can be no nuclear peace in the subcontinent without an end to the Kashmir dispute.

The collapse of the Indo-Pakistan peace process so quickly after it was unveiled in Lahore last February has confirmed the worst apprehensions of the American security establishment. The unrelenting U.S. pressure on Pakistan to unconditionally withdraw its forces from across the Line of Control in Kargil was clearly related to these fears. As we saw during the visit of Mr. Clinton to India in March, the broad political focus inevitably turned to Kashmir and the avoidance of nuclear war.

Must this centrality of Kashmir make Mr. Vajpayee defensive? Not at all. His political stock in the U.S. is reasonably high. It is recognised in Washington, that Mr. Vajpayee took the initiative to travel to Lahore and unveil a positive framework for dealing with the festering problems in Indo-Pakistan relations. His bold move to depart from old Indian positions to engage the Kashmiri militants has also been welcomed in the U.S.

More fundamentally, the U.S. thesis on a "nuclear flashpoint" in Kashmir has be-

has greater influence in shaping the external environment of Kashmir than the U.S. It is no wonder that the burden of India's diplomacy in the last decade has been to end the historic tilt of the West towards Pakistan on the Kashmir question. India fully understands the difference between "internationalisation" of the Kashmir dispute and the attempt to alter the global correlation of forces on Kashmir and Indo-Pakistan relations in New Delhi's favour.

The rejection of third party mediation inevitably raises the question of Pakistan's role in the resolution of the Kashmir problem and the future of the dialogue between New Delhi and Islamabad. That brings us to the fifth element of India's Kashmir policy. Mr. Vajpayee is likely to insist in the U.S. that India will not engage Pakistan unless it puts an end to cross-border terrorism. Although there is some criticism within India of this position, much of the world including the U.S. and Japan have emphasised that Pakistan must create the appropriate conditions for a dialogue by substantially reducing support for cross-border terrorism.

No dialogue can succeed if one side holds a gun to the head of the other. The U.S. clearly understands this. But Washington appears to be hiding behind the argument that pushing Pakistan too hard will only make the situation worse. This line of reasoning is an open invitation for Pakistan to engage in nuclear blackmail against both India and the U.S. It must be Mr. Vajpayee's endeavour in the U.S. to get the Clinton Administration to make good on its words that it will pressure Pakistan to end support for international terrorism. If Washington is serious about peace and nuclear stability in the subcontinent, it will have to find ways to deliver Pakistan to serious negotiations with India. It has all the levers it needs to make Islamabad see reason.

Mr. Vajpayee has made two serious moves for lasting peace in the region — one in Lahore last year and another in Srinagar this year. The ball is now in Mr. Clinton's court.

The third principle is that India will not accept any loss of territory in finding a solution to the Kashmir dispute. This element has been at the core of India's approach to the Kashmir dispute since the Shimla Agreement of 1972 and needs to be firmly re-stated to the American interlocutors. Both during the Kargil crisis and Mr. Clinton's visit to the subcontinent, the U.S. outlined a similar approach. Mr. Clinton's emphasis on the "sanctity of the LoC" and his admonition to Pakistan

that it cannot hope to "redraw borders in blood", signalled what seemed like a new American line. There is concern in New Delhi, however, that since the President's visit there has no re-confirmation of the "Clinton Doctrine" for South Asia on maintaining the territorial *status quo* in the pronouncements of the State Department. The stronger this assertion by the U.S., the greater will be the prospect that New Delhi will deliver the maximum possible autonomy for Kashmir. One of the central objectives of Mr. Vajpayee's mission to the U.S. must be to get Mr. Clinton to publicly reaffirm this principle. Renewed American support to the unity and territorial integrity of a multi-ethnic India could be the key to greater mutual trust as well as an early resolution of the Kashmir problem.

Fourth, there can be no confusion about the unacceptability of third party mediation in the Kashmir dispute. The Clinton Administration, too, has often said it has no desire to mediate the dispute and that it will not interpose itself into the conflict until it is requested to do so by both the parties. While there is a long history behind India's objections to third party intervention, New Delhi is not unaware that the international environment will have considerable impact on the resolution of the problem. And no one

gun to work in India's favour. If Pakistan had hoped that by raising military tensions in Kargil it could force the U.S. to intervene on its behalf in the Kashmir dispute, those hopes were shattered. Because the U.S. feared nuclear escalation, it had insisted on an unambiguous return to *status quo ante* in Kargil.

Mr. Vajpayee has an opportunity during his U.S. visit to address these concerns squarely and put forward a definitive Indian approach to addressing the sources of instability in the subcontinent and a road map to peace in Kashmir. Given the widespread interest on Kashmir and the extensive misperceptions of the Indian position in the U.S., he can use his planned public diplomacy there to project the core principles that are now at the heart of the Indian approach to the Kashmir dispute. What are these elements?

First, Mr. Vajpayee must affirm the Indian readiness to find a "final solution" to the Kashmir dispute. For the first half century of India's independent existence, a disproportionately large part of its external and internal energies have been diverted to dealing with the dispute. He must signal clearly the new mood in India that it wants to move into the next millennium by putting this contentious issue behind. Second, Mr. Vajpayee must convey India's determination to address the profound political grievances of its Kashmiri citizens and the seriousness of purpose behind his recent move to go beyond the Constitution in finding a last-path of reconciliation because it owes this to itself and the founding principles of its Republic. Mr. Vajpayee must affirm that India is ready to negotiate maximum possible autonomy for the Kashmiris despite all the obstacles put in the way by its western neighbour.

WORLD VIEW

10-12 15/8

31 AUG 2000

Vajpayee's visit to US deferred by two days

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, August 30

PRIME MINISTER Vajpayee's visit to the United States has been shortened by two days on the advice of his doctors. He is now to leave for the US on September 7 (instead of September 5). The San Francisco leg of his original itinerary has been cancelled.

A spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) announced today that under the redrawn itinerary, the PM will be in the US for 10 days.

After the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in New York, he will continue with his originally scheduled engagements in that city before leaving for Washington. He is to return to New Delhi via Amsterdam on September 18.

Vajpayee's health has been the cause of some concern ever since he abruptly returned home last Sunday from the BJP's National Council meeting in Nagpur.

Sources say the PM's arthritic knees, which played up in Nagpur, prevent him from being on his feet except for very short periods. The spokesman withheld comment on the possibility of Vajpayee going through medical treatment when he is in the US.

(This morning there was some evidence of Vajpayee's condition at the National Conference on Small Scale Industries at Vigyan Bhavan here. The PM arrived half an hour late and remained seated while delivering his speech. He fumbled while reading from the text of his speech and had to correct himself on several occasions).

A senior official of the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) said the "minor rescheduling" of Vajpayee's US visit would enable him to "concentrate on the four-day-long official leg of the tour in Washington D.C."

Vajpayee, the official said, "is suffering from pain in his knee joints and it would not be advisable to push him through a very busy schedule. The objective is to keep the engagements within manageable limits for constructive and purposeful talks with the US leaders."

Vajpayee is scheduled to address the Millennium Summit of the United Nations on the morning of September 8. The MEA spokesman said there would be no change in his programme in New York. The PM is to address the annual dinner of the Asia Society, a meeting of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, the Indian American Association and a business meeting.

The postponement by two days of the PM's departure from here could, however, reduce the number of his bilateral meetings with heads of states on the sidelines of the Millennium Summit.

The cancellation of the San Francisco leg could leave many people in industry crestfallen. Pramod Mahajan, the minister for information technology (IT), is learnt to have already left for San Francisco to confer with IT majors.

Indeed, Indian industry has attached a lot of importance to the PM's visit because it could provide a big boost to Indo-US business ties. In fact, the Confederation of Indian Industry has announced the visit of a 50-member delegation of top industrialists to coincide with the PM's trip.

Vajpayee is to reach Washington D.C on September 13 (or early on September 14) for his official engagements. He is to address a joint session of the US Congress on the September 14. He thereafter is to meet members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the India Caucus.

He is to confer with President Clinton, who will host an official banquet in his honour, on September 15. Vice-President and presidential-hopeful Al Gore will be hosting a lunch for him that day.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

31 AUG 2000

Jaswant-Albright meet gives another high

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 1. — The upswing in Indo-US relations, which accelerated with the visit of President Bill Clinton, saw another high this week in the "exceptionally warm" meeting between the Union external affairs minister, Mr Jaswant Singh, and the US Secretary of State, Ms Madeleine Albright, in Warsaw.

The meeting was the only bilateral that the US secretary of state, had on the sidelines of the conference on the Community of Democracies. As a result the two leaders met the UN Secretary-General, Mr Kofi Annan, virtually arm in arm to express concern over the fate of the Indian peacekeepers in Sierra Leone.

While officials of the ministry of external affairs were quick to discount any direct correlation between USA's overture and the release of the peacekeepers, they stressed that the gesture was a significant one. Ms Albright had offered to join Mr

I-T HELP FOR PALESTINIANS

GAZA CITY, July 1. — India today pledged to open up its IT and knowledge-based industry to the people of Palestine in order to help them achieve their economic and political aspirations.

"The best way India can help ... Palestine is in the field of education. This is the best investment for future," Mr Jaswant Singh said today. — PTI

Jaswant Singh when she learnt that he was scheduled to call on Mr Annan.

The meeting between the two leaders, officials said, stressed the positive aspects of the relationship. There was no mention of USA's concern on India's missile tests or India's opposition to the US National Missile Defence system.

A shot in the arm of the Indian government is USA's decision to support India's initiative for a comprehensive convention

against terrorism which it will take up not only with its G-8 partners but also at the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly.

USA's decision, which was discussed during the meeting, is being viewed by India as a major step forward since USA had earlier expressed reservations about it on the grounds that it was better to have specific targetted conventions.

Also heartening, say officials, is the decision of the two countries to give concrete shape to the architecture of dialogue set up during the visit of the US President. Working towards a September visit by the Prime Minister, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, to USA, meanwhile the two countries have chalked out a series of meetings, which are expected to cover all aspects of the talks held during Mr Clinton's visit.

The working group on clean energy and environment will meet in mid-July at the official level followed by a meeting of the science and technology forum.

THE STATESMAN

7 JULY 2000

MD-129
8/7

U.S. Congress should invite Vajpayee: Pressler

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By Arunkumar Bhatt

MUMBAI, JULY 7. The former U.S. Senator, Mr. Larry Pressler, has said that he would be disappointed if the American Congress does not invite the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, to address its special session when he visits Washington in September.

"I am sure he will be addressing (Congress)," Mr. Pressler told *The Hindu* in an interview here today. He firmly supports the entry of India, Germany and Japan in the United Nations Security Council. He also wants India to be admitted to the London Club of nuclear suppliers, to accommodate New Delhi's aspirations to nuclear status, though it falls short of admitting India to the nuclear club defined in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. His suggestion to the American policy makers is to assign greater political role such as peace-keeping to India in the Asian region.

The pro-India champion of non-proliferation is in India with a strong proposal for building Indo-American knowledge partner-



ship. India could counterbalance China in economic and political spheres and that could be in the American interests.

Mr. Pressler has done a book: *Building a Knowledge Partnership: the USA and India in the 21st Century*. India has an edge in fields such as information technology, management, pharmaceuticals, and R&D. He finds the Indian strides in the IT awe-inspiring.

In 1980s, India was exporting 'bodies', that is, the Americans were hiring Indian workers for a short period, Mr. Pressler notes in the book. This amounted to 90 per cent of the Indian software exports but now it is only 50 per cent of the exports, suggesting that more and more work is being done in India. Up to a fifth of new start-ups in Silicon Valley is run by the Indian Americans and many software companies based in India such as Infosys, Wipro and Satyam have emerged as world-class operators.

Software exports

Indian software exports were estimated around \$ 4 billions in 1990. McKinsey, the biggest management consulting firm in the world, estimates that the India will ship software worth \$ 50 billions to be the second largest exporter in the world, next only to the U.S. McKinsey is headed by Mr. Rajat Gupta.

Mr. Arun Netravalli is the president of Bell Labs. The biggest airlines are headed by the Indian Americans and twentythree For-

tune 1000 companies have Indian CEOs.

Over 5,000 Indians are faculty members of American universities.

Mr. Pressler sees a dramatic expansion of global communications creating millions of jobs in India, with most of the American companies shifting their back room operations to India.

This can help India to earn \$ 17 billions a year. "An American consumer making enquiries may think he is talking to an American girl, Barbara, but he may actually be talking to an Indian (in India), Balasundari! Such a teleworking has begun.

These and many other opportunities are identified. To tap them all in mutual interests, Mr. Pressler calls for an Indo- U.S. Free Trade Area which could be introduced in a long run.

He argues if Mexican goods could enter the U.S. duty-free why not the Indian goods? He wants complete demolition of trade barriers.

THE HINDU

8 JUL 2000

A misguided idea

By Arvind Panagariya

THE IDEA of a Free Trade Area (FTA) between India and the United States was floated in the Indian press at the time of the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton's highly successful visit. Subsequently, steered by Mr. Rahul Bajaj, the Confederation of Indian Industry has supported the idea.

There are many reasons why an FTA between the U.S. and India is a bad idea. To begin with, it is likely to give rise to what economists call trade diversion. In an FTA, as opposed to the WTO style non-discriminatory liberalisation, India and the U.S. will eliminate tariffs on each other but not on outside countries. In turn, the two countries will expand their exports to each other, displacing cheaper imports from outside countries. This trade diversion will lower economic efficiency and thus the real incomes of the member-countries as a whole.

But more to the point, an FTA with the U.S. is overwhelmingly against India's economic interests. When we remove tariffs on a non-discriminatory basis as is done in the WTO-style liberalisation, much of the lost tariff revenue will pass on to our own consumers in the form of lower prices. The removal of the tariffs will induce the exporters from different countries to compete against one another, leading to lower prices. But when the tariffs are removed on a preferential basis, as will be the case under the proposed FTA, the tariff revenue lost on the imports from the U.S. will turn into extra profits for the exporters. The American firms will have no incentive to lower their prices when similar goods from the outside countries continue to pay the duty and, therefore, are sold at approximately their pre-FTA prices.

Of course, by symmetry, our exporters will receive a preferential access to the U.S. market, thereby capturing the tariff revenue the U.S. custom authorities would have collected in the absence of the preference. The catch, however, is that on average India's tariffs are much higher than those of the U.S. This asymmetry implies that the exchange of tariff preferences with the U.S. will be highly

lopsided. India will give a much greater margin of preference than what it receives. Correspondingly, it will lose much more tariff revenue to the U.S. exporters than what its exporters gain by the preference in the U.S. market. Thus while the Indian industry might benefit from increased profits on exports, explaining the CII support for the FTA, the country as a whole will lose. According to my calculations, based on the 1996 trade data, the net annual losses to Mexico from a simi-

lar asymmetric exchange of preferences with the U.S. under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) amount to as much as \$3.25 billion.

Some may argue that the U.S. tariffs on many products in textiles and clothing are 15 per cent or higher so that India could benefit from duty-free access in this important sector. Given that India stands to lose from the FTA on a net basis, the gains to the textiles and clothing industry alone can hardly justify the arrangement from the country's viewpoint.

Even leaving this objection aside, the potential benefits to the textiles and clothing industry can easily be overstated. For, the FTA will be subject to the rules of origin that could greatly undermine our access to the U.S. market. These rules will require, for example, that in order to qualify for duty-free access, Indian shirts use fabric and yarn made in the U.S. or India. But to the extent that these countries are costly suppliers of high quality yarn and fabric compared to China, Korea and Taiwan, the benefit from the duty-free treatment of shirts will be greatly diluted. Even if that does not happen, the U.S. will readily invoke anti-dumping action should our exports pose a major threat to the local industry.

Yet another argument given in support of the FTA with the U.S. is that it can lead

to more liberalisation. But this is a spurious plea as much of the evidence suggests that FTAs lead to a slowdown of liberalisation programmes. For example, during the 1980s, Mexico undertook massive trade liberalisation. But since it entered the NAFTA, its external trade liberalisation has come to a complete halt. On the contrary, many of the Mexican tariffs have actually gone up. The experience of other preferential arrangements has been similar.

Most recently, the African Growth and Opportunity Act, signed by him into law on May 18, has offered the countries in Africa trade preferences in the U.S. markets provided they satisfy many conditions, most notably, upgrading of labour standards. The specific standards in the Act include the right of association, the right to organise and bargain collectively, a prohibition on the use of any form of forced or compulsory labour, a minimum age for the employment of children, and acceptable conditions of work with respect to minimum wages, hours of work and occupational safety and health.

This latest initiative is a direct assault by the U.S. on the virtually united opposition to the link between trade and labour standards by the developing countries. The U.S. is attempting to achieve through the bilateral route what it has failed to accomplish by the multilateral route. We must stay clear of falling prey to such a strategy.

Thus, no matter how we look at it, an FTA with the U.S. is a bad idea. It may benefit some of our export lobbies by buying them preferential access to the U.S. market. But the price we will pay is extremely high. Since the beginning of reforms in 1991, our liberalisation strategy has been highly successful. There is little reason to change course. Or, to paraphrase Prof. Jagdish Bhagwati, why take the dirt road of preferential liberalisation when the turnpike of non-discriminatory liberalisation is available?

(The writer is Professor of Economics and Co-director, Center for International Economics, University of Maryland, U.S.)

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U.S. missile test won't hit Indian n-plans: Fernandes

VARANASI, JULY 9. The Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, today said the United States' National Missile Defence (NMD) system will not affect India's nuclear programme and our delivery system is yet to reach the inter-continental level.

Addressing a press conference, Mr. Fernandes said, "India's nuclear weapon system has a limited reach and the country does not have Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) which were to be checked by the U.S. National Missile Defence System." He refused to speculate the effects of the NMD system on India's nuclear weapon in future.

He said Russia and China were the countries which would be affected by the U.S. programme and they had expressed their concern over the move.

The Defence Minister said the U.S. move would drastically change the nuclear arms balance in the world and could start a new arms race. The U.S. decision-makers had propounded the concept of 'balance of terror' and 'Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)' and the latest move was bound to dismantle these concepts and the existing power balance, he added.

He said that besides Russia and China a large sections of the U.S. elite, especially scientists and peace activists, were also opposing the NMD system terming it 'dangerous' and wastage of money.

Mr. Fernandes said the failure of the latest NMD test demonstrated that the programme was impractical and would create discord among nuclear powers.

Kargil victory day

The nation would observe 'Kargil victory day' on July 26, the first anniversary of India's decisive triumph against last year's armed intrusion in the Kargil sector, the Defence Minister said.

He said the armed forces had called upon the public to light a lamp in every home as a tribute to the valiant soldiers who sacrificed their lives defending the borders.

A detailed nationwide programme for celebrating the day would be announced soon, he added.

'U.K. credibility at stake'

The Defence Minister said Britain's credibility was at stake on the issue of delivery of naval aircraft sea harrier and spare parts of the sea king helicopters to India.

Mr. Fernandes said Indian Navy was facing difficulties due to non-delivery of spare parts (gear boxes, rotor heads and blades) by Britain.

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But the British Government was not to be blamed as the United States was pressing it not to supply the spare parts on the pretext of continuing sanctions against India. — UNI

Jaswant sceptical over Indo-Pak. talks

NEW DELHI, JULY 9. The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, has expressed scepticism about a conducive environment for a dialogue between India and Pakistan when there was a simultaneous encouragement to cross-border terrorism, provocation to extremism and constant advocacy of jihad. "... Can't simultaneously have all these and yet have an environment of sitting across and talking to each other amicably," he said in an interview telecast on Doordarshan.

Appreciating Pakistan's chief executive Gen. Pervez Musharraf's offer for a dialogue, "Anytime, any place and at any level," Mr. Jaswant Singh said the essential part has to be understood that "this whole exercise is not about public relations, the exercise is about good bilateral relations."

On the U.S. missile defence programme, he said India was against militarisation of outer space and the U.S. plan would have a consequence which would be damaging to the overall approach to disarmament and be going away from the path of de-weaponisation.

He said the missile programme ran counter to their own philosophy of moving towards a gradual reduction of weapons of mass destruction. "It is a programme about which European countries and the community is feeling very anxious about."

Tackling Fiji crisis

In his first public statement on Fiji since the crisis began, Mr. Jaswant Singh said his priority remained the release of the hostages including the Prime Minister, Mr. Mahendra Choudhary, "and ...to influence the situation in such a manner that Fiji did not descend to a greater civil disorder. I have so far not made any public statement because of high sensitivity but we are very greatly concerned with the situation of Fijians turning against Fijians. The issue would be discussed with the Australian Prime Minister who is visiting India shortly."

About Indian peacekeepers in Sierra Leone, he said India would continue to take part in U.N. peacekeeping operations in future also. He said lack of enough reaction in India to the encirclement of Indian troops in Kailahun was because Indians were more stoic in character. — UNI

THE HINDU

10 JUL 2000

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Sanctions must go before Vajpayee's visit: U.S. lawmakers

By Sridhar Krishnaswami 1897

WASHINGTON, JULY 12. Senior lawmakers on Capitol Hill have called for the removal of existing sanctions against India with one suggestion being that the punitive measures should be got rid of before the visit of the Prime Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, to the United States this September.

