

# India gets support on disarmament

By C. Raja Mohan

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**NEW DELHI, OCT. 31.** Regaining its diplomatic credentials to lead the global disarmament debate, India this week picked up additional support at the United Nations for its demand that all nuclear weapons states take steps to reduce the nuclear danger.

At the First Committee of the United Nations on Monday, over 100 nations backed India's resolution calling on the nuclear weapons states to review their military doctrines and take "urgent steps reduce the risks of unintentional and accidental use of nuclear weapons".

When the Government tested nuclear weapons in May 1998, many within and outside the country argued that India was forfeiting her place in the front benches of the international discourse on nuclear arms control.

The Indian resolution on "reducing the nuclear danger", introduced two years ago at the U.N., was indeed greeted with considerable scepticism. Many nations, even among the

non-aligned movement, suspected that the Indian move was an attempt to gain international acceptance of its new found status as a nuclear power.

The Western nations were furious that India had the nerve to press a resolution on nuclear disarmament at a time when they were mobilising global opinion against the Pokhran tests.

India managed to get barely 68 nations to vote in favour of its resolution in the autumn of 1998. Last year, 90 states backed the Indian proposal. Overcoming the crucial barrier of 100 votes this year, the Indian resolution got the endorsement of 102 nations.

In risking a rare defeat of its resolution in 1998 and gaining greater support since then, India demonstrated that its disarmament credentials were in tact despite the nuclear tests.

New Delhi is also challenging the five official nuclear weapons states, who keep pointing to the new nuclear danger in the subcontinent, to take steps to reduce the long-standing threats to international security from their own nuclear arsenals.

By demanding a review of their nuclear doctrines, India is proclaiming its own responsible approach to managing nuclear weapons. India is arguing that its commitment to avoid an early use of these arsenals is more in tune with the sentiments of the international peace movement.

Many arms control groups in the United States and the West have been unsuccessfully pressing their governments to "de-alert" — or reduce the state of readiness — their nuclear arsenals.

Opposition to the Indian resolution has largely come from the NATO nations and their friends. In an important gain, Japan which traditionally votes with the West on arms control issues abstained.

China is the only permanent member of the U.N. Security Council not to oppose the resolution. While the U.S., Russia, France and Britain voted against it, China abstained. Pakistan, which usually spars with India on many issues at global fora, voted in favour of the resolution.

THE HINDU

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# Putin seizes moment on N-disarmament

**V**LADIMIR Putin's disarmament statement should throw the cat among the pigeons. Presumably, the Russian President had prepared the disarmament statement he issued on Monday for delivery to the next US president.

In the event, he decided not to put it on ice but seized the moment, perhaps aware that for the first time in almost 10 years, the debate on nuclear disarmament in the American foreign policy community was beginning to open up after the Clinton-induced freeze (or was it simply torpor?)

It was Jonathan Schell's long article two months ago in the establishment's favourite foreign policy magazine, *Foreign Affairs*, that has brought a simmering debate to the boil. Schell did this once 20 years ago with an article in the *New Yorker* that was quoted the world over but to no lasting effect.

On this occasion, the magazine of publication is a better platform. And the timing is perfect. For not only, as Mr Putin makes clear, is Moscow prepared to drastically reduce its stockpile of nuclear missiles, there are powerful, often ex-military voices, in the USA advocating the same course for America.

Mr Putin's call was not just for further cuts than the US suggested ceiling of 2,500 for each side (there are about 7,000 at present) but for reductions far below Moscow's previous target of 1,500. From the way Mr

Putin put it, he may well have in mind the same kind of deal that Mikhail Gorbachov and Ronald Reagan hatched at their summit in Reykjavic, a stockpile approaching zero.

That momentous unconsummated plan was Ronald Reagan's brain child — he foresaw a world with perfect missile defences (the so-called *Star Wars* concept) side by side with the abolition of nuclear weapons by the superpowers.

But the moment Mr Reagan's advisers got wind of what he was hatching with Mr Gorbachov they moved to squelch it, arguing its lack of feasibility and rubbishing its practicality, as they do regularly with any creative proposal that has wound its way through the labyrinth of inter-agency review.

The only time a major initiative of a unilateral nature won through was when President George Bush, strongly placed after the demise of the Cold War, secretly hatched a plan to take US nuclear bombers off alert and remove tactical nuclear weapons from service — no one in the bureaucracy or the Senate had time to try and outmanoeuvre him.

According to George Perkovich, writing in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs*, 1961 was the last time that the US government — led by John F Kennedy — took nuclear disarmament seriously enough to explore how to make it feasible. Although the Clinton administration called for a "fundamental re-examination"

of the nuclear doctrine, the initiative suffered from presidential inattention and Mr Clinton's "reluctance to challenge Washington's odd couple of Pentagon bureaucrats and myopic and doctrinaire senators". Yet it is not entirely the Pentagon's fault. The web of civilian experts that stretches from inside the bureaucracy to the Senate, universities, specialist think-tanks and to the arms manufacturers produces a hardened force of opinion, almost immune to any counter-strike.

As General Eugene Habiger, the recently retired commander-in-chief of US strategic nuclear forces, put it, "We have reached the point where the senior military generals responsible for nuclear forces are advocating more vocally, more vehemently, than our politicians to get down to lower and lower weapons".

His predecessor, Gen. George Lee Butler, goes even further both in wanting to totally eliminate nuclear weapons and in highlighting the savage tactics used by the pro-nuclear lobby to publicly destroy the image and credibility of any high profile anti-nuclear campaigner.

Public opinion throughout the Western world appears to be in a state of serendipity when it comes to nuclear weapons. Something will come along from

somewhere and make the world safe from nuclear war. But reality is far different. Russian nuclear forces are deteriorating, both materially and in their command and control systems.

By the day an unauthorised launch becomes more likely.

The Chinese-Taiwan situation could sometime in the next few years erupt into a major military crisis, pushing the USA to confront China, a situation that could lead to two nuclear-armed powers firing missiles at each other. Nuclear proliferation, as we have seen in the last two years, is becoming more and more likely and Kashmir and West Asia remain nuclear tinderboxes.

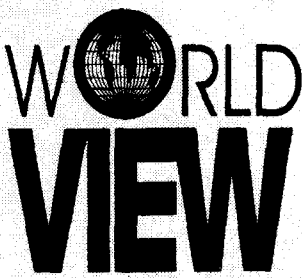
But beyond that is the creeping hostility that much of the rest of the world feels as Washington presses its superfluous nuclear advantage. By making no effort to deliver on what it has publicly and solemnly promised a number of times — and once again earlier this year — to initiate serious nuclear disarmament — it encourages other states to resist US foreign policy goals, given half a chance.

Even good friends such as Canada, France, Germany and Sweden get gripped with this anti-US angst from time to time.

It doesn't augur well for long-term US interests if the country's leadership is regarded as arrogant and needlessly militaristic.

Mr Putin has rightly seized his moment. Can George W Bush or Al Gore seize theirs?

A statement of intent in reply, as they hunker in their bunkers awaiting the electorate's verdict, would be a welcome sign that they are still in touch with reality.



By JONATHAN POWER

# UK wants India to sign CTBT, NPT

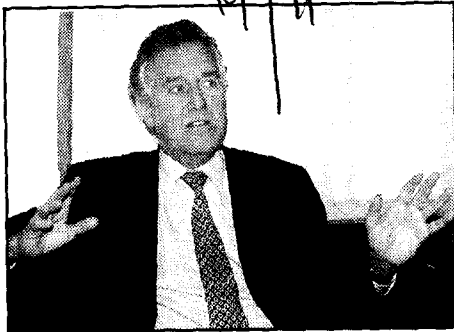
Saurabh Shukla  
New Delhi November 18

BRITISH Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Peter Hain's visit to New Delhi is being viewed with great interest. This because it comes at a time when pressure is mounting for the release of British national, Peter Bleach, who is facing trial in the Purulia arms drop case.

Hain is in charge of South Asia and also handles the human rights portfolio in the Foreign office. Just a few hours after his arrival in Delhi, Hain spoke to *The Hindustan Times*. He made it clear that he would raise the issue of Bleach. He said that India should not only sign the CTBT but also the NPT -- a statement that many in India may find hard to digest.

On the fate of British national Peter Bleach, Hain said "Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook raised the issue three days ago and Jaswant Singh promised to look into it. It is a matter of concern to us and has already been raised at the highest level. It will come up during my visit and we hope there is some progress. But we don't want to elevate it to a level, which affects the good relations between the two countries.

He was quizzed on the incidents of racial violence directed against South Asians and the



Peter Hain

recent Parekh report on race relations that rapped the British Government for its poor track record. In reply he said, "There are about 1 million British citizens of Indian origin. We want to ensure that every citizen has equal protection. We have had some very tough legislations on racial hatred and violence. We have reformed the police who were racist, but a lot more still needs to be done."

However, Hain feels that there are enough areas of convergence to steer the relationship into the 21st century and the two countries were working on them. Reflecting on these, he said

he saw the beginnings of a new coherent relationship. "Some of the important areas of cooperation are against terrorism and drugs. Our cooperation has gone beyond the joint working group. We have been swapping instances and learning from each other's experience in fighting terrorism, cooperation against terrorism and terrorist groups across the world," he said. He says, "We have common interest in disarmament, fight against terrorism, drugs and regional instability, and issues related to Pakistan."

However, what may be itchy for the Indian Foreign policy hawks, is the British insistence on India signing the CTBT and NPT that India regards as a dead letter. "We have signed the CTBT. We are concerned about the nuclear proliferation and many countries have acquired fissile material. I think it is in India's interest to sign the CTBT and the NPT. There is nothing to be lost by doing so."

Brimming with optimism on the beginning of his visit, Hain said India was a strategic partner for UK and despite some difference they want to take it further. "It is a partnership of equals. We recognise India as a super power in strategic and political terms. I don't see any irritants and there has been a sea change in our relationship. Though there are differences they have to be resolved like a family."

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

19 NOV 2000

## ABM: Putin moots compromise

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, NOV. 21. The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, has voiced readiness for compromise with the U.S. on the controversial issue of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, while reaffirming Moscow's opposition to scrapping it.

"We believe that the destruction of the ABM Treaty can destabilise the situation in the world, but we are ready to look together for ways of resolving the problem," Mr. Putin told reporters after talks with the visiting British Prime Minister, Mr. Tony Blair.

Mr. Putin's offer of further talks on the ABM Treaty appears to be linked to a new compromise proposal put forward last week by

the Russian strategic forces commander, Gen. Vladimir Yakovlev. Admitting that it would be difficult for Moscow to persuade Washington not to deploy anti-missile defences in violation of the ABM Treaty, Gen. Yakovlev proposed including anti-missile systems into agreed limits on strategic weapons and introduce an unchanging general indicator of such weapons, so that a country wishing to increase one component in the equation would have to cut back on another. Mr. Putin has also proposed slashing Russian and U.S. nuclear warheads from the 3500-level under the START-2 treaty to 1500 warheads or less for each side.

Mr. Blair's one-day visit to Moscow was apparently aimed at

working out an agenda for Britain's mediation between Russia and the U.S. on missile defences and strategic arms. The British Prime Minister, who was the first world leader to develop a close working relationship with Mr. Putin, is clearly anxious to cast himself in the role of a European bridge between Russia and the U.S. The Russian and British leaders have met for an unprecedented five times since Mr. Putin's election last March, and Mr. Blair today defended his close interaction with the President.

The two leaders also discussed a plan actively promoted by Mr. Blair to set up European peace-keeping forces, which Russia sees as a welcome alternative to NATO forces.

THE HINDU

22 NOV 2000

# RUSSIAN PROPOSAL ON DISARMAMENT

416 By PAVEL PODLESNY 216

PROPOSALS contained in President Vladimir Putin's statement on nuclear disarmament are both timely and realistic. They are aimed at further nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and strategic stability. Deep cuts in strategic offensive arms, initiated by Start-I and Start-II treaties, need to be continued by Russia and the US, of course. Conclusion of the Start-III Treaty, which provides for a reduction of nuclear warheads levels in Russia and the US down to 1,500 each, is quite a feasible task and its accomplishment depends only on the goodwill of the two great powers. Russia has this will and it was demonstrated in Putin's statement. The ball is now in Washington's court.

Members of the American administration have also repeatedly put the case for concluding the Start-III Treaty, although naming a different reduction level — 2000 warheads. But that is not a matter of principle. The main thing is elsewhere. As the Russian head of state emphasised in his statement, progress towards radically lowered levels in nuclear warheads must be made with the Moscow 1972 anti-ballistic missile treaty preserved and strengthened. This treaty, as well as protocols to it, signed in 1997 and delimiting ABM strategic and tactical systems, is, in the Russian leadership's view, the cornerstone and foundation of strategic stability and security. This is why Moscow has set its face against Washington's intention to deploy a national missile system, banned by the 1972 Treaty.

## THREATS

The US is known to be motivating its plans to deploy NMD by the need to counter new missile threats that have emerged recently and are alleged to be stemming from a number of countries that have mastered or are capable of mastering nuclear missile weapons in the next few years. But these threats — real or imaginary — can be neutralised without going beyond the framework of the 1972 treaty and by acting, above all, through political and diplomatic methods. A graphic example, as Putin notes in his statement, is an intensive ongoing dialogue between the US and North Korea on missile issues. The Russian President also pointed to the importance of efforts to improve political and legal missile non-proliferation mechanisms and create a global system of monitoring missiles and missile technologies.

*The author is associated with the Russian Academy of Sciences.*

An undoubted achievement of Russian diplomacy is the fact that it has been able to make the ABM problem, concerning bilateral Russian-American relations, an international one. Many countries, including USA's NATO allies, are now aware that this will lead to a new and very dangerous spiral in the arms race. To be sure, one need not anticipate developments. The White House has not yet made a final decision on NMD and it will apparently be taken by a new administration. If Republican George W. Bush, known for his tough line on ABM, becomes US President, the US may withdraw unilaterally from the 1972 Treaty. The Democrats have a more flexible attitude on this issue and, arguably, Al Gore, even attempting to alter the Moscow treaty, would do so only by agreement with the Kremlin.

## DIALOGUE

Moscow is not refusing to keep up a dialogue. On the contrary, Putin clearly says in his statement that Russia is prepared, without any pauses, to continue the dialogue, started more than a year ago with the US, on any controversial ABM issues. That is quite natural, for an obligation to look at all matters bearing on the 1972 ABM Treaty is recorded in the document itself.

One's attitude to the ABM Treaty is an acid test showing actual intentions of the state concerned, its genuine, not declared, position. It is common knowledge that a national missile system in the US was sought by Presidents Lyndon Johnson and Ronald Reagan. Bill Clinton was close to implementing such plans, but wisdom prevailed, after all. It is to be hoped that common sense and realism will be shown by the future White House occupant too.

Voices are heard saying that the American budget surplus is now so huge that its revenues cannot find an application and are bound to be used in deploying an NMD. This argument has not a leg to stand on. For revenues can be channelled not only into the military, but also the social area, where the Americans have enough unsolved problems. To spend money on an action exacerbating the situation in the world is hardly worthwhile. Mankind is on the threshold of the 21st century. It needs a concrete and realistic nuclear disarmament programme. Russia is offering its version of that programme. The US can make adjustments; what is important that work should begin. The two countries have tremendous possibilities at their disposal and these should be used for strengthening peace.

SMAN

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11-10

## Peace by Piece 22/11/10

All democratic nuclear powers must, by definition, necessarily have an anti-nuclear peace movement. In India, our political class as a whole has so far been as indifferent to national security as to international peace. As such, it is very salutary that a National Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament has been set up in the country after a three-day national convention. As in similar organisations elsewhere in the world, a former chief of staff is to head it. And yet, experience shows that while any number of retired chiefs of staff and former defence secretaries willingly enlist themselves in the anti-nuclear cause, no serving chief of staff, defence minister or prime minister would publicly renounce nuclear weapons. It might be a worthwhile task for the anti-nuclear peace movement to study why the logic of nuclear futility so evident to those who have retired, makes no sense to those in office. These days anti-nuclear peace movements in the West have lost much of their momentum and therefore the push given by the Indian organisers is to be welcomed. Indeed, one among the foreign participants congratulated the Indian organisers for initiating an exchange of views on nuclear disarmament. Even the Green Party in Germany has been forced to go along with NATO's nuclear doctrine which envisages first use of nuclear weapons. Peace movements in the West did not protest too much when nuclear weapons were legitimised through the indefinite and unconditional extension of the non-proliferation treaty. The fervour that marked the movements when the Pershing II and SS-21 missiles were to be installed is hardly to be seen in the post-Cold War era.

The convention urged the Big Five immediately to de-alert their nuclear weapons systems, pledge no-first-use, stop further research into advanced nuclear weapons and proceed systematically and continuously to reduce their arsenal to zero level through unilateral, bilateral and multilateral commitments and pacts. This is what the Indian government, many other non-aligned countries, and of late even some of the allies of the nuclear weapon powers have been demanding without success. It is to be hoped that in future conventions there would be some objective analysis of why the pleas of all these governments over all these years have not succeeded. The convention appears to have recommended one agenda for India and another for the five nuclear weapon powers on the assumption that India and Pakistan have not weaponised. Evidently, they have not chosen to take note of the writings in Pakistan which imply that weaponisation there started as far back as 1987 and 1990. Over the long history of western peace movements, it has been clear that no government is willing to risk unilateral nuclear disarmament — that too without verification. Nuclear peace of sorts came to Europe with the acceptance of the territorial status quo following World War II in the Helsinki process. The Indian and Pakistani peace movements may find it useful to borrow that lesson. The search for peace and nuclear disarmament is a long and arduous journey that humanity cannot afford to give up. Peace researchers all over the world are in a learning process.

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23 NOV 2000

## Missile message

INDIA CAN give only muted applause to the recent missile proliferation agreement between China and the United States. On the face of it, India should be pleased. Washington has lifted economic sanctions against Beijing in return for the latter promising not to provide ballistic missiles or missile technology to third countries. The most prominent of these is Pakistan. The US will now apply these sanctions against two clients of China's missile salesmen. One of these is Pakistan, whose missiles all point eastward. However, Beijing has twice before told the US that it would stop proliferating missiles. It broke both agreements. In addition, the sanctions applied to Pakistan have little import. Islamabad is already buried under so many layers of sanctions that this latest action is superfluous. Finally, China has transferred so much missile-making capability to Pakistan that the present agreement contributes only marginally to India's security.

Nonetheless, there is a glimmer of solace. With each successive agreement, China is moving closer to compliance. The present agreement has a better chance of success than its predecessors for three reasons. One, it seems to be part of a larger package that includes US support for China's joining the World Trade Organisation. Two, the quasi-independent Chinese military-industrial complex has at last come under civilian control. The generals were prone to disregarding treaty obligations. Three, there are signs China is belatedly recognising that missile proliferation perhaps undermines its own security. India has little influence on what goes on between the US and China. In the past, Beijing has been happy to use missile sales as a bargaining ploy when arguing with the US over unrelated crises like Taiwan or North Korea. But the Pokhran II tests have at least helped inject India's concerns about missile proliferation into the US-China agenda.