"Continuing to keep India under a sanctions regime despite the power given by Congress to the Executive to waive it... is a myopic policy. We have to replace this myopia with enlightened vision... Our aim, I believe, should be to remove the sanctions regime before Prime Minister Vajpayee visits Washington in September so that some genuine and lasting progress in our relations with New Delhi can be achieved," said Mr. Gary Ackerman, Democrat member from New York in the House of Representatives. Participating in a panel discussion organised by the Indian American Forum for Political Education on U.S.-India relations in the 21st century post-Presidential visit, the Co-Chairman of the Congressional Caucus on India reiterated that the focus should not be held hostage on getting New Delhi's signature on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. "Because of this obsession... I am afraid we may end up losing many other promising opportunities in U.S.-India relations," he said.

In his luncheon address, Mr. Sam Brownback, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations sub-committee on near east and south Asia, said the issue of sanctions ought to be part of the package in the discussions; and that he had been constantly urging the administration to lift the punitive measures. The Re-

publican from Kansas, who had been instrumental in the removal of sanctions, said a move in this direction would be a "very positive and good sign" in bilateral relations.

"If we could remove economic sanctions against North Korea, can't we lift them against India," Mr. Brownback asked and pointed out that the contrast in the administration's posturing on the subject was there for all to see. By the same token, he said the President, Mr. Bill Clinton's, lead legislative item on Capitol Hill was the Permanent Normal Trade Relations Bill for China. "Can't we do the same for India," the lawmaker wondered.

Mr. Brownback also said that his Committee in the Senate would hold a hearing on the issue very soon, especially on the impact of the sanctions. In the context of India, he said, the continuation of sanctions could alienate a potentially very strong relationship.

On the visit of the Prime Minister to the U.S., Mr. Brownback said it would be appropriate for Mr. Vajpayee to address a joint session of Congress; and also hoped that the Indian leader would be able to stop in Kansas to see "the real America". The trip, according to Mr. Brownback, comes at a most auspicious time in bilateral relations which is now much more positive and strong; and the new relationship which sees India as an equal partner has the elements of a broad economic and strategic engagement.

Pallone seeks sanctions against China

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JULY 12. Citing the threat of missile cooperation between China and Pakistan

to the overall stability of Asia, the Democratic Congressman from New Jersey, Mr. Frank Pallone, has announced that he would introduce a piece of legislation in the House of Representatives to impose sanctions against China for providing ballistic missile technology to Pakistan.

Mr. Pallone said he planned to sponsor a House Companion to the legislation introduced in the Senate that would require the administration to monitor Beijing's track record on the spread of nuclear weapons and to impose automatic sanctions if there was credible evidence. The Senate will now go through the motions of a debate on China's Permanent Normal Trade Relations.

Speaking about the legislation now moving through the Senate, Mr. Pallone said, "I believe this connection is very appropriate to make. We can't afford to completely separate our commercial and security interests." In the wake of reports of Beijing's continued supply of missiles and missile technology to Pakistan, the Clinton administration sent a high-level team to China, but lawmakers say the response was not encouraging.

On the statement by Mr. John Holum, senior adviser to the U.S. Secretary of State on arms control, that progress had been made but the issue remained unsolved, Mr. Pallone said, "in polite parlance of diplomacy, there is a clear indication that this issue continues to be a serious concern."

He expressed the hope that the administration would give serious consideration to imposing sanctions on China. "If not, there are those of us in Congress who are ready to mandate such sanctions through a piece of legislation."

THE HINDU

13 JUL 2000

US House gift before Vajpayee visit

FROM K.P. NAYAR
Washington, July 14: In what promises to be a good augury for Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's visit to the US in September, hardcore anti-India Congressman Dan Burton was forced on Thursday to withdraw an amendment in the House of Representatives that would have cut development assistance to India by 25 per cent.

With the persistent India-basher's amendment out of the way, US aid to India in the 2001 fiscal year will go up by \$18 million to touch \$46.55 million. In addition, India will receive \$92.48 million in food aid, \$20.67 million in child survival funds and \$5 million through the Economic Support Fund.

The enhanced assistance, proposed by President Bill Clinton after his visit to India in March, represents a sea change from the drastic cuts and sanctions follow-

ing the nuclear tests in May 1998. The cuts were so severe that Burton, a Republican from Indiana, did not even go through his annual exercise on behalf of the Pakistanis and Khalistanis of pressing his cut motion then.

Burton's moves this year were significant as a barometer of the support enjoyed by India in Capitol Hill in the run-up to Vajpayee's visit and for follow-up action on Clinton's initiative to redraw the pattern of Indo-US relations.

The debate showed that apart from Burton, there was only one Congressman, Dana Rohrabacher, who supported the cut in aid to India. But even Dana acknowledged that India is a democracy where economic reforms are working.

One after the other, speakers from among the Republicans and the Democrats spoke in praise of Indian democracy and India's efforts to cope with serious problems that needed support

from the US. The speakers included Frank Pallone, founder of the Congressional caucus on India, Sonny Callahan, chairman of the foreign operations sub-committee, Nancy Pelosi, a leading member of the India caucus, and Benjamin Gilman, chairman of the House of Representatives' International Relations Committee.

At the end of the debate withdrawing the amendment, Burton paid a back-handed compliment

to the Indian lobby, which, he said, had succeeded in creating a brute majority in the House in support of New Delhi.

The debate was preceded by a night of feverish activity in Capitol Hill on behalf of India soon after Burton revealed his intention to table the amendment on Wednesday evening.

The co-chairmen of the India caucus, Democrat Gary Ackerman and Republican James Greenwood, immediately wrote to

all 433 members of the Congress cautioning that "adoption of the amendment would have serious consequences for the massive investments in India and would play right into the hands of those who would turn back the clock on major economic reforms that have been put in place".

The letter added: "Rather than debate amendments that divide the US and India, we ought to work with India and help it come to grips with its problems."

THE TELEGRAPH

15 JUL 2001

Indian lobby forces Burton to back out

15/7 By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JULY 14. Lawmakers in the U.S. House of Representatives have hailed the manner in which the Burton Amendment went down. Finding no support for his move, the Republican from Indiana, Mr. Dan Burton, withdrew his amendment to the Foreign Operations Bill which would have slashed developmental assistance to India by 25 per cent. "The Indian lobby has been very effective and I congratulate them," Mr. Burton remarked before backing out.

But he did so only after making the usual noises against India — especially on its human rights violations in Kashmir, Punjab and Nagaland and against Dalits. He also referred to attacks against Christians over the last two years.

During a brief debate, several members of the India Caucus were quick to rebut Mr. Burton's charges, with Mr. Frank Pallone, Democrat from New Jersey, making the point that the Burton amendment made no sense before

and it made less sense now.

The Co-Chairman of Congressional Caucus on India and Indian Americans, Mr. Gary Ackerman, argued that the Burton amendment "is the wrong amendment at the wrong time". Law-makers who spoke in favour of India included Ms. Nancy Pelosi of California, Mr. Sherrod Brown of Ohio and Mr. Jim McDermott of Washington.

Mr. Burton was supported by a fellow Republican Mr. Dana Rohrabacher. The Congressman from California wondered why the United States should give aid to India when its economy was doing well; and why more and more aid was being given to India and at the same time its transgressions were ignored. The bottom line in argument was that violence prevailed in the subcontinent because India refused to allow elections in Kashmir.

However, the near-total lack of support to the patently anti-India move will not stop Mr. Burton in future. For instance, in 1997 the Burton Amendment was defeated 342 to 82 in

the House. Since then the amendment has not come for a vote. In 1998, in view of the U.S. sanctions, Mr. Burton did not offer an amendment; in 1999 he offered his amendment but refrained from putting it to a vote, a stance that was repeated on Thursday.

One thing could be said in the context of the Burton Amendment — Mr. Rohrabacher who questioned the rationale of the U.S. aid in the context of an improving and strong Indian economy. Is it possible that New Delhi will quietly inform Washington that it is no longer interested in this developmental assistance? Lawmakers like Mr. Burton will certainly look for other ways to bash India on Capitol Hill, but it would most certainly send a larger message.

Also Mr. Burton's statistics on the "killings" are from obvious sources, but over the last two years another feature has been added — the attacks on Christians. This phenomenon has been attracting attention in this country and cannot be brushed off by New Delhi.

THE HINDU

15 JUL 2000

No cut in American aid to India

Washington, July 14

FRIENDS OF India scored a major victory in the US House of Representatives today when their powerful opposition forced Republican Congressman Dan Burton to withdraw his amendment seeking to cut American development aid to India in protest against its "poor" human rights record.

At the end of the brief debate, Mr Burton, who has been bringing this resolution for the last several years, recognised that the Indian lobby had turned out to very strong, clearly acknowledging that his measure had no chance.

Member after member stood up to oppose the resolution. They defended India's human rights record, arguing that this was the time to strengthen relations with India, building on the goodwill that President Bill Clinton's visit had created for the US in that country.

The Clinton administration has provided \$46.6 million as development assistance to India for the next fiscal year, an increase of \$18

million over the current year. Burton's amendment, which was withdrawn, sought to reduce it by 25 per cent.

Congressmen led by chairman of the India Caucus Democrat Gary Ackerman and Republican James C. Greenwood urged the rejection of the amendment saying it would "unfairly stigmatise India and inflict major damage to our efforts to have American business prosper in the world's second largest con-

problems and be a partner in the development of technology, trade and culture," sources quoting the letter said.

Two years ago, Burton had pressed a similar amendment which was defeated. Last year, after making much noise over a similar amendment as he did this year, he withdrew from it.

Ackerman hailed the withdrawal of the amendment as "a huge victory for the Indian-American com-

food aid which the amendment sought to reduce to \$35 million.

Democratic party's Jim McDermott used the Hindi word "bakwaas" (pure nonsense) to dismiss Burton's allegation that India "suppresses and violently intimidates its religious minorities".

He and others said there had been isolated incidents which India had publicly, officially, and resoundingly responded. Such things did occur in the US as well. It appointed a Supreme Court inquiry, for only the second time in the country's history, to investigate an instance of a Christian missionary's death, he added.

In the following debate on the amendment, moved during the consideration of the Foreign Operations Bill, Burton, known for championing the cause of Khalistani and Kashmiri separatists, was able to muster only one lawmaker, Dana Rohrabacher, to stand up in his support.

Even Rohrabacher acknowledged that "India is a democracy that is making significant economic progress". (Agencies)

Burton Amendment withdrawn

sumer market".

"Adoption of the amendment would have serious consequences for the massive investment in India and would play right into the hands of those who would turn back the clock on major economic reforms that have been put in place," he said in a letter yesterday.

"Rather than debate amendments that divide the US and India, we ought to work with India and help it come to grips with its

munity and US policy towards India."

Congressman and former chairman of the India Caucus, Frank Pallone, said that the lack of backing for the amendment showed that the pro-India forces have succeeded in creating a solid majority.

Pallone said the Clinton government had proposed a \$46.53 million aid package for India in development assistance, \$20.67 million for child care and \$92.48 million in

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

Lift sanctions against India, Clinton urged

207
WASHINGTON, JULY 19. Several U.S. Congressmen have urged the President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to lift all remaining sanctions against India before the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee's visit and embrace New Delhi not only as a political and economic ally but also as a military ally to bring stability to Asia.

Speaking at the annual banquet of the Indian American Friendship Council yesterday, they said by continuing sanctions the administration was pursuing a "shortsighted policy" and felt that relations between the two countries should not be held hostage to the signing of nuclear non-proliferation treaties.

The Congress(I) leader and member of the

410-15
Indian delegation at the function, Mr. S. Jaipal Reddy, said it was the desire of all parties in India that the two countries should draw closer. The Indian Ambassador, Mr. Naresh Chandra, said Mr. Vajpayee, during his visit, would spend two or three days in San Francisco.

The Democratic Congressman, Mr. Gary Ackerman, said "continuing to keep India under a sanctions regime... is a shortsighted policy. I strongly urge the administration to initiate immediate measures to remove all economic and dual-use technology sanctions against New Delhi."

Referring to the U.S. insistence on India signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty,

Mr. Ackerman, co-chairman of the India Caucus, said relations between the two countries should not be held hostage to any single issue.

The Republican Congressman, Mr. Benjamin Gilman, chairman of the House International Relations Committee, said India and the U.S. had to draw closer in the face of "China's attempt at hegemony, spread of Islamic terrorism spilling out of Afghanistan and Pakistan and the dictatorship in Myanmar."

The Congressman, Mr. Sam Gejdenson, said India, with which the U.S. shared many values including the commitment to democracy, ranks at the top among the countries with whom the U.S. should forge strategic ties.

THE HINDU

20 JUL 2000

Indo-US ties have limitless possibilities, says Jaswant

Washington, July 19

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS Minister Jaswant Singh has said that the Indo-US relations stood at a turning point with "limitless possibilities" of cooperation to build a partnership for peace, prosperity, democracy and freedom.

In a message to the annual conference of the Indian-American friendship council here, the External Affairs Minister said the recent visit of US President Bill Clinton to India marked the beginning of a "close and qualitatively new relationship" between the two countries.

"Our two nations have rediscovered each other and the limitless possibilities of cooperation... To build a partnership for peace, prosperity, democracy and freedom," Singh said.

The Indian-American community, the External Affairs Minister said, has played a very significant and noteworthy role in bringing about this new partnership, he said.

Home Minister L K Advani in a separate message said with their shared commitment to the values of freedom and democracy "India and the US forge as natural allies to counter the twin menace of international terrorism and drug trafficking."

Former Prime Ministers P V Narasimha Rao, V P Singh and H D Deve Gowda are among other Indian leaders who have sent their messages on the occasion.

(PTI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

20 JUL 2000

U.S. Congressman seeks minority status for Kashmiri Pandits

By C.K. Arora

WASHINGTON: U.S. Democratic Congressman Sherrod Brown has written to the chairman of India's National Commission for Minorities (NCM) seeking his help to designate the Kashmiri Pandits as a minority community.

Mr Brown, a senior member of the international relations committee and founding member of the Congressional Caucus on India and Indian Americans, says the designation will help the Kashmiri Pandits to preserve their culture and fight discrimination.

"This designation is a decade overdue. The Pandits were forced out from their homes by terrorists. They have lived in tents and have been plagued by disease, malnutrition, and poor sanitation. They have faced religious and cultural persecution. The Pandits' struggle has gone unrecognised in a country with the largest ethnic diversity in the world. This is a question of humanity. It is time to assure the Pandits of social and economic justice," Mr Brown states.

Unless drastic measures are taken to reverse this trend, the

future of this 5,000 year-old culture appears very bleak, he says.

The U.S. state department has praised India's great progress in addressing issues of human rights.

"The situation in Jammu and Kashmir is a difficult one, and a cessation in the conflict will only come when all who live in the Kashmir Valley are willing to embrace peace," Mr Brown said. "India should be given our unending support to resolve this conflict by negotiated, non-violent means."

He says the forced exodus of the Pandits by terrorists trained outside India's borders has created a terrible situation, both in terms of the human loss due to violence in the Valley and the harsh living conditions which presently exist in the makeshift camps. More die in refugee camps than are born.

"Deprived of their human, economic, civil, and religious rights, the Pandits today appear to be a swiftly vanishing community. Disease, malnutrition, lack of sanitation, and mental illness have become common," Mr Brown adds. (UNI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

24 JUL 2000

Vajpayee lines up 14-day US jaunt

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, July 25: What Bill Clinton does, Atal Behari Vajpayee can do thrice as better. In response to the US President's five-day visit to India, the Prime Minister is planning a fortnight-long jaunt in America.

Indications are that Vajpayee will leave on September 5 and return on September 18, though officially the visit will last only three days.

The Indian foreign ministry issued a statement today saying the Prime Minister, on invitation from Clinton, will pay an official visit to the US and will be in Washington from September 15-17. He will also visit New York and San Francisco.

"Their discussions will contribute to a closer and qualitative-

ly new relationship between India and the US visualised during the visit to India of President Clinton," the statement said. "The two leaders look forward to broadening the cooperation between the two countries across a wide range of common interests," it added.

National security adviser and principal secretary to the Prime Minister Brajesh Mishra is currently meeting senior officials of the Clinton Administration to hammer out the details of Vajpayee's programme, which will be finalised in a day or two. Foreign minister Jaswant Singh, who is leaving tomorrow for the Asean Regional Forum meeting in Bangkok, will also get a chance to discuss bilateral issues with his US counterpart, secretary of state Madeleine Albright.

Vajpayee may stop at either Europe or Africa for a brief halt before leaving for the US. The Prime Minister starts off his US visit from New York where he will deliver his speech at the Millennium Summit on September 8. He is supposed to spend a few days in New York and meet world leaders on the margin of the summit.

Vajpayee is then scheduled to visit San Francisco, where he will hold a number of meetings with NRI organisations friendly with the BJP and Indian entrepreneurs who have made an impact on the information technology market. On September 14, he is to fly down to Washington where his official visit takes off next day. There are indications that the Prime Minister may address the joint sitting of the US Congress.

Most of the benchmarks for strengthening bilateral relations

were drawn up in the vision statement released by Vajpayee and Clinton during the US President's visit. As part of this, a number of committees, including the India-US financial and economic forum, was launched in April this year when Indian finance minister Yashwant Sinha visited Washington. A similar group on commerce has also been formed and the two sides are meeting in Washington tomorrow to firm up their cooperation on environment.

This apart, the two sides have held several meetings on counter-terrorism and had a couple of exchanges in exports control. The third meeting is due in New Delhi in September where American and Indian officials will discuss training, licensing and enforcement of items that fall within the exports control regime.

But talks on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), one of the most important topics, has not progressed much. The Indian leadership maintains it is trying to evolve the "broadest possible national consensus", but has failed to give a deadline. Foreign ministry spokesman R.S. Jassal put in a word of caution, saying it may be a mistake to make India-US relations hinge on "any specific" issue like the CTBT.

However, there is enough indication that the Vajpayee government will have to make a serious attempt to get it out of the way well before the visit. Steps to build up a national consensus, or at least to assess the Opposition mood, may be made by the government in the current session of Parliament when it initiates a debate on foreign policy.

THE TELEGRAPH

Sanctions a hurdle, says Brajesh Mishra

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JULY 26. Although India is not "pleading" for the lifting of sanctions, the punitive measures now in place are an impediment to the realisation of the full potential of Indo-U.S. relations, the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister and National Security Adviser, Mr. Brajesh Mishra, has said.

Mr. Mishra, who is in the United States to finalise details for the visit of the Prime Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, said the sanctions issue was not discussed in his meeting with the National Security Adviser, Mr. Sandy Berger. Mr. Berger, who attended the recent West Asia talks in Camp David, flew down to see Mr. Mishra here on Tuesday.

Besides Mr. Berger's briefing on the Camp David talks, the two officials discussed Non-Proliferation and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the situation between India-Pakistan and economic and scientific components of Mr. Vajpayee's coming visit to the U.S.

Asked to comment on attempts by Pakistan to spread the view that India was intransigent and reluctant to start the dialogue and how New Delhi would respond to this propaganda, Mr. Mishra said India needed no "certificates" from anyone and that the onus was on Pakistan. "We have a point of view which is absolutely clear. India needs no certificates from anyone in regard to its desire for talks with Pakistan. The bus journey to Lahore is a big proof of that... Now that bus got stuck in Kargil. It is for Pakistan to take steps to restore the spirit of Lahore. And that can be done only by ending cross-border terrorism. Until that happens there cannot be meaningful talks between India and Pakistan."

The basic thrust of Mr. Vajpayee's agenda would be on the talks with the President, Mr. Bill Clinton, and on seeing how the bilateral relations could take off. The two leaders would explore ways of giving a concrete shape to the framework already agreed upon. The agenda would include economic, scientific and political issues. While topics related to India and Pakistan would be discussed, they would not dominate the Prime Minister's agenda.

Mr. Mishra, asked whether China's role in South Asia especially as it pertained to its missile/nuclear relationship with Pakistan was discussed with Mr. Berger, said the U.S. was "fully aware" of India's concerns.

During his stay in Washington, Mr. Mishra met several senior officials of the Clinton administration and law makers on Capitol Hill including the President's Assistant for Economic Affairs, Mr. Gene Sperling; and the Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Mr. Thomas Pickering.

On Capitol Hill, there were meetings with Mr. Porter Goss, Chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, with members of the House International Relations Committee, the India Caucus and the Chairman of the Senate Sub Committee on the Near East and South Asia, Mr. Sam Brownback.

Mr. Mishra also met some key foreign policy advisers of the Texas Governor, Mr. George Bush, presumptive Republican nominee for the Presidential elections of November 7. In San Francisco, Mr. Mishra held a meeting with Ms. Condoleezza Rice, top foreign policy aide to Mr. Bush and generally seen as the National Security Adviser in a Bush administration.