The truth of the matter is that missiles are spreading across the globe in ever more numbers. The technology is relatively simple. China is not the only country in the business. North Korea is a key supplier of missiles to Pakistan — and no one seems to have any influence on Pyongyang's behaviour. The real issue in the US-China agreement is not missiles but rather what it signals about Beijing's international behaviour. Beijing's foreign policy has always had rogue State tendencies. But as it emerges as a global player, China is grudgingly starting to treat bilateral agreements as binding documents. India will not be the only country to watch whether the latest missile pact will survive the pulls and pushes of US-China rivalry.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

24 NOV 2000

Ongoing developments suggest that nuclear deterrence is headed for fundamental change

# Atoms for might

BY BRAHMA CHELLANEY

**T**HE ROLE of nuclear weapons is undergoing subtle but important changes in deterrence strategy. Although this transformation is a consequence of the collapse of bipolarity in international relations and the shift in military threats from the global to regional context, the trend is becoming visible now due to more recent developments. The principles of nuclear deterrence are beginning to alter in a way that could profoundly impact on the still-evolving post-Cold War security order.

How the theory and practice of deterrence are being transformed can be seen from the current US debate on a national missile defence (NMD) system. The political debate has narrowed to when and how — rather than whether — the United States should deploy such defences. At the core of the debate is a growing acknowledgement that deterrence in the 21st century cannot be pivoted on principles based on the bipolar nuclear paradigm. Deterrence traditionally has been an offence-based posture that aims to retain a balance between mutual vulnerabilities and a capability to wreak unacceptable punishment on an aggressor. Now, national and theatre missile defences symbolise a potential shift in focus from offence to defence. Without offence being given up, deterrence is intended to be constructed on the principles of defence to calculatingly tilt the balance between mutual vulnerabilities in favour of one side.

Change is affecting the face of deterrence, but not its primary purpose. Deterrence will still centre on achieving strategic objectives, not through military victory in a nuclear conflict, but with the threat of war. Since the threat has to be realistically based on ready, deliverable nuclear weapons, the symbiosis of deterrence and use will remain the key reality of the nuclear world. The difference now is the difficulty in identifying the mechanisms for credibly executing such a threat in a post-bipolar world.

With the threat of global nuclear war giving way to dangers of regional nuclear conflict involving one or more of the established nuclear powers, such as over Taiwan, novel concepts of nuclear-weapon employment and new types of weapons are emerging. The large-yield, high-destruction weapons that make up the bulk of the US and Russian nuclear armories are anachronistic with

the desire of military planners today for 'clean' surgical strikes in the event of war. Total annihilation of an enemy is no longer considered a politically feasible or desirable proposition, especially when no major State is willing to identify any foe.

So, after having built city-busting weapons for decades, weapon designers are now looking at high-precision, low-yield arms that could take out a Government complex or some other single target without the rest of the city being in ruins. America's new, deep-burrowing 'mini-nuke', France's interest in 'sub-strategic' weapons, Russia's stress on tactical nukes and China's primary reliance on short-to intermediate-range weaponry underscore the perils of limited, localised strikes.

The 'revolution in military affairs' (RMA) has opened the path to nuclear precision weapons by spawning highly accurate and lethal conventional arms. Conversely, it has increased the value of nuclear weapons for technologically less advanced powers unable to enter into a race with the United States to build conventional precision weapons.

The nuclear build-down of Russia, the world's largest but thinly-populated State, and the parallel nuclear build-up of the most-populous China also suggest that deterrence in the 21st century will be strikingly dissimilar to the bipolar confrontation when the two superpowers kept peace between themselves and their blocs by matching each other's nuclear might. Today Russia is a fallen superpower unable to keep up with the nuclear tempo, while the rising China aspiring to be America's peer competitor is in no position to match Washington's nuclear prowess in the foreseeable future.

Possessing at present just six to 24 strategic weapons that can possibly reach western US, China for several years to come will remain far away from the Cold War model of deterrence in relation to Washington — a mutually assured destruction

(MAD) capability. China's double-digit increase in military spending for 12 consecutive years have brought its latest budget, according to US estimates, to \$ 70 billion — or six times of India's present defence outlays. Despite being the world's second largest defence spender, Beijing is still distant from acquiring a survivable second-strike capability against the US.

The most profound impact on the future shape of deterrence comes from developments within Russia. For half a century, Moscow pursued nuclear parity with the US to underpin strategic balance and ensure the latter would not carry out a disarming first strike. Now, privately if not publicly, parity has been given up. With an official defence budget of \$ 5 billion for 2000 — less than Pakistan's

— Russia does not have the funds to maintain even its existing armoury of 6,000 strategic warheads plus an undetermined number of tactical nukes.

The Russian nuclear arsenal is on a downward spiral despite the START process being stuck. The Duma ratified the START II six months ago on terms that make its

early entry into force improbable. This treaty is to take effect only after the US Congress ratifies a 1997 START II protocol and a package of amendments to the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. Moreover, by stipulating specific parameters for START III, the Duma legislation makes START II's entry into force conditional on an early conclusion of START III.

The Americans have allowed the START process to wither away for good reason: Attrition through expiry of service life will automatically drive Russia's strategic arsenal down to about 1,500 warheads over the next five to six years. The net result will be that Russia will slip to a second-tier status as a nuclear-weapons State.

In the US presidential race, candidate George Bush has promised deep unilateral nuclear cuts, an NMD system and no CTBT if he wins. But with an

economically booming US destined to emerge as the world's paramount nuclear power, it seems doubtful that any American President will have the political or financial incentive to go in for deep cuts at this stage.

In the evolving new situation, the existing premises of arms control, like the traditional principles of deterrence, are unlikely to hold. It is no accident that the process of arms control has ground to a halt in the present state of fluidity. The proposed elimination of multiple-warhead ICBMs under START II was designed to encourage a shift from a launch-on-warning to a launch-under-attack posture. But Moscow has made it clear that it intends to stick to a launch-on-warning posture (indistinguishable from pre-emption capability) and may not even eliminate its multiple-warhead ICBMs if Washington begins to deploy NMD.

For India, the changing face of deterrence and the emerging triangular strategic offence/defence relationship among the US, China and Russia carry important implications. In a complex world marked by conflicting trends, it is apparent that each deterrent relationship will be different from the other, premised on principles at variance with classical deterrence theory. The concept of mutually assured destruction is losing relevance. Deterrence has to be constructed on principles radically different from notions of qualitative or quantitative parity.

China has overwhelming nuclear superiority over India but its deterrent posture against the US is centred on a capability to threaten America's East Asian allies and a few US cities. India similarly can live with nuclear disparity with Beijing, but not with an inadequate reach against dominance-seeking China. Russia, resentful that START I and II are loaded against it, is likely to move to an independent *force de frappe* unhampered by major treaty restrictions.

The future of deterrence, however, remains hazy, with a lot of unanswered questions. What are the military missions for which nuclear weapons will remain relevant? What should be the right mix of offence and defence in deterrence? For deterrence to be credible, what level of force and alertness is required? How does deterrence work in relation to a State that is irresponsible and sinking (Pakistan) or is totally opaque (China), or when the two are hand-in-glove?



Changed equations: Pokhran II



# Castro Jr for total ban on N-weapons

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
NEW DELHI, OCT 27

**F**IDEL Castro's son and leading Cuban scientist Diaz-Balart has demanded a complete ban on nuclear arms so that disarmament can succeed.

"We need equity, universality and transparency in agreements like the CTBT and Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty," Diaz-Balart told journalists here on Thursday.

Castro has been in India since Monday. He had a meeting with Science and Technology Minister Murli Manohar Joshi and visited some science establishments in the Capital and in Bangalore. The current non-proliferation regimes had not been able to move towards any real disarmament, he said. Laying emphasis on coopera-



Diaz-Balart... for sake of peace

tion with India in research and development, Diaz-Balart, a nuclear scientist, said the two countries could surprise the world in the field of biotechnology next year. India and Cuba were cooperating in biotechnology, vaccines and instrumentation at the level of scientists. There was scope for more cooperation with India, he

said. A joint venture between Cuba's Herbal Biotech and India's Panacea had been formed and in Chandigarh the production of Hepatitis-B vaccine was taking place, he said. Anti-Meningitis-B vaccine, produced by Cuba, was also to be sold in US, he said speaking of advancements made by Cuba in this field.

On US embargo against Cuba, he said his country was ready to wait for change in US' attitude. In fact, different sectors in the US were keen to establish ties with Cuba in areas like biotechnology and tourism.

US approach towards Cuba is not realistic and sustainable. Things are bound to change," he said. He said N-energy was important and Cuba also had the right to utilise this energy.

INDIAN EXPRESS

28 OCT 2000

*Disa* **NMD / CLINTON LEAVES DECISION TO SUCCESSOR** *49-12*

# A responsible step: Russia, China

**MOSCOW, SEPT. 2.** Russia and China, the most vocal critics of the U.S. plans to deploy a National Missile Defence (NMD) system, have welcomed a decision by the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to leave the issue to his successor.

The Kremlin in a statement on Saturday said: "U.S. President Bill Clinton's decision not to take obligations to deploy the system of National Anti-Missile Defence is seen in Russia as a well-thought and responsible step," the statement quoted Mr. Putin as saying. "There is no doubt this step will lead to strengthening strategic stability and security in the whole world, and will strengthen the authority of the United States in the eyes of the international community," Mr. Putin said.

China termed the U.S. move as "rational" and called for more talks on the issue.

Beijing had taken note of the decision, and held that the decision was "rational", the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Zhu Bangzao, said.

"We hope the U.S. Government will have more contact and discussions with other countries on the matter, so as to make a decision which could serve the interests of countries and people all over the world," Mr. Zhu was quoted as saying by the official Xinhua news agency.

Sridhar Krishnaswami reports from Washington:

Mr. Clinton put off a decision on the NMD, saying that he lacked "absolute confidence" in the existing technology. In a speech at Georgetown University, he said he was leaving the decision on the issue to his successor, a

position which the Grand Old Party had been pushing for all these months.

"A National Missile Defence, if deployed should be a part of a larger strategy to preserve and enhance the peace, strength and security we now enjoy and to build an even safer world. I have tried to maximise the ability of the next President to pursue that strategy", Mr. Clinton said.

He effectively made the argument that the U.S. needed to utilise the time to narrow differences with the Russians; to rope in allies of America who are highly sceptical as also to study the implications the system was going to have in the Asian security environment that includes China and South Asia.

"We must consider the impact of a decision to deploy on the security in Asia. As the next President makes a deployment decision, he will need to avoid stimulating an already dangerous regional capability from China to South Asia", Mr. Clinton said.

He, at the same time, also stressed that no country could ever dictate American security policy. "Even if the United States and Russia cannot reach an agreement; even if we cannot secure the support of our allies first; even if we conclude that the Chinese will respond to NMD by increasing their arsenal of nuclear weapons substantially with a corollary inevitable impact in India and then in Pakistan."

Mr. Clinton came to a final decision on the NMD based on the recommendations he received from the Secretaries of State and Defence and his National Security Advisor. What he has done is to block the Pentagon from at least handing contracts for the start of a radar

system in the Aleutian Islands. The original thinking was that even if the President was going to defer a decision on the NMD he would authorise some work on the system.

The President's remark on not having absolute confidence in the technology is reflective, to a certain degree, of the results of tests. Of the 19 tests that have been planned in all, only three have taken place; and two of these have failed. Still, there are many in the administration who are convinced that the system will work even if opponents of the NMD have called it a pipedream and something even more esoteric than Mr. Ronald Reagan's "Star Wars".

Invoking lack of technology was a convenient cloak for the larger political decision Mr. Clinton seems to have made. The Democratic nominee, Mr. Albert Gore Jr., has not been definitive on the NMD saying that he supported development work. But Democrats on Capitol Hill, even if convinced of the missile threats to the country from the so-called rogue nations, have been wary of endorsing a system that did not have the backing of Western allies.

The GOP's nominee, Mr. George W. Bush, is a fervent supporter of the NMD and says he will go for a more "robust" system that will take care of all the States in America and allies as well. How a Bush administration will fund the project is a different story and one that has not been explained in any detail. The estimated cost for the NMD that will take care of the 50 States in the country is put around \$ 60 billions; and several times more if Mr. Bush's "robust" proposal is put into action.

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## 61-14 5/9 Dangerous Legacy

President Clinton's decision to defer deployment of the National Missile Defence has been received with relief all over the world and it is to be hoped that his successor will have the courage and wisdom to give up this provocative plan altogether. Earlier Mr Clinton had set for himself four criteria to finalise a decision on NMD deployment: the existence of a threat, proven feasibility of interception technology, affordability of costs and the reaction of allies and other powers. The main reason which he has cited to defer the decision is the failure of two out of three interception technology tests. Even while postponing the decision, however, he has directed his defence secretary to pursue a "robust programme of technology development". Perhaps that was inevitable in view of the forthcoming presidential elections and the commitment of the Republican candidate, Governor George Bush, to go ahead with NMD. The present decision has relieved the pressure on the US in the forthcoming millennium summit of the UN, in which very strong denunciations of the NMD were expected from the Chinese and Russian leaders as well as expressions of disapproval from US allies. At the same time, it has to be seen whether Mr Bush, who is falling behind the Democratic candidate, Vice-President Al Gore, in opinion polls, will attempt to use this as a major campaign issue. US politicians are second to none in using chauvinism and jingoism to their electoral advantage. The bomber gap and missile gap came in handy in the 1956 and 1960 elections.

President Clinton has not made his decision in response to the strong international sentiment against the NMD or because of the risk of its deployment unleashing a new arms race and destroying the existing arms control structure. Indeed, he has reiterated that the threat from new missile and nuclear powers is real. In other words, in the US view the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty are not likely to stop new proliferation. Since it is extremely unlikely that a non-nuclear member of the NPT regime will have the confidence to use nuclear weapons — especially to threaten the United States — without being assisted technologically by a nuclear weapon state in the development of the weapon, the US continues to believe the NPT is not a robust regime but is likely to break down because of the actions of its own members, both nuclear and non-nuclear. That is the clear implication of President Clinton's directive to pursue the robust development of missile interception technology. So long as Washington pursues missile interception technology, thereby casting doubts on the stability of the present nuclear deterrent order, the credibility of the NPT and CTBT will progressively erode. The US cannot have its cake and eat it too. It cannot talk of additional nuclear and missile threats to its security in the remoteness of the western hemisphere and preach the virtues of the NPT and CTBT to others. By deferring the decision to deploy NMD, President Clinton is not doing a favour to his successor. He would have done so had he scrapped altogether the highly provocative and destabilising programme.

THE TIMES OF INDIA.

- 5 SEP 2000

# How much of a reprieve?

By Achin Vanaik

*Time is needed if public opinion in the U.S. is to be changed and stronger resistance mounted, domestically and internationally, to the NMD project. The longer its start-up is delayed the better.*

THE U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton's postponement to his successor of the decision to initiate development of a national missile defence (NMD) system does come as something of a reprieve to the prospects of preventing a second nuclear age. But how much of a reprieve is it? And how does it affect South Asia? The answer to the second of these questions is easier and more straightforward. Even if the NMD project were to be completely abandoned the crucial issue for this Indian Government is future Chinese nuclear behaviour.

Here a serious problem remains. For Beijing it is not enough that the NMD project be delayed or abandoned. The Theatre Missile Defence (TMD) project of the U.S. and its East Asian allies (Japan and South Korea) must also be fully discarded. This, however, is proceeding apace. Russian objections raised by the President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, were instrumental in making Mr. Clinton think twice but there are no Russian objections to the East Asian TMD since theatre defences are allowed under the 1972 ABM Treaty. Also, it is not only the U.S. but Japan that wants an East Asian TMD precisely because of its longer-term fears of China though publicly North Korea is the scapegoat.

Thus China has to build up its intermediate-range nuclear missile forces to offsetively 'overload' the proposed TMD system. It is far more capable of doing this unlike the more desperate and uncertain effort it would have to initiate to build enough accurate land and submarine-based long-range ballistic missiles against the U.S. if and when the NMD project begins. These intermediate-range missiles can, theoretically and technically speaking, hit targets in India. Thus a pro-nuclear regime in New Delhi determined to build what it thinks will be a credible minimum deterrent against China will be pushed into an ongoing arms race with China which in turn will push Beijing to build more intermediate-range missiles to cover not only its East Asian flank but also the new 'Indian threat.' Seen from New Delhi, this will mean further reinforcement of the 'China threat' requiring 'appropriate' counter-measures. In all this, it is forgotten

that after the end of the Cold War, Beijing actually removed from deployment and production certain intermediate-range missiles capable of hitting India (the Dong Feng 25s) but really directed towards U.S. bases in the Philippines and the near-Pacific Ocean region.

Of course, Indian enhancement of its offensive missile capabilities vis-a-vis China, which because of the different geographies of the two countries cannot be intermediate-range but must be long-range missiles, will still disturb Pakistan giving an added edge to its nuclear preparations. It will also reinforce the tendency of both China and Pakistan to explore better mutual relations against the common rival, India. Incidentally, here too, the 1990s before Pokhran II, witnessed significant improvement in political relations between Beijing and New Delhi. That era with its distinct potential for steady and further improvement in Indo-China relations can now not return (unless India denuclearises) though we will repeatedly be told that it can and will, just as we will be reassured that there will be no danger of an arms race between India and China, India and Pakistan. When the existence of such arms races can long be hidden, we will be reassured that these arms races will be properly managed and controlled. The point about the existence of the ongoing TMD project and a possible or probable NMD project is that either or both ensure the presence of a dynamic that completely undermines such reassuring claims.

On the NMD front, there were four ostensible grounds on which Mr. Clinton had to rest his decision — technological readiness, effect on existing arms control efforts, costs, assessment of the threat. Ultimately, the postponement was justified because of the first two considerations. Preliminary tests showed how technically unsound the current state of

the start-up of the project is delayed the better. Moreover, matters are more complex than hoping that a Democrat victory in the coming presidential elections will automatically make prospects brighter. It would take not only a shift in the Congress towards the Democrats (elections to the House of Representatives are coming soon and Senate elections follow in two years time) but most importantly there has to be a change in the public mind-set away from American unilateralist arrogance. Failing this, a Gore presidency will again be pushed to go ahead with NMD plans where, ironically, its search for a limited ballistic defence system could hasten the possibility of a collapse of the ABM Treaty and more rapidly bring about the deterioration of relations with Russia and China which saner minds everywhere must fear.

In contrast, if the Republicans win, the ABM Treaty could enjoy a longer period of reprieve, not because they care more about it than the Democrats but precisely because they care about it less! The Republicans want a much more ambitious form of the NMD system in place with much more aggressive space-based forms of missile retaliation and a mobile ship-based radar system suitable for developing interceptors to knock out missiles in the boost phase. In short, their technical requirements are much more difficult to meet quickly and this could mean a lot more time before the Republicans take up the issue of when to demand amendment of the ABM Treaty or to walk out of it. Their determination to have a strong missile shield is also allied to a greater willingness to discard swords. Thus it is, Mr. George Bush, not Mr. Gore, who in his campaign has promised deeper, wider and quicker cuts in strategic arms with Russia. Indeed, in the last 15 years, arms reduction efforts have been greater and more successful under Republican presidencies.

In short, Republican nuclear aims today are much more disturbing to Russia, China and the world. But the consequently greater gap between such grandiose aims and the necessary technical preparations to fulfil them also tends to afford more time for resistance to grow. Even in the darkest clouds there are silver linings!

110-12

219

# Pugwash meet ridicules N-weapon states' concern

By L.K. Sharma  
The Times of India News Service

CAMBRIDGE: The 50th Pugwash Conference heard a warning that America's ballistic missile defence plan threatened the relative stability the world has enjoyed since the end of the Cold War. The UK government was criticised for not joining the European opposition to the "son of Star War".

At the influential Nobel-prize winning forum, renowned British scientist, Sir Michael Atiyah, criticised the five nuclear weapon states for their "myopic and legalistic" reaction to the nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan. They should not expect others to play by rules framed by their club, Sir Michael said.

The UK government came in for a strong attack for denying a visa to Dr Ishfaq Ahmad, chairman of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, who had wanted to attend the conference. The visa issue was raised at the conference by Sir Michael Atiyah who said the embargo on nuclear scientists was reminiscent of the bad old days of the Soviet Union and McCarthy America. He apologised on behalf of the British Pugwash group which he said felt "embarrassed and perplexed by the action of our own government."

"During the long period of the Cold War, Russian and American scientists were able to meet and deal with the very sensitive issues of nuclear weapons. Our ability to arrange such meetings has been an essential part of our mission and the Nobel Prize recognised this fact".

Sir Michael said the grounds for the British policy of not allowing any Pakistani nuclear scientist to enter Britain were "legalistic and specious". As a country that has signed up to the NPT the UK has undertaken not to assist any non-nuclear country to acquire nuclear weapons. The weakness in this ar-

gument, he said was transparent. India and Pakistan already have nuclear weapons, so they did not need UK's assistance.

Moreover, Pugwash Conference was hardly the place where nuclear secrets were for sale, former president of the Royal Society said. Criticising the five nuclear weapon states, he said they formed a club, drew up the rules and then objected when some outsiders refused to join on those terms. Instead of recognising the realities of the new situation and trying to accommodate the views of India and Pakistan they play the role of aggrieved party. They say India and Pakistan did not play by our rules, so they have to suffer. He recalled that the Pugwash Council had issued a statement deploring the nuclear tests by India and Pakistan which also criticised the main nuclear powers for dragging their feet on steps to reduce nuclear armaments.

"This failure of the nuclear weapons states to fulfil their obligations under the NPT was certainly a significant contributory factor in the Indian and Pakistani decisions," Sir Michael said. He said in the wake of some progress of nuclear disarmament, one major threat to the peaceful scenario had appeared in the form of American ballistic missile defence plan. It would clash with the ABM treaty, viewed by many as the cornerstone of world security at the present time.

In America, the argument seems to have been won by the hawks. In Europe most countries, with the exception of the UK, seem to oppose the American plan. "The dangers are clear. The relative stability of recent years may be on the verge of disappearing. We may be about to see a new phase of arms race. Trust will vanish and be replaced by suspicion. The whole international climate may become soured," Sir Michael said.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

1 0 AUG 2000

# 'India, Pak, China to decide on N-arms uninfluenced by US'

Washington, August 11

45-19 12/8  
INDIA, CHINA and Pakistan will decide the level of their nuclear arsenals uninfluenced by any decision of the US to deploy a National Missile Defence (NMD) system, state department spokesman Richard Boucher has said.

Stating that US plans to install an NMD shield did not have any bearing on nuclear programmes of India and Pakistan, he said "they may do that (increase nuclear levels) anyway. I don't see how our missile defence would affect what they decide to do in that situation." "China is modernising its missiles. We have seen it underway for some time. We expect it to continue, whatever we do," Boucher said at a department briefing yesterday.

Asked if China might retaliate against NMD by supplying more missiles to Pakistan, he said, "we have a very active non-proliferation dialogue with the Chinese. We do think it is important for China to abide by international norms with regard to non-proliferation."

He said NMD was not a reason to start "selling missiles to people all over the world who might use them not only against us but against others as well."

Meanwhile, Pentagon has endorsed the view that China will modernise its nuclear arsenal regardless of the US plans for installation of the NMD system.

Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon said in his briefing yesterday that China has been modernising strategic forces for sometime, long before NMD had become a front-burner issue.

US intelligence agencies believe if China enhances its nuclear capability, India will in turn expand its N-weapons triggering a similar reaction from Pakistan.

Both Russia and China have made it clear that they are opposed to deployment of NMD, Bacon said adding, "NMD would not be aimed at the US. It is designed for a smaller type of attack that the US does not anticipate from Russia or China."

He said the US wants to operate within the parameters of the anti-ballistic missile (ABM) treaty which would have to be mended if the US were to go ahead with NMD. (PTI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

12 AUG 2000

# Sign CTBT, end Indo-Japan N-divide: Mori

**The Times of India News Service**  
NEW DELHI: Striking a slightly discordant note, Japan's Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori urged India on Thursday to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

"I strongly expect India's early signature to the CTBT in order that we can take initiatives together for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation and further promote our amicable relations," Mr Mori said in a speech to the top leaders of Indian industry. The meeting was organised by FICCI.

Mr Mori connected the proliferation issue with the furthering of ties between the two countries, emphasising how important the disarmament issue was for Japan, which was the only country in the world to have experienced the horrors of a nuclear holocaust. He said Japan expected India's early signature to the CTBT for "further promoting amicable bilateral relations".

Mr Mori said signing the treaty would enhance India's standing in the international community as a mature and responsible

nation. Japan believed New Delhi was as committed to non-proliferation and the total elimination of nuclear weapons as was Tokyo. The May nuclear tests were a "bolt from the blue" for both the Japanese government.

The Japanese leader explained that it was inevitable that economic "measures" had to be put in place. The Japanese government had refused to use the term sanctions, preferring instead to use a

less harsh term, "economic measures". Mr Mori tried to get across to the audience that there was no way any government in his country could avoid taking these steps. Public opinion in Japan was vehemently anti-nuclear.

The visitor explained that despite the economic measures put in place, Japan had ensured that humanitarian aid continued. In fact, Japan, like the U.S. and other G-7 countries, had allowed the multilateral financial institutions to go ahead with certain loans to India. Although Japan's sanctions were still in place, Tokyo was willing to give out funds for Delhi's proposed mass rapid transit system. Indian leaders appeared to be convinced by Japan's argument. External affairs minister Jaswant Singh said India was sensitive to Japan's concerns about proliferation issues.

Condemning terrorism in all its



Yoshiro Mori

## NUKE ISSUES AND OLD

- Mori explains basis for nuclear measures
- Public opinion in Japan anti-nuclear
- Proposes three-pronged strategy to boost IT cooperation

forms, Mr Mori said, "There can be no justification for terrorist acts." Mr Mori said he had asked Pakistan's ruler, General Pervez Musharraf, to create a conducive environment for the resumption of a dialogue with India.

He proposed a three-pronged strategy to boost bilateral relations between India and Japan in the information technology sector.

► See Edit: Teeing off with Japan, Page 12

## Slow & Steady on CTBT

Prime Minister Vajpayee has jumped the gun once again: He said in Lisbon that Parliament will discuss the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) in the coming monsoon session and the government will try for a national consensus on the issue. Right on cue, the Congress party has declared that it is opposed to any attempt to revive a treaty that has been rejected by the US Senate, and also demanded that the government explain what package it has in mind. The Congress seems to have a point, for the government's announcement came without any attempt to educate the nation on such a complex issue, leaving it open to polemics. India's stand on CTBT should be determined by three basic considerations — two external and one domestic. Not only has the US Senate rejected the treaty, but China too has not ratified it. Even the Russians have warned that they would withdraw from it if the US continues with its Nuclear Missile Defence (NMD) programme. George Bush, the Republican candidate, is not a supporter of CTBT and his election will doom it for ever. That is the first consideration — whether India should at this stage subscribe to a treaty whose future is so uncertain. Secondly, there is widespread expectation that the NMD programme could provoke a violent reaction from China in terms of the latter's own missile and nuclear weapon programmes. We should have at least waited for the results of the next round of missile interception tests in the US, after which President Clinton is expected to take a decision on whether to go ahead with the NMD. But, there is internal pressure on Mr Clinton: Forty scientists and strategists have addressed a letter to him asking him to defer a decision.

The major domestic issue is whether the current nuclear tests in India have proven that we can sustain a credible minimum deterrence. Some experts — including a former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission who is also the designer of the earlier fission weapon — argue that more tests would be needed. But others — such as the present chairman who is associated with all weapon designs, including the thermonuclear weapon tested on May 11, 1998 — believe that the tests done till now are enough for a credible minimum deterrence. Unfortunately, there are very few people in this country who can speak authoritatively on the subject: In fact, outside the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre there are only two. That is why it is important that the present BARC establishment and those holding dissenting views come together and sort out the issue without disclosing the details of weapon design. This should not be difficult since the people concerned have been colleagues working on the same project for decades. It is somewhat puzzling why this has not happened over the past two years. Instead, it has been allowed to degenerate into a political controversy, which does not help in educating the public at large. Even after the government published the draft nuclear doctrine there was no meaningful discussion on it. Without proper debate and a subsequent process of involving the entire country any move to take up the CTBT in Parliament would be premature.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

2 JUL 2000

2 JUL 2000



# Missile interceptor fails to connect

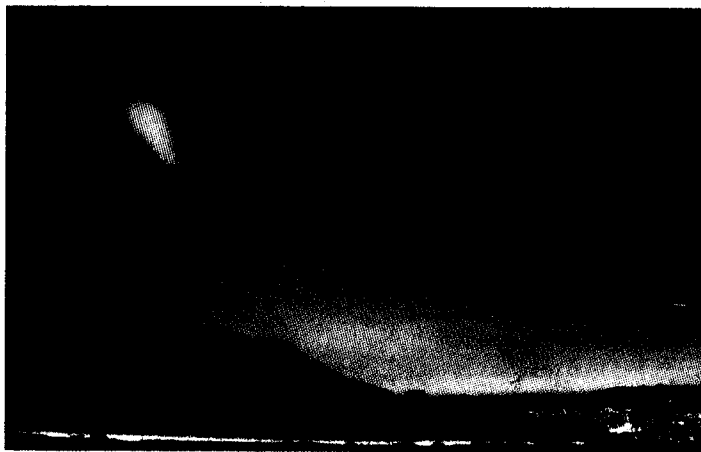
Washington, July 8

AN INTERCEPTOR missile failed to hit a target missile over the Pacific early Saturday, botching a test that was supposed to decide whether the controversial \$60 billion US missile defence system was ready for deployment.

Pentagon officials said the failure occurred in the interceptor's boost phase when the "kill vehicle," which is designed to seek out and destroy the incoming warhead in space, failed to separate from the booster rocket's second stage.

"We did not intercept the warhead that we expected to have tonight," said Lieutenant General Ronald Kadish, Director of the Pentagon's Ballistic Missile Defence Organisation. "We're disappointed with that."

It was a major setback for a pro-



A target missile launched from Vandenberg Air Force base streaks across the California sky on Friday. Photo: AP

ject that is designed to protect the United States against a limited attack by ballistic missiles but

which has aroused a storm of criticism from experts, who said it could not work.

9/7 ✓  
President Bill Clinton is to decide before the end of the year whether to go ahead with construction of the initial phase of the system so that it will be ready by 2005. US intelligence officials believe North Korea will have a missile capable of reaching the United States by then.

Pentagon officials would not say whether the failure doomed the chances of declaring the system technologically fit for deployment by 2005. Of two previous attempts, only one has succeeded. That one successful intercept was conducted last October. India opposed the US missile defence programme saying it would 'damage' all approaches to global disarmament. In Moscow, Russia was hopeful that Clinton would abandon plans to deploy a national missile defence shield after today's failure. **Agencies**

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

9 JUL 2001

# Death of a Treaty

## US Missile Plan Endangers CTBT

By K SUBRAHMANYAM

11-10 1077  
**T**HE Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), which should have been on the back burner after the US Senate rejected it, has become a matter for debate in this country thanks to Prime Minister Vajpayee's talk of developing a consensus on it. The PM has also indicated that he wants to bring it before Parliament in the monsoon session.

The CTBT, however, is no longer the document signed by some 130 countries in 1996; it is virtually dead after it was rejected by the US Senate. Of the other four established nuclear weapon powers, UK and France have ratified it unconditionally. Russia has ratified it with the caveat that it might withdraw from the treaty if the US continues with its Nuclear Missile Defence (NMD) programme that breaches its commitment to the anti-ballistic missile treaty — the mother of all arms control treaties. China, which has not ratified the CTBT has also vehemently opposed the NMD plan of the US and has vowed to take steps to counter its impact on China's deterrence capability.

Some, US strategists have warned that China might expand its missile and nuclear arsenals as a counter measure. Recent reports in the US press say that according to US intelligence agencies China has stepped up its assistance to Pakistan's long range nuclear capable missile programme. It is quite likely that China's proliferation to Pakistan is an attempt at hitting back at the US for supplying arms to Taiwan, its plans to develop theatre missile defence in East Asia and the NMD programme.

The last time an international treaty was rejected by the US Senate was in 1919 when the League of Nations accord was rejected. There's no precedent in the past 80 years of the Senate reconsidering a rejected treaty. Of the two presidential candidates, governor George Bush has come out against CTBT. Even if Vice President Al Gore were to be elected he would still need 67 senate votes from both parties to get it ratified. Some 33 Republicans can block its acceptance.

If the US-China relations were to deteriorate, consequent on the US initiating the NMD, that would be a factor influencing the senators in voting on the treaty. Even if the treaty were to be successfully

revived by the next president it is likely that the US Senate may ask for minor changes or even add a whole lot of caveats — as they did in the case of the Chemical Weapons Convention — just to show that it is not voting in a treaty draft already rejected. The treaty cannot be amended at this stage before it enters into force.

Again, some US and UK scientists have questioned the yields of Indian nuclear tests, although Indian scientists argue that they were as per design and exactly what they were declared to be. It is quite possible that the Western scientists are attempting to get more information on the details of Indian weapon design. On the other hand the initial announcement of the US that the Pokhran II test was an earthquake and their lower estimate of the yield of the test may highlight that the treaty is

### IN BRIEF

- US missile plan violates arms control treaties
- It means Russia may withdraw from CTBT and China will not ratify it
- US Senate too has rejected the treaty
- Beijing continues weapon aid to Pakistan, while US wants better trade relations with China
- Consensus on CTBT in India should therefore wait

fundamentally flawed and its verification mechanism is not up to the mark. Some in the US hold this view. In any case, the pronouncements have raised concern in this country about both the effectiveness of the treaty to monitor tests and the success of Indian tests according to our own design parameters.

China, meanwhile, breached the Non-proliferation Treaty when it transferred 5000 ring magnets to Pakistan: It is now actively assisting Pakistan in setting up a plutonium production reactor at Kushab. The US administration knows all this from its own intelligence sources and sent a very senior official, John Holum, to Beijing to take up the issue of continued Chinese missile and nuclear proliferation. The visit is reported not to have been fruitful. Despite this, if President

Clinton continues to press for permanent normal trade relations with China, then the message to the world is loud and clear. The NPT is not worth the paper on which it is written. Already the US wants to amend the ABM treaty as per its convenience. Then what good is the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty?

When India had wanted the CTBT to be part of the disarmament framework it was argued that it could not be so, but it was necessary as a non-proliferation measure. After having got it as a nonproliferation measure, the US is now saying that in spite of CTBT there will be new emerging nuclear and missile states and therefore the US needs the national missile defence. Even after the failure of the test the US intends to continue further development of NMD. This is the strongest indication that the US does not believe in the efficacy of the CTBT even as a nonproliferation measure but expects continued nuclear proliferation by nuclear weapon states.

The draft final document of the NPT review conference submitted by the non-aligned nations had a paragraph which called for complete prohibition of proliferation to states which had not signed the NPT. Obviously this is a reference to China-Pakistan proliferation relationship. After all, China is the only state engaged in deliberate proliferation. Interestingly, this concern does not find a mention in the final document, presumably because of pressure from nuclear weapon states.

Now the US wants better relations with China, especially on the trade front. This reveals that the US has no capability to hold China accountable to the NPT obligation: It continues to expect Beijing to proliferate further but will not take any position on it since it does not want to forego the benefits of trade with China. Therefore it has decided to safeguard its own security through deployment of the National Missile Defence plan and could not care less how China's proliferation activities affect the security of other nations. Today the issue is not about signing the CTBT. The core issue is the viability of the nonproliferation regime, the continuing breach of nonproliferation norms and the total helplessness of the non-weapon NPT states to hold the nuclear weapon powers accountable.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

10 JUL 2000

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# Failed missile fire on Clinton

*Don C. A. 10/7/97*

**Washington, July 9 (AFP):** US scientists renewed their calls for the White House not to authorize the deployment of a proposed missile defence system, following the failure of a missile interception test over the Pacific Ocean.

American Physical Society spokesman Robert Park said the failure of the Pentagon's \$100-million test might lead President Bill Clinton to postpone a decision on deployment.

"I just don't see how, after a test like this, (Clinton) can declare that now it's going to be able to work, and call for deployment," said Park, who was formerly a researcher at the US government nuclear defence laboratory in Sandia, New Mexico.

Park noted that even if a missile shield could be made effective, it would do nothing to prevent less sophisticated methods of delivering nuclear or biological weapons, such as driving a truck across the US border.

However, he said, US aircraft manufacturer boeing, the principal contractor for the project, has a strong financial interest in seeing deployment go ahead.

The missile test that failed yesterday had been intended to demonstrate that a missile-borne "kill vehicle" would not be confused by a decoy and would successfully seek out and destroy an incoming missile.

The test's failure raises pressure on Clinton, who leaves office

in January, to defer to the next administration a decision on whether to order deployment.

The latest setback for the Pentagon's missile defence project - its second failed intercept in three tries raised new doubt whether President Clinton will approve a quick push for a national anti-missile system.

Clinton has said he will decide in several weeks whether to stick with the current Pentagon timetable of building a missile defence for use as early as December 2005.

"This is something we will have to take into account as we look at the technical feasibility of this program," said P.J. Crowley, a spokesman for the national security council at the White House.

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## Missile Madness

The failure of a US anti-missile weapon to intercept a Minuteman rocket over the Pacific Ocean is fortuitous. For those who oppose the planned US National Missile Defence (NMD) system, it is an opportunity to persuade the US to desist from destabilising the arms control system that the US and its allies have themselves so passionately advocated in the past decade. The NMD, a system that can track and destroy incoming ballistic missiles aimed at the US, is a scaled-down version of the original Reagan-era Strategic Defence Initiative or Star Wars. It is estimated to cost \$60 billion and was last week denounced by some 50 US Nobel laureates as "premature, wasteful and dangerous". The US authorities say that the system will protect the US against erstwhile "rogue" states like North Korea, Libya or Iraq. However, as scientists correctly point out, it seems absurd that such states would ensure their own obliteration by taking on the US. The sharpest criticism in this regard comes from Beijing which has emphatically made known its opposition to the NMD as well as the Theatre Missile Defence, a subsidiary system to protect US troops abroad. Ironically at this very moment, US arms controls experts are in the Chinese capital trying to persuade Beijing to uphold agreements already arrived at, such as the Missile Technology Control Regime and the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. The Chinese have been telling whoever cares to listen, that they will not sit idle and watch the NMD or TMD come up. Their reasons are eminently practical. These systems will degrade the capability of their missile force to threaten Taiwan or deter the United States.