THE HINDU

27 JUL 2000

PM to address U.S. Congress

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

general
WASHINGTON, JULY 29. The Prime Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, has been formally invited by the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Mr. Dennis Hastert, to address a Joint Session of Congress on September 14. Mr. Vajpayee, who will be on an official visit to the United States, is scheduled to meet the President, Mr. Bill Clinton, on September 15.

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The official invitation was made on Friday afternoon; and the move has been hailed by sev-

eral lawmakers, especially those who had been instrumental and keen on this event to materialise. "This will be a wonderful opportunity for India to engage the U.S. Congress on a wide range of issues, including trade and hi-tech commerce that are beginning to define the Indo-American relationship," said Mr. Jim McDermott, Democrat from the State of Washington, in a statement.

The Co-Chairman of the Congressional Caucus on India and Indian Americans, Mr. Gary Ackerman, said that while on the

Presidential visit to India it was suggested to Mr. Vajpayee that lawmakers would love to see him address a Joint Sitting of Congress. "... the Congressional Caucus on India and the Indian Americans lobbied very hard to bring that desire to fruition. We could not be more pleased that it has happened," the Democrat from New York said.

From the Senate side, one of the first lawmakers to invite Mr. Vajpayee was Mr. Sam Brownback, Republican from Kansas.

THE HINDU

1997

PM may address joint session of US Congress

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STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE &
AGENCIES

NEW DELHI, July 29. — Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee is likely to address a joint session of the US Congress, during his September visit to the USA.

Government officials said the Prime Minister has received the invitation but the date for his visit to Capitol Hill is yet to be decided.

The Speaker of the US House of Representatives, Mr J Dennis Hastert, has formally invited Mr Vajpayee through the Indian embassy.

While in India earlier this year, the US President, Mr Bill Clinton, had addressed a joint session of Parliament.

The chairman of the Senate sub-committee on India and some other Asian nations and Republican Party Senator, Mr Sam Brownback, said the reciprocal honour to the Prime Minister "will mark the strengthening of friendship between the two largest democracies".

A joint meeting "will afford all our members the opportunity to discuss important issues including trade, energy, investment, science and technology, and cooperative efforts to combat terrorism and to achieve regional peace and security in South Asia," he said.

Mr Brownback, who has been vociferous in demanding the lifting of sanctions against India, said 29 of the 100 Senators signed the letter he authored, urging the Speaker to extend such an invitation.

Democrats and Republicans have welcomed the move.

Congressman Mr Jim McDermott, a member of the 110-member Indian caucus said he was "excited that the Speaker invited Vajpayee," he said.

"While on the presidential visit to India, we told Mr Vajpayee we'd love to see him address a joint session of Congress, and the Congressional caucus lobbied hard to bring that desire to fruition. We could not be more pleased," Gary Ackerman, co-chairman of the caucus said.

THE STATESMAN

30 JUL 2000

U.S. denies report on mediation on Kashmir

WASHINGTON: The U.S. has denied reports that it has been engaged in a secret diplomatic mediation between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute and using for that purpose the services of two Kashmiri-Americans.

"No, we are not involved in any kind of mediation and have not done any such thing," U.S. state de-

partment spokesman Philip Reeker said on Wednesday, reacting to a report on a website that Washington was on a peace shuttle mission between New Delhi and Islamabad.

Mr Reeker said, "We continue to urge both countries to practice restraint and do what we can, certainly, to encourage the parties to resolve their difference. But we do not see ourselves as mediators. I think President Bill Clinton said it best when he stated that there was no military solution for the Kashmir issue and that we believe there should be a process by which legitimate grievances of the Kashmiris can be addressed."

Asked if they were using the services of two Kashmiri-Americans to settle the dispute, he said he saw those reports. "Those gentlemen will be acting on their own behalf. The U.S. has not changed its approach on Kashmir."

What we have called for in the Kashmir situation is restraint, respect for the Line of Control, renewal of dialogue, rejection of violence and resolution of the matter peacefully."

Asked whether undersecretary of state Thomas Pickering, during his visit to India and Pakistan recently, was asked by either country to take a message to the U.S. calling upon it to mediate in the Kashmir dispute, Mr Reeker said, "I am not aware of any such thing." (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

- 9 JUN 2000

Latest intelligence estimates say Pakistan may have up to 100 nuclear warheads; India may have just one-fifth of them

Pakistan's nuclear arsenal is superior to India, say US officials

CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA
WASHINGTON, JUNE 7

PAKISTAN'S nuclear arsenal is vastly superior to that of India with perhaps five times the nuclear warheads. It also has greater means and preparedness of delivering them.

NBC News reported this on Wednesday in what could be a stunning reversal of balance of power in the region.

Based on what it said was a reassessment of the South Asian nuclear equation by US officials following the May 1998 nuclear tests, NBC said two years of intelligence gathering suggested that conventional wisdom about the capabilities of India's home-grown arsenal was

overstated. In contrast, Pakistan's capability, which relies on generous Chinese assistance, was understated.

The general assumption made by policy-makers and analysts in recent years was that India has between 25 and 100 nuclear warheads while Pakistan has between 10 and 15 weapons.

But US intelligence officials now say Pakistanis are more likely to have those numbers (25 to 100 weapons) than the Indians. Perhaps most important, NBC quoted one unnamed official as saying, is that Pakistan appears far more capable than India of delivering nuclear payloads.

"I don't think their (the Indian) programme is as advanced as the Pakistanis," the unnamed official said, speaking

particularly of ballistic missiles. The comment was buttressed by another from Marine Corps Gen. Anthony Zinni, commander of the US Central Command, who said longtime assumptions that India had an edge in the South Asian strategic balance of power were questionable, at best.

"Don't assume that the Pakistani nuclear capability is inferior to the Indians," said Zinni, whose CentCom has geographic oversight over Pakistan.

The NBC report was co-authored by Robert Windrem, an investigative producer with the network who is also the author of Critical Mass, a widely-referred

book on nuclear proliferation. The NBC report, if true, would shatter the smug assumptions in India about its conventional and nuclear superiority.

The report did say though that India has realised that is behind and is moving to address its shortcomings.

India could have got an inkling of Pakistani capability during the tit-for-tat nuclear tests itself, when Islamabad claimed to have exploded six nuclear devices. Such an exhibition would have seriously depleted its arsenal if it was as small as what Indian and western analysts had assumed.

Latest US reports

probably has a handful of nuclear bombs," perhaps only about five. With regard to delivery systems, the missiles and bombers needed to launch a nuclear strike." US officials now believe Indian capabilities to be seriously lagging.

According to a Defence Department document, India has no nuclear-capable missiles and fewer aircraft capable of delivering a nuclear payload than Pakistan does. India has twice tested a new intermediate-ranged missile, the Agni, which may eventually provide the basis of a nuclear missile force.

However, NBC report provided another stunner, claiming that current US analysis suggests the Agni will not be

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

George upbeat on CTBT

■ TOKYO: DEFENCE Minister George Fernandes said on Wednesday that it was only a matter of time before India signed the CTBT, adding he thought it would not be "so far in the future". He was meeting Japanese Foreign Minister Yohei Kono.

Speaking to The Indian Express, Ministry of External Affairs' spokesperson said in New Delhi: "India had declared a voluntary moratorium on any more nuclear tests after the nuclear tests in May 1998. We stand by our earlier position of trying to build a broad-based consensus on the test ban treaty before signing it."

from the front page *Apr 2 1999* Pak's nuclear arsenal

fielded with nuclear warheads for another 10 years. Additionally, India appears to only have only now begun work on missile warhead design and on the miniaturization of weapons, two critical hurdles to the actual use of weapons.

The US assessment of Pakistan, on the other hand, has been greatly upgraded, NBC said. A US official stated that Pakistani air and missile delivery systems are now believed to be fully capable of a nuclear exchange if something happens."

Other officials noted that Pakistan's air force, with its US F-16s and its French Mirage fighter-bombers, are superior at penetrating enemy airspace than India's Soviet-designed MiGs and Sukhois.

Most importantly, Pakistan is now thought to possess about 30 nuclear-capable missiles: The Chinese M-11 short-range missile and its Pakistani variant, the Tarmuk, as well as the North Korean Nodong intermediate-range missile (known locally as the Ghauri).

INDIAN EXPRESS

9 JUN 2000

U.S. denies reports on mediation

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JUNE 8. The Clinton administration has denied reports that it has started "secret diplomatic mediation" between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute.

The State Department acting spokesman, Mr. Philip Reeker when asked to comment on a report in the *Jane's Intelligence Digest* to this effect, said, "I saw those reports and no, we are not, and have not, done any such thing. Our approach on Kashmir has not changed. We continue to urge restraint and dialogue and do what we can, certainly, to encourage the parties to resolve their differences. But we do not see ourselves as mediators."

"I think the President said it best when he noted there is no military solution for Kashmir and he said that we believe there should be a process by which legitimate grievances of the Kashmiris can be addressed", the spokesman added.

He further said that the individuals being looked at as "possible mediators" were not acting on behalf of the United States and that Washington was not aware of individuals such as Mr. Mansoor Ijaz or Mr. Farook Kathwari acting independently either.

"I think I gave you our position from the U.S. Government's point of view. What we have called for in the Kashmir situation is restraint, respect for the Line of Control, renewal of dialogue, rejection of violence and reduction of tension and peaceful resolution of the matter", Mr Reeker said.

The acting spokesman rejected the notion that the United States may be involved in discussions which may be taking place between India and Pakistan directly. "I am not aware of that. I think we have talked about a number of high-level visitors. We have a regular dialogue with both governments. But as I said, we don't see ourselves as mediators," Mr Reeker remarked going on to say that the interpretation of the American role as "mediator" was the work of some reporters.

The spokesman also brushed aside a question whether during a recent visit to the region the Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Mr Tho-

mas Pickering, was asked by either India or Pakistan to take a message back to the United States that either side would be willing to have the United States as a mediator. "I am not aware of any such thing, no," Mr Reeker responded.

Meanwhile the Clinton Administration is not willing to officially comment on a news report that Pakistan may have a more advanced nuclear and missile system than India, a system that was more powerful with more weapons than that of India. The report of NBC News, quoting senior military and intelligence officials, said that Pakistan's nuclear arsenal was "vastly superior" to that of India with up to five times the nuclear warheads and had actually more capability to use them.

Taking refuge under the topic of "intelligence matters", Mr Reeker argued that he was not in a position to comment or discuss the report. "But let me say, this is not a question of a numbers game. The right number is zero on both sides. Exactly how many nuclear missiles each side could assemble and deploy if it chose to do so is not as important as avoiding an arms race", the acting spokesman said.

"Our view, as we've stated on numerous occasions, has been to work hard with both sides to urge restraint and exercising of restraint in nuclear weapons and development and to resume a dialogue to resolve tensions. We would like to bring both India and Pakistan into the global non-proliferation mainstream and that's the message the President delivered very strongly when he visited both countries".

'India ready to meet challenge'

NEW DELHI, JUNE 8. India today made light of press reports that its nuclear arsenal was a fraction of Pakistan's capabilities, stating it was fully prepared to meet any challenge to the country's unity and integrity.

Commenting on an NBC report that India's home-grown arsenal was overstated, a spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) said, "we are alert to developments that have bearing on our security capabilities."— UNI

9 JUN 2001

Paswan to address Indo-US business council meet

New Delhi, June 11

12/6 HF 15
MINISTER OF Communications Ran Vilas Paswan will address the annual general meeting of the US-India Business Council (USIBC) in San Fransisco this week.

He will make a vision statement on the possible synergies between the two countries in the telecom sector and outline the various initiatives taken by India, the current scenario and issues relating to opportunities of investment in India.

The meeting being held on June 13 will be attended by over two hundred US coporates from diverse sectors, an official release said here today.

The minister will meet leading personalities of Silicon Valley including non-resident Indians and discuss with them the development of telecom infrastructure in the country to meet the challenges of India becoming an IT superpower, it said.

Paswan will also lead a round table discussion at the Stanford University which will attended by leading NRIs, IT professionals and leading economists.

It said that Paswan during his tour would also visit Chicago, New York and Washington for an interaction with the representatives of the US telecom industry and financial institutions to generate greater understading in the American investors circle about the current telecom scenario and the emerging investment opportunities for them in India. (PTI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

12 JUN 2000

INDIA UNLIKELY TO GIVE IN TO PRESSURE

US attacks India's auto policy, asks for dispute panel

Sheila Mathrani
GENEVA 12 JUNE

IS THE US putting pressure on India to agree to a new trade round by going to the World Trade Organisation's (WTO) trade court against some of its policies?

India's automobile policy has officially come under attack by the US, which has requested the WTO's dispute settlement body for the establishment of a panel to decide on what the US considers as certain Indian measures affecting trade and investments in the motor vehicle sector inconsistent with India's obligations under the WTO Agreement.

The WTO is a mercantilist organisation and it is challenging India in the international trade court again. The Economic Times edition dated May 24 announced that the US would soon be targeting motor policies of different countries, particularly India. The US request for the establishment of a dispute settlement panel in its complaint against India has been put on the agenda of WTO's DSB of June 19.

It is assumed that India will very likely reject this first request, when the item comes up for discussion in the June 19 meeting, however it will not be able to avoid its establishment at the next meeting, when it will be automatically established.

The US communication to WTO specifies that on June 2, 1999 the US government had asked for consultations with the government of India, which were held (together with Japan and the EC) on July 20, 1999.

Interestingly enough the US bases its request for the panel on the fact that India did not reply to its written request of July 30, 1999 for certain additional questions" after just one consultation

with the Indian government on the July 20.

One can question the reason why the US did not, therefore, request for further consultations or send another request to India if it was not satisfied, or did it deliberately not react in order to push its agenda with India for the Seattle ministerial meeting, which failed.

The US accuses India's measures in the motor vehicle sector as being inconsistent. India's obligations under Article III:4 and XI:1 of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1994 (GATT 1994), and Articles 2.1 and 2.2 of the Agreement on Trade-Related Investment Measures (TRIMS).

In its communication to the WTO's legal division the US



Maruti: Bumps ahead?

states that certain Indian measures affecting trade and investment in the motor vehicle sector are inconsistent with India's obligations under the WTO Agreement.

Agreement.

In its recent country report on India, the US Trade Representative's office states that the Indian press reports indicate that the Indian government will eliminate the MoU and foreign exchange balancing requirements for foreign auto investments when quantitative restrictions are phased out on April 1, 2001, but will maintain local content and export requirements on such investments after that date.

In the WTO's recent release celebrating the 200th dispute brought to the DSB, the analysis of the total number of disputes shows that 48 of the 118 cases brought forward by the US, Japan and EU were targeted against developing countries, among which India and Argentina were the most targeted, followed by Brazil and Korea.

The Economic Times

13 JUN 2000

U.S. criticises Prithvi missile test

WASHINGTON: The U.S. has criticised India for conducting a test of its Prithvi missile, warning that it could increase tensions in South Asia.

The test and the state department's reaction come as top U.S. diplomats resumed security discussions with Pakistan, which had been stalled for more than a year.

"We regret the Indian government's decision to proceed with this test," state department spokesman Richard Boucher said on Friday. "We have long urged countries developing missile systems, including India and others, to exercise restraint." "Missile testing has the potential to increase tensions in the region, and we hope that India will consider the impact of missile tests under current circumstances," Mr Boucher said.

He was critical of recent U.S. media reports that Pakistan's nuclear capability was much greater than previously thought and superior to India's. Both countries tested nuclear weapons in May 1998.

"While there are differences in the programmes between the two countries, overall we believe there is rough parity in their nuclear and

delivery capabilities," Mr Boucher said. "Whatever differences exist do not appear to be strategically significant."

"Speculation" about whether one side is more advanced in its nuclear capability is "potentially destabilising," he warned. The Indian missile test and Mr Boucher's comments came as Pakistan's foreign minister, Abdul Sattar, was in Washington for the first bilateral security talks since February 1999.

Mr Sattar had met deputy secretary of state Strobe Talbott on Thursday to discuss nuclear issues and the Kashmir dispute, Mr Boucher said. The Pakistani pledged that Islamabad would soon sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, he added.

Mr Sattar also met undersecretary of state Thomas Pickering for parallel discussions of U.S. concerns about Pakistan's military regime, the spokesman said. Secretary of state Madeleine Albright joined the meeting "briefly," Mr Boucher said.

The U.S. officials pressed Mr Sattar to help pressure the Taliban in Afghanistan to hand over Osama Bin Laden, the terrorist leader wanted by the U.S. in connection

with the 1998 bombing of two U.S. embassies in Africa.

At a press conference on Friday, Mr Sattar was unapologetic about the prosecution of former prime minister Nawaz Sharif.

"A key to the stability and sustainability of democracy in Pakistan will be the process of accountability of the elected representatives," Mr Sattar said. "The government, therefore, is engaged in prosecuting those who abuse the power entrusted to them by the electorate, for corruption and plunder," he said. He stressed the Musharraf government's commitment to holding elections by 2002, and the hope that "elected leaders will bring honesty and integrity to their offices and will address national, rather than personal, agendas."

As for the Taliban in Afghanistan, the Pakistani minister said Washington would do better through "engagement" than by imposing sanctions. He was repeatedly interrupted in his press conference by Afghan protesters and journalists demanding that Islamabad stop its support of the Taliban. (DPA)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

18 JUN 2000

Hopeful prospects in Indo-U.S. ties

By P. R. Chari

Assertions that Indo-U.S. relations are normalising are decidedly premature now. The U.S. is unlikely to abandon its present nuanced policy towards India and, for that matter, China and Pakistan.

INDO-U.S. RELATIONS possess a roller-coaster quality. Alternating periods of normality and impasse mark them. The Clinton Administration's interactions with India have been no different. The nadir was reached after India's nuclear tests in May 1998. The current wisdom holds that the Indo-U.S. relations have normalised. The several rounds of Strobe Talbott-Jaswant Singh talks reveal a growing alignment of views between the two countries; this was not possible in the past.

Following the changed atmospherics in the Indo-U.S. relations in the wake of the Clinton visit, the understanding reached during the U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Mr. Thomas Pickering's mission to New Delhi reflects its afterglow. His discussions touched on the deteriorating situation in Sri Lanka. The United States has convinced itself that only India can mediate between the Tamils and the Sinhala government in Colombo to usher in peace. Neither country will however negotiate with the LTTE. Washington has designated it as a terrorist organisation and India has banned it. Both countries have made the continued unity and integrity of Sri Lanka the cornerstone of their policy. Close consultations between the U.S. and India can be expected in future as the Sri Lankan drama unfolds.

An important Indo-U.S. convergence of views has also occurred to meet the threat from international terrorism. The U.S. administration has abandoned its ill-conceived policy of coopting China into managing nuclear proliferation in South Asia. Later disillusionment with China has led the U.S. to warm its relations with India as a diplomatic investment, and to create a new concert of powers in Asia. Similarly, serious concern over Pakistan's precipitate descent into an Islamic-cum-economic chaos has led Washington to abandon its bankrupt policy of equating Pakistan with India; it now appreciates the value of treating India on its merits. This explains the deepening diplomatic engagement between the U.S. and India to coordinate positions on crises ranging from Sri Lanka to Fiji to contentious economic and disarmament issues.

But it would be meaningless for India

between the two countries arises from the "benchmark" on not "deploying nuclear weapons or missile systems". Not to deploy them would seriously question India's logic in conducting the tests, ostensibly due to security imperatives. The establishment of a "credible minimum deterrent" vis-a-vis China requires long-range nuclear missiles being deployed. This would ensure a strong reaction from the U.S. and its allies, as it would gravely endanger their non-proliferation norm. India cannot halt its march towards weaponisation and deployment; rolling back this process has become an article of faith for the U.S. Finding a compromise on this issue will not be easy for either government.

Coming to the economic dimension of Indo-U.S. relations, it is clear that the prohibitions on dual use technology exports to India remain; so would U.S. sanctions that oppose financial assistance to India from multilateral institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Some marginal sanctions imposed by the Exim Bank have undoubtedly been removed, apart from the ban on providing investment guarantees. These are intended to promote bilateral cooperation in the information technology area where there is a dearth of personnel in the U.S. Differences persist over labour law requirements, intellectual property rights and so on that could ensure non-tariff barriers being imposed on Indian exports.

Assertions that the Indo-U.S. relations are normalising are decidedly premature at present. The U.S. is unlikely to abandon its present nuanced policy towards India and, for that matter, China and Pakistan. Neither is it likely to dilute its commitment to its non-proliferation objective; this was the centrepiece of the Clinton Administration's policies over the years. It is improbable that the next Administration will change them radically, appreciating the bipartisan nature of American foreign policy imperatives and practices. How India will readjust its own policies to synchronise with those of the U.S. needs to be watched.

(The writer is Director, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi.)

cut-off treaty, formalise existing policies not to export weapons of mass destruction and missile technology or equipment, and resume a direct dialogue to address the root causes of tensions between them, including Kashmir." These issues lie at the heart of the Strobe Talbott-Jaswant Singh talks. Despite their attendant secrecy it can be easily surmised where they might have reached.