The Chinese, being somewhat more straight forward on these matters, are quite clear that they do not rely on professions of friendship and a favourable trade balance alone to manage US behaviour. They also want the ability to punish the US and its allies, if and when required. Last week Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji emphasised this at a press conference when he noted that the TMD's ability to protect Taiwan "would be a blatant interference in Chinese affairs." The practical Chinese reaction to the NMD is likely to be a sharp boost in the numbers of missiles targeting the US and Taiwan. China is believed to have some 20 ICBMs capable of hitting the US and 200 targeting Taiwan at present. Their logical response would be to dramatically increase these numbers so as to overwhelm any anti-missile system. This would be bad news for India which, as of now, does not even have a missile capable of reaching any major Chinese city. Our calculations of the number of missiles capable of deterring China would go up sharply, which, in turn, will force Pakistan to boost the numbers of their own missiles aimed at India. India will also be affected by the breakdown of the world consensus on arms control. China is bound to use the opportunity to more openly cheat on its arms control commitments to the benefit of Pakistan. Future historians, if indeed there are some left after the Americans are through with their NMD, will wonder just what impelled the most powerful country in the world to behave as though it was the most insecure.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

11 JUL 2000

# Farmers and dams — I

By Gail Omvedt

*It's a mighty hard road that my poor feet  
have trod.  
My poor feet have travelled a hot dusty  
road,  
Out of your dust bowl and westward I  
roam,  
Through valleys so hot and through  
mountains so cold  
California, Arizona, to harvest your crops,  
Then north up to Oregon to gather the  
hops;  
To the Grand Coulee Dam where the wa-  
ters run down.  
I've cut grapes from your vine, I've dug  
roots from your ground.*

THIS OLD ballad sung by Harry Belafonte romanticises the migrant labourers' life (it ends, "green pastures of plenty will always be free"), but it reminds us that migration is not new, that people have always left dust bowls and drought-stricken farms to find valleys green from irrigated water, and that dams have provided that water. Such dams were built in the U.S. from the 1930s onwards and seen as the very symbol of the New Deal, and were built in independent India where they were seen as modern temples by Nehru and others. They are now falling into disrepute in environmental circles throughout the world and have become controversial as never before.

But they are not controversial to farmers. If anything, there is a build-up of anger against environmentalists who are seen as stalling dams. Now that the monsoons have come, the immediate problem of water for farmers in the drought-prone areas of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and elsewhere seems to be solved. Further, the fact that the Supreme Court recently issued orders allowing a small but significant raising of the height of the Alamatti and Sardar Sarovar dams, the most controversial currently indicates that farmers may feel the political situation is swinging their way. But the long-term issues of drought and water distribution are as controversial and complex as ever.

Farmers everywhere want water for their fields. Specifically, they want irrigation water, or big dam water, and the arguments

of eco-romanticists like those in the Narmada Bachao Andolan — that big dams by themselves are destructive and that local rainwater harvesting can be sufficient — have absolutely no appeal to them. One example of this is the support for restricted irrigation systems among farmers of the Krishna Valley in southern Maharashtra, whose movement accepts the need for big dams and who recently won both massive gains in rehabilitation for dam evictees and extension of irrigation water to drought-prone areas. An even more stark proof of this is the involvement of otherwise warring leaders of the farmers' movement in India — on the one hand, the

pressed by the Gujarat police, with tens of thousands of Maharashtra farmers halted at the border, Punjabi farmers arrested in the gurudwara they were staying in, and Gujarati farmers stopped by the police from leaving their villages. The Gujaratis were also partly convinced by their Government's plea that it was successfully fighting the case in the Supreme Court and any agitational activity would queer the pitch. Still, 23 people including Mr. Sharad Joshi and the Mrs. Urmilaben Patel, widow of a former Gujarat Chief Minister, managed to evade the police cordon and reach the site on December 4 for at least a symbolic victory.

## Farmers see big dams as a public good... Still, it has to be asked, are they justified?

Shetkari Sanghatana leader, Mr. Sharad Joshi of Maharashtra, and on the other, Prof. Nanjundaswamy of the Karnataka Rajya Raitthu Sangh — in 'kar seva' demonstrations calling for raising the height of dams.

Mr. Joshi led a campaign in late December 1999 to take farmers of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Punjab to the Sardar Sarovar site and pour water in buckets to symbolically fill the canal leading from the reservoir to the drought-prone areas of Gujarat. This unusual agitation was decided upon after discussions among Gujarat farmers and Mr. Joshi and other Shetkari Sanghatana activists from Maharashtra in October 1999, and resulted in the formation of a Narmada Jan Andolan in November that year. The NJA was the first mass counter-movement to the world-famous Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) led by Ms. Medha Patkar. Earlier, the opponents of India's most notorious big dam had confronted only the State Governments and the police of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. A vocal, if under-publicised, pro-Narmada movement among farmers, as contrasted with efforts from above by the Gujarat Government and business supporters to mobilise support for the Sardar Sarovar dam, is a new worry for the NBA and its environmentalist supporters.

The NJA campaign was effectively re-

pushed to take up issues of water, dams and drought. The leadership of both Mr. Joshi and Prof. Nanjundaswamy of the "kar seva" campaigns is intriguing. On all other issues they are staunch opponents. The Professor considers the WTO, the World Bank, the IMF and multinationals to be forces of destruction of farmers, and opposes biotechnology and new seeds using modified genes, as symbolised by his effort to uproot the cotton plants of Monsanto. He and people of similar mind throughout India consider Mr. Joshi something of a demon for his vocal support of liberalisation and globalisation. Mr. Joshi in return argues that world trade will help agriculture, points to negative subsidies in which the Indian state exploits agriculture through holding prices low, wants new technology and feels that the Indian farmer, even more than the Indian capitalists, are capable of taking on MNCs, or at least coping with them. To him, Prof. Nanjundaswamy, Vandana Shiva, Ms. Medha Patkar and the like are a crowd of medievalists whose prescriptions of limiting themselves to traditional ways of farming and living would spell disaster for Indian farmers. In spite of these bitter differences, on the issue of raising the height of two important dams, they seem to be of one mind. Mr. Joshi wants the Sardar Sarovar height raised, Prof. Nanjundaswamy wants the Alamatti dam raised. Given recent court decisions, they seem to be winning.

Farmers, then, seem to agree on wanting water. They see big dams as a public good; they can be ecstatic about water running down the dams and flowing through the canals to pour into their fields, they are unreconstructed Nehruvians as far as dams are concerned. Still, it has to be asked, are they justified? Are they right in believing that India could not grow enough food and other crops without added irrigation water? Even assuming that those who lose their land and homes to the building of such huge projects can get just compensation, is it really necessary to have big dams? And, can they be simply taken as the Government planned them or should proposals for restructuring be considered? These continue to be big questions, questions that the farmers and their leaders have to answer.

# China, N. Korea warn Washington on NMD

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JULY 12. China and North Korea have told the Clinton administration in blunt terms that if Washington proceeded with its own National Missile Defence plan, the two countries would be hard pressed to cooperate with the United States' concern over weapons exports.

*The Washington Post*, quoting western sources, is saying that Chinese officials in particular have told the administration here that if the U.S. proceeded to export technology to Taiwan for a Theatre Missile Defence system, they will continue to sell missile technology to Pakistan and possibly to other countries in West Asia.

The pointed warning to Washington from Beijing comes at a time when the President, Mr. Bill Clinton, is said to be only weeks away from making a decision on the National Missile Defence system. The Clinton administration favours a modest system as opposed to the hardline conservatives who are pushing for a more ambitious shield that would protect not only all of the U.S. but also its allies.

The Defence Secretary, Mr. William Cohen, has told the media on his way to China that the failure of a latest missile test did not mean that he was going to recommend against moving ahead with the programme. Washington has been maintaining that it is looking for a system that would provide protection from attacks from so-called rogue nations such as Iran, Iraq and North Korea. But

Russia and China are adamantly opposed to this idea as it dilutes their missiles; and Beijing sees a Taiwan angle to the U.S. plan.

Asian diplomats have been quoted in *The Post* report as saying that North Korea has warned Washington that there is a link between curbs of missile exports to the planned national missile defence system.

China's warning to the Clinton administration also comes at a time when the U.S. Senate is considering the Normal Permanent Trade Relations Bill. It was supposed to have been an easy time in the Senate but hardliners are proposing amendments that would link the passage of the PNTR to restraint in the realm of nuclear and missile technology exports.

AP reports from Kuala Lumpur:

Negotiations between the U.S. and North Korea over paying Pyongyang to curb the development and export of ballistic missiles ended in stalemate today with both sides agreeing to hold more talks.

Three days of meetings here failed to produce any breakthrough on North Korea's missile programme, which took on fresh importance in U.S. eyes after last weekend's failed test for the proposed American missile defence shield against so-called rogue states.

Mr. Jang Chang Chon, head of North Korea's bureau on U.S. affairs, told reporters outside the U.S. embassy after the final meeting that the sides had agreed to disagree.

THE HINDU

13 JUL 2000

# Missiles: The missing link in India's deterrent

Brahma Chellaney

**T**HE REPORTED flight test of the Shahab-3 by Iran over the weekend - the second in two years - draws attention both to the rapid missile proliferation around India and to the slow-progressing Indian intermediate-range ballistic missile (IRBM) programme.

While other states in India's neighbourhood have been testing ballistic missiles capable of striking Indian cities, New Delhi has done only a single IRBM test in the past five years.

China, Pakistan and Iran are pursuing their missile programmes with tenacity and focus. Pakistan's Ghauri and Iran's Shahab 3 - both based on the Chinese-designed

Nodong-1 of North Korea - have come up in parallel in the same time-frame. While Pakistan fired its first Ghauri in April 1998, Iran began its Shahab-3 flight-testing programme barely three months later.

Pakistan has gone on to unveil a Ghauri-2 and the Shaheen, an exact copy of the M-9, China's instrument of terror against Taiwan in 1996. Domestic production of the M-11 is set to begin at its new Fatehjung factory where Chinese engineers reportedly are still present. China, for its part, is building a new class of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) as well as cruise missiles, the best tools for precision strikes. While India notified Beijing its last Agni test, China did not similarly reciprocate when it tested the Dongfeng-31 a year ago.

Missiles are one area where Beijing refused to accept any type of restraint or agree to any international or bilateral talks.

China's proliferation at home and abroad directly impinges on India's security. For Beijing, proliferation is a strategic trump card to build leverage against the US and contain regional rivals India and Japan.

India has to accelerate its IRBM development programme. The only real defence against missiles is a missile-deterrent force that can stall any potential aggressor from initiating a missile attack.

It is no coincidence that the only victims of missile strikes in the past half-century have been nations without the capability to hit back in kind. The accelerated development and deployment of Agni-class IRBMs is nec-

essary for India to realise a "credible minimal nuclear deterrent", a goal the Vajpayee Government has repeatedly pledged.

Today, the main weakness of India's nuclear-deterrent posture is the lack of delivery vehicles with sufficient range to meet the country's minimal requirements against potential adversaries. This weakness needs to be plugged on a top-priority basis.

India has to build up on its impressive success 15 months ago in firing the mobile Agni-2 from a rail platform. The solid-fuelled Agni-2, which doubles Agni-1's range, opened the path to longer range IRBMs. The next test will be of the Agni-3.

Each time China, Pakistan or Iran fire an India-reachable missile, it is a reminder to New Delhi of its unfinished task.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

14 JUL 2000

18 JUL 2000

# Zemin, Putin oppose NMD *disarmament*

BEIJING: President Jiang Zemin and visiting Russian counterpart Vladimir Putin on Tuesday extended what both sides have called their "strategic partnership" by signing a joint statement supporting adherence to the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and opposing the proposed US National Missile Defence (NMD) system.

The two leaders spoke for more than two hours on Tuesday morning, in what the Chinese leader described as "a pivotal conversation that inherits from the past and opens a chapter for the future," state media reported. Chinese state television showed the two men shaking hands outside the Great Hall of the People before inspecting a guard of honour in Tiananmen Square.

Mr Putin told Mr Jiang he aimed to consolidate the already good relations and create a blueprint for long-term development of ties between Russia and China, the official Xinhua news agency said. During the talks, the two Presidents

91-16  
19/3  
were also expected to discuss bilateral trade, arms control and disarmament, and the Korean peninsula.

Both countries have made a series of strong statements objecting to the proposed NMD system in recent weeks, and have publicly backed each other's position.

NMD is a "serious threat" to the ABM treaty and would "lead to the emergence of new instability and give an excuse for the development of a new arms race and disrupt the disarmament process," a Chinese foreign ministry spokesman said on Monday. The ABM treaty would be described in the joint declaration as the "foundation for today's balance of power and world stability", a stability that NMD would disrupt, diplomatic sources said on Monday.

Four other documents signed on Tuesday included agreements on banking, energy development and the construction of an experimental fast-neutron reactor, Xinhua said. Documents that were expected to be signed later in the day are on cooperation in energy and education.

The two sides would also sign an oil delivery contract, and two other documents on development of the Kovykta gas field and cooperation on an oil pipeline.

In his first visit to China as President, Mr Putin is also scheduled to meet separately on Tuesday afternoon with premier Zhu Rongji, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference chairman Li Ruihuan and National People's Congress chairman Li Peng. On Wednesday he is scheduled to leave China for North Korea.

The Russian President had arrived in Beijing late on Monday with a high-level delegation including foreign minister Igor Ivanov and defence minister Igor Sergeyev.

On Wednesday, Mr Putin plans to lay flowers at the monument to the people's heroes in Tiananmen Square, before visiting Beijing's Imperial Palace to the north of the square. At Wednesday noon he is scheduled to leave China for North Korea. (AP)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

19 JUL 2000



# Private sale of nuclear material concerns United Kingdom

By L K Sharma

The Times of India News Service

LONDON: Britain on Thursday expressed its serious concern about nuclear proliferation in the context of newspaper reports that private sales of nuclear material were taking place in Pakistan. It said it was committed to nuclear non-proliferation and its efforts had been appreciated.

However, it denied that foreign office minister Peter Hain had said that Pakistan was rapidly becoming a threat to world peace. Uranium and plutonium of Russian origin captured in Afghanistan was available in Pakistan to any one prepared to pay for it, the *Sunday Mirror* article said, adding that undercover reporters discovered that in Pakistan they could buy such nuclear material.

While a foreign office spokesperson said the minister had been misquoted, the *Sunday Mirror* denied the allegation and said they had not been approached by the foreign office with a complaint. The minister's alleged remarks that Pakistan was "rapidly becoming a threat to world peace" and that Pakistan was exporting nuclear capability and terrorism provoked the Pakistani foreign ministry to summon the British high commissioner Hillary Synnot. Pakistan accused Britain of showing "preconceived bias" against it and said it was unfortunate that the British minister made "baseless accusations against Pakistan".

The foreign office minister is reported to have said that the export of nuclear capacity from Pakistan was a deadly threat to the region

and the world.

"Pakistan must stop the trade, which the *Sunday Mirror* had exposed. It's no good for their government to say they have no control over third parties or private companies who sell nuclear materials. If they were determined to put a stop to this, they could".

The minister was quoted as having said, "When nuclear material falls into the hands of private parties, it is a short step to getting into terrorist hands. There is a link between Pakistan's exports of nuclear capability and terrorism. The country is rapidly becoming a threat to world peace. I will investigate this matter and take action to alert the international community, the United Nations and other bodies as to what is going on in Pakistan."

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

3 JUN 2000

# U.S.-Russia talks may not lead to breakthrough on START-3

By Jal Taraporevala

MUMBAI: It is a reflection of the realities of the post-Cold War world and the frequency of the summit meetings between the leaders of the United States and Russia that the visit of U.S. President Bill Clinton to Moscow did not assume the importance it would have a few years ago.



Bill Clinton

Even so, the meeting between Mr Clinton and newly-elected Russian President Vladimir Putin would almost certainly have taken on greater significance, at least in terms of building their personal relationship, had it not been for the fact that the former has less than eight months to go before he leaves office.

Although both sides have spoken of their intention to begin serious negotiations on a new

Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START-3), there is little likelihood of a tangible breakthrough on this issue in the near future — not least because of the political considerations dictated by the presidential elections in the U.S. in November.

The fate of the discussions on START-3 will also depend on Washington's decision on the national missile defence programme, the ratification of the CTBT by the U.S. Senate and the will-

## NEWS ANALYSIS

ingness of the U.S. to go along with the initial Russian offer to cut the number of warheads to about 1,500 on both sides. George W. Bush, who is expected to be the Republican Party's presidential candidate, has expressed doubts on whether the reduction of the number of warheads to such a low level will serve the strategic interests of the U.S. in the long-term.

On the economic front, bilateral ties are unlikely to face fresh tensions in the coming

months since Russia does not need to negotiate a large new aid package from the IMF at this juncture. After all, the Kremlin has gained from the relatively high price of crude oil and the recent value of the rouble. The new Prime Minister, Mikhail Kasyanov, is also in the process of trying to increase revenue receipts through lower rates and better compliance.

How bilateral differences on the issue of Chechnya unravel in the next few months will hinge, among other things, on the effectiveness of the Kremlin's anti-insurgency campaign in the republic and the steps taken by Moscow to try and reach some kind of political compromise with the rebels.

Besides, Moscow continues to have apprehensions about the recent expansion of NATO and divisions persist on the question of Kosovo. However, these differences can be kept within check as long as the overall strategic and economic relationship between Moscow and Washington remains on an even keel.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

JUN 2 2000

# Cold War rivals warm to N-slash

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

MOSCOW, June 4. — Mr Bill Clinton and Mr Vladimir Putin today agreed to destroy 34 tonnes each of plutonium that could be used to make thousands of nuclear warheads but failed to resolve differences on the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

Under the \$6-billion deal, the two countries will destroy 34 tonnes of plutonium in 20 years.

The two countries agreed to set up a centre in Moscow to monitor missile launches and avert "false" nuclear attack alarm.

But the two Presidents remained at odds on the proposed anti-missile system to protect their countries from missile attacks by 'rogue' states.

Russia said the deployment of national missile system by the USA to ward off possible attacks by Iraq, Iran and North Korea might lead to the collapse of the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty and the nuclear arms control system.

It's a sign of the two countries' determination and Mr Clinton's flexibility that Russia and the USA will continue discussions on the threat from 'rogue states', Mr Putin said.

"We have agreed to a statement of principle ... That makes clear there's an emerging ballistic missile threat (to be) addressed," Mr Clinton

said at a Press conference after the summit. "But we've not yet agreed on how best to do so."

"If you want to know my ... assessment, I think Mr Putin is fully capable of building a prosperous, strong Russia while preserving freedom, pluralism and the Rule of Law," Mr Clinton said.

On the eve of Mr Clinton's arrival in Moscow, Mr Putin told the NBC interview that he proposed to set up a joint US-Russian missile shield to protect the territories of the two nuclear superpowers and their allies from rogue missiles.

At their first summit this afternoon, Mr Clinton and Mr Putin discussed many international security issues, including non-proliferation, South Asia, West Asia and the Balkans.

Satisfied with the result of the talks, Mr Putin said: "I have to say that Russia cannot fail to express its satisfaction with the spirit, the quality and also the results of our negotiations."

The talks — focused on arms control, Russian economy, Chechnya and human rights — were important not only for the two countries but for the whole world, Mr Putin said.

About 200 Communists carrying Stalin's portraits protested in front of the US consulate when the US and Russian Presidents were discussing world affairs.

THE STATESMAN

25 JUN 2000

# US, Russia to destroy 68 tons of plutonium

Disarmament  
5/1  
'7,000 N-warheads will not get to be made'

Moscow, June 4 HGA

**P**RESIDENTS BILL Clinton and Vladimir Putin signed two accords on Sunday on destroying 68 tons of weapons-grade plutonium, enough to make thousands of nuclear warheads, and speeding up work on a new arms reduction treaty (START III).

The two leaders also signed a memorandum of understanding creating a missile launch early-warning system at a ceremony following hours of talks in the Kremlin.

But they failed to reach an agreement on how to confront the threat posed by emerging nuclear powers, Clinton told a joint press conference with his host.

In a joint declaration, Clinton and Putin reaffirmed the central role of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty in arms control, and pledged to continue efforts to increase its effectiveness.

The US wants to build a national missile defence system to confront the threat from "rogue states" such as Iran and North Korea, but Russia firmly opposes such a move.

Nevertheless a senior US official talked of the importance of the two accords, telling reporters: "These are highly significant agreements. They will result in tangible national and international security benefits."

The "Shared Early Warning Initiative" aims to cut "the danger that ballistic missiles might be launched on the basis of false warning attack." It will meet concerns over "the risk of mistaken nuclear launch because of gaps in early warning coverage," he added.

The agreements were first reached in principle in 1998 when Clinton visited Moscow for a summit with the then Russian leader, Boris Yeltsin.

Under a plan phased over some 20 years, Russian plutonium will be converted into nuclear reactor fuel, while in the US, some will be used for fuel while the remaining will be mixed with highly-toxic nuclear waste and stored.

US officials put the cost of the scheme at \$1.75 billion for Russian and \$4 billion for US plutonium.



US President Bill Clinton and Russian President Vladimir Putin during talks in the Kremlin in Moscow on Sunday. Photo: AP

Neither side must use the material again for military purposes. The plutonium to be destroyed could make 7,000 nuclear warheads.

But while the US Congress has set aside \$200 million to get the scheme under way in the country, US officials hoped the G8 summit in Okinawa, Japan, next month, would help provide cash for the Russian leg of the operation.

Japan has already announced that it has earmarked \$33.5 million for the plutonium scheme, but other G8 states have yet to make pledges.

It remained unclear how much money Russia would itself provide for disposal. It will have to adapt existing facilities as Russia does not currently have power stations that can burn plutonium. (AFP)

THE HINDUSTAN TIME

5 JUN 2000

## 11-14 Sting in the Tale 9/6

The new disclosures in the US media on India-Pakistan nuclear balance raises a number of crucial questions for which neither the administration in the US nor in India may readily supply answers. If the US intelligence establishment has revised upwards the Pakistani nuclear capability, then the US should now admit both the rationality of the Indian nuclear tests and the fact that the US itself had been looking away from the intensive and extensive collaboration of China, Pakistan and North Korea on nuclear and missile proliferation. That would make the US administration's 'fudging' of Chinese missile transfers to Pakistan as far back as 1993 a wilful dereliction in upholding non-proliferation norms. Surely, this 'fudging' has not in anyway enhanced the US and international security? Indeed, the US National Missile Plan would seem to be more in response to the China-Pakistan-North Korea axis than to the alleged threat posed by some other 'rogue' states. The view presented in the NBC programme about the sophistication of Pakistani nuclear arsenal does not tally with the data collected from the Pakistani nuclear tests and available in open documents on the subject. In other words, if the present reports were correct, it follows that the US intelligence has obtained new information on the Chinese-Pakistan nuclear proliferation relationship. That may also explain why the final document issued by the 2000 NPT review conference asserts that the full compliance of all parties to the provisions of the treaty was the best way to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. This is, in fact, an admission that the nuclear weapon states are not fulfilling their obligations not to help the non-nuclear weapon states.

As for the present story, obviously deliberately put out, there can be many explanations. The US finds that its attempt to paint North Korea, Iran, Iraq and Libya as 'rogue' states has not evoked much credibility. A visibly nuclear and missile-armed Pakistan is likely to fit that description better. The present reassessment of Pakistani missile and nuclear capability might be the first step towards painting Pakistan a 'rogue' state, and providing an argument for countering it through the development of missile defence by the US, Russia, Israel and other countries. The US intelligence establishment may also be interested in highlighting the continuing Chinese-Pakistan proliferation relationship in order to prevent any further improvement in Sino-Indian relationship. There are also elements in the US security establishment which have a vested interest in exaggerating the Pakistani capability to prevent Pakistan from being allowed to fail economically. Lastly, the story will make it more difficult for India to reach a consensus to sign the CTBT. There are strong interests in the US which would like to use that factor in their own anti-CTBT campaign. Whatever the different US motives, India has to seriously counter them with effective information campaign. This is essential because such stories make it more difficult to have a consensual approach. There is also the danger that the Pakistanis may be misguided by such "reassessments" attributed to the US intelligence community; this could be a morale booster to 'Jehadi' elements in Pakistan. Even assuming the need for a measure of opacity in deterrence, there has to be more effort both in respect of our information policy and crafting a strategy to project deterrence.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

9 JUN 2000

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1876

## China against amending ABM

**BEIJING, JUNE 9.** China has warned the United States against seeking absolute military advantage over the rest of the world by attempting to amend the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty of 1972, the official media reported today.

Though the U.S. has said it wants to revise the ABM treaty to protect itself from "missile threats" of the so-called rogue states, the real reason for the U.S. insistence is to seek an absolute military advantage over the rest of the world, China's top disarmament official, Mr. Sha Zukang, said.

Mr. Sha, director-general of the Chinese Foreign Ministry's Department of Disarmament and Arms Control, told Xinhua news agency that China opposed any revision of the ABM treaty.

"It is a clear and steadfast stand," he stressed while accusing Washington of selfishness in pressing Russia to agree to amend the ABM treaty.

The National Missile Defence (NMD) system would also serve as a kind of "amplifier" to the U.S. offensive forces and nullify the progress made in U.S.-Russia bilateral nuclear disarmament, Mr. Sha said. If the U.S. succeeded in

its attempt to revise the treaty, an arms race in space would be inevitable, Mr. Sha said, stressing that the U.S. views the missile defence system as an important part of its plan to control space.

Under the U.S. plan, part of its missile defence system would be deployed in space and be targeted at space objects; and the other part of the system would be based in space for providing target and navigational information for ground weapons systems, he said.

If the plan was carried out, space would become a new weapons base and battlefield, he said.

Pointing out that the ABM treaty remained the cornerstone for global strategic balance and stability, Mr. Sha said revisions of treaty would undermine the global strategic balance and stability and seriously affect international peace and security. He said the ABM treaty between the U.S. and Russia, which restricted development and deployment of any national ballistic missile defence system, safeguarded the relative strategic balance and stability among the U.S., Russia and other nuclear weapons states. — PTI

THE HINDU

10 JUN 2000

## 99/6 The ghost of CTBT HT-B

IT IS extraordinary that the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty continues to chase India, ghost-like, even after its fate has been sealed by the US Senate's rejection. The CTBT comes up whenever strategic policy issues are discussed between Indian and foreign officials. Twice in recent days comments made in private to foreign officials by Indian ministers have become the subject of public controversy. It was first Defence Minister George Fernandes who was quoted by a Japanese Government spokesperson as having assured during his Tokyo visit that it is 'only a matter of time' before India signs the controversial treaty. Now, External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh has been cited by a US official as having told Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in Warsaw that the issue of CTBT signature will be raised during the forthcoming monsoon session of Parliament as part of New Delhi's 'obligation' to obtain 'political consensus' on the matter. The Ministry of External Affairs, realising that such a commitment to a foreign official could backfire in Parliament, has done well to quickly clarify that Jaswant Singh gave no assurance that the issue will come up in the monsoon session. The CTBT question also figures in the European Union-India Joint Declaration at Lisbon. The language there is drawn largely from previous Indian statements, except on one key issue. New Delhi's commitment to achieve a 'national consensus' on the CTBT issue has been diluted to building the 'widest possible consensus domestically'.

The policy of caution on the CTBT has so far served India well. There is no reason why the Vajpayee Government should abandon its prudence on the subject. Firstly, there is no sign that a 'widest possible consensus', let alone a 'national consensus', is emerging. On the contrary, there is a widely shared perception among the major political parties that on a sensitive matter like this, a wait-and-watch approach remains the best. Secondly, the possible rescue of the treaty, presently in limbo, hinges on the election of a pro-CTBT US President capable of working with the Senate to get it ratified. However, if George W. Bush wins, we could have an openly anti-CTBT administration in Washington. Thirdly, India's largest neighbour, China, which is currently modernising its nuclear arsenal in a major way, has made no move to emulate Russia and ratify the treaty despite its rubber-stamp National Assembly. Fourthly, new questions are being raised by some Indian scientists about the May 1998 tests that appear to cast doubt on some official claims. These questions need to be answered, especially since the CTBT will constrain India but not Pakistan, which would still be able to access tested warhead technology from China. On balance, India cannot go wrong with continued caution on the CTBT.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

25 JUN 2000

ABM ISSUE / TALKS IN WASHINGTON

# Russia warns of pullout from START

**MOSCOW, APRIL 30.** The U.S.-Russia deadlock over the ABM treaty is threatening to revive the cold war between the two old adversaries with Moscow now saying it will wriggle out of START I and START II if Washington remains adamant on amending the 1972 treaty.

In a stern warning to the U.S., the Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, on his arrival here from Washington last night said if the U.S. stuck to its insistence on changing the format of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty, Russia would not only opt out of the START

I and START II but would also have no talks on the proposed START III.

The START III envisages both sides cutting warheads to 3,500 by 2007 from about 6,000 at present.

Mr. Ivanov also said if Washington went ahead with its plans to develop the so-called National Missile Defence System, Russia would counter the U.S. measures in an 'asymmetrical' manner.

In another significant statement, the Foreign Ministry has said the threat of revival of

the cold war and an uncontrolled arms race has become real in the wake of the proposed defence system which the U.S. plans to develop in the name of an umbrella against missiles fired by 'rogue' states like Iran, Iraq and North Korea.

Russia has expressed apprehensions that the U.S. programme would put such an infrastructure in place that would neutralise Moscow's arsenal. An arms control journal recently revealed the U.S. plans to base 100 missile sites each at two sites purportedly to shoot down incoming missiles from 'rogue' states.

The Russian Foreign Ministry statement was released here by Novosilt after the unsuccessful talks of Mr. Ivanov in Washington with the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, and the Secretary of State, Ms. Madeleine Albright, over the ABM issue.

The statement criticised the U.S. industrial giants for seeking profits from new military orders including those relating to the ABM defence system or the Star Wars programme. "But what is needed here is like in any business to have a clear perception of the risks involved in a deal," it cautioned.

"There is still time to avoid committing a fatal mistake by undertaking the Star Wars project, the other name of the proposed revised ABM treaty. The recent improvement in the Moscow-Washington relations is an indication of the fact that considerable potential for bilateral cooperation does exist," the Kremlin statement said.

Meanwhile, a senior commander of the Russian armed forces, Gen. Nikolai Zlenko, warned Pentagon that Moscow is "well informed about and alarmed at the USA's Alaska based R & D and preparatory work on creating a new national ABM network." — UNI

THE HINDU

MAY 1

MAY 1 1991

MAY 2 1991



# 5 N-states call for strengthening ABM treaty

**UNITED NATIONS:** In an apparent attempt to save the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the five nuclear weapon states have pledged "unequivocal commitment" to move towards elimination of their nuclear arsenals without setting any specific time table and called for strengthening the 1972 Anti Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty.

In a statement issued on Monday, the five — U.S, Britain, Russia, France and China — also criticised Indian and Pakistan nuclear tests while only indirectly referring to Israel.

"Notwithstanding their nuclear tests, India and Pakistan do not have the status of nuclear weapon states in accordance with NPT," it said.

India, Pakistan, Israel and Cuba have not signed NPT. The statement only reaffirms the resolution on the Middle East which asks all states to join NPT. However, disarmament experts and diplomats criticised the pledge, terming it as "meaningless" unless a specific time frame is set. It is unlikely to satisfy non-nuclear weapon states, some of whose diplomats questioned the sincerity of the five and accused

"unequivocal commitment" to the ultimate goal of a complete elimination of nuclear weapons and a treaty on general and complete disarmament under "strict and effective international controls."

French representative Hubert De La Fortelle said none of them have the nuclear weapons targeted at any specific state. However, experts say implementation of the provisions of NPT is symptomatic of an unhealthy international atmosphere. The five powers, Mr Fortelle said, wished to reaffirm their willingness to pursue systematic and progressive efforts to reduce nuclear weapons globally.

The call by the five for preservation of ABM treaty between the U.S. and Russia which bans deployment of such weapons is vague and confusing, diplomats say.

They note that the Clinton administration is already having discussion for amending it to provide for deployment of such weapons on a limited scale. Russia has so far not agreed but the talks are ongoing. (DPA)

the U.S. and Russia of dodging the main issues and trying to maintain their arsenals.

Former head of the Indian navy admiral Ramu Ramdas, now campaigning against nuclear weapons, described the statement as "damage control exercise" and said without specific framework for elimination of the nuclear weapons, it is a meaningless statement.

The statement followed criticism in the NPT review conference against nuclear weapon states particularly the U.S. and Russia that they are moving "too slowly" towards elimination of their estimated 20,000 warheads. Arabs, diplomats say, are already considering a resolution which will ask all four states to join NPT and put their nuclear facilities under international control.

They branded the statement a "weak attempt" to save the conference from ending in a deadlock and without a consensus. But they still doubted it could lead to a consensus in the four-week meet which ends on May 19.

The statement, presented to the NPT conference by France on behalf of the five, pledged

THE TIMES OF INDIA

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# Don't distort NPT agenda: Iraq

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

UNITED NATIONS, MAY 2. Iraq's Ambassador to the United Nations on Monday criticised "some" nuclear weapons States for not abiding by the terms of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), singling out the United States for "distorting the agenda" of the review conference by trying to bring in the issue of Baghdad's relationship with the Security Council.

In his statement to the ongoing NPT review conference, Dr. Saeed Hasan argued that while the non-nuclear weapons States had abided by the commitments under the treaty, some of the nuclear weapons States had not. He further said the objective of complete elimination of nuclear weapons continued to be unattainable and that there was no clear prospect of a time-table to attain it. The Ambassador lashed out at Israel, which, in his view, was armed with nuclear weapons and continued its "arrogant behaviour" in the Arab region. But the Iraqi representative made no mention about India's or Pakistan's 1998 nuclear tests, about which comments had been made by some of the major powers in their opening statements to the conference.

Dr. Hasan alleged that an "unhealthy atmosphere" had been resulted due to the policies of hegemony, reliance on the doctrine of nuclear deterrence, the unilateral use of force and the continued marginalisation of the United Nations and its mechanisms. "It is unfair to have the Arabs stay bound for perpetuity by a treaty that provides them with no guarantee against Israeli nuclear weapons while Israel continues to develop its nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction with no control whatsoever," the Iraqi Ambassador

remarked, adding that recent reports had revealed that Israel's nuclear arsenal included advanced and sophisticated systems of tactical and strategic weapons built with the help of the U.S.

Dr. Hasan maintained that Washington's attempts to include the issue of Iraq's relationship with the Security Council in the conference agenda was aimed at distracting the conference from Israel's nuclear weapons and from the U.S.' "own violations of its obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty..." The Iraqi Ambassador listed several "lapses" on the part of the U.S., including supplying technology to Israel, the refusal to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and its intention to develop the Star Wars systems by violating obligations under the 1972 ABM Treaty.

The envoy charged that American insistence on continuation of the comprehensive regime of sanctions on Iraq was tantamount to the use of weapons of mass destruction. "Those sanctions killed 1.5 million Iraqi civilians, a figure much higher than the total number of victims of all use of weapons of mass destruction throughout the history of mankind," Dr. Hasan said. He claimed that Iraq was in full compliance of its obligations under the NPT and detailed the use of depleted uranium by the U.S. and Britain against Iraq in 1991 and against Yugoslavia in 1999.

In an obvious reference to the West — the U.S. in particular — the Iraqi Ambassador observed, "We must say to those nuclear States that try to teach the peoples of the world lessons in democracy and human rights that the first principles of democracy and human rights are the equality of all human beings."

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## NON-PROLIFERATION

Old debauchees vow to remain chaste

<sup>Iran</sup> <sup>5-6</sup> <sup>8/5</sup>  
THE commitment expressed by the nuclear five to eliminate nuclear weapons, at the recently held review of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in New York, sounds stronger than usual, speaking of a "treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international controls". The problem with such pledges, however, is the same as that behind General Musharraf's commitment to move towards democracy in Pakistan; it lacks a specific time-frame. The rest of the world, therefore, cannot help construing such a commitment in the same manner as that of an old debauch's vow of chastity. The US and Russia must be regarded as the principal offenders, with more than 20,000 warheads between them. The Russian Duma recently ratified both the CTBT and the Start II arms reduction accords. Start II has been hanging fire since January 1993 when it was signed, attesting to the political paralysis in that country under Yeltsin's presidency. The US Senate, of course, has refused to ratify the CTBT, even though the latter has the endorsement of the vast majority of Americans. The US is also trying to wriggle out of its obligations under the 1972 ABM accord, on the plea that it needs to defend itself against launches of missiles by "rogue" states such as Iran, Iraq or North Korea.

The problem is that "Star Wars" systems could serve to neutralise not only radical Third World states but also Russia's arsenal, in which case Russia's logical response would be to develop more missiles to penetrate "Star Wars" type shields. No wonder that Washington's clumsy attempts to renegotiate the ABM has set alarm bells ringing in Moscow and Beijing, and Moscow has warned that if the US violates the ABM, Start II goes out of the window. The disarmament agenda has been held hostage by blinkered US conservatives, like Sen Jesse Helms, who think they can lock out the world by ringing the US with missile defences; as Yeats said, "the best lack all conviction/while the worst are full of passionate intensity". It must be adjudged a signal failure of Clinton's leadership and legacy as President that he failed to move rapidly on disarmament and get the CTBT ratified, now the Cold War is over.

THE STATESMAN

MAY 2 1993

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## NPT behind the times: experts

UNITED NATIONS, MAY 4. The key global nuclear non-proliferation treaty is decades behind the times, ignoring health and environmental hazards in its promotion of nuclear energy, expert pressure groups said.