The "benchmark" relating to exports of sensitive technologies should not be problematical, since India's past restraint has been commended. India-U.S. expert-level talks are seeking to align India's existing export control laws and regulations with international norms. India has made clear that, although it cannot halt fissile material production ahead of an international agreement, it would join the negotiations to finalise a fissile material cut-off treaty. India had begun a dialogue with Pakistan on the several issues in contention including Kashmir. But Pakistan's reckless Kargil adventure betrayed the trust established by the Lahore process. It cannot rationally expect an Indo-Pakistan dialogue to resume as if Kargil never happened. Mr. Pickering appreciated India's position, and exhorted Pakistan to commit itself to ending cross-border terrorism, while urging India to resume negotiations.

Proceeding further, India announced a moratorium immediately after Pokhran-II on conducting more nuclear tests; this satisfies the essential purposes of the CTBT. It believes that signing the treaty requires a national consensus; this was a useful ploy to delay a controversial decision before the elections. The refusal by the U.S. Senate thereafter to ratify the CTBT has given India breathing time to further delay a decision. But the U.S. wants India to assist the CTBT process by signing the treaty; it need not be ratified until the other nuclear weapon powers do so. How India squares this circle remains to be seen. But the unbridgeable chasm

to imagine that the U.S. will abandon its policy of engaging, not containing, China; this is intended to deflect its potential for aberrant behaviour by transferring sensitive nuclear and missile technologies, apart from acknowledging American interests in the burgeoning Chinese economy. Nor will the U.S. abandon Pakistan, since it could become a fundamentalist Islamic state promoting international terrorism; it is now equipped with nuclear weapons that could endanger the international system. American interests in China and Pakistan reflect negative concerns, but the U.S. interests in providing greater content to its relations with India have a positive content, which is an important distinction.

This assertion should be moderated. During his press interview in Islamabad, Mr. Pickering reiterated that U.S. support for India's claim to a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council would depend on New Delhi's "commitment to international principles including those of disarmament and non-proliferation". The U.S. commitment to the non-proliferation goal remains undiluted and de-limits the scope of Indo-U.S. relations. It would be prudent to believe that the bipartisan nature of American foreign policy limits the scope of U.S. understanding with India on these questions; it would be informed by India's compliance with the "benchmarks" collectively laid down by the P-5 countries in Geneva, G-8 countries in London and embodied in the U.N. Security Council Resolution 1172 of June 6, 1998.

These require India and Pakistan to "conduct no further nuclear tests; sign and ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty immediately and without conditions, refrain from deploying nuclear weapons or missile systems, halt the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons; participate constructively in negotiations towards a fissile material

Disarmingly nonproliferic

DIPLOMACY

K.P. NAYAR

The second anniversary of the Bharatiya Janata Party-led government's decision to test nuclear weapons passed off relatively unnoticed in India.

But, nonetheless, it was remarkable for the realization that even in the stratified world of nuclear "haves" and "have-nots" there was a separation between the men and the boys. Nowhere was this more evident than in the environment which heralded the respective anniversaries of the Pokhran and Chagai tests.

As the anniversary of Pakistan's tests approached, there were alarmist reports that General Pervez Musharraf's junta might embark on yet another round of nuclear testing. The Bill Clinton administration went so far as to warn Islamabad against any such action. In marked contrast, official statements in Washington made the point that there was nothing to suggest that India was on any similar course. In other words, the international community trusted India's assertion that New Delhi had imposed a voluntary moratorium on further testing, despite the fact that the major powers, especially the United States, are yet to live down the realization that India fooled international intelligence and hoodwinked their satellites in 1998 into thinking that no nuclear tests were underway in Pokhran.

But more significant than this global trust in nuclear India was the way the Atal Behari Vajpayee government conducted itself in the run-up to the anniversary on May 9. Two days before the anniversary, external affairs minister, Jaswant Singh, made a landmark statement in Parliament on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The import of the statement was largely lost even on those Indians who normally take an interest in national security issues, caught up as they were with the crisis in Sri Lanka. Singh's statement was made in the backdrop of a conference then taking place in New York to review the NPT, held every five years despite the treaty's extension in perpetuity.

Compressed into 11 paragraphs, it signalled India's foray into the global arms control regime, its head held high as a declared nuclear weapons state. In a nutshell, it signalled — on reading between the lines — New Delhi's willingness to abide by the key provisions of the treaty as a nuclear weapons state, even while staying out of the NPT. This is the first time since the NPT was formalized in 1970 that any Indian government has countenanced the idea of living with the treaty, which has been repeatedly condemned as unequal and discriminatory.

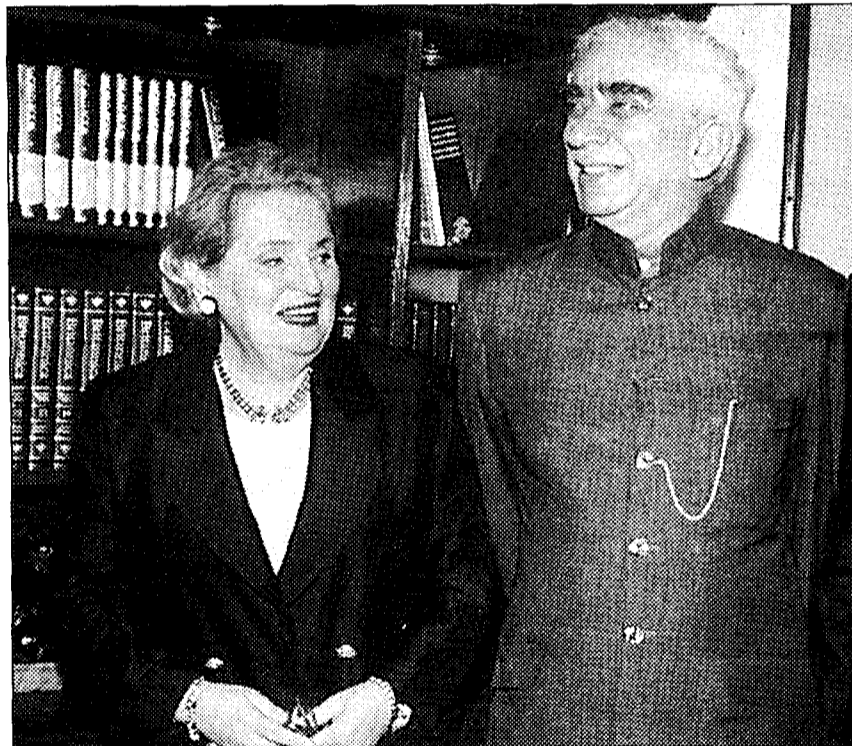
To understand the significance of what Singh said in Parliament on May 9, it is important that his statement should not be read in isolation. Speaking on the opening day of the NPT review, the US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, was candid. "There is no provision in the treaty for new nuclear weapons states", she said. "We will not break faith with all the states — from the former Soviet republics to South Africa — who made good decisions to strengthen their own security and the cause of non-proliferation by joining the NPT", she added. This, in reality, is the fundamental dilemma facing the 187 states which have signed and ratified the treaty. There is no provision in the NPT

for new nuclear powers; but such nuclear powers are a reality which cannot be ignored if the treaty is to survive.

At the same time, if the five states which are allowed by the NPT to retain their nuclear weapons agree to others joining their exclusive club, how can they compensate those states which opted out of the nuclear race for having done so? After all, it was a combination of Western pressure and incentives, rather than any moral compulsions, which forced these states to abjure their atom bombs.

Albright was followed by China's Sha

Disarmament and non-proliferation think-tanks in the West have already started talking about such a possibility, which would have been nothing short of heresy until the Pokhran and Chagai tests. Acronym Institute, one such think-tank, says in a report that "there is no prospect of India, Israel or Pakistan giving up their nuclear capabilities and adhering to the NPT as non-nuclear weapon states. Nor could they become acknowledged as nuclear weapon states without undesirable legal and political consequences...Some governments are increasingly making the pragmatic ar-



Zukang, who pointed out that while article six of the NPT enjoins nuclear weapons states to pursue negotiations to bring about global nuclear disarmament, the US was engaged in efforts to overwhelmingly enhance its first strike capacity.

If these contradictions pulling apart the NPT regime were one aspect of the New York conference that influenced Singh's statement, another was Israel's nuclear opacity, which was no longer defensible. Indeed, India has got a lot to thank Israel for the way it got off without much of the expected criticism.

At the NPT review, the Americans and others who wanted to talk about India were in a dilemma. They had to allow a free-wheeling discussion on Israel's nuclear capability if they were to talk about the Indian or Pakistani nuclear tests.

The sense at the United Nations throughout the review conference was that the only practical way out of the dilemmas facing the NPT community was to accept the *de facto* nuclear status of India, Pakistan and Israel, and find a way to make these states accept the provisions of the NPT, even if they continued to refuse to sign the treaty.

Singh has signalled that India now needs to move on with its agenda for disarmament

gument that it is most important to persuade these three *de facto* nuclear weapon possessors to undertake the obligations in the NPT".

Singh's statement to Parliament is significant because it reflects these realities of the NPT regime. Two years ago, when India exploded its nuclear weapons amidst Doomsday predictions from those opposed to the tests, few believed that it would be the global non-proliferation regime that would be put on the defensive as a result of Pokhran and Chagai. Without gloating over the fact that the Vajpayee government's calculations behind the nuclear tests have come true, Singh has signalled that India now needs to move on with its agenda for disarmament, even as it retains its claim to be a nuclear weapon state.

Such an effort couldn't be more timely in the effort to regain India's position

within the global disarmament movement (which was lost with the decision in Geneva in 1996 to block the global test ban treaty) and, at the same time, work towards international acceptance of India's nuclear status. A notable element of the NPT review was the wide acceptance of the "new agenda coalition", a group of seven countries severely critical of the slow pace of disarmament by the nuclear weapon states. The coalition — made up of Egypt, New Zealand, South Africa, Brazil, Ireland, Mexico and Sweden — includes some countries which will never come to terms with a nuclear India.

All the same, India must work out a *modus vivendi* with this coalition, if only because there is a broad convergence of objectives between its members and India, which has been a strong proponent of nuclear disarmament ever since independence. South Block should not forget that last year, this coalition managed to persuade the UN general assembly to adopt a resolution that called upon nuclear weapon states "to engage without delay in an accelerated process of negotiations" towards disarmament. While all this is encouraging evidence of how South Block has been able to turn around in India's favour what appeared to be an impossible situation only two years ago, more thought needs to be given in New Delhi to nuclear policy itself in the long run. Those in charge of the policy appear to be content that a so called nuclear doctrine has been published.

The composition of the new national security advisory board suggests that for many in New Delhi's establishment, the nuclear doctrine has been an end in itself. They would do well to learn from Vladimir Putin's Moscow, more so now that New Delhi's contacts with the new Kremlin have been activated, what with the external affairs minister visiting Russia. A few days before the NPT review opened in New York, the Kremlin ratified the second strategic arms reduction treaty which will cut Russia's nuclear arsenal by 2,500 warheads to a figure of 3,500 by the year 2007. Why?

Because Putin wants to divert billions of dollars saved from nuclear cutbacks into repairing his country's conventional forces. The Chechen experience and simmering trouble along Russia's borders as well as the borders of states known as its "near-abroad" have convinced Putin that old-fashioned soldiers on the ground are what is needed for Russia's security now — not prestigious nuclear warheads attached to inter-continental ballistic missiles.

For that matter, look at the Clinton administration's rationale for the new missile defence programme. Washington believes that the threat to its security comes from some rogue state like Saddam Hussein's Iraq launching a missile at New York against which a missile defence system is vital.

What Jaswant Singh and Vajpayee ought to consider, now that India has nuclear weapons, is what kind of defence the country needs and where the biggest threat to India emanates from. That will enable them, as Putin has admirably done within days of his election, to turn arms control agreements into ways of enhancing national security.

U.S. to help free peacekeepers

WARSAW, JUNE 27. The United States has assured India that it would take up with the concerned authorities the issue of securing the safety of Indian peacekeepers in strife-torn Sierra Leone even as New Delhi sought "greater clarity" and cooperation to ensure their well-being.

The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, told presspersons that this assurance was given by the U.S. Secretary of State, Ms. Madeleine Albright, during their hour-long meeting on the sidelines of an Inter-Governmental Conference on "democratic governance," here last night.

Mr. Singh said the "difficult and complex" situation faced by the Indian peacekeepers in Sierra Leone figured prominently in the meeting.

"The Secretary of State was fully supportive and very understanding of our concerns and promised to

discuss with the concerned officials," Mr. Singh said. Issues relating to non-proliferation and disarmament also figured along with bilateral and regional matters at the meeting convened mainly to discuss the planned visit of the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee to the U.S. some time in September this year.

On nuclear non-proliferation, Mr. Singh outlined the Indian position on how the Government had an "obligation" to obtain "political consensus" in his country over the issue. Ms. Albright was also informed that India "will be moving towards it now."

Noting that parleys with Mr. Singh was the only bilateral meeting Ms. Albright had during her three-day stay in Warsaw, Indian officials said there was a clear intention by both the sides to maintain the momentum of strengthening Indo-U.S. relations.

— PTI

INDU

JUN 27 1998

Brownback wants Clinton to lift sanctions before PM's Sept. visit

By Ramesh Chandran
The Times of India News Service

WASHINGTON: "It is outrageous that while the Clinton administration is moving towards lifting economic sanctions against North Korea, a country which is run by one of the world's most notorious dictators, against India, a great democracy and which ought to be one of the strategic partners of the U.S. economic sanctions remain firmly in place," remarked Senator Sam Brownback, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Sub-committee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

Mr Brownback has been in the forefront of legislative initiatives in the U.S. Senate to lift a panoply of economic sanctions imposed on India in the aftermath of the Pokhran-II nuclear detonations in May 1998.

Mr Brownback, who at 44 is the senior senator from Kansas having replaced Bob Dole, in an interview to *The Times of India* stated he would like to see the remaining sanctions on India lifted before Indian Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee's Washington visit, which is tentatively scheduled for early September. A persuasive orator on the Senate floor, Mr Brownback is amongst those Republicans who now vigorously advocates coherent, lucidly focussed and separate American policies towards India and Pakistan rather than the often befuddling and intertwined zero-sum policies pursued by the Clinton administration in the Indian subcontinent.

But when pressed, he concedes that the Clinton *yatra* to India was successful that reflected a degree of warmth held for the U.S. amongst Indians. Now he says it is time to repay in kind such generosity when the Indian Prime Minister visits this country on his first official visit. "I would like to invite Prime Minister Vajpayee to visit Kansas and we will accord him a hearty welcome." What the Republican senator, known for his mastery on issues relating to government reform, restructuring social security and boosting American agricultural exports in the international marketplace, would like to see unfold during Mr Vajpayee's visit is a multifaceted itinerary a la Clinton in India.

Kansas as a leading farm state would be a prime venue and he feels Kansas would give the Indian visitor a memorable welcome. But his immediate focus and sense of outrage is on the persistent economic sanctions imposed on India. At one stage the Kansas senator was perceived by a section of the Indian American community as being a trifle "soft" on Pakistan at the expense of India—that assessment seems to have rapidly changed no doubt helped by the military coup d'etat in Islamabad.

Mr Brownback minces no words in lashing the administration for what he sees as a "flawed policy" of holding the sanctions "hostage" to a single issue—nuclear non proliferation. Last week, he made another bold attempt and introduced an amendment to the Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill to lift the sanctions. He was compelled to withdraw the amendment because it violated the U.S. Senate rule which does not allow authorisation language in an appropriations bill.

Undaunted by the reverse, the senator, who serves in four key committees in the 106th Congress, vowed to keep "fighting" until the Brownback amendment was enacted into law.

What riles several senators who are favourably disposed towards India is that the Clinton administration has adamantly refused to use the waiver authority provided to it by lawmakers to lift the sanctions—till its nuclear benchmarks are met.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

29 JUN 2000

U.S., India can develop new relationship: Berger

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, MAY 4. The United States President, Mr. Bill Clinton's recent visit to India has given hope that the U.S. and India can develop a new relationship based on mutual respect and partnership and what the President did in India was to change the "the terms of reference of our relationship with India", the National Security Advisor, Mr. Sandy Berger, has said.

Mr. Berger has made comments on the President's visit to India and Pakistan during a visit to the East Asian Institute of Columbia University in New York. The comments have been reported in the Washington File of the USIA (now part of the State Department). Mr. Berger's primary purpose in Columbia University was to argue the case for granting Permanent Normal Trading Relations status for China.

"In India, Mr. Clinton was very straightforward and candid with his concerns about the nuclear programme, his concerns about seeking a military solution in Kashmir as opposed to a peaceful solution. But he also said that we are natural allies". Further, according to Mr. Berger, the President argued that the if the world's oldest democracy and the world's largest democracy "don't have a natural affinity, something is terribly wrong".

The reaction of Indian people

was "overwhelming" and "a really quite enormous outpouring", Mr. Berger is said to have remarked going on to interpret this as an indication that "the Indians are ready for a new relationship with the US based on respect, based on mutuality, based on partnership," Mr. Berger has said.

The National Security Advisor has argued — and something that has been around for quite a while — that Mr. Clinton went to Pakistan despite the military coup because it was important not to bypass that country as also to maintain a channel to the government in Islamabad.

Arguing that Mr. Clinton, in his address to the Pakistani people, had said that they were on a wrong course, Mr. Berger explained that the President essentially told the Pakistanis that the United States was their friend; to figure out a way to restore democracy; to stop thinking that they could win a war in Kashmir; and to start investing in their own country.

'Brand Pak.'

UNI reports:

Democratic Congressman Frank Pallone has urged the Clinton administration to declare Pakistan a terrorist state after the publication on May 1 of the State Department report which established a clear link between Pakistan and its official support for terrorism in Kashmir.

THE HINDU

25 MAY 200

U.S. team concludes Kashmir visit

By Shujaat Bukhari

SRINAGAR, MAY 12.—A four member delegation of U.S. diplomats concluded their three-day visit to Kashmir today.

During their stay here the diplomats, Mr. Donald Lu, First Secretary (Political), Ms. Wylma C.S. Robinson, Second Secretary (Political), Maj. Jeffrey H. Wright (Asst Army Attache) and Mr. Kailash Jha (PRO) met Hurriyat leaders and few other officials. The diplomats were believed to be on a "routine assessment mission" sources said.

During their meeting with the Hurriyat chairman, Syed Ali Geelani, and senior leader, Mr. Yasin Malik they discussed the latest political situation in Kashmir in the backdrop of their release and the much talked about process of dialogue.

The delegation also met the IG (CRPF), Mr. Joshi and the SSP Crime, Mr. Mohammed Amin

Shah, who was appointed head of the special investigation team, investigating the disappearance of four foreign hostages among whom was Donald Hutchings, an American. The details of the meeting was however not known.

13 MAY 1997

13 MAY 1997

How the world sees Clinton's India visit

Strength begets respect

IT is over six weeks since Clinton's visit to the Indian subcontinent. The focus of foreign policy and strategic analyses on the event has been about its impact on Indo-Pakistan relations and prospects of Indo-US relations. Another dimension of the visit which has not been taken note of, but which merits attention is the regional and international reaction to the visit, the new equations which were sought to be established during the Clinton-Vajpayee discussions.

Reactions from different parts of the world, particularly from our region, would require appropriate responses in our foreign policy. These responses will necessarily be influenced by two factors. First, what were the extended objectives that we hope to achieve by the Clinton visit? Second, perceptions about the visit in our neighbouring countries and amongst the countries further afield with whom India has substantive relations.

The objectives which India has in mind beyond the bilateral Indo-US framework could be summed up as follows: Creation of a durable basis for long-term and substantive economic, political and technological relations with the US would result in the other countries accepting India as a credible partner for such cooperation. A strong relationship with the US will either diminish or remove political and strategic inhibitions that other countries, particularly the Western democracies, might still have about opening up relations with India. The punitive and highly critical stance of the West about India's nuclear and missile weaponisation will be moderated if India and the US sustain the dialogue on these issues with a view to enabling India to participate in the mainstream non-proliferation negotiations without compromising on its security interests.

The US policies on Indo-Pak relations as crystallised during the visit would hopefully influence Pakistan which, in turn, may improve the regional and political security environment, giving a sense of security to India's other neighbours also. When India

is restructuring its relations with the major powers in the Eurasian landmass — Russia, China, and Japan — a substantive and positive equation with the US could form the basis for an equilibrium in India's relations with these countries.

Before commenting on the extent to which these objectives are likely to be achieved, it would be relevant to survey international reactions to the visit. These have not been entirely positive. My interaction with academics and diplomats of the SAARC region (leaving aside Pakistan), indicated an amount of disappointment and concern on their part. The view expressed was that the visit was totally concentrated on India-US relations and on dealing with



J.N. Dixit

Russia and China are also focussing more attention on India to balance off competitive strategic potentialities of equations between India and the US

the critical dimensions of Indo-Pakistan relations. There was no reference in the public pronouncements of either Clinton or Vajpayee regarding India's relations with its other neighbours. Nor was there any policy pronouncement regarding the desirability of strengthening the SAARC or resolving a number of bilateral issues between India and its other neighbours. The apprehension tactfully articulated was that the smaller neighbours of India would have to face the predicament of the two bigger powers, India and the USA, coming to agreement on various problems affecting the region without taking much notice of concerns of the smaller countries.

The reference to India's prospective role as a major entity dealing with Asian security problems, may encourage India to

wards hegemonistic tendencies. Publications of the People's Liberation Army of China commented critically on the visit, implying that the Indo-US equation has the potential of becoming an anti-Chinese strategic phenomenon. In contrast, a macro-level political response was that China welcomes the improvement in Indo-US relations, that China firmly believes that good relations with one country does not and should not be antagonistic to developing equally good relations with other countries. Russian media commentaries, inspired by deep background government briefings, asserted that Clinton's visit was aimed at diluting the substantive relations and political equations that exist between India and the Russian Fed-

willingness to discuss critical issues related to security and non-proliferation with India in a practical manner, giving up the previous obligatory and tutorial approach.

President Narayanan's discussions with French President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Lionel Jospin helped in giving positive orientations to Indo-French relations. France also endorsed India's candidature for a permanent seat in the Security Council in more categorical terms. The first meeting of the Sino-Indian Joint Working Group on the Boundary Question took place in New Delhi from April 29 to May 1. President Narayanan's forthcoming visit to China would be of undoubted political significance transcending the ceremonial dimensions of the visit.

Reports from the US indicate that Clinton himself has been active in emphasising the importance of India in US foreign policy, as an economic and political partner. He has not only given his assessment on these lines to the executive branch of his government but also to Congressmen and senior leaders of the resident Indian community in the US.

Coming to the objectives which we have in mind as a consequence of his visit, one could say that the general political and economic objectives are being met. The significant indicator is the World Bank sanctioning the financial flows of just under one billion dollars for various projects in UP. Important powers like Russia and China are also focussing more attention on India to balance off competitive strategic potentialities of equations between India and the US. While the US and other nuclear weapons powers remain insistent about India signing the CTBT etc., the stringency against India has been replaced by incremental acceptance of Indian nuclear realities and a willingness to discuss practical solutions with India. While the punitive pressure may be off, political and diplomatic pressure on India will continue on non-proliferation matters. India has to be particularly sensitive and responsive to the apprehensions of its other South Asian neighbours.

15 MAY 2000

SOLHEIM BRIEFS MANSINGH ✓

India, U.S. rule out support to Eelam

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By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, MAY 24. India today said that it was withholding any fresh initiative for ending the strife in Sri Lanka even as New Delhi and Washington reiterated their rejection for an independent Tamil State.

"Fighting is going on (in Sri Lanka). There would be scope for discussions if there is any fresh development in the fighting," the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Lalit Mansingh, said. He made these observations in the presence of the U.S. Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Mr. Thomas Pickering, today.

Mr. Mansingh separately held talks with Norway's special envoy to Sri Lanka, Mr. Erik Solheim, as international diplomacy to end the crisis gathered momentum today.

The Foreign Secretary and his U.S. counterpart held marathon talks this morning within the framework of Indo-U.S. foreign office consultations. The decision to hold a regular dialogue between foreign office officials was stated in the "vision document" signed during the visit of the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, in March this year.

Mr. Pickering addressing the press said that as visualised during Mr. Clinton's trip, a ministerial dialogue between the U.S. Secretary of State, Ms. Madeleine Albright, and the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, would be held in Warsaw in early June. Mr. Clinton had also invited the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, for an Indo-U.S. summit.

Mr. Pickering in this morning's talks had "expressed the decision not to support any Tamil Independent State," Mr. Mansingh said. While endorsing this view, Mr. Pickering made four addi-

tional points while indicating the U.S. approach to the crisis. First, he said, the U.S. supported a "regional initiative" revolving around India to end the strife. Second, Washington also backed Norway's now "highly-developed" diplomatic effort in addressing the complex situation. Third, the U.S. was not intervening directly but was "watching the situation in Sri Lanka carefully." Finally, Washington wanted to prevent a "humanitarian catastrophe" at all costs.

The U.S. official expressed special concern for the plight of civilians caught in the crossfire between the Army and the Tamil rebels. The situation, he said, was cut out for a prominent role by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Mr. Mansingh, asked to comment on his discussions with Mr. Solheim, was reticent in his views.

"Mr. Solheim briefed us about his discussions in Sri Lanka. He is now going back to Norway."

Analysts here pointed out that Norway was uniquely positioned to facilitate the resolution of the conflict. Unlike India and the U.S., which have banned the LTTE, Norway did not have to cross legal hurdles in establishing contacts with the Tigers. In fact, sources pointed out that the Norwegians had established regular contacts with the LTTE through the latter's office in London.

Responding to persistent queries, Mr. Mansingh indicated that an Indian role in evacuating troops from Sri Lanka was not imminent. He pointed out that Sri Lanka was yet to make a formal request. Sources said India would help only if Colombo formally asked New Delhi to do so and if conditions were created for a ceasefire in the Jaffna peninsula.



The U.S. Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Mr. Thomas Pickering, with the Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, in New Delhi on Wednesday. — Photo: V. V. Krishnan

THE HINDU

25 MAY 2000

India, US concur Eelam is a mirage

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, May 24

INDIA TODAY discounted the possibility of any initiative by New Delhi on the Sri Lankan crisis until there is a "fresh development" in the battle for the Jaffna peninsula.

The Sri Lankan situation figured prominently in the Indian engagement with the visiting US Under Secretary of State Thomas Pickering and Norwegian Special Emissary Erik Solheim. The Norwegian Ambassador met Foreign Secretary Lalit Mansingh after the Indian official's wide-ranging discussions with Mr Pickering.

Later, Mr Pickering and Mr Mansingh were categorical about both countries having nothing to do with the LTTE, which has been declared a terrorist organisation by Washington and banned by New Delhi.

Addressing newsmen jointly, they also ruled out any support to an independent Tamil State carved out of Sri Lanka while maintaining that there was no military solution possible to the island nation's ethnic problems.

Mr Mansingh elaborated on India's stand on the Sri Lankan crisis by saying: "Our position remains the same. We are ready to offer humanitarian assistance. But no such request has been made (by Colombo). Fighting is still going on. The military situation is still on. We are waiting for fresh development in the fighting to take place."

The Foreign Secretary fought shy of elucidating whether the expression "fresh development" meant the fall of Jaffna town or a ceasefire between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan forces.

Mr Pickering, who also held discussions with Defence Minister George Fernandes this evening, emphasised that humanitarian considerations were paramount in the current situation.

Blast in Norway embassy

A BLAST ripped through the Norwegian embassy here Wednesday hours after Norway's deputy foreign minister Raymond Johansen left the island after a peace mission, officials said. The explosion was heard within several blocks of the fashionable Cinnamon Gardens diplomatic quarter of the capital Colombo and shattered windows at the chancery but there were no casualties, officials said.

AFP, Colombo

tion; "Everything must be done to avert a humanitarian catastrophe."

He said Washington was all for any constructive role by India in Sri Lanka and was supporting the Norwegian initiative to broker peace which, according to him, was in an "highly developed stage." The official maintained that like India, the US has also not been asked for assistance by the Sri Lankan government.

Mr Mansingh briefly dwelt on his talks with

the Norwegian envoy by stating that Mr Solheim briefed India about the evolving situation in Sri Lanka and his talks with the political leadership of that country.

Emerging from an hour-long meeting with the Indian official, Mr Solheim had earlier declined to elaborate on his discussions with Mr Mansingh. He said: "We have informed India about what we are doing and they have informed us about their planning and thinking. All different options are there."

Asked whether he had carried any formal message from Colombo for New Delhi, Mr Solheim remarked: "We have no formal request to hand over. The governments of India and Sri Lanka are closely in touch all the time and there is no need for them to communicate through Norway."

On his part, Mr Mansingh stonewalled all questions regarding preparations by the Indian armed forces for possible evacuation of the trapped Sri Lankan troops.

During the two rounds of consultations he had with Mr Pickering, the two sides covered a host of issues, including from the coup in Fiji and the situation in Kashmir.

In Thiruvananthapuram, Chief of Air Staff A Y Tipnis today held a closed-door meeting with station commanders of the Southern Air Command, adds UNI. However, he denied that his visit had anything to do with the Sri Lankan situation.

India, USA discuss talks with Pakistan

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 25. — India and the USA today discussed the resumption of the Indo-Pak dialogue with Washington describing the Indian government's move to open a dialogue with the Hurriyat leaders as an "important contribution from the Indian side" and expressing hope that Pakistan too would understand the situation and make a positive contribution.

Saying the issue had been the centrepiece of his discussions, the US Under Secretary of State, Mr Thomas Pickering, said the USA saw the possibility of opening conversations with the Hurriyat leaders as an important and significant step and expressed hope that India would talk to them as also to others who might be able to contribute. The wishes of the people of Kashmir should be taken into account, he said.

Expressing hope that there had been a change on the situation of cross-border terrorism, Mr Pickering, however, pointed out that Indian officials did not

see any change in the level of infiltration and the violent activity. India had said that real progress on the ground was the basis for resumption of the dialogue he said adding that the USA would also like to see it. It was time for Pakistan to make a move, he said.

Mr Pickering who proceeds to Islamabad from New Delhi said he would discuss the return of democracy, non-proliferation, economic situation, instability along the Line of Control, Afghanistan and Osama Bin Laden with Pakistan.

Asked about the reports that Pakistan might conduct another nuclear test, Mr Pickering said the USA was always disturbed at any report that testing might occur notwithstanding the veracity of the report and always followed it up. Both Pakistan and India had committed themselves against future tests he said expressing hope that this remained in place even while the USA engaged with them to sign the CTBT.

THE STATESMAN

26 MAY 2000

PAK. TOLD TO CUT DOWN CROSS-BORDER VIOLENCE

Pickering pitches for Lahore process revival

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, MAY 25. Hoping for a revival of the stalled Indo-Pak dialogue, the United States has asked Pakistan to reduce cross-border violence and India to consider seriously the offer from Islamabad for talks.

The visiting U.S. Under-Secretary for Political Affairs, Mr. Thomas Pickering, told the press here that the resumption of the Lahore process was at the "centre-stage" of his talks with the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Lalit Mansingh. Mr. Pickering also met the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister and the National Security Adviser, Mr. Brajesh Mishra.

The interaction between Mr. Pickering and the Indian officials involved some delicate diplomatic jousting on the exact "sequence" of steps needed for resuming the dialogue. India has refused to return to the negotiating table unless Pakistan puts an end to cross-border terrorism. While New Delhi believes an end to violence must precede the talks, the U.S. may be looking for simultaneous movement of positions in both countries.

Mr. Pickering, who left here today for Islamabad, is expected to take up the question of stability across the Line of Control with the leadership in Pakistan. He is likely to tell the Pakistani Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, that reduction of cross-border violence

would make the Indo-Pak dialogue meaningful. Neither New Delhi nor Washington is looking for public commitments or declarations from Islamabad on ending cross-border terrorism. What they want to see is a real change in the ground situation.

Mr. Pickering said India believes there is "no detectable change" in Islamabad's support to cross-border terrorism since the visit of the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to the sub-continent. While recognising India's deep disappointment with the Kargil episode, Mr. Pickering has urged India not to forget the Lahore peace process.

While pressing Pakistan to bring down the level of violence, the U.S. hopes to persuade India "to consider very seriously" Gen. Pervez Musharraf's repeated offers to meet the Indian leaders.

Lauds Kashmir talks

Mr. Pickering welcomed India's move to engage the dissidents in Jammu and Kashmir and hoped that there would be more moves towards "calming the conflict in Kashmir". These include improvement in the human rights situation there and engaging segments of political opinion other than the Hurriyat. The American expectation is that Pakistan would make its own contribution to peace in Kashmir by reducing the level of violence.

Besides the question of resumption of the

Indo-Pak dialogue, Mr. Pickering's agenda in Islamabad includes non-proliferation, return to democracy, terrorism and Afghanistan, and the economic situation in Pakistan.

Over the last two days, Mr. Pickering initiated the first-ever formal dialogue on Asian security issues between New Delhi and Washington. This dialogue was agreed upon during Mr. Clinton's visit to India last March. The two sides reviewed a broad range of developments in the region from the Persian Gulf to the Korean peninsula, including China.

Sri Lanka discussed

The current crisis in Sri Lanka figured prominently in Mr. Pickering's talks. New Delhi and Washington had been in continuous touch over Sri Lankan developments over the last few weeks. India and the U.S. have similar objectives — preserving the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka while ensuring full respect for the aspirations of the Tamil minority.

Both sides are also supporting the Norwegian initiative to facilitate an eventual ceasefire and dialogue among the warring parties in Sri Lanka. The consultations on Sri Lanka, diplomatic sources here said, reflect the fact that Indo-U.S. ties "have progressed to a level of mutual trust and desire for greater cooperation" on regional security issues in the sub-continent and beyond.

THE HINDU

26 MAY 2000

Indo-US cooperation on prevention of cyber crime likely

N. C. Menon
Washington, May 26

"TODAY IN India, Information Technology (IT) is a fashion for many, a passion for a few and a mission for me," said Information Technology Minister Pramod Mahajan here today. Mahajan is here on a week's visit to meet academics, NRIs, government officials and giant American IT corporations.

"I want to take IT from the cities to the villages, and from the English-speaking to those who speak the regional languages," the Minister said, "I want to take IT to the masses."

He pointed out that the digital divide was wider in India than in the developed nations and that was one of its greatest challenges.

The minister and the delegation he heads had an interesting and extended interaction with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) here yesterday. They were briefed on how the FBI handles cyber crime. Mahajan intends to suggest to the Home Ministry that Indian officials should be trained in cyber crime, with some of them being sent to the US for special training. Mahajan also urged FBI contracts to have an international agreement on dealing with cyber crime since it was difficult to ascertain where it originated.

The Minister also held discussions with the Small Business

Administration (SBA) on the subject of utilising small scale industries for IT.

The Minister pointed out that in the last five years or so Indian IT professionals had added about \$ 50 billion to the US economy.

He had told all his interlocutors here that a new India was born, "not the India of snake charmers, but a nation of mouse users."

Officials at the New York Stock Exchange, which the minister visited, were keen to have Indian companies listed. About 100 Indian companies any likely to be listed in the NYSE in a couple of years.

Mahajan's US visit

Internet penetration in India is just 1%, telecom 3%, and television 31%. The combined penetration of 35% is low from the Indian point of view, but for the foreign investor, it is an opportunity represented by 35% of one billion people.

From \$50 million five years ago, India's software exports has jumped the current \$5 billion. It has been estimated that in 2008, India's production in the IT sector would be \$87 billion, of which \$50 billion would be exports. Many US experts believe the figure to be under-estimated.

The Minister agreed that concentrating on software alone would be lop-sided. But hardware development needed bit capital and a great deal of Research and Development.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

27 MAY 2000

FD-11

Pickering lists benchmarks for Council seat

MS

By Amit Baruah

ISLAMABAD, MAY 27. The United States has made it clear that its support for India as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council would have to take into account New Delhi's "commitment to international principles, including those of disarmament and non-proliferation".

The visiting U.S. Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Thomas Pickering, told reporters here today that Washington had hoped for greater "forward movement" from Pakistan on the issues of curbing terrorism, easing tension along the Line of Control and restoring democracy since the visit of Mr. Bill Clinton to Islamabad on March 25.

Making it clear that the U.S. view on additional permanent Security Council seats depended on a "number of principles", Mr. Pickering, said the Council had to remain an effective international body.

"Thirdly, with respect to the expansion of the Council, the U.S. believes that there needs to be the development of a significant consensus, particularly among principal States in various regions, who are the leading contenders for new permanent seats. The U.S. has told India, as it has told many other countries, that it will consider

its candidacy against the backdrop of these principles, and that is precisely what we are doing," Mr. Pickering stated.

Clearly, if the U.S. believes that Pakistan is also a regional contender for an Asian seat, then the possibility of "consensus" emerging between India and Pakistan can safely be ruled out. However, Mr. Pickering's principles say nothing specifically about India and the U.N. resolutions on Kashmir, a point which will be noted in Islamabad.

Mr. Pickering, who today met the Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, told reporters that he had a "long and fruitful" conversation on Friday with the Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf. His discussions with Pakistani interlocutors covered Afghanistan and Osama bin Laden, Kashmir and the issue of "continued activity in and around Kashmir and our hope for a peaceful dialogue", non-proliferation, CTBT and the importance the U.S. attached to the continued unilateral moratoria declared by India and Pakistan on further nuclear tests.

Asked if there had been a forward movement on curbing terrorism and the restoration of democracy by Pakistan since visit of the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, on

March 25, Mr. Pickering replied: "I would believe obviously that it would be unrealistic for me to say there has been no movement; of course, there has been movement. But it would be equally unrealistic for me to say that we didn't hope for a great deal more forward movement in each of these areas."

"We remain convinced that there needs to be further movement with real action on the ground... both with respect to the continued violence across the LoC and artillery shelling and small arms fire. We would hope for signs of an early reduction of violence in Kashmir and that this is something both Pakistan and India can find ways to contribute to. But we would hope that this would help open early the way to dialogue. We don't yet see a dialogue being started and we believe that a dialogue will be important both in calming the situation and increasing the search for peace," he said.

Stating that U.S. would continue the "friendly dialogue" with both Pakistan and India, Mr. Pickering stressed that his visit was related to a follow-up of discussions between Mr. Clinton and leaders in Islamabad and New Delhi.

Pointing to the distrust that prevented a process of reconciliation, the U.S. official

said: "The way to bring about a solution to that problem is to find ways to talk together, take common actions, and by the building up of common endeavours..." On Afghanistan, he rejected the Pakistani view that Islamabad had little or no role in bringing the Saudi-born rebel, Osama bin Laden, to justice. The U.S., he said, believed that Pakistan had an "extraordinary and important" strategic relationship with Afghanistan.

27 MAY 2001

28 MAY 2001

Clinton says Sikhs were killed because of his visit to India

WASHINGTON: President Bill Clinton has openly acknowledged that his visit to India and Pakistan last month was the driving force for the massacre of "36 perfectly innocent" Sikhs at Chattisinghpura village in the Kashmir Valley.

Speaking at a function in Atlanta, Georgia, on Friday, he said, "I'm sure they were murdered because I was there. Those people lost their lives because I went to India and to Pakistan."

According to the police, militants killed at least 36 people in Chattisinghpura on March 20, as Mr Clinton began his week-long tour of the country. The police has blamed two Pakistan-based militant groups for the massacre.

However, the militants and the Pakistani government have denied any involvement.

President Clinton made a reference to the Chattisinghpura massacre after he spotted some Sikhs at the Atlanta function. "I see these Sikhs here, I thank them for coming here," he added.

Mr Clinton said, "People who don't want their turmoil to be eased used my trip there as a pretext to highlight the difficulties. And somebody, we don't know who, killed 36 perfectly innocent people—who, I might add, had never before been targeted in all the conflicts in Kashmir."

He said, the situation in Kashmir was interesting from the U.S. point of view for the reason

that Indian-Americans and Pakistan-Americans, of the 200 ethnic groups that exist in America today, both rank in the top 10 in per capita income and education.

"Obviously, if the difficulties over Kashmir could be resolved, people from South Asia would explode. There is literally no limit to the potential of the life that could be there," he added. "But they are sort of kept back from the modern world by this tension—or at least the tension that grew out of the founding of the nations of India and Pakistan," he added.

Mr Clinton said, "I say that to make this point only—I'm basically, you know, a very optimistic person. And I always have been, and I remain so today." (UWI)

Sinha for closer Indo-US ties

16/4
5-13

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

NEW YORK, April 15. — The US President Bill Clinton's recent visit to India has given a new impetus and direction to relations between the two countries and New Delhi and Washington should develop newer partnership in business as well in other fields mutually beneficial to each other, the Indian Finance Minister, Mr Yashwant Sinha, has said.

Addressing several functions and fielding questions from the audience yesterday, Mr Sinha spoke about the opportunities that exist for investment in India in several sectors, including infrastructure, telecommunication, energy, transport, pharmaceuticals and chemicals, biotechnology and food processing among others.

Stressing on pharmaceuticals, he said research in India would cost one-tenth of what companies spend in the USA. That

could enable India as also world to have drugs at lower prices. Besides, a wealth of knowledge exists in the traditional systems of medicines which are only now getting attention.

Mr Sinha, who is accompanied by a high-level business and officials delegation, interacted with investors, non-resident Indians and Indian American entrepreneurs. They also held a closed door meeting of the Indo-American Chamber of Commerce besides organising road show to familiarise investors with areas in which India welcomes investment.

Mr Sinha was in New York on way to Washington to attend the World Bank meeting.

Replying to queries, Mr Sinha said his government is doing at a fast pace all that needs to be done to make the country attractive for investors.

At another point, he conceded

that changing labour laws require consensus and government could not act hastily on that.

"If one man is thrown out of job, it could give new economy a bad name even if one hundred others got jobs," he said.

Mr Sinha made presentation and replied questions with president of Confederation of Indian Industry, Mr Rahul Bajaj, and top officials by his side and he pointed out that what he is saying is not view of the government alone but of the industry as well.