The organisations were yesterday addressing a one-month conference on the 1970 NPT treaty, held every five years, to review compliance and set new goals. Most of the discussion has been on reducing nuclear arms, the main purpose of the treaty ratified by 187 States.

But several non-governmental groups told official delegates they paid too little attention to provisions in the treaty that promote nuclear power plants and their technology, saying this reflected a 1960s concept and ignored research since then.

Ms. Jacqui Katona, an official of the Gundjehmi Aboriginal Corporation in Australia's northern territory, blasted Australia's uranium mining and its effects on indigenous people, such as the Mirrar. Uranium is a key ingredient in nuclear weapons and power plants.

She proposed the review conference set up formal reporting procedures and investigative committees that would force Governments to reveal the nature of uranium mining and toxic waste storage.

"While we believe Australia is complicit in perpetuating the nuclear fuel cycle, we also believe Australia is not unique in this respect," she said. "We believe the NPT process must extend its vision to embrace a vehicle for monitoring the production of uranium for 'peaceful' use."

Mr. Alexei Yablokov of the Social Ecological Union of Russia said statistics on radiation-caused illness and protection were inadequate. The International Atomic Energy Agency, a key promoter of nuclear energy which monitors atomic power plants, excluded from its data many side effects, he said.

Mr. Yablokov said data had emerged since the treaty was signed from the U.S. and Russia, showing high incidence of cancer, genetic damage, miscarriage and still births connected to radiation from power plants.

"The IAEA massively underestimates the real cost of nuclear programmes," he said. Both Mr. Yablokov and Ms. Alice Slater, a lawyer for the U.S. Global Resource Action Centre for the Environment, denounced a 1959 agreement between the IAEA and the World Health Organisation.

Under this pact, the WHO cannot do research on the dangers of radiation without agreement from the IAEA. — Reuters

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# Discourse as Power

## India in the NPT Review Meet

11-18 6/5

By C UDAY BHASKAR

THE month long nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Extension Review Conference (XRC) that concludes May 19 in New York has little to show in terms of substantive progress on the contentious issue of nuclear weapons and their relevance in the post-cold war years. The five nuclear weapon powers only reiterated their "unequivocal" commitment to disarmament — as mandated in the NPT — and their reluctance to provide any tangible time-frame is more a reflection of the geo-political contradictions and techno-strategic complexities that are embedded in the nuclear issue. Concurrently, the XRC also has a distinctive Asian and Indian relevance and thus the talk-shop in New York and the manner in which the narrative is both constructed and interpreted are matters of import in shaping the Indian nuclear posture.

The NPT entered into force on March 5, 1970 and is often cited as a central pillar of global stability. Its objectives were to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and related technology, to promote co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to further the goal of achieving nuclear disarmament. The treaty has a chequered evolution and paradoxically none of the objectives have been realised. Yet the hype extols the many positive attributes of the NPT that in essence reflect the perpetuation of the perennial great game of power.

### Global Stability

Today the packaging that comes with the NPT describes it as a landmark treaty that has near universal compliance. It merits recall that while the US, the former USSR and the UK were original signatories among the states that had acquired nuclear weapons prior to 1970, China and France came on board the treaty only in 1992. This treaty was extended indefinitely in 1995 in a manner whose procedural rectitude was itself debatable — but is a continuation of the adage that power shapes legal norms. The extension was not without conditions and obligations on the part of the nuclear weapon states — the US, Russia, China, France and the UK whose nuclear weapon status

and exclusivity were both enshrined and legitimised by the NPT.

The rhetoric that envelops the XRC is based on two principal assertions, first — that the NPT as it exists, is central to global stability and must be strengthened by seeking universal adherence; and, second, — the NWS are acting in good faith as far as disarmament is concerned but the route they are adopting is one of cautious arms control treaties and mutual arms reduction. This has become the dominant narrative of post-Cold War nuclear discourse and the short sound bite is that an inherently discriminatory arrangement that accords all the privileges to a select few and allows them to hold the global community hostage to apocalyptic destruction either by accident or design is the new mantra for global stability. Little or no mention is allowed to enter the discourse that this is an inherently dishonourable route of dubious ethical mooring and thus we have a narrative domain wherein the power compulsion shapes not only the reality-contour and legal norms but also the theological underpinning.

### Diminished Status

But when we contrast what may be termed the virtual power-reality about the post-Cold War nuclear world with a true ground reality check, the anomalies and contradictions abound — these chickens are coming home to roost in New York. For a start, the centrality of the nuclear weapon in the security matrix of the major powers has not been reduced at all. On the contrary, the emphasis on the nuke has only increased. For instance, the revised NATO Strategic Concept of 1999 noted that "the supreme guarantee of the security of the Allies is provided by the strategic nuclear forces of the Alliance."

The NATO assertion has led to a predictable response from Moscow which has long been uneasy with its diminished status in the face of increasing western military presence on its periphery. It is significant that when the Russian President, Mr Vladimir Putin, won his election, one of his first acts was to visit a Russian nuclear city and reiterate the importance of this capability for Moscow — and the need to

modernise the same. Embedded in this declaration is the Russian discomfort over the US intention to test and field a national missile defence (NMD) system — a project that will entail amending the 1972 ABM — anti ballistic missile treaty. The NMD despite technical misgivings has considerable political support in the US and has a budget of US \$60 billion over the next 25 years. Despite its public posture of arms reduction, the US has also decided to refurbish 6,000 nuclear warheads as part of an 'active reserve' to hedge against any uncertainties.

### Nuclear Nettle

But it is the Asian strand that must concern us the most. The current nuclear developments and blurred truths are the equivalent of a multiple chess game being played at two levels that are inter-connected in a non-linear manner. At the primary level is the US-Russia *pas de deux* which will no doubt influence the Chinese posture — over the size of the arsenals being maintained, their qualitative nature and the ultimate impact of NMDs per se on Beijing's strategic capabilities. Within Asia, the picture is even more complex. India and Pakistan post-May 1998 are states with nuclear weapons — SNWs — even if the NPT will not admit them as NWS. Israel and North Korea continue to be grey states in more ways than one and their relevance in the regional nuclear discourse cannot be ignored. The abiding leitmotif here is the pattern of China providing ballistic missile and nuclear weapon know-how in Asia and encouraging proliferation for its own strategic reasons.

Thus the mismatch between the virtual reality that will be asserted by the NWS in New York to assuage their own insecurities and the true post-Cold War ground reality will be contained in the manner in which the narrative is shaped and packaged — a reiteration of the Foucauldian tenet that ultimately discourse is the power which is to be seized. India would be well advised to contribute to the New York discourse and not be painted into a corner as the core of the post-Cold War nuclear nettle.



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## US, France are already violating CTBT, say experts

WASHINGTON: US and France, which ask India and other nations to sign the CTBT, are already violating the treaty, Washington with its new National Ignition Facility (NIF) and Paris with its Laser Megajoule Project (LMP), experts have said.

These facilities designed to create thermonuclear explosions of even a few pounds of TNT equivalent are illegal under the CTBT, Arjun Makhijani and Hisham Zerriffi of the Washington-based Institute for Energy and Environmental Research have said. "Since the CTBT requires the prevention as well as the prohibition of explosions, the intent of these facilities is to cause nuclear explosions," they said in 'Science For Democratic Action' a journal published by the institute. These facilities would enable those with access to them to design newer fusion weapons to replace existing ones, they said.

The five permanent members of the Security Council—the US, Britain, France, Russia and China—had conveniently turned the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, which requires complete nuclear

disarmament, into a non-proliferation instrument, a device to prevent the entry of new members into the nuclear club, Makhijani and retired Admiral L Ramdas, who also chairs the Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy, told journalists here. In an address at the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty Review Conference currently on in New York, Admiral Ramdas had said that the US and other countries were laying down conditions for complete nuclear disarmament by a fixed date, which they knew would never be fulfilled.

Also, while Russia and the US are reducing their nuclear arsenals from their Cold War peak, the global count still amounts to about 36,000 warheads, all but about 1,500 of which belong to the US and Russia.

"Despite arms reductions, the total explosive power of the world's nuclear weapons is still hundreds of thousands of times that of the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima. It is more than enough to cause total devastation," Mr Makhijani pointed out in a separate article on the issue. (PTI)

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# Nuclear powers agree to <sup>Disarm</sup>totally eliminate N-arms

United Nations, May 19

THE FIVE nuclear powers have agreed to "an unequivocal undertaking" to totally eliminate their nuclear arsenals, a decision hailed by several countries without nuclear weapons as an important step toward nuclear disarmament.

The agreement, yesterday specified no timetable and the delegates said it would take many years to achieve a nuclear-free world. It will hopefully become part of a final document approved by the 187 nations attending a meet to review the Non-Proliferation Treaty that ends today.

However, negotiations on other issues continued last night, and as UN Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs Jayantha Dhanapala said, "I don't count my chickens until they're hatched."

A US official had no comment on the agreement, explaining that the conference documents were not final yet.

Nonetheless, the agreement on

key disarmament issues, which Dhanapala called "an important development," lifted the gloomy atmosphere at the four-week conference and sparked hope among delegates that a final document could be adopted by consensus.

For two years, a group of seven countries without nuclear weapons, known as the New Agenda Coalition, has been campaigning to get nuclear powers to make an unequivocal commitment to total nuclear disarmament.

When the conference started, the five original nuclear powers - the United States, Russia, Britain, France and China - reiterated their "unequivocal commitment to the ultimate goals of a complete elimination of nuclear weapons and a treaty on general and complete disarmament." But the seven coalition members - Mexico, Ireland, South Africa, Egypt, Sweden, New Zealand and Brazil - rejected their statement saying, "The total elimination of nuclear weapons is an obligation and a priority and not an ultimate goal."

After lengthy negotiations, the nuclear powers and coalition members reached an agreement yesterday on "an unequivocal undertaking by the nuclear-weapon states to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals leading to nuclear disarmament to which all states parties are committed under Article VI" of the NPT.

Darach Mac Fhionnhair, the top disarmament expert in Ireland's Foreign Ministry, said the agreement culminated "a long, hard struggle" with the nuclear weapon states. The undertaking "creates a new accountability because there is a political commitment which is new," he said, and "the implementation of that commitment will require a more accelerated process of negotiations" on early elimination of the nuclear arsenals.

The agreement is included in a document outlining "practical steps" to implement Article VI, which is expected to be considered by all 187 signatories to the NPT today. (AP)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

20 MAY 2000

22 MAR 2000

# US-Iraq spat threatens to derail nuclear talks

United Nations, May 20

A DISPUTE between the United States and Iraq today threatened to derail a final accord on nuclear arms control among the world's five main atomic powers and the more than 180 nations without the bomb.

"The entire conference is being held hostage with regard to the situation in Iraq," said Rebecca Johnson of the London-based Acronym institute, an arms control group.

The one-month meeting to review the 30-year-old nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT), the cornerstone of arms control treaties, was to have ended yesterday. But conference president Abdallah Baali, Algeria's UN ambassador, "stopped the clock" to give Iraq and the United States more time to negotiate. With decisions made by consensus, any one of the 187 signatories to the treaty can cast a veto.

Under the treaty, the five nuclear weapons powers - the United States, Russia, Britain, France and China - are obligated to move toward disarmament while all other signatories vow to give up atomic warheads.

Iraq's ambassador, Saeed Hasan, said Baghdad

would accept an inspection of its N-reactors by the International Atomic Energy Agency in January.

But he rejected references the US wanted that mentioned Iraq's dispute with the UN Security Council, which has placed Baghdad under sanctions until it gets a clean bill of health on its weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear arms-related materials.

If its proposals on Iraq are rejected, US envoys indicated they would no longer allow the document to single out Israel, the only middle-east nation that has not signed the treaty. The conference was to appoint an envoy to discuss the issue with Israel, which has undeclared nuclear arms.

Jayantha Dhanapala, the UN Under-secretary-general for Disarmament Affairs, held out scant hope for a compromise. "I think it is very difficult to work out a compromise because it seems both sides are very entrenched. If they are ready to show flexibility, they can save the conference."

Celso Amorim, Brazil's ambassador in Geneva, was also dejected about the possibility of losing a month's work. "This is very difficult and I think it would be a terrible pity if we lose what we got because we had a very important agreement," he said. (Reuters)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

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# Nuclear powers agree to eliminate arsenals

**UNITED NATIONS, MAY 21.** After a tense month of talks, the five main nuclear powers pledged "an unequivocal undertaking" to eliminate their atomic arsenals to avoid engulfing the world in nuclear war.

Banging down his gavel, the conference chairman, Mr. Abdallah Balli of Algeria said: "Today is a great day for the cause of nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament. I declare this conference closed, thank God, for five years".

A final document among those with nuclear arms and the 182 nations without them was approved on Saturday hours after the meeting was nearly derailed by a dispute between the United States and Iraq. But Washington and Baghdad settled on compromise language, over Baghdad's nuclear weapons programmes after intense pressure from nearly every country.

With decisions taken by consensus, any one of the 187 signatories to the treaty can cast a veto. The five recognised nuclear powers — the United States, Russia, France, Britain and China — approved stronger language than usual to reduce their arsenals during a review of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). However, the five avoided setting any timetables to eliminate their nuclear warheads.

Under the 20-year old treaty, the corner-

stone of strategic arms reduction accords, the five powers are obligated to move toward disarmament while all other signatories vow to give up atomic warheads for

good. The conference agreed to further reductions of tactical nuclear weapons, increased transparency by the nuclear powers on reporting information about their nuclear arsenals and reducing the number of warheads on hair-trigger alert.

Its document called for diminishing the role of nuclear weapons in national security policies in an effort to minimise their possible use. And it committed the U.S. and Russia to implement fully the START-II treaty that would cut long-range nuclear warheads from 6,000 to 3,500 on each side. Washington and Moscow, between them, are thought to have more than 30,000 strategic, tactical or stockpiled warheads.

Countries without nuclear weapons had harshly criticised the U.S. and Russia for moving far too slowly in cutting their arsenals over the past five years. In response, the five nuclear powers issued a statement on May 8, promising an "unequivocal commitment to the ultimate goals of a elimination of nuclear weapons."

But an influential group of moderate states, which two years ago organised a "new agenda coalition," dismissed that. Brazil, Egypt, Ireland, Mexico, New Zealand, South Africa and Sweden said the total elimination of nuclear weapons was an obligation under the treaty and not an "ultimate goal." The five then agreed to "an unequivocal undertaking by the nuclear-weapon states to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals. — Reuters



**The Algerian Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Abdallah Balli (left), who is the chairman of the NPT Review Conference, being congratulated by delegation members at the U.N. on Saturday after the five nuclear powers agreed to eliminate nuclear arsenals, as part of a new disarmament agenda approved by 187 countries. — AP**

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MAY 21 1988

THE NEW YORK TIMES

# N-powers promise to eliminate arsenal

UNITED NATIONS: The five nuclear weapon states have given an "unequivocal undertaking" to eliminate atomic arsenals but without committing to a time-frame as part of the deal on nuclear disarmament struck with non-nuclear weapons states.

The consensus document, adopted on Saturday at the end of the month-long conference to review the implementation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), deplored underground nuclear tests carried out by India and Pakistan in May, 1998 and asked the two countries to join the regime as "non nuclear weapon states."

India, Pakistan, Israel and Cuba have not signed the 30-year-old treaty which has been ratified by 187 countries. India says it is committed to nuclear disarmament but considers the treaty discriminatory as it allows

nuclear weapons states to keep their atomic arsenals. Pakistan says it will not sign till India does.

In the the section dealing with the Middle-East, the conference reaffirmed the "importance of Israel's accession" to the NPT and called on Tel Aviv to place its nuclear facilities under comprehensive International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards.

Noting all others except Israel have acceded to the treaty, the signatories plan to send an envoy to Tel Aviv to persuade it to join the regime.

The conference, which was nearly derailed by last minute sharp differences between Iraq and the United States over the language on Baghdad's atomic weapons, ended on a happy note with diplomats and offi-

cial cheerers after the two agreed to a compromise under intense pressure from other members.

The undertaking given by the five, the United States, Russia, Britain, France and China, is considered an advance over the position taken by them earlier but still does not guarantee a nuclear weapon free world in the foreseeable future, diplomats say.

Anti-nuclear arms groups, while welcoming the undertaking, contend the lack of time frame would

be a major hurdle in achieving a nuclear weapon free world. But diplomats, who participated in the negotiations, are optimistic of movement in that direction over the next few years. "The five will not be able to resist the pressure from the rest of the world," said a diplomat after the conference ended after adopting the con-

## Annan hails NPT consensus

UNITED NATIONS: Secretary General Kofi Annan has described the consensus reached in the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) conference as "a significant step forward" in humanity's pursuit of a more peaceful world.

"It is a step towards a world free of nuclear dangers, a world with strengthened global norms for nuclear non proliferation," Annan said in a statement issued minutes after cheering delegates adopted the consensus document. (PTI)

sensus document.

NPT, the cornerstone of the nuclear arms control regime, represents an agreement reached between nuclear weapon states and non-nuclear weapon states in 1970 under which the latter gave up their right to have atomic arms in exchange for guarantees by the five weapon states to move towards nuclear disarmament.

Five years ago, the five persuaded the rest of the 182 members to extend the treaty indefinitely and this was first five-year mandated review since then.

One of the reasons that the five agreed to give the undertaking was that rest of the signatories vociferously reminded them of their promise. (PTI)

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# Nuclear hopes and fears

Thanks to Pokharan, P-5 could not bulldoze its way

**A**T THE month-long conference at the UN to review the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), the US, Russia, France, Britain and China made an "unequivocal commitment" to eliminate nuclear weapons. Compared to earlier commitments merely to undertake nuclear disarmament negotiations in good faith, this is a definite step forward. However, without a timetable it will be hard to hold them to their word. On its own, the pledge seems meaningless, another piece of hypocrisy, a means of maintaining undisturbed the status quo whereby those five signatories of the NPT maintain nuclear arsenals and the other 182 do not. But although grand claims cannot be made for the outcome of the review conference, the first since 1995 when the NPT was extended indefinitely, it is somewhat simplistic to write it off as another grand deception by the P-5, the five nuclear powers who are also permanent members of the Security Council. Importantly, the conference saw the New Agenda Coalition (NAC), a two-year old coalition of diverse countries, acting for the first time as an independent and effective pressure group.

Without the efforts of South Africa, Egypt, Brazil, Ireland, Sweden and others, the "unequivocal commitment" could not have been extracted from the P-5. There is hope that the NAC will press for achievement of specific arms control and reduction measures by the P-5 over the next few years. Significant steps would be the de-alerting of nuclear weapons, reducing the role of nuclear weapons in security policies, declaring the size of national nuclear

stockpiles and reductions in the number of tactical and strategic nuclear weapons. India, naturally, was not at the conference but can take credit for the emergence of a group like the NAC. Until now there has hardly been any focussed challenge to the P-5 and they have got away for decades with empty promises. Pokharan-II evidently concentrated the minds of non-nuclear weapons states as never before. By demonstrating so strikingly the inherent instability of the existing NPT regime, India's May 1998 tests compelled an influence group of countries to push for nuclear disarmament.