The government and industry, he said, are not, like old days, working at cross-purposes but towards the same goal and pointed to the presence of Mr Rahul Bajaj.

During a meeting with top officials at the New York Stock Exchange, the minister was informed that about one dozen Indian companies are considering registering with it.

THE STATESMAN

18 APR 2000

'India has a big responsibility for international order'

By K. K. Katyal

BERLIN. The Foreign Minister of Germany, Mr. Joschka Fischer, is an engaging politician. A member of the Greens, the junior partner of the present government, he has followed a pragmatist line in the conduct of foreign affairs. In the process, he succeeded in reconciling the positions of his party with the compulsions of governmental politics. It was a relaxed Mr. Fischer who responded to my questions mostly on bilateral matters in his office which was once the citadel of the GDR. Here are his abridged answers to some of the questions:

Germany seems to have embarked on a serious lead to engage India — of this, your visit is the most important element. What specifically is intended to be achieved in immediate and medium terms?

Mr. Fischer: First of all, India is now one of the most important players in the world and we can say will play a major role. India is politically and also economically a very

important partner for the EU and it is difficult to have a national view and an European view. We are very much interested to hear the views of the Indian Government about the regional situation. We are concerned and we had a discussion about the situation in the sub-continent and we hope that there will be a positive process between the neighbours, between India and Pakistan. We expressed our concern on the nuclear issue in the sub-continent and I think it is very important to maintain a substantial, deep and trustful relationship between our two governments. We are hoping for a very important cultural event (reference to the German Festival of India to begin later this year). We regret (the controversy) in Germany over the green cards but this was domestic politics by the Opposition.

Has it paid those who raised the issue in the election (the important poll in the biggest State, North Rhine Westphalia on Sunday)?

This issue was rejected by the

majority of voters — they rejected the position of the Christian Democratic Party. It is very unfriendly. It is foolish, when we are looking to our own interests, to take such a position (reference to the opposition criticism of the green cards for Indians).

Two years ago, the bilateral relations took a difficult turn — in the wake of India's nuclear tests. That phase looks to be a thing of the past. This much is evident from the intensity and frequency of contacts. What, precisely, was the turning point?

We are a non-nuclear nation. We are concerned about the regional or global arms race especially nuclear weapons race not only in the sub-continent but also in the surroundings — in West Asia there are strong efforts to speed up long range missile technology. We fear it could lead to regional destabilisation. Therefore, it is very important to have these discussions. We are very much interested in discussions with our Indian counterparts

INTERVIEW

(Mr. Jaswant Singh). We had also the visit of the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to India which has shown that the United States is interested in improvement of the relations. There is no typical turning point but it was a steady change.

How far has the strategic dialogue between the two countries progressed. Its highlights?

The security dialogue is in Pakistan's strategic interest in the region. It is also in the interest of the role India plays as a nuclear power. It is based on the (factors) of re-

gional stabilisation as well as India's interest in the European Union and of course, in Germany. Asia today is one of the most important continents but, at the same time, it seems from the European viewpoint very fragile and complicated specially on security issues. The dialogue is in our interest and, of course, in the interest of the relations between the strategic (positions) and economies. Economic reforms and opening of the Indian economy are the major elements for a stronger interest in India, together with the important role that India has to play in strategic matters.

On nuclear issues, the two sides have divergent views. What are the chances of initiatives for exploring areas in which their positions could be reconciled? Something like the dialogue between India and the U.S. Any specific ideas on the subject?

It would not be nice to tell or to have a discussion now or to open the dialogue through the newspapers (before meeting with my

counterpart in New Delhi). This is a question I can answer at the end of the visit; after the talks. It will be impolite to explain our ideas before a very open discussion with my colleague.

Some of the G-8 nations adopted the approach of sanctions. Others are not for it. What is going to be the stand of Germany? The fact that development cooperation assistance was discontinued has not gone unnoticed in India.

Our position is quite clear: we see a close relation between all issues. We as a non-nuclear power are interested in security and stability — especially we do not want a nuclear arms race — and we are in close discussion with our Indian friends about our concerns. We had discussions at different levels. On the other side, we (got) a very good explanation of the position of the Indian side. We are now at a point where sanctions are not in the centre of our discussions, not only with us but also with Mr. Clinton. Sanctions reflected concerns about new arms race. We are not

only looking at India, but also there is Pakistan. There is China around. We as a non-nuclear nation are concerned about developments in the world of today and we want to talk to our friends about that.

You mean with the passage of time the focus has shifted. It is not the same thing as it was.

From my point of view, we will focus on improvement of relations. We had the G-8 decision which still exists. But I hope step by step with improved discussions, we can have a productive development in the future. This would be very helpful. India is one of the leading powers of the world and as a nuclear power, has, from our point of view, strong responsibilities for international order.

How would you describe the prospects of economic cooperation in trade and investment?

I will be accompanied by a strong delegation of the German business community. Many business companies are engaged in India but we are looking forward to India improving its relations with the European Union. We are ready for an open dialogue. When talking about economy, we must think of the E.U. because Europe is the key factor for our economy. We cannot separate that. We can have bilateral agreements but for economic and trade relations we have to think along double lines — Berlin on one hand and Brussels on the other. I think the Indian Government knows that very well.

Is there going to be a joint declaration at the end of the discussion and what is it going to be like?

There is a document in preparation for the common efforts.

Germany is going to be the Head of the South Asia Task Force (on nuclear issues) under a G-8 arrangement. This does not create a very happy reaction in India. Your views?

Within the G-8, (the chairman-ship of the Group) is always transferred every half year — from a non-nuclear to a nuclear state. In the second half of the year, we will have its chairmanship. We hope that we can have productive results. This Force was created by the G-8 and there is a specific mechanism for transferring chairmanship.

How does Germany look at the situation in South Asia — on India-Pakistan issues in particular? Germany, on its own and as part of the E.U. has called for the resumption of dialogue. That was also the stand of the U.S. but it was modified somewhat after Mr. Clinton's visit — the U.S. now would like Pakistan to take the first credible step to create proper environment for talks. Obviously, the U.S. saw the strength of the Indian sentiment against trans-border terrorism.

We condemn strongly terrorist attacks of all kinds in India — and everywhere in the world. When you had to suffer the hijacking of the plane, immediately we were in contact with the Indian authorities

and asked whether they needed any help. We were shocked and deeply concerned; condemnation of terrorist acts is part of our policy. Secondly, we were in full support of the Lahore process because we think this was a very good track for dialogue and there could be a possibility of clarifying the positions and then to find solutions. We still fully support this idea. I think it is very important. On the other side, we understand not only the concerns of our Indian partners but also their commitment to dialogue and the problems which were created in this process which India was telling us were not created by it. What we can do is to restore a climate where problems can be solved by dialogue and not by the use of force or by confrontation.

Of late, there is a new awareness of the importance of the sanctity of the Line of Control in Jammu & Kashmir. Your comments?

It was never questioned by Germany or the European Union and, therefore, we hope that this problem will be solved peacefully and by dialogue. It is not a question theoretically of the Line of Control because there will be no peace if there is armed infiltration or terrorism, cross-border terrorism. What we can do or will do is to support the forces of peace and this means acceptance of the existing borders. In Europe we know for centuries there are two possibilities — not to accept borders which means war, or to accept borders, sit down on the table, try to find a solution peacefully. I think we are for the second possibility.

To vary the subject, what is Germany's stand on reforming the U.N., so as to bring it in tune with the current realities? And your views on India's claim for a permanent seat in an expanded Security Council?

Our position is quite clear — we think the U.N. structure, specially the Security Council, reflects the structure of the world of the Cold War, not of the 21st century. Things are changing. We are in full support of the reform of the structure of the U.N. and the Security Council. We are in favour of the opening of the Security Council for new members. We are working for our membership together with Japan. There are regional groups and in one of these regional groups India is at the top. But you also know that in regional groups, not only in yours but in ours, there is some sort of competition and I think it will not be too easy to overcome this obstacle. With the announcement of the US Secretary of State that they will be ready to open the Security Council (strength) to 21, there can be a positive signal.

The regional grouping test is a complicated matter. The better course is to decide the matter on merit.

We are in strong support for India. You are one of the biggest and most important powers in the world and we rely on your support.

THE HINDU

17 APR 2000

India, U.S. nuclear talks today

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, APRIL 16. As part of the effort to reduce their differences on non-proliferation, India and the United States will begin on Monday a new round of consultations on export controls in Washington.

These talks are aimed at harmonising policies on limiting the spread of weapons of mass destruction and associated materials and technology. They are a sub-set of the extended nuclear dialogue between the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, and the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Mr. Strobe Talbott.

A team of officials led by Mr. Rakesh Sood, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, left for Washington early this morning. The team includes officials from the Defence Research and Development Organisation, the Directorate-General of Foreign Trade, and Customs.

The U.S. team is being led by Mr. John Barker, Deputy Assistant Secretary for export controls in the State Department. Two earlier rounds of Indo-U.S. discussions on export controls were held in November 1998 and March 1999.

The question of export controls has been among the four non-proliferation benchmarks set by the Clinton Administration in its dialogue with India. The others are the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, limiting the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons, and defence posture.

With India's own long-standing commitment to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the discussion on export controls has been the least contentious in the Indo-U.S. nuclear dialogue.

Since the early 1990s, when India began to lay emphasis on exports in its strategy of globalisation, there has been a growing awareness here of the

need for an effective policy on controlling the exports of sensitive technologies that can be used for both civilian and military purposes as well as defence items.

The Exim policy announced by the Government in 1995 took the first steps in that direction.

Following the nuclear tests in May 1998, the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, had reaffirmed India's commitment to maintain a stringent policy on export controls and to further strengthen it where necessary.

Last year the Government set up an inter-ministerial group on export controls, which submitted its recommendations early this year. Based on these, the latest Exim policy announced by the Government on March 31 has codified the list of prohibited items and listed a comprehensive series of regulations and procedures for the export of dual-use technologies and defence items under licence.

APR 16 1999

APR 20 1999

Vajpayee slams Cong for negativism

1979
Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 16 APRIL

PRIME MINISTER Atal Behari Vajpayee accused the Congress of resorting to "political negativism" and blamed it for misinforming the nation about party president Sonia Gandhi's stand on the nuclear issue in her talks with President Clinton.

"The Congress spokesman informed the media that the party delegation had told Mr Clinton that India needed a minimum nuclear deterrent. Later, the party denied having said this. Petty political considerations resulted in this political somersault," the Prime Minister told the BJP's national executive.

Attacking the Congress for unwholesome political reflexes, Mr Vajpayee charged the Congress with lowering the standards of political debate in the country. "The Congress has taken recourse to political negativism — from Pokhran to Kargil. The kind of language used by the leaders on the issue of Constitution review is appalling," the Prime Minister added.

The political resolution

adopted by the party also mounted a frontal attack on Ms Gandhi and the Congress' recent decisions to tie up with parties like the RJD. In a direct attack on Ms Gandhi and those who are willing to hitch their political fortunes with her, the resolution added that the party was caught in a cruel trap.



"It thinks that there is no survival for it without succumbing to the cares of a dynasty. But the more the dynasty makes the Congress into its fiefdom, the faster will be the erosion of the party's strength."

The party document said the contrast today between the Congress and the BJP is the starkest in terms of quality of leadership.

But the harshest attack was reserved for the Communists, whom the BJP perceive as the self-appointed ideologues of anti-BJP combinations. "Over the past two decades, the Communists, who are our main ideological adversary, have become increasingly irrelevant. Blind anti-BJPism has become the common slogan for survival of both the parties.

The Economic Times

17 APR 2000

Building on the Clinton visit

By Muchkund Dubey

An intensive and constructive engagement with the U.S. is a must for taking full advantage of the globalisation process.

HO-12 22/4
THE U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton's recent visit to India was meticulously planned and adroitly managed by both the American and Indian sides. In all his speeches and remarks in India, Mr. Clinton displayed not only his extraordinary gifts as a communicator but also a remarkable sensitivity to India's perceived interests, emotions and pride. At the same time, Mr. Clinton left his Indian audience in no doubt regarding the basic U.S. positions on the nuclear, WTO and Kashmir issues and on the resumption of Indo-Pakistan dialogue.

The rhetorical questions posed by him on the consequences of Pokhran II carried their own answers. And these were: India is less secure today than it was before the tests; and India cannot afford a sustained investment in both conventional and nuclear forces while meeting its goals for human development. He asserted that India was moving in the opposite direction of the global trend of foreswearing nuclear weapons. But he conveniently forgot to mention that the five recognised nuclear weapon states were an exception to this trend. While taking credit for the dismantling of nuclear weapons by the United States and Russia, he deliberately kept back the fact that even after this the arsenals left in their possession were sufficient to destroy humankind many time over.

He reiterated the familiar U.S. demand for "a dialogue about the connection between labour, the environment, and trade and development". He clearly tried to establish a link between trade on the one hand and labour standards and environment on the other when he said that "trade should not be a race to the bottom in environmental and labour standards". He conveyed the same message when he said that "those who believe that trade should contribute not just to the wealth but also to the fairness of societies" were speaking "for a large part of humanity". On the Kashmir issue, Mr. Clinton gave no indication of any change in the basic U.S. position that Kashmir was a dispute which needed to be resolved and that in this endeavour the Kashmiri people must

be consulted. While stating that he had not come to South Asia to mediate the Kashmir dispute, he did not rule out the possibility of the U.S. extending a helping hand as it did during the Kargil crisis.

There was, however, a welcome shift in the U.S. understanding of the present situation in Kashmir. The shift has been brought about by Pakistan's proneness to use force to resolve the problem in its favour and the U.S. perception that this can lead to an allout war, sliding into a nuclear war. As the only superpower in the world, the U.S. deems it a duty to prevent such a drift to disaster in South Asia. This shift which was evident since the Kargil crisis was confirmed at the highest level when Mr. Clinton stated in his press conference in New Delhi on March 21: "you cannot expect a dialogue to go forward until there is absence of violence and respect for the Line of Control". In his address to the Pakistani people, he warned that "this era does not reward people who struggle in vain to redraw borders with blood". There are two other points on which there is now a greater convergence of the U.S. and Indian points of view. Mr. Clinton virtually ruled out referendum when in an interview to ABC, he said that "there have been a lot of changes since 1948 including what happened in 1971 ...". And in the same interview, he named certain elements within the Pakistan Government as responsible for engaging in violence in Kashmir.

The Indian Prime Minister displayed remarkable dignity, restraint and firmness on the occasion. He did not concede any ground and seized the opportunity to spell out in unambiguous terms India's well-known positions on the need to maintain a credible nuclear deterrence, on its commitment to a world free of nuclear weapons and on its deep attachment to independence of judgement and

autonomy of action. He also refused to be rushed into signing the CTBT.

Mr. Clinton's visit to South Asia was essentially a visit to India though he added to his itinerary Bangladesh by way of courtesy and Pakistan because of compulsion. From the bilateral point of view, the visit was an unqualified success. Its most significant outcome was the decision to institutionalise a whole series of high level multi-faceted consultations between the two countries. These consultations will take place at the Summit, Ministerial, senior officials and expert levels and will cover a wide range of issues, including security and international economic issues, trade, finance, science and technology, energy and environment.

Mr. Clinton reserved some of his most eloquent remarks during the visit to drive home the supreme importance of understanding and partnership between India and the U.S. There was no doubt an element of exaggeration when he said at the FICCI meeting in Mumbai that "it would be difficult to imagine the world that I would like to leave for my children without a deeper and better partnership with India". But there was certainly a strong element of truth in his remark at the same meeting that "it is difficult to imagine India as she would like herself to be 10 to 20 years from now without a deeper and better understanding with the U.S."

No doubt, India's destiny in the 21st century will be shaped above all by its own efforts. If we at all want to be counted in the world, we will have to maintain and accelerate the recent relatively higher rates of growth, bring about a distinct improvement in the current highly unsatisfactory social situation, and deal effectively with the problem of governance. At the same time, an intensive and constructive engagement with the U.S. is a must for taking full advantage of the

globalisation process. This engagement will inevitably involve give and take from both sides. For India, the prize will be the vast U.S. market — still the largest and the most open in the world, and investment and technology of which the U.S. is the leader in the world. The U.S. interest and commitment in India will depend upon India's continued higher rates of growth and its providing an expanding space for U.S. goods and services in its market. To ensure this, we will have to go much further down the road of liberalisation without, however, going overboard. We will continue to differ with the U.S. on certain key WTO issues, on the role of the United Nations in the new world order, and on several aspects of the emerging international financial architecture. High level consultations envisaged on these issues should bring our points of view closer.

In spite of its objections in principle to the present non-proliferation regime, India has very rightly decided to respond positively to Mr. Clinton's call for bolstering this regime. We have agreed to work together with the U.S. to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery and we are going to continue our dialogue to narrow our differences and increase mutual understanding on those non-proliferation and security issues which have been under discussion for some time now. However, our dialogue and cooperation in this area should not in any way result in the slowing down of our programme for the acquisition of minimum nuclear deterrent. We should fully retain our discretion for weaponisation. We should continue Agni II tests with a view to operationalising it as soon as possible.

We should remain ready to carry out sub-critical tests at the appropriate time, if they are considered necessary on technical grounds. We also cannot afford to enter into any commitment on deployment. Our deployment will depend upon the current and prospective Chinese deployment and what Pakistan is going to do about it.

(The writer is a former External Affairs Secretary.)

22 APR 2000

U.S. will not oppose Bank loans to India

22/4
By Sridhar Krishnaswami

HO-13

WASHINGTON, APRIL 21 The Clinton administration and senior World Bank officials are not in a position to say whether the United States has taken a policy decision to formally lift its objections to stalled World Bank loans for India. But there is an impression that Washington is allowing "progress", following a report quoting the National Security Council spokesman, Mr. Mike Hammer, as saying "prior objections in areas—whether it's the environment or energy—that are non-military are no longer there".

Officials at the World Bank say some \$1 billion worth of projects for India have been scheduled for next week and will be cleared for, the U. S. has made it known privately that it will not object to the grant of these loans or canvass opposition. The projects have to do with Uttar Pradesh and are in the realm of health and finance.

A Bloomberg News Report has said the U.S. Government, having

eased the sanctions during last month's visit by the President to India, is also allowing progress on long-stalled World Bank loans. The Clinton administration had blocked four planned loans for electricity and highway projects worth \$1.6 billion. Quoting a World Bank spokesman, the report said at least one of the four \$330-million hydro power programmes would now be approved quickly.

What has been said at the World Bank is that projects are continually being looked at. A renewable energy project—on a national scale in India—costing about \$300 million is likely to materialise in the event the Clinton administration formally ending its objections. In the aftermath of the nuclear tests, the administration was forced to block loans which did not meet the requirements of "basic human needs"; but in the last two years Washington has been maintaining flexibility, between outright opposition and absence.

THE HINDU

22 APR 1993

'U.S. wanted to prevent India from acquiring N-weapons capability'

By Srinivas Laxman

The Times of India News Service

MUMBAI: A secret 1966 American National Security Council (NSC) document has revealed that the U.S. wanted to prevent India from acquiring nuclear weapon capability because it would have triggered a chain reaction which "would be contrary to basic U.S. national interests."

Says the document which has since been declassified: "It is imperative that we (the U.S.) take all possible promising actions to prevent it." This document speaks of the tough measures the American government was contemplating if India developed nuclear weapons.

The document begins by posing the following questions: "What would be the effects of an Indian national nuclear programme on U.S. interests? Is there anything more that we can and should do to acquaint India with the costs and difficulties of a nuclear programme? Should we be prepared to go further than we have so far in using economic leverage to deter such a programme?"

It states: "We (the U.S.) could threaten to cut off economic assistance and withdraw all assurances of political and economic aid if India decided to develop its own nuclear weapons."

The document has pointed out that U.S. fulfilment of this threat would have probably impelled Indians to look at their own means to meet their security needs and probably also turn to the Soviet Union.

The NSC assessment had stated that even making the threat would have an adverse effect on Indo-American relations and on Indian confidence in the U.S.

It states: "Perhaps the threat, and certainly the cut-off of aid would greatly reduce American influence. It would enhance Soviet influence and would subject India to heavy economic and political strains which would threaten its viability as a democratic state and an Asian counterweight to China."

Another confidential U.S. state

department telegram in 1966 sent to the U.S. embassy in New Delhi had sought its views on three points which were being considered by "interested Washington agencies." These were:

- * Pass data on private, non-attributable basis to carefully selected Indian leaders considered trustworthy and basically opposed to India going nuclear.

- * Encourage U.S. government interest without public display, replay in India of data and related info that may appear or cause to appear in reputable third country publications.

- * Encourage reputable private U.S. scholars and authorities to publish articles which could be replayed for Indian audiences. "We (the U.S.) should adopt negative attitude towards proposals based on assumption that the five countries which have tested nuclear weapons have in common either some special interest or some quality of power, prestige or capability not shared by others. Wherever possible, the phrase 'five nuclear powers' meaning the nuclear-military states should not be used," it stated.

An earlier state department message to the American embassy in New Delhi had requested it to report if there were:

- * Signs of activity in remote areas which portended the construction of a nuclear test site.