The fragile progress at the NPT conference is more than undone by the upheaval Washington is causing by persisting with its national missile defence plans or, put more accurately, Star Wars fantasies. Even though the technology of a ground-based defence against incoming ballistic missiles is not proven, many Republicans in the Senate are persuaded it will make the US invulnerable to attack. President Clinton hopes at a summit this June to persuade the new Russian President, Vladimir Putin, that a "limited" US NMD is no threat to Russia. If the US does go ahead with NMD, there is no question that it will destabilise relations between the nuclear powers and a new arms race will begin as other states scramble to cope with reduced nuclear deterrent capabilities. China which maintains a relatively small number of weapons and ballistic missiles under its minimum deterrent policy, will feel compelled to enlarge the quantities of both. If an arms race ensues, nuclear disarmament will be set back for decades.

INDIAN EXPRESS

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22 MAY 2001

TUESDAY, MAY 23, 2000

## SETBACK FOR DISARMAMENT

THE MOMENTUM TOWARD a universal nuclear nonproliferation regime, generated by the end of the Cold War more than a decade ago, has for all practical purposes been lost. Today, genuine global agreement on nuclear nonproliferation, leading ultimately and in time to nuclear disarmament, seems more distant than it ever was in the half century since the U.N. General Assembly adopted an innocuous resolution in November 1959 suggesting a similar goal. A month-long international conference to review nuclear nonproliferation has just concluded in New York with a declaration that is interminably long on platitudes and critically short on promise of time-bound action. The U.N.-sponsored conference in which nearly 190 members participated was again witness to the unwillingness of the nuclear powers, the U.S., Russia, China, France and England, to go beyond talk of disarmament. The n-5 repeated a meaningless pledge "to accomplish the total elimination of their formidable nuclear arsenal" but refused to accept a timetable to achieve this. In the absence of the timetable, the promise to disarm will remain hollow and lack the credibility on which the global effort needs to be founded. The failure of the conference — the euphoric claims of the chairman can hardly conceal this — coming amid increasing signs of a return to Cold War rhetoric, confirms a dangerous slide toward insecurity and instability in international relations.

A series of developments over the past two years, coinciding with the intensification of the effort to get the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty ratified, appears to have irretrievably reversed whatever notional gains had been achieved earlier. The first, near-fatal blow against the decade-long campaign for CTBT ratification was struck by the Republican-dominated American Congress. Subsequent posturing by the rightist-militarist elements in the U.S., which are relentlessly pushing their own competing agenda of missile defence, is

threatening to unravel the treaty and is forcing a matching campaign by the new leadership in Moscow. The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, among whose first actions was to secure the approval of his Parliament for the CTBT ratification, is demonstrating clearly that the Boris Yeltsin line of surrender to Western blandishments is at an end. The increasingly confrontationist mood in Moscow has been fuelled by the American pursuit of plans to deploy a national missile defence system that is opposed even by European allies. Republican leaders, in this key election year, have threatened to withdraw from the 1972 anti-ballistic missile treaty if necessary to field the new missile defence. Under the treaty, the U.S. and Russia are restricted to deploying only one limited ballistic missile system to defend a small area of their countries. The U.S. now wants to alter the treaty to allow for a missile system to guard the entire country from a limited attack by a nation with an emerging missile threat. Russia and leading European allies have expressed deep misgivings about the impact this can have on all arms control measures.

A direct consequence of these developments in recent months has been that nonproliferation and disarmament suddenly appear to have gone off the global agenda. The trend, which can undercut decades of arms control and weaken other agreements against weapons of mass destruction, can be nothing short of disaster for mankind. If arms control is not to unravel further, there is urgent need to revive the global movement that, cutting across national borders and ideological barriers, brought about awareness of the threats to humanity posed by the weapons of mass destruction. That campaign, in the Sixties, in which India and Indian leaders were in the forefront, was engulfed by the Cold War. Before another intensifies, the international community must act to arrest the current slide to certain mutual destruction.

DHL

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## Nuclear Fix

21/5

Big power spin-doctors are at work again. The first quinquennial review conference after the indefinite and unconditional extension of the Non-proliferation Treaty has been hailed by them as a "great victory". Reason: The consensus declaration adopted by the five nuclear powers gives an "unequivocal undertaking" that they would eliminate their atomic arsenals. The twist lies in the term "unequivocal undertaking". This commitment was in reality given way back in 1968 and is contained in Article VI of the NPT. It can also be found in the final document of the first UN special session on nuclear disarmament held in 1978. Despite this, the nuclear hegemonic powers argued before the world court that use of nuclear weapons by them was legal. They have also repeatedly refused to commit themselves to a time-frame for nuclear disarmament: This happened during the first UN special session on disarmament, later when Rajiv Gandhi presented his plan in the third special session, and then during the NPT extension conference. They have since resisted linking the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to nuclear disarmament, and are now placing obstacles to prevent the Conference of Disarmament from starting negotiations on a convention on nuclear disarmament. Even in the present declaration they have dodged committing themselves to a time-frame for eliminating nuclear weapons.

Indeed, the latest declaration is a charade. The US administration is to take a decision on the National Missile Defence (NMD) programme in the next few months and that will unleash a new arms race. Both Russia and China have expressed their vigorous opposition to it. Russia has warned that initiation of the NMD by the US would result in Russian withdrawal from START II and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). The US proposal to start a costly missile defence programme unambiguously declares the intention of the US legislators and policy makers not to eliminate nuclear weapons in the near future. If anything, the intention appears to be to use the NMD to degrade the deterrent value of the Russian and Chinese weapons and for the US to emerge as the sole superpower. The US Senate's rejection of the CTBT serves notice on the world that the US legislators are keen to further refine their arsenal. One of the two presidential candidates, Governor George Bush, has asserted that he would unilaterally abrogate the Anti-Ballistic-Missile Treaty, if necessary. All these developments point to the enormous chasm between existing nuclear realities and the pious professions of non-proliferation advocates. Five years later, the next review conference will doubtless be searching for new phraseology to cover up the failure of nuclear hegemonic powers to live up to their "unequivocal commitments". Many years ago, the Swadeshi minister for disarmament, the late Alva Myrdahl, said the nuclear powers were playing a game of disarmament. Things have moved further since then; nuclear disarmament is now like cricket and other games; as the NPT review conference communique shows, it is an outcome fixed among the five powers.

THE TOWER OF INDIA

24 MAY 2000

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# USA warned of N-race

DESIKAN THIRUNARAYANAPURAM  
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON, May 28. — Intelligence experts have warned the US government of a "Cold War style arms race" between China, India and Pakistan if the Clinton government goes ahead with its limited missile plan, the *New York Times* reported on Sunday.

Analysts say the chain reaction could undercut US efforts at nuclear disarmament.

While US officials have repeatedly said an anti-missile defence is not aimed at Beijing, even they acknowledged that the system being designed could significantly undercut or even neutralise China's small

nuclear force.

That could lead China to add to its nuclear arsenal. And if China built up its force India could do the same as could Pakistan, "heightening tensions along the world's newest nuclear frontier", the newspaper said in a top front page report.

US officials are expected to outline such a situation in an intelligence estimate due in June.

Mr Bill Clinton, scheduled to hold his first summit meeting with the Russian President, Mr Vladimir Putin, has been unsuccessfully trying to convince Moscow that the limited missile shield is not aimed at Russia but smaller "rogue"

nations such as Iran, Iraq and North Korea.

The overwhelming Russian nuclear power could easily break through the proposed US missile shield, Pentagon has argued.

However, such argument would not stand against China which has a much smaller nuclear arsenal, NYT said.

"If China increases the number of missiles it has, would India think it has to increase its missiles?" the newspaper quoted a senior US official, familiar with the analysis being prepared, as having said. "And if India increases its missiles, then Pakistan does."

Mr Clinton has said he would

decide later this year whether to proceed with the missile defence based on four criteria: the missile threat, technological viability of the programme, the effect on arms control and cost.

"China's expanded force of nuclear-tipped long-range missiles might not be directed at India," US analysts said, but it would be a capability that the Indians could not ignore.

That may prompt India to build short-range missiles to defend against China.

The NYT said US officials are divided over whether India would respond in such a way, but the "emerging analysis has dramatically raised the stakes".

THE STATESMAN

29 MAY 2000

MAY 2000

# Duma will vote on START-II <sup>AA-5</sup> treaty on Friday

BY MARTIN NESIRKY <sup>12/19</sup>

<sup>Duma</sup>  
**Moscow, April 11:** Russia's Parliament agreed on Tuesday to hold a long-awaited vote on Friday on ratifying the START-II nuclear arms reduction treaty.

Former President Boris Yeltsin tried for years to secure ratification of the treaty, which would cut the US and Russian warheads from about 6,000 each to no more than 3,500 each by 2007. The US Senate has already ratified the 1993 agreement.

The Communist-dominated Duma opposed the pact, but the chamber elected in December is likely to back it in an early foreign policy triumph for Mr Yeltsin's successor.

President-elect Vladimir Putin. "The treaty will be considered on Friday," Speaker Gennady Seleznyov told reporters after a meeting of the agenda-setting Duma council.

He said defence minister Igor Sergeev, a former commander of the world's second largest nuclear arsenal, and foreign minister Igor Ivanov would be invited to answer deputies' questions on Thursday.

Party groups would then decide where they stood and deputies would vote on Friday, he said.

Unlike in the old Duma, the pro-Putin Unity Party and other groups can outvote the Opposition Communists and their allies. The Communists remain opposed to the treaty.

"As long as we have missiles, no one will touch us," Communist leader Gennady Zyuganov said, adding the treaty would "completely destroy Russia's national security."

Dmitry Rogozin, who chairs the Duma international affairs com-

mittee, said it was likely deputies would also approve a statement urging Washington not to violate the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty that limits anti-missile defences.

Ratification on Friday would show at an early stage Mr Putin can push measures through the Duma and boost his image abroad even before his May 7 inauguration and ahead of his first trip to the West, to London next week. It would also help Mr Ivanov on a US visit starting on April 24.

Assuming it is approved in the Duma, the treaty will have to be backed in the upper Federation Council at its April 19 session and then signed by Mr Putin. If all goes according to plan, Mr Putin will arrive in London with the treaty ratified in the Duma and Mr Ivanov will start his US trip with the signed deal.

Ratification would pave the way for work to start on a new START-III agreement, already agreed in outline three years ago.

One reason Russia dragged its feet on START-II was opposition to plans by Washington to deploy a defence system to intercept incoming nuclear missiles.

Moscow regards ABM as a pillar of arms control. Washington says its limited national defence system would target missiles from what it considers "rogue" states like Iran or North Korea.

But despite the bluster, Western and Russian defence experts detect signs that Moscow under Mr Putin may agree to some kind of compromise on ABM, partly to avoid a costly arms race the impoverished former superpower cannot hope to win. By ratifying START-II, Russia would decouple that treaty from ABM. (Reuters)

THE ASIAN AGE

12 APR 2002

# Putin asks House to pass START-II

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, APRIL 11. Russia's President-elect, Mr. Vladimir Putin, has made his first move in the field of foreign policy by launching a diplomatic offensive on arms control.

Mr. Putin has persuaded Parliament to ratify the U.S.- Russian START-II nuclear arms reduction treaty and at the same time vowed to strengthen the country's defence potential.

A day after parliamentary leaders held a three-hour meeting with Mr. Putin in the Kremlin on Monday, the State Duma, the Russian Parliament's lower House, decided to debate on Friday ratification of START-II, which has been hanging fire for two years.

Most factions said they would support the treaty, which calls for the U.S. and Russia to halve their nuclear arsenals to between 3,000 and 3,500 warheads. But deputies also suggested they would set conditions for implementation of START-II.

Simultaneously with ratifying the treaty, the State Duma intends to endorse a political statement that is expected to link nuclear cuts with continued U.S. commitment to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Moscow has been strongly objecting to Washington's plans to modify the 1972 ABM treaty, which it sees as a pillar of international arms control.

Russia's Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, on Monday reiterated Moscow's warning that the collapse of the treaty "would plunge the world into a new confrontation."

On the same day, Mr. Putin made it clear that henceforth Russia's foreign policy would be based on the country's new defence and security concepts drawn up earlier this year.

"I think it will be correct to bring Russia' international obligations in line with the concept of national security and the concept of armed forces development,"

Mr. Putin told a Security Council meeting attended by parliamentary leaders. "We are in a position to pursue an offensive policy in this field."

The new military and security doctrines, drafted in January, said Russia faced potential threats from "military buildup around Russia's borders, the borders of its allies and adjacent seas" and from NATO's recent enlargement eastwards.

Ratification of START-II will open the way to Russian- American talks on deeper nuclear cuts that Moscow deems essential as it is cash-strapped to maintain a large nuclear arsenal. Approval of the treaty would also strengthen Moscow's hand in bargaining with Washington over the fate of the ABM treaty.

Pressing Moscow's diplomatic offensive, the Kremlin announced on Monday Mr. Putin's plans to make some foreign trips even before his official taking of office next month.

This weekend, he will visit London, which he described as a "bridge between East and West". Mr. Putin's talks with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Tony Blair, will touch, among other things, on nuclear disarmament and the ABM treaty, Kremlin sources said.

It is significant that on the way to London, Mr. Putin will stop over in Minsk, Belarus, whose leader, Mr. Alexander Lukashenko, told his Parliament on Tuesday that Russia and Belarus were going to deploy joint military forces on Belarus' western borders with Europe to protect the two allied nations from the aggressive policies of the Western countries.

"We are creating a powerful military grouping the core of which will be formed by the Belarus army," Mr. Lukashenko said in his annual state of the nation address.

"It will consist of about 300,000 soldiers armed with the latest in military technology."

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# Russia ratifies Start II, reserves right to withdraw

DEUTSCHE PRESSE AGENTUR  
& REUTERS

MOSCOW, April 14. -- Urged by a pre-vote pep talk from the President-elect, the Russian State Duma today ratified the Start-II nuclear disarmament treaty, four years after the USA accepted it. The 1993 agreement was passed by 288 votes to 131, with four abstentions.

The Duma said, however, that the arms pact would be ripped up if the USA violated the separate 1972 Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty.

The US Secretary of State, Ms Madeleine Albright, who is in Kiev, hailed the decision. "This is a big step forward. We look forward to intensifying our discussion on next steps of our arms control dialogue and other issues when foreign minister Igor Ivanov comes to Washington later this month," she said in a statement.

"Russia absolutely needs no further arms race," Mr Putin had warned deputies before the vote. Delaying ratification would be "harmful" to Russia's strategic nuclear capability, he was quoted by Interfax as telling the closed session of parliament.

The only opposition that had been expected was from the large Communist faction. "An

act of high treason is being prepared," Communist leader, Mr Gennady Zyuganov, said ahead of the vote. Approval of the 1993 treaty between Washington and Moscow signified "the destruction of the nuclear shield that protects Russia," Mr Zyuganov said.

## CHECHEN LEADER

GROZNY, April 14. -- Russian commandos captured the Chechen President's military chief of staff in a special operation and brought him to Moscow for questioning, officials said today.

Apti Batalov, a brigadier-general in the rebel army and Chechen President Aslan Maskhadov's chief of staff, was seized by a special squad of Federal Security Service troops in the town of Shali on Thursday, an agency spokesman said.

— AP

Start II calls on Russia and USA to cut their arsenals of nuclear warheads to no more than 3,500 each by 2007 from 6,000. But the Duma said Russia would consider itself freed from Start II obligations if the USA flouted the treaty or the ABM pact which limits systems designed to shoot enemy warheads out of the sky. A

national missile defence that Washington will consider adopting this summer, would flout the ABM treaty.

Russia would also be freed from Start II obligations if its national security was threatened by the growth of what it called aggressive strategically armed nations, or if other nations decided to strengthen their military in a way which threatened Russian security. Russia would also ignore Start II if other countries deployed weapons which hampered the functioning of its missile attack early warning system or in an "emergency situation".

Mr Zyuganov urged deputies to consider before they cast their votes "whether we can maintain our military defence or whether decades of slavery await us".

**China warning:** China today warned the USA it may review its policies on arms control and non-proliferation to counter US plans to build missile defence systems over America and northeast Asia.

China was willing to participate in arms control talks and treaties only on the condition that they did not undermine the global strategic balance or Beijing's own security interests, the China Daily quoted a senior foreign ministry official as saying.

THE STATESMAN

15 APR 2000

# Duma ratifies START II treaty

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
MOSCOW, APRIL 15

MAKING a rare gesture to Russia's President-elect Vladimir Putin, the State Duma, lower house of parliament, overwhelmingly ratified the START II treaty on Friday, ending years of confrontation between the Kremlin and parliament, under the former President Boris Yeltsin.

In the 450-member house, 288 deputies voted in favour, with 131 against and four abstention. The vote which was held in an open session, required a simple majority of 226. Only Communists and their left allies voted against the ratification.

Commenting after the vote, Putin said, he was pleased that the parliament had passed the treaty and now the arms control ball was in US court.

"For this reason, I not only welcome but fully support the decision," he said, talking to mediaper-

sons. "Our partners should make the next steps. The ball is in their court."

The debate over the thorny issue of ratification, was held behind the closed doors. Before the deputies took up the ratification Bill, all the doors of the house, were locked and radio music was switched on in the lobby to prevent a battery of correspondents hearing the proceedings.

As Putin was attending the session, surcharged with frayed emotions, security officials took extraordinary measures to keep the proceeding of the house a top secret.

NTV's video footage showed Putin arriving in the house, escorted by a posse of security men, among them, the officer who carries his nuclear button.

Addressing the house, Putin urged the lawmakers to pass the START II treaty.

Russian foreign minister Igor Ivanov and defence minister Igor

Sergeyev also attended the session. On the eve of the sensitive debate, they had urged the Duma to approve the long-postponed nuclear arms reduction treaty, which will reduce the US and Russian nuclear warheads from 6,000 to 3,500 by 2007.

Russia had "little room to manoeuvre" because of economic problems and should focus limited funds on new strategic arms, Sergeyev said, addressing the deputies.

The vote not only signalled that the Communists and their left allies were no longer in control of the new parliament, but will also enable Putin to show on his first trip to the West after the presidential election, starting in London on Sunday.

Ahead of his visit to London, Putin wanted to demonstrate a symbolic goodwill for the improvement of relations with the West, which have seriously been undermined by Russia's ongoing

Chechen campaign.

Now that the treaty is ratified, Ivanov is expected to pay a visit to Washington at the end of April to discuss further arms cuts issues.

Russian and US officials have already started talks on the START III treaty in Geneva, aimed at even further cutting their nuclear arsenals. Washington has proposed its readiness to reduce them to 15,000.

However, Russia has expressed apprehension that the next steps in nuclear arms control could be hampered by the US proposals for new national missile defence.

America wants to armed the 1972 ABM treaty so it can build a system to protect against possible attacks what it calls from "rogue nations" such as North Korea, Iran and Iraq.

Russia also plans modernizing its nuclear arsenals, with emphasis on a smaller arsenal of modern weapons, such as new Topol-M missile.