- * Indications that nuclear-associated research facilities were being established surreptitiously or that security was being tightened at existing facilities.

- * Evidence of continued operation of Canada-India reactor at Trombay to produce relatively clean plutonium.

- * Procurement or development by India of small electronic neutron generators and high-quality electrically-initiated high-explosive detonators.

The message finally added: "Because of the high collection priority accorded to this subject even tenuous indications of nuclear weapons activity should be reported."

THE TIMES OF INDIA

23 APR 2006

US may lift sanctions to welcome Atal

Washington, April 27

THE UNITED States is likely to lift some of the remaining nuclear-related sanctions against India in the run up to Prime Minister AB Vajpayee's state visit to the US scheduled for September/October.

An indication to this effect was given by US officials at a meeting with Indian-Americans who were given a special briefing on the Mr Clinton's visit to India last month.

Leaders of Indian-American groups were informed that some of the sanctions had already been lifted after India's unilateral declaration against conducting any more tests. The 90-minute meeting took stock of the visit, promising to build on the momentum created by Mr Clinton's visit in bilateral relations. The process would get strengthened during Mr Vajpayee's proposed visit to the US.

Indian-Americans reportedly urged the US to make public its support for India's demand for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council. They also drew the US officials attention to Pakistan-sponsored terrorism.

Assistant Secretary of State Karl Inderfurth and senior director, Near East and South Asian Affairs at the National Security Council Bruce Riedel were among those present at the meeting. (UNI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

27 APR 2000

Clinton drive to reap India harvest

FROM K. P. NAYAR

Washington, April 27: President Bill Clinton, determined that his visit to India should leave a historic mark on Indo-US relations, is moving swiftly to consolidate its gains.

Although there are no grand declarations in this regard yet, the Clinton administration would like to see the nucleus of "Asian security" cooperation between India and the US put in place by the time Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee arrives here on a return visit in September.

Towards this end, intense diplomatic activity is under way to arrange a visit by defence minister George Fernandes to Washington as soon as possible. If the maverick

defence minister, who has a reputation here of being anti-US, anti-free market — indeed, anti-everything — drags his feet on travelling to Washington, his American counterpart, William Cohen, has expressed willingness to go to India to meet Fernandes, according to knowledgeable sources.

Aware that the idea of India and the US cooperating on "Asian security" will be resented in many quarters in India — maybe even by Fernandes, definitely by India's communists — the White House floated a trial balloon on the new idea this week.

Clinton administration officials, who worked on the President's visit to India, called leaders of the Indian-American community to the White House and discussed, among other things, the concept of "Asian

security" ties between Washington and New Delhi. It is the hope of the administration that the seeds planted during that discussion will germinate in the coming weeks and produce a feedback by the time under-secretary of state Thomas Pickering visits New Delhi next month. The vision statement signed by Clinton and Vajpayee has a passing reference to "Asian security" and provision for its follow up during meetings such as the one to be held between Pickering and his Indian counterpart, Lalit Mansingh.

Depending on the progress made by Mansingh and Pickering, external affairs minister Jaswant Singh and the US secretary of state Madeleine Albright are expected to go public in greater detail when they meet in Warsaw in June.

The Clinton administration is conscious that it has only limited time in office and that respecting Indian sensitivities is the key to making progress towards any historic legacy from the Clinton visit. This was obvious from several other developments in bilateral relations since the President returned here from India.

While administration officials, who briefed Indian American leaders this week on Clinton's trip, spoke supportively of India's bid for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, the US permanent representative to the UN, Richard Holbrooke, indicated that Washington was willing to relax the ceiling of 21 members that it had earlier fixed for an expanded Security Council. This will end the stalemate in the UN over reconstitution of the council.

THE HINDU

APR 28 1995

'Indo-U.S. ties can improve only with progress on nuclear non-proliferation'

By Ramesh Chandran
The Times of India News Service

WASHINGTON: The euphoria over President Bill Clinton's visit to India was deflated temporarily, when a senior administration official injected a dose of realism into Indo-US relations by harping on familiar themes: meet all non-proliferation benchmarks including the signing of CTBT and transcend 'Kargil' by initiating bilateral dialogue with Pakistan.



Bill Clinton

means of delivery". He stressed that although Kargil cannot be forgotten, "it can and should be transcended". He asked New Delhi to consider "very seriously" Gen. Pervez Musharraf's offer for bilateral dialogue. Mr Pickering has the rank of "career ambassador" — the highest in the US foreign service.

Mr Pickering bluntly said: "Non-proliferation will continue to play a central role in our relations in the sub-continent. Even as we seek to build a new and qualitatively closer relationship with India, that relationship cannot realise its full potential without further progress on non-proliferation". He further said, "We cannot and will not be able to cooperate on military issues until there is substantial progress on non-proliferation and we face similar problems with Pakistan".

Although he conceded that there had been some progress on export controls, the benchmarks concerning the signing of the CTBT, negotiating Fissile Missile Cut-off Treaty and pending its conclusion, a multilateral moratorium on production of such

material and restraint in deployment, all needed to be met by India and Pakistan. Pakistan, terrorism and the stalled Indo-Pak relations were also discussed. Mr Pickering was even more incisive on Pakistan's problems and sought progress in five areas: non-proliferation, narcotics, democracy, economic reform and terrorism. He said the notion that if events "spiral downwards in Kashmir towards all-out military conflict, it could somehow compel the US to mediate that conflict on more favourable terms" is simply not workable. Sympathy cannot be won by a bigger, bloodier conflict.

Human rights of Kashmiris must be respected. He once again referred to the "Four R's": mutual restraint by both parties; respect for the LoC; rejection of violence and renewal of dialogue. He commended India for releasing several Hurriyat leaders and said that bilateral negotiations ought to re-start and Pakistan should do its part to "help create the peaceful conditions needed to make such a dialogue more meaningful".

THE TIMES OF INDIA

THE TIMES OF INDIA

31 APR 2000

Four-pillar US policy shift on Kashmir

FROM K.P. NAYAR

Washington, April 4: Thirtyfive years after the US adopted a Kashmir policy which was designed to satisfy both India and Pakistan, the Clinton administration has taken the bold step of jettisoning the policy in favour of one, which it hopes, will lead to a final solution.

Washington's new Kashmir policy, initiated by Clinton himself following his decision to visit South Asia, rests on four pillars. These are: respect for the line of control (LoC), ending support for third party violence in Kashmir, negotiations between India and Pakistan for solving the dispute, and finally, addressing the concerns of Kashmiris by the Indian government.

These four points represent a landmark shift from the policy followed by successive adminis-

trations here since the 1960s. That policy was based on three points: Kashmir is disputed territory, it must be resolved through bilateral negotiations between India and Pakistan, and three, the wishes of the Kashmiri people must be taken into account in any final solution between Islamabad and Delhi.

Administration officials here are aware that an unequivocal enunciation of its new policy could deeply upset Pakistan and ruin current US efforts to solve the Kashmir dispute — just as US action during Clinton's first term in challenging Kashmir's instrument of accession set Delhi on fire.

For this reason, the administration has left it to the President to steadily, but gradually, put in place the new policy. Officials down the line are unwilling to talk about the change. Sensing a major policy shift, American reporters have, however, asked secretary of

state Madeleine Albright the question point blank. Her reply was ambivalent.

"I would not interpret it that way," she said, adding that US policy has been what it was when Clinton travelled to South Asia. "The President has said many times and things I have said in my speeches... that the story of Kashmir is a long and sad one and that it is a conflict that has been fundamentally transformed because nations cannot, must not attempt to change borders or zones of occupation through armed force. And now that they have exploded nuclear devices, India and Pakistan have all the more reason to avoid armed conflict and to restart discussions."

Such is the sensitivity associated with the change in policy here that even those working for foreign policy thinktanks are unwilling to state on record what

they acknowledge in private about the shift.

However, it is crystal clear that the two factors which brought about the change in US policy are the Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests and Kargil. These convinced the Clinton administration that the only possible solution to the long-running dispute in Kashmir was to eventually transform the LoC into a permanent border: hence the emphasis on respecting the LoC and the need to negotiate.

Explaining the change, Michael Krepon, president of the Henry L. Stimson Center, an arms control thinktank here, says: "There is clearly more interest by the Clinton administration in playing a helpful role, and there is a recognition that changing the LoC by force of arms is extraordinarily dangerous."

Simultaneously, the mountain

of evidence here about Pakistani and Afghan support for cross-border terrorism in Kashmir convinced Clinton that such support must end.

However, the Indians would be making a serious error of judgement if they concluded that the change in Washington's Kashmir policy is all in their favour. Although the Clinton administration no longer says that the wishes of the "Kashmiri people" must be taken into account in any settlement, Clinton himself is on record as saying that "the Kashmiris deserve to have their own concerns addressed on the merits". This leaves a huge burden on India's shoulders.

Washington expects Farooq Abdullah's elected government in Srinagar to deliver. If it does not seem to be addressing the "concerns" of Kashmiris, the policy may once again revert to seeing

the Kashmiris as a separate people, apart from the Indians.

Although the President is the only one here to talk on record about America's Kashmir policy during and after the trip to India, Albright had floated the change in policy as a trial balloon as early as March 14 at a speech here.

"Tangible steps must be taken to respect the LoC" she said, describing the LoC as a "practical reality". She added: "For so long as this simple principle is violated, the people of Kashmir have no real hope of peace...and we want to see steps to address the effects of terror on Pakistan's neighbours, notably India."

Whether the Pakistanis missed this trial balloon which was meant to gauge Islamabad's reaction or whether they ignored it is not clear. What is certain is that it set the stage for a change in US policy on Kashmir.

THE TELEGRAPH

5 APR 2000

INDIAN HARMONY

Narayanan's 'Rebuke' At Clinton Banquet

A SECTION of our media seems furious with President KR Narayanan for having violated the norms of diplomacy and of hospitality by giving vent to his own "mind" as a "Nehruvian socialist" at the state banquet in honour of the visiting US President Clinton. The allegation is that he virtually administered a "snub" to the guest, jeopardising his own Prime Minister's diligent pursuit of a closer Indo-US accord. Some people are clearly unhappy with our President's alleged predilection for being "over-active" and exposing a sort of rift between the President and the Prime Minister which bodes ill for our parliamentary processes. Official repudiation of the rift does not appear to scotch the suspicion.

Happily — or unhappily, for our kind of politics — President Narayanan has the gift of the gab, redeemed notably by his dignity and his diction, and with all respect to those who perhaps want the President to be like Gandhiji's "three monkeys" who "see nothing, hear nothing, speak nothing", it is good that Narayanan has a "mind" of his own, especially when in politics (not only in India) a peculiar "mindlessness" too often prevails.

Ours is a parliamentary but federal system where the head of state keeps off the arena of the head of government, but he is no ornamental nonentity and contributes his perception to the basics, though not at all to the details of governance.

NO SNUB

In political philosophy the state is a deeper, wider, more comprehensive, if somewhat conceptual entity, while the government, implicated continuously in the life of the community, is its operating agency. Thus, opposition to the government is permissible subject of course to the rule of law, while hostility to the state amounts to treason. The state has a certain philosophical character and the head of state, if worthy of his hire, should be entitled on appropriate occasions to ponder on fundamental issues somewhat differently from the routine pursuit of policy objections. After all, our head of state cannot easily forget his "stint" at the London School of Economics where he sat at the feet of such as Harold Laski (whom India seems to have forgotten).

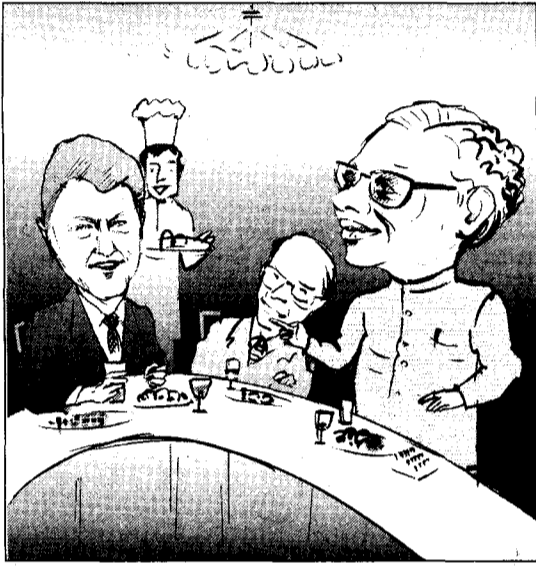
This may sound like academic hocus-pocus, for in reality there seems little difference between state and government, both being, in the Marxist view, "executive committees of the capitalist class", but that is a different story. Meanwhile, one might well examine Narayanan's banquet speech (whose full text has been set out in some journals). One will find that he spoke a little too long but with wit and wisdom and in a non-truculent manner stressed some of India's fundamental concerns which all well-intentioned countries, including the most powerful, can share if we wish to move towards the long coveted "One World" of diverse but equal, self-respecting, reasonably associative states.

There is no suggestion of a

The author, an eminent parliamentarian, represented the Communist Party of India.

By HIREN MUKERJEE

"snub" when President Narayanan said with polite humour: "As an African statesman has observed to us, the fact that the world is a global village does not mean that it will be run by one village headman. In this age of democracy it will be headed by a *panchayat*. For us the United Nations is the global *panchayat* and that is why we want it to be democratised and sustained." Clinton and his speech-writers must have envied the deft use of words like *panchayat* and "village headmen", when the US President had just recently expanded his horizon of experience by mingling with the tur-



baned rustics and their belles in Rajasthan. There was no strident use of words like "hegemon" and "hegemonism", though in this allegedly unipolar world of today such appellations are freely used against (and perhaps enjoyed by) the United States which makes no bones about its "mega" status in world affairs.

If Narayanan was blunt in regard to certain things, he did it in a refined manner. Objection has been taken to his having said, for example: "It has been suggested that the Indian sub-continent is the most dangerous place in the world today and Kashmir is a nuclear flash-point. These alarmist descriptions will only encourage those who want to break the peace and indulge in terrorism and violence." If the *New York Times* (or was it the *Washington Post*) interprets this as a "rebuke" — well, isn't it both a civilised and deserved "rebuke"? I have no idea if the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, had been taken into confidence about the President's speech, but I am sure Vajpayee would have been irked if even such gentle rebuke was avoided.

OPEN SECRET

I have a distinct recollection around 1977-78 when Atal was foreign minister in Morarji Desai's government that he once did not shrink from affirming, under provocation, that he would not give credence to American claims to "democracy" till the US had a Black citizen as its President. It is just not credible that Narayanan's banquet speech caused any disquiet to Vajpayee, let alone the idea of a rift between him and his President.

There has been a lot of stupid fuss over the Clinton visit, and the way we had to truckle down to US security's overbearing zealotry (which must sometimes have irked Clinton himself), the post-visit reports about the FBI coming soon to have a finger in India's pie and the yet-to-be-seen results of accentuated "globalisation" that has so far helped

make the rich richer and the poor poorer, etc., etc. Meanwhile, there is no call for national anxiety over differences, if any, between the President and the Prime Minister. Both are adult, experienced in public affairs, with a head on their shoulder (and in their own way proud of it), their worldview by no means identical, but civilised enough not only to co-exist but perceptively and constantly co-operate with each other in the pursuance of national and international objectives to which they are pledged.

One remembers our first President Rajendra Prasad suffering agonies of "the presidential predicament", as narrated by an aide who wrote a book about his tenure, the longest so far. It was not only the constraints of protocol and of colonial pageantry in the "Viceroy's House" (which sheltered that austere idealist elevated to the highest office), but the experience of working with an erstwhile comrade in the Congress, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, which was at the root of the "predicament". They had differences, not only over such tremendous trifles as the astrological inauspiciousness of the date, 26 January 1950, as the inauguration of the Republic of India's Constitution, but over socio-religious, economic and foreign policy issues.

It was an open secret, but it never caused a crisis and with his legal training Rajendra Prasad salved his conscience by thoughtful discourses on the constitutional relationship.

DIGNIFIED REBUKE

There is no need to go into details but it is common knowledge that one of the lesser incumbents of the presidency and his Prime Minister had at least for a while much too acerbic a relationship. How even towering personalities show their feet of clay was seen during Jawaharlal Nehru's twilight days when the great man was reeling under the blows rained on him unexpectedly by China and for a while it seemed as if President Radhakrishnan, with his unique world stature, was contemplating unwonted "activism" in his office. Happily for the country, both stalwarts avoided a parting of ways and stood civilisedly together.

The country has already seen the President and the Prime Minister pressing their different perceptions (why shouldn't they, within proper limits?), but they have been firmly in the same boat and have to be, not only because of the letter of the Constitution but of the spirit of India's struggle for freedom and its fulfilment.

Misgivings over President Narayanan's "over-activism" are uncalled for and gratuitously derogatory. His banquet speech has set India's record straight, and in the atmosphere of almost servile fuss and the frenzy of expectation (as in "Cyberabad!"), his affirmation of India's principled stance in the comity of nations has come as a balm to many hearts. The US, great as it doubtless is and powerful beyond belief has deserved just the kind of dignified "rebuke" from India, among the poorest of the poor in our world, but a country that Romain Rolland once said, "bids defiance to Time".

THE STATESMAN

5 APR 2000

CLINTON'S VISIT-I

Balance Sheet & Prospectus

By AG NOORANI

NOW that the euphoria over President Bill Clinton's visit to India has subsided, it is time to make a calm appraisal of its true significance and of what it spells for Indo-US relations in the future. While the "primary focus of the trip" was India, his concerns in the region were not obscured. Clinton did not come here with a blank mind or with empty hands. A substantial package was brought along. Much homework had been done.

Americans know how to combine earnestness in business with bonhomie. Indians tend to go overboard. Sensing that, evidently, Albright delivered an unusual warning on 7 February: "The trip is one that would be important, but it is not just a sign that everything has been dealt with and all problems have been resolved ... having a relationship with the world's largest democracy is important. But, obviously, we continue to have very serious concerns about the issues of non-proliferation and about the dealings (sic) on Kashmir, and hope very much that the Indian Government understands and continues, and will continue, to deal with these issues because they are essential".

NEW STAGE

These remarks were not made "off the cuff". In a major policy statement to the Asia Society on 14 March, less than week before Clinton arrived in Delhi, she repeated them with greater emphasis. "Our approach to non-proliferation is global. We cannot abandon it simply because we desire an improved relationship" with India.

There is no evidence to suggest that Clinton's agenda melted away in the warmth of the euphoria. It is necessary to stress this because next time he or his aides voice American "concerns", the very ones who imagined that they had performed an elevating fandango with the Americans, in order irretrievably to put behind a rancorous past, will be screaming themselves hoarse with cries of "tilt".

Albright was candid. "One topic we will discuss in both India and Pakistan is the relationship between these two countries ... today, the conflict over Kashmir has been fundamentally transformed. For nations must not attempt to change borders or zones of occupation through armed force ... India and Pakistan today must find some way to move forward." It is, however, nuclear proliferation which is "[o]ur Number One security concern ... significant progress in this area is necessary, before India and the United States can realize fully the vast potential of our relationship"; a pre-

The author is a lawyer and commentator on current affairs.

condition, clearly.

No such progress was made at the Delhi summit. Both sides agreed that a new stage had, nonetheless, been arrived at in Indo-US relations. They were right. For, to be fair to her, Albright did not sting on encomiums to India. She was enthusiastic about "a strong and cooperative strategic relationship" with India which is "qualitatively different and better" than before, "not a simple return to the status quo before the tests".

In that sense and spirit, Clinton's visit was a success. It

Atal Behari Vajpayee, revealed that India was working to get Pakistan declared a terrorist state by the US. The very next day a state department official said that the US did not intend to do so. On 3 January, after the hijacking of the IA plane to Kandahar, Vajpayee revived his plea to declare Pakistan a terrorist state and asked the US to take "an initiative in this matter". The US replied (4 January): "We will make our own judgments based on all the information available to us and under US law."

It did warn Pakistan on 7 January. But, that was for "Masood Azhar's actions which

threaten the lives of our citizens". *The New York Times* reported on 25 January that the US administration believed that "a terrorist group supported by the Pakistan military was responsible for the hijacking". It was instantly denied not only by both the White House and a state department spokesman, but by Clinton himself: "We do not have evidence that the Pakistani government was in any way involved in that hijacking."



climaxed a process of rapprochement that had been in the making in the last decade. A lot has become easier in the new ambience that was difficult before. For instance, it is much easier now for India to forge a domestic consensus on the signing of the CTBT. If euphoria is misplaced, cynicism is misconceived. We must draw up an accurate balance sheet and study carefully the prospectus which Bill Clinton holds before us.

TERRORIST STATE

One fundamental change which we must not overlook, even when differences crop up, is that the United States has decided consciously that "[o]ur overall relations with India will not be hostage to our relations with any other country". It will practice bilateralism *in excelsis*. Its message to the "other country" (Pakistan) will be the same. The US relationship with neither will be at the expense of its equation with the "other country". Its relations with each will be defined "in terms of what is in the US national interest".

Clinton had contemplated a visit to South Asia well before the nuclear tests in 1998, and was, for a variety of reasons, determined to make it before leaving the White House. The parleys in New Delhi and in Islamabad must be judged against the background of the policies he has pursued all along. Even on the issue of terrorism, American concerns are more insular than some in New Delhi imagined. Their hopes of an alliance of sorts even on this one issue on which, like mother's love and apple pie, there should be no disagreement, lie shattered.

On 8 August 1999, in the wake of Kargil, Prime Minister

If differences on this issue of terrorism cannot be bridged what is one to expect of differences on the nuclear issue on Kashmir and much else?

FIVE ISSUES

The same result — agreement to differ with the friendship remaining unaffected. The US knows that it cannot get India — or Pakistan, for that matter — to roll back its nuclear programme or sign the NPT. It will not acquiesce in the *status quo*, but fight every inch to freeze it and prevent deployment of delivery systems for nuclear weapons.

The last round of Jaswant Singh-Strobe Talbott talks on nuclear issues ended in London on 17 November 1999. On 15 March, Talbott said "we haven't had what I would argue is breakthrough progress on any of these".

Jaswant Singh's view (17 March) that "differences in perception between India and the US have been greatly reduced" finds no echo in American pronouncements. His Pakistani counterpart, Abdul Sattar, was wide off the mark when he claimed (7 February) that the US had acknowledged Pakistan as a nuclear state. Clinton said categorically on 16 March: "There are those in the region who hope we will simply accept its nuclear status quo. I will not do that."

The five issues in the nuclear dialogue await resolution — CTBT; tighter export controls; talks on the Fissile Material Control Treaty; moratorium, meanwhile, on their production for weapons; restraint in missile developments including non-deployment. The last has been part also of the US package on Indo-Pak relations.

(To be concluded)

THE STATESMAN

- 7 APR 2000

CLINTON'S VISIT-II

518 64 US Emerges As Facilitator

By AG NOORANI

THE US stand on Kashmir has, in the main, remained constant since the outbreak of militancy in 1989: "All of the pre-independence State of Jammu & Kashmir is a disputed territory", it is for India and Pakistan to resolve it by peaceful means; the UN resolutions are obsolete; the US does not favour plebiscite; and any accord must be acceptable to the people of the state in all its three regions — the Valley, Jammu and Ladakh. In Kargil Pakistan violated the LoC by deploying not only the militants but its own army. This earned it universal and deserved odium and, with it, the peremptory injunction to respect the LoC.

Other points were not overlooked; specifically human rights violations by the security forces as well as the militants and Pakistan's aid to the militants. That "a military victory cannot be won by any of the parties" and that "present realities must help shape the solutions of tomorrow" are not new formulations. They were made by Clinton's friend, Robin L Raphel, assistant secretary of state for south Asia affairs, as far back as on 23 September 1994.

These points were overtaken momentarily by the deterioration in the situation on the ground. Foiled in Kargil, Pakistan mounted suicide attacks from 13 July onwards.

LIMITED WAR

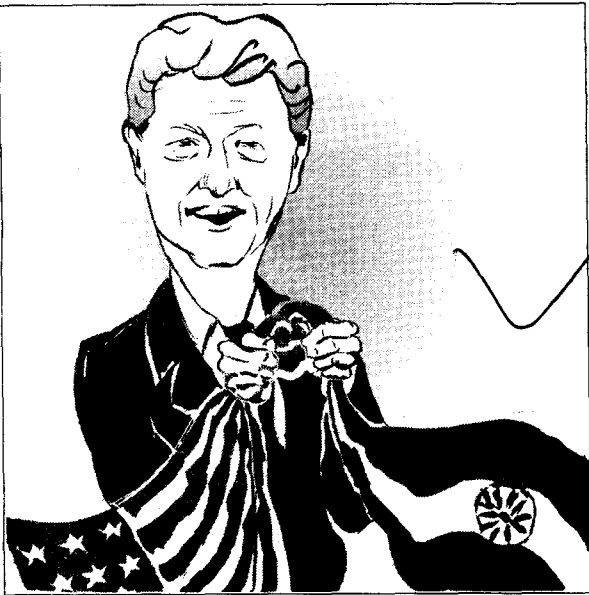
The CIA's director George J Tenet's report (2 February) pointed out that "heavy fighting is continuing through the winter, unlike in the past, and probably will increase significantly in the spring", when the snows melt. The danger was real. Zahid Hussain a respected journalist reported in *Newsline* that "diplomats in Islamabad foresee a possible scenario of a limited war between the two countries by April or May".

Bill Clinton did not discard his Kashmir package before leaving the US. On 13 March he met a Hurriyat delegation in Chicago led by Ghulam Nabi Fai. His now famous remark on 10 March — "the most dangerous place in the world today, I think you could argue, is the Indian sub-continent and the LoC in Kashmir" — was only the last in a series of such alarms that began much earlier. "The Kashmir issue is perhaps the most dangerous one in the world today," he said on 29 December. Albright could not decide whether it was "a fuse" or a "tinder box" (8 February). Clinton was content to stick to "the most dangerous place in the world" (4 and 17 February). These alarms were rejected by Indian leaders from the PM downwards sharply, repeatedly during this phase along with perceived implication of proffered mediation.

No summit can resolve differences as deep as these. But this summit placed them comfortably within the framework of a new relationship between what Vajpayee called "natural allies" even though the agenda he drew up at the Asia Society on 28 September, 1998 is nowhere near fulfilment. The US has not responded on the points "where the shoe pinches us",

e.g., India's membership of the UN Security Council.

The vision statement he signed with Clinton, on 21 March, papers over disagreements with innocuous generalities and proceeds to institutionalise the dialogue. Clinton hinted at "a possibility that we could reach more common ground" on the nuclear issues. At the press conference that day Clinton put forth his "four beliefs", in the four Rs — restraint; respect for the LoC; renunciation of violence and renewal of the dialogue with Pakistan. His proviso that a



dialogue cannot "go forward unless there is an absence of violence" and a respect for the LoC was explained away by Albright. Asked if it was "significant shift in US policy" in endorsement of India's stand, she replied, "I would not interpret it that way."

Clinton was more forthcoming in his interview to ABC News (21 March): "Our policy is, first, respect the LoC. Second, do not promote violence by third parties in Kashmir. Third, negotiate. And, fourth, with respect to India, that there's not a military solution to Kashmir's problems by India, either; that the Kashmiris deserve to have their own concerns addressed on the merits ... I support some process by which the Kashmiris' legitimate grievances are addressed and I support respecting the LoC."

AGENDA

And I think the Pakistanis and the Indians have to have some way of talking about it. And the Indians have to have some way of talking to their own Kashmiris about it that recognises there's not a military solution." This is his Kashmir agenda. In substance it is no different from previous statements. The admonition against "a military solution" is meant for both sides.

Clinton's message to Pakistan was blunt and direct. He asked for "a real road map" for the return of democracy; delivered a stern warning against any attempt to "redraw borders with blood"; and promised help if Pakistan cooperated against "common enemies" — the terrorists. If his national security advisor Sandy Berger's remarks thereafter are any guide, Pakistan's chief executive General Pervez Musharraf "accepted a lot of the goals that the President put forth" and was found to be "a serious man". He has, in any case, no cards to play.

The CE's press conference that day (25 March) revealed his responses. He would "engage the Taliban ... and pick up the issue of terrorism", he

would not "perpetuate himself; he asked for "reciprocal action" to reduce violence in Kashmir. The terms were end to human rights violations in Kashmir and violations of LoC "and then we could also use our influence to moderate the activities of the freedom fighters". Thus, Clinton did not leave Islamabad empty-handed. The General made certain concessions which he amplified two days later in an interview to *Financial Times* of London: "They (Indians) want something from our side. We will try to address this issue, try to persuade the freedom fighters to reduce tension. But there

has to be reciprocity". How? "Stop all human rights violations ... release all the innocent Kashmiri leaders who are behind bars ... We must face facts boldly."

Implicit in this is abandonment, not of "cross-border terrorism" as India demands, but a scaling down of the infiltration to the pre-Kargil level. India demands return to the pre-1989 status quo; Pakistan offers the pre-1999 one. It is doubtful whether the US will go along with India's pre-condition

to dialogue. It was pleading for talks even before Clinton's trip. The CE's promises on the Taliban and terrorist groups are gains it is certain to pursue. It is not keen on isolating Pakistan.

FACILITATOR

In American perception the Clinton-Nawaz Sharif joint statement on 4 July "played a key role in ending" the Kargil conflict. Both, Albright and Karl Inderfurth, assistant secretary of state for south Asian affairs, asserted that (10 and 14 March, respectively). That document recorded Clinton's promise to "take a personal interest in encouraging an expeditious resumption and intensification of those bilateral efforts". Clinton had read it out to Vajpayee on the phone.

India rejects the American claim as it does any mediation. It is evident that in the new clime the US has emerged as a facilitator. Pakistan's compliance with the US demarches will fortify its credentials vis-à-vis India. American interest and involvement in south Asia are certain to increase.

The ceremonial burial of the aged and wasted "tilt" has, ironically, increased American influence in the region. Its impartiality can no longer be impugned without impairing the new friendship. Stern warnings to Pakistan, fortify the US's *locus standi* as intercessor with India. All this will proceed apace with growing cooperation between India and the United States in a wide range of activities to a degree and significance never witnessed before.

The cooperation and the differences will constantly impinge on each other. Neither country will be unaffected by the exchanges. What is certain is that the *status quo* cannot long subsist; neither the impasse in Indo-Pak dialogue, nor the ground situation in Kashmir domestically can continue as it is. The nuclear dialogue cannot proceed interminably, either.

(Concluded)

THE STATESMAN

8 APR 2000

Offer to militants follows US policy shift

Advani switch on Kashmir talks

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, April 5: Days after stating that the Centre had no one to talk to in Jammu and Kashmir, home minister L.K. Advani today changed tack, saying the government was prepared to sit at the table with militants and discuss autonomy.

The turnaround, while on board a special aircraft on way to Ahmedabad, follows the release of three top leaders of the All-Party Hurriyat Conference, including its chairman Syed Ali Shah Geelani.

Advani's "willingness" to talk to militant groups may have been prompted by President Bill Clinton's visit and the US' policy shift on Kashmir. According to Kashmir-watchers, Delhi's denials on US mediation notwithstanding, the release of the Hurriyat leaders appears to be a fallout of a "suggestion" made by the Clinton administration.

Buoyed by the government's gesture and Advani's statement, Geelani indicated today that his organisation would welcome any offer of dialogue. "Talking is essential," he said. Considered a hardliner, Geelani argued that the

release of the three leaders was the outcome of "global pressure on India".

Advani's sudden expression of the government's willingness to initiate talks with militant groups is a tacit admission of the fact that the Hurriyat — an umbrella organisation of Kashmir militant outfits — still commands a groundswell of support in the Valley.

"The government is willing to hold talks with militants on every demand, legitimate or perverse, if they abandon the path of violence," the home minister said.

The usually uncompromising Advani, who had recently said that "dialogue was out of the

question since the problem was basically one of cross-border terrorism", was even prepared to discuss the old demand of restoration of Jammu and Kashmir's pre-1953 position.

"The talks could cover even this aspect. But the basic parameter should be within the Constitution," he added.

Citing the example of the government's efforts at initiating negotiations with the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (Isak-Muivah) and the Bodo Liberation Tigers, Advani said the talks had brought "considerable peace" in the Northeast.

On the release of the Hurriyat leaders, Advani said: "It was not a casual action but an outcome of a joint decision by the Centre and the state government."

The Hurriyat, however, has urged the Centre to release leaders still under detention "in the interests of peace" as the situation in Kashmir was deteriorating. "There can be no military solution in J&K," Geelani said, echoing Clinton. The Hurriyat favours tripartite talks on Kashmir involving India, Pakistan and "the true representatives" of the Kashmiri people. "Dialogue should be resumed between the parties to the dispute earnestly," he said.

Body test

Brari Aangan (Anantnag), April 5: Chief minister Farooq Abdullah today said the bodies of the five persons shot dead as foreign mercenaries would be exhumed tomorrow.

He added that necessary tests, including DNA analysis, would be carried out to establish the identity of those killed. The inspection will be conducted in the presence of the relatives of the five missing villagers.

■ Full report on Page 7

THE TELEGRAPH

6 APR 2000

Celeste hints at US help for India's UN council seat

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA 1078

NEW DELHI, April 9. — The USA will be prepared to give serious consideration to back India's case for a permanent member in the UN Security Council, said the US Ambassador to India, Mr Richard Celeste.

Speaking to Doordarshan, he said: "The USA has to be prepared and will be prepared to give India serious consideration for the permanent membership of the Security Council". He said the USA also believed that the Security Council needed to be recast and "we are prepared to give India every consideration".

India has one-sixth of the world's population and therefore had to be taken seriously, he said, adding, Mr Bill Clinton believed that a stable and prosperous global community would require India as one of its leaders. "We anticipate India as a true global leader looking down the road 10 or 20 years", he said.

On Kashmir, he said the USA was clear that there was no scope for any third party mediation to sort out the differences between India and Pakistan.

10 APR 2000

The new beginning

By K. K. Katyal

MY VISIT was an opportunity to begin a new chapter in our bilateral engagement, and a chance to broaden and deepen the ties between our two countries. I believe we established a new basis for the future of U.S.-Indian relations." This is how the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, describes the outcome of his recent visit in a letter to the former Prime Minister, Mr. I. K. Gujral. "I hope," adds the handwritten postscript, "the visit was successful in the eyes of India and its leaders." Mr. Gujral, who was away in Washington during Mr. Clinton's stay in India, wrote to him earlier about New Delhi's expectations of the visit. In what Mr. Clinton called a "very timely and thoughtful letter", Mr. Gujral had spoken of the importance of appreciating India's security concerns and its desire for peace and stability, and the need for giving a special quality to the relationship, befitting the two democracies with shared values. Then there was the suggestion to ensure that the bilateral engagement was holistic and not one issue-centric.

Mr. Clinton's observations, especially his mention of the "new basis" for the future of relations, though general, acquire significance when co-related to the letter he was responding to. The White House spokesman elaborated this sentiment last week in a different context, countering the criticism by a Republican Senator that the trip cost the Administration \$50 million and that the U.S. got nothing for it. What the presidential spokesman said bears repetition: "The trip obviously involved significant expense, because we don't have assets in that region. But, I think if you look at the trip just from the importance of the deepening, enriched relationship we have with India — which is the world's largest democracy — then certainly the trip more than pays for itself. If you look at the trip in terms of just the trade — I think we have \$11 billion of trade — and the increase that we'll see in the coming years, the trip more than pays for itself. If you

India can draw comfort from the "new beginning" in ties with the U.S. but it is equally important to prepare itself for tackling difficulties.

look at the trip from the sense of the reduction — if we can, moving forward, reduce tensions in that region, then the value of that trip is incalculable."

Now that the euphoria generated by the visit has subsided, it is possible to have a detached view of the results. The framework of the enhanced relationship, envisaged in the "vision" statement and the architecture of dialogue, agreed upon by the two sides, as also Mr. Clinton's tough talk in Islamabad will take time to show results, but there is no mistaking the immediate fallout. Certain pointers, already discernible, are undoubtedly significant. Take the Pakistani anti-terrorism court judgment awarding life sentence to the deposed Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif. The norms of functioning of the judiciary in today's Pakistan are to be related to the objective reality and, as such, it is unthinkable that any verdict would run counter to the will of the military ruler. Going by the prosecution case, apart from other tell-tale factors, there was little ambiguity that the present regime favoured death sentence. The "lighter" sentence awarded to Mr. Sharif showed that the message conveyed by Mr. Clinton went home. Washington described it as a "positive step", while noting that the "President, on his recent stop in Pakistan, appealed to Gen. Pervez Musharraf to spare Sharif death penalty."

Another example. During his discussions in India, Mr. Clinton pleaded against a military solution to the Kashmir problem and, instead, commended a political approach. This, in part, was meant for New Delhi's consumption — that exclusive reliance on the security forces was not the ideal way of containing the alienation of people in Jammu and Kashmir. Implied in it was a suggestion for talks with those representing the alienation sentiment. Within a fortnight the Centre,

in consultation with the State Government, released three leaders of the Hurriyat, including its chairman, Syed Ali Shah Geelani. Described as a goodwill gesture intended to bring back normality to the State, it could not be delinked from Mr. Clinton's exhortation. Simultaneously, the Home Minister, Mr. L. K. Advani, offered to hold talks with the militants on autonomy — within the framework of the Constitution. The Government, he went to the extent of saying, was prepared to talk to the militants on any demand, legitimate or perverse, provided they gave up violence.

Then there was the Indo-U.S. cooperation in counter-terrorism, which moved ahead as the Federal Bureau of Investigation finalised arrangements during last week's visit of its director, Mr. Louis Freeh, for setting up its office in the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi and identified issues for joint efforts. The decision, taken during Mr. Clinton's visit, is to be seen as part of a process set in motion in the last round of talks between the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, and the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Mr. Strobe Talbott, in January, and their decision to establish a joint working group.

To take the Pakistan case again, there was nothing to suggest that Gen. Musharraf contemplated a positive response to Mr. Clinton's plea that he go slow on support to the terrorist outfits, operating in Jammu and Kashmir. The prospects of a let-up in the jihadi campaign against India, conducted by fundamentalist lunatics, were not bright either. Mr. Clinton proceeded on the premise that Pakistani agencies were actively involved in the killings of innocent people across the Line of Control and warned that Pakistan would risk increased isolation if the situation did not change. Gen. Musharraf took the line, by now familiar, though far from convinc-

ing — that the trouble in Kashmir was indigenous and that the extremist elements active in Pakistan, were not under his Government's control. Also, he sought to distance himself from the Taliban fanatics of Afghanistan, adding rhetorically: "If Osama bin Laden were to set foot on Pakistani soil, he would be immediately hauled up and handed over to the U.S."

India and the U.S. have good reasons to be satisfied with the new beginning as also with the fact noted in the "vision" statement: "We have before us for the first time in 50 years the possibility to realise the full potential of our relationship". But it is unrealistic to minimise the differences, especially on security matters and the issues thrown up by India's nuclear tests. The U.S. may have recognised India's (and Pakistan's) "sovereign right to make decisions about what is necessary for the defence of their interests", but its commitment to nuclear non-proliferation is certain to manifest itself in a firm stand. As a result, the on-going Jaswant Singh-Strobe Talbott dialogue acquires a crucial significance. While reaffirming its view that New Delhi should forgo nuclear weapons, the "vision" statement noted India's belief "that it needs to maintain a credible minimum nuclear deterrent in keeping with its own assessment of its security needs". This was interpreted as an implied acceptance of India's nuclear reality. In practice, things may not be that simple as the two sides build upon the "productive dialogue already under way".

The latest statement by the U.S. Secretary of State, Ms. Madeleine Albright, makes it clear that while India's stand on the resumption of dialogue with Pakistan, the genesis of trouble in Kashmir and its security concerns are better understood, it would be naive to see it as a major tilt in New Delhi's favour. India can draw comfort from the "new beginning" but it is equally important to prepare itself for tackling the difficulties in pursuing it. An exciting job ahead of Indian diplomacy. It may be facilitated by the expected momentum in the economic area.

THE HINDU

OPINION

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India's request for UN seat to be considered, says Celeste

12/9 Our Correspondent

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THE US ambassador to India, Richard Celeste, on Tuesday said there was a need to consider India's application for a permanent seat on the Security Council in the United Nations (UN). However, he stressed the primacy of the claims of both Japan and Germany since both countries pay substantial amounts to the UN.

Mr Celeste, who spoke to members of the CII in Pune on Tuesday, is on a two-day visit which includes an overnight halt at the National Defence Academy (NDA), where he is slated to address cadets.

Terming US President Bill Clinton's recent Indian visit "an extraordinary success," Mr Celeste said it will lead to a "rich and robust relationship between the two great democracies."

He suggested that Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee meet the two presiden-



Celeste

relationship.

On the issue of higher levels of foreign direct investment (FDI) in China compared to India, Mr Celeste said the Chinese government had been very eager to get such investment and made things easy for investors. However, returns on this investment are yet to materialise and "many companies are very frustrated since they have not yet seen any profits," he added.

Mr Celeste said a meeting between the Indian finance minister, Yashwant Sinha, and the US treasury secretary, Ron Summers, during the former's

tial candidates during his return visit to the US, scheduled for some time in September. This would ensure continuity for the

visit to the US next week should allow them to take the dialogue further. "Secretary Summers is very keen on greater FDI in India," he said.

He also referred to a huge "pent up interest" in the US to invest in the infrastructure sector in India but it was looking for clarity on the issue of escrow. The opening of the insurance sector is also eagerly awaited.

He urged governments of both countries to be enablers not arrangers of infrastructure which would enhance productivity, encourage exports and open markets on both sides.

Talking about the quota on H1-B visas, for software professionals, and Indian industry's demand for greater numbers, Mr Celeste said his belief was that the US Congress would maintain a cap at 1.15 lakh visas for the next year.

Of this, 40 per cent would be taken by Indians, he added.

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