16 APR 2002

## START Again

The Russian Duma's ratification of START-II has been timed to generate a number of messages. It comes just ten days before the first quinquennial review conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, with a rider attached to it: Russia would quit the treaty if the US were to go ahead with its national missile defence programme, thereby subverting the very first and basic arms control agreement — the anti ballistic missile (ABM) treaty — between the two main nuclear weapon powers. That treaty too, like the NPT after its extension, is for an indefinite duration. The conditionality attached by the Russians to the ratification of START-II reminds the world that the US does not respect treaties of indefinite duration and, therefore, there is no need to treat an NPT of indefinite duration any differently. Simultaneously, the Chinese have indicated that they would review their arms control and non-proliferation policies if the US were to go ahead with its national missile defence programme. President Putin once again emphasised the strong Russian objection to the NMD during his recent visit to London. Under these circumstances, the attempt of the US to unleash a new arms race in defiance of all international norms could become the main focus of the NPT review conference, though it has not been listed on the agenda. By getting START-II ratified in the immediate wake of his election, President Putin is signalling to the world that he can deliver on major international agreements where his predecessor, Boris Yeltsin, could not. In this he has been significantly helped by the composition of the newly elected Duma which has brought down the strength of the Communists and ultra nationalists. There are also signals from Moscow that the ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) is under consideration. It is possible that there could have been a quid pro quo between this ratification and the relatively muted stand of the US and the European Union on the issue of Chechnya.

There will be attempts to project the ratification of START-II as a great advance towards disarmament. In reality, it is only a process of rationalising what are still monstrous and irrational arsenals. The figures advertised — that the numbers are being brought down to 3,500 for US and 3,000 for Russia — are not the whole truth. Both sides keep an equal number of weapons as part of an "inactive reserve". Recently the US has announced a programme to refurbish its arsenal of 7,000 warheads and President Putin has emphasised the need for Russia to modernise its weapons. A few months ago, Russia published a new security doctrine which emphasised the role of nuclear weapons in its defence posture and reiterated its reversal of the no-first-use doctrine. The ratification of START-II has been advertised as a harbinger of START-III, which will further bring down the sizes of the two arsenals. With the US about to embark upon national missile defence, it is difficult to foresee an early conclusion of START-III. A missile defence system and a reduced arsenal will be seen as a dangerous combination raising the risks of nuclear war. These, and the failure of the nuclear weapon powers to abide by Article I of the NPT and refrain from proliferation, as has happened in Asia, are the crucial issues that should attract the attention of the NPT review conference.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

19 APR 2000

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# Duma gives green signal to CTBT

Fred Weir  
Moscow, April 21

RUSSIA'S STATE Duma overwhelmingly endorsed the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) on Friday, giving the Kremlin a moral advantage over the US as new arms control negotiations open this weekend in Washington.

In a closed session on Friday afternoon the Duma voted 298-74 to ratify the CTBT, which obliges Russia to end all nuclear explosions above or below the ground. More than 150 countries have signed the treaty, but so far only 51 have ratified it. Last year the US Senate refused to endorse it, arguing that an end to all nuclear testing would weaken America's strategic deterrent.

## 100 yrs to destroy chemical weapons

IT WILL take Russia 100 years to destroy its chemical weapons unless it gets more government cash to meet its commitments under an international disarmament treaty, a senior Russian official said on Friday. Russia is aiming to rid itself of 40,000 tonnes of chemical weapons — the world's largest stockpile — over a decade as a signatory to the chemical weapons convention. Zinovy Pak, head of the State body responsible for Russia's ammunition, was quoted as telling Parliament that the entire programme would cost 50 billion roubles (\$ 1.75 billion) — a huge bill for the cash-strapped Russian Govt. **Reuters, Moscow**

Russia has already announced that it will continue "non-nuclear" testing, which involves simulated atomic explosions using an array of supercomputers, to verify its strategic nuclear stockpile and design new weapons.

A week ago the Duma ratified the START-2

accord, which obliges both former Cold War rivals to reduce their offensive nuclear arsenals to not more than 3,500 warheads each.

Russia wants the US to move ahead with START-3 negotiations which would mandate much more radical cuts to 1,500 warheads on each side.

Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov heads to Washington on Sunday to begin talks on START-3 and to lay out Russia's opposition to American plans to build a treaty-breaking anti-missile defence system.

"It is very important that the Russian Parliament has ratified all the arms treaties now," says independent political analyst Nikolai Zyubov. "It puts us in a morally superior position when trying to press Washington to move forward toward START-3".

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

22 APR 2000

2 APR 2000

# India won't join NPT unless ties with China, Pak improve: U.S.

WASHINGTON: In a major shift in the U.S.'s thinking on India's nuclear programme, a top non-proliferation official conceded that New Delhi could not be expected to join the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) unless its relations with both China and Pakistan improved.

Herman Wulf, the official negotiator at the UN review meet on NPT, in an interview, said Pakistan, in contrast, could afford to give up its nuclear weapons before India and join the NPT if its relations with New Delhi became cordial like those between Canada and the U.S.

"One can clearly envisage a situation in which Pakistan will be prepared to surrender its nuclear weapons if the Indo-Pak relations are like the U.S.-Canadian relations," Mr Wulf said. "If India and China are to resolve whatever differences India believes may exist, one at least should be able to envisage a situation in which it is prepared to surrender its nuclear weapons," he added.

Remarking that China was a "complicating factor" in South Asia, Mr Wulf said, "India claims it needs nuclear weapons to counter the Chinese threat. Whatever the reality is, that ends up in making it a three-cornered shot. And that in turn makes it much more difficult to see how one can get these two countries (India and Pakistan) to surrender their weapons."

He mentioned that the U.S. was making efforts to get both India and Pakistan to stop where they were in terms of weapons of mass destruction and begin addressing the problems they had so that the two countries no longer had the reason to feel threatened. "President Bill Clinton's visit to South Asia last month was part of the effort to normalise ties between the two neighbours," Mr Wulf added.

According to him, the U.S. wanted the NPT review conference to deal with the Indo-Pak issue and called upon both the countries to comply with the UN Security Council resolution.

The resolution, adopted soon after the Indian and Pakistani tests in May, 1998, sets forth a series of steps that the Security Council believes the neighbours should take to de-escalate nuclear tensions, and ultimately become parties to the NPT as non-nuclear weapon states.

On Israel — the third "unofficial member" of the nuclear club — Mr Wulf said Tel Aviv had made it clear that it could surrender its nuclear option if it was assured of just, stable and enduring peace in West Asia. "The U.S. is making every effort it can to bring about such a peace. If that is achieved, we believe Israel can and should join the NPT as a non-nuclear weapon state," he said. (PTI)

# Non-nuclear states will press for total disarmament vow

ASSOCIATED PRESS

UNHQ, April 23. — Countries without nuclear weapons have put the USA and other nuclear powers on notice that they want an unequivocal commitment to total nuclear disarmament at a major conference starting tomorrow.

Thirty years after the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty came into force, many signatories who have disavowed nuclear weapons are frustrated that the treaty's goal of a nuclear weapons-free world appears to be slipping further and further away — even with Russia's ratification of two key nuclear agreements last week.

When 187 nations gather tomorrow for a four-week conference to review the treaty's provisions, the 182 non-nuclear states will be casting a highly critical eye at the five nuclear powers: the USA, Russia, Britain, France and China.

The US Secretary of State, Ms Madeleine Albright, will be

among the first speakers tomorrow and is likely to defend Washington's record. "Some countries have the quite unrealistic notion that disarmament is something that happens overnight," said US State Department spokesman, Mr James P Rubin. "The fact is that the USA has led the way among the nuclear powers in trying to reverse the nuclear arms race."

The NPT, which went into force in 1970, represented a bargain between the nuclear "haves" and "have-nots". In return for the non-nuclear states' agreement not to acquire nuclear weapons, the treaty committed nuclear weapon states "to pursue in good faith negotiations on effective measures relating to ... nuclear disarmament".

In 1995, when the treaty's 25-year term was set to expire, the USA successfully led the campaign to extend the treaty indefinitely, promising "systematic and progressive

efforts" toward disarmament and a global ban on nuclear tests. But there is a widespread feeling among non-nuclear weapon states that the efforts haven't gone far enough and that the spread of the weapons has in fact increased.

Since the 1995 conference, India and Pakistan have conducted a series of nuclear tests. In addition, the 66-nation Conference on Disarmament, the main disarmament forum, has deadlocked on a new disarmament agenda. There has been no progress on a treaty to cut off production of weapons-grade plutonium and uranium. And 10 years after the Cold War, thousands of US and Russian warheads remain on "hair-trigger" alert.

Global disarmament negotiations on a host of issues were virtually gridlocked until the Russian Duma last week ratified the long-delayed Start II — an agreement to cut nuclear arsenals. On Friday, the Duma ratified the CTBT.

24 APR 2000

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THE NEWSMAN

## 61-12 Nuclear Harms

In ratifying the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty virtually on the eve of the quinquennial review conference of the NPT (the first in the post-nuclear weapon legitimisation era), Russia has focused attention on the biggest violator of international nuclear norms — the United States. The US administration, which sold the CTBT to the whole world, was ironically unable to convince its own Senate on the imperatives of ratifying the treaty. That was just desserts for a nation that advocated non-proliferation to the rest of the world even as it reserved the right to beef up its own security through nuclear weapons. After all, the US holds the record for conducting the highest number of nuclear tests. If only the non-proliferation hardliners had spent more time persuading their own Cold Warriors and legislators on the need to move towards genuine nuclear disarmament and wasted less time preaching non-proliferation to others, they would not have found themselves in this sorry state of affairs. Russia has also clearly warned that it would quit START-II if the US proceeded with its National Missile Defence (NMD) and President Putin has repeated that warning in public in London. The NMD has the potential of unleashing a new arms race, which Russia says it does not want. Indeed, that will wreck the entire arms control edifice, as the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) — which proscribes missile defence — was the first major arms control treaty of indefinite duration. If that is breached, then it follows that no treaty of indefinite duration, including the Non-proliferation Treaty, needs to be respected.

Such is the danger of a new arms race through the NMD that it is opposed by Russia, China and France, as well as by a majority of the people polled in the US. Therefore, the first and foremost task of the quinquennial review conference is to come out with a strong declaration against the upcoming arms race and warn the US not to go against international nuclear norms. The US administration must pause and reflect whether it would be more secure with a new round of arms race. In 1995, the review conference was unable to formulate a declaration that committed all nuclear powers to article I of the NPT which prohibits transfer of nuclear weapon technology to non-nuclear weapon states. Since 1995 additional evidence has surfaced regarding China's continued violation of article I of the NPT through transfer of technology, unsafe guarded materials and equipment to Pakistan. These include transfer of ring magnets, heavy water, Khushab Plutonium production reactor and plutonium reprocessing technology. Five years after the legitimisation of nuclear weapons through an indefinite extension of the NPT, the promised CTBT and fissile materials production cutoff are still to materialise. Instead the non-nuclear weapon nations are confronted with the threat of a new arms race: The US has launched its NMD programme, the US and Russia have refurbished and upgraded thousands of new nuclear warheads, China continues to violate article I of the NPT and NATO and Russia have reaffirmed the offensive nuclear 'first strike' doctrine. It is time for the international community to pause and reflect on where it went wrong.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

24 APR 2000

# Nuclear haves and have-nots to battle it out at United Nations

By Evelyn Leopold

UNITED NATIONS: Impatient at the slow progress in arms control, governments from Brazil to New Zealand plan to tell the United States and other nuclear powers on Monday they have to do more to make the world safer.

"There is a widespread feeling among non-nuclear weapons states that the record as far as nuclear disarmament is concerned requires much more progress than has been recorded," the U.N. undersecretary-general for disarmament, Jayantha Dhanapala, said.

Signatories to the 1970 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the cornerstone in arms reduction treaties, meet every five years to review progress and set new goals. This year's one-month review, beginning on Monday is the first since the recognised nuclear states

convinced the rest of the world five years ago to extend the treaty indefinitely.

Under the convention, only five countries — the U.S., Russia, Britain, France and China — are permitted to have nuclear arms among the 187 states that have ratified the treaty. In turn they have promised to move towards getting rid of the estimated 20,000 nuclear weapons they have between them.

The U.S. faces the strongest criticism even though Russia's new policy increases reliance on nuclear weapons to compensate for its deteriorating conventional forces. Russia, whose foreign minister Igor Ivanov speaks on Tuesday, scored points earlier this month by ratifying the START II treaty with the U.S. that cuts the number of nuclear warheads from 6,000 to no more than 3,500 on each side by 2007.

Russia's Parliament on Friday also approved the global nuclear test ban treaty in time for the conference.

But Washington is in the dock because the Senate last October refused to ratify the test ban treaty and the Pentagon is developing an anti-missile defence plan many fear will unravel a key U.S.-Russian missile reduction treaty.

U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright speaks on the opening day to defend the American record, saying Washington has eliminated more than half of its nuclear weapons since the end of the Cold War. Anticipating the criticism that will begin with Mexican Foreign Minister Rosario Green, who speaks before Albright, State Department spokesman James Rubin said everyone expected change too quickly. (Reuters)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

24 APR 2000

24 APR 2000



# U.S. will continue to seek adherence to NPT: Albright 26/4

By Sridhar Krishnaswami AP-13  
WASHINGTON, APRIL 25. In line with her known views on the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the U.S. Secretary of State, Ms. Madeleine Albright, has reiterated that the United States continues to seek universal adherence to the NPT — in South Asia and beyond.

Speaking at the review conference of the NPT in New York on Monday, Ms. Albright said that while questions were raised about the NPT's ability to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons in the face of the challenge posed by the Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests of 1998, the world's response to the tests revealed the strength and resiliency of the NPT and the norms it had established.

"There is no provision in the Treaty for new nuclear weapons states; nor will there be one. For we will not break faith with all the states — from the former Soviet Republics to South America to South Africa — who made good decisions to strengthen their own security and the cause of non-proliferation by joining the NPT.

We want the tide of history to keep running in the Treaty's direction — toward the elimination of nuclear weapons, not their spread. For this reason the U.S. continues to seek universal adherence to the NPT — in South Asia and beyond," she said.

At a time when the Clinton Administration has come under criticism from outside and within the U.S. — for different reasons — on arms control, Ms. Albright defended its track record and rejected the notion that Washington was "turning its back" on arms control or

that it was bent upon sabotaging the 1972 ABM Treaty. Welcoming Russia's ratification of the START 2, she said, "this is the kind of arms race America likes to see."

Stressing that the changes sought by the U.S. on missile defenses was done after discussions with Russia and China, she said the world had dramatically changed in the three decades after the ABM Treaty was signed. "We are talking about a system capable of defending against at most a few tens of incoming missiles. It is not intended to degrade Russia's deterrent. Nor will it have that result."

On the United States' contribution to disarmament, Ms. Albright referred to a booklet released on Monday that showed how the country was meeting its commitment. The President, Mr. Bill Clinton, in his foreword, said, "the United States has devoted more time, effort and resources to nuclear arms control and disarmament than any other country."

I am certain this will continue. As we enter this new millennium we should all commit ourselves anew to achieving a world free of nuclear weapons."

The review conference which will continue for three weeks should focus on three key issues, according to Ms. Albright: how the NPT is working to prevent nuclear proliferation; advancing nuclear disarmament; and enhancing cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

"... the U.S. believes that any fair reading of the record will affirm that the NPT is doing its job. And therefore, that far from any radical

changes of course, what we need now is more hard work, good faith and patient political will from every country represented here," she said.

## 'NPT stands on a paradox'

DPA reports:  
Earlier, at the inauguration of the conference by the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, participants cited progress, but also some serious setbacks in the past five years.

Among the setbacks were the test-firing of nuclear devices by Pakistan and India in May 1998, which Mr. Annan said was "serious", and Washington's threat to deploy national missile defenses.

Opening the conference, Mr. Annan called for the reaffirmation "at the highest political level the commitment to reducing the dangers that arise both from existing nuclear weapons and from further proliferation." Only four countries in the world have not signed the NPT: Pakistan, India, Israel and Cuba.

The NPT stood now as a "paradox", Mr. Annan said. "The fact that 187 states are parties to this treaty testifies to its global appeal. And yet no one can be satisfied with the degree of implementation."

The Chinese representative at the conference, Mr. Sha Zukang, said, "disarmament should be conducive to the enhancement of every country's general security instead of becoming the instrument and means for a few countries to strengthen their military superiority by weakening or restricting other countries."

26 APR 2000

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# US hawk spreads wings on darkening N-horizon

REUTERS, AFP & PTI

UNHQ, April 25. — Ignoring speaker after speaker's criticism, the USA asserted it will seek amendment of the anti-ballistic missile treaty at the NPT review meet, provoking a Russian statement that raised the spectre of new phase of confrontation between the two nuclear weapons giants.

The ABM treaty "has been amended before, and there is no good reason it cannot be amended again to reflect new threats from third countries" outside the big-power strategic deterrence system, US secretary of state, Mrs Madeleine Albright, told the conference yesterday.

According to Mrs Albright, the USA needed to guard itself against potential missile attacks by "rogue states" like Iran, Iraq or North Korea.

But the USA's deployment of the proposed anti-missile shield would violate the 1972 ABM treaty, and Washington is trying to negotiate with

26/4

## INDIA, PAK BARRED FROM NUCLEAR CLUB

UNHQ, April 25. — There will be no new entrant in the exclusive five-member nuclear club, the USA has said. Washington will continue to press for adherence to the NPT in South Asia.

"There is no provision in the (nuclear non-proliferation) treaty for new nuclear weapon states; nor will there be one," Mrs Madeleine Albright told the NPT review conference without naming India and Pakistan. "We want the tide of history to keep moving in the treaty's direction towards the elimination of nuclear weapons, (and) not their spread." — PTI

Moscow for an amendment. President Bill Clinton is to take a final decision on deploying the shield in October.

Russia's foreign minister, Mr Igor Ivanov, however, told Russian state RTR TV yesterday that if the USA goes through with its plan to amend the ABM treaty, "it could irreparably tear all nuclear pacts signed over the last 30 years and destroy international stability forever."

"It would be a heavy blow to all systems of strategic stability," Mr Ivanov said from New York. "Russia believes in stop-

"We share the frustration many feel about the pace of progress toward a world free of nuclear weapons," she told the conference. "But we also know that if countries demand unrealistic and premature measures, they will harm the NPT and set back everyone's cause." According to Mrs Albright, "none of us has within our power to create overnight the conditions in which complete nuclear disarmament is possible. But in our own regions, and in our own ways, we each have a contribution to make."

Despite Mrs Albright's defence, the first day's proceedings of the monthlong gathering of 187 NPT signatory states clearly revealed that the USA stood isolated on the issue.

UN Secretary General, Mr Kofi Annan, warned the proposed system could jeopardise the ABM treaty and lead to a renewed arms race. The Chinese representative called the proposed system a new form of armament.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

26 APR 27

# U.S.-Russia talks on ABM fail

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, APRIL 28. Russia is reviewing its options in case the United States deploys a national anti-missile defence, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, said upon completing his talks in Washington.

"Russia cannot but get ready for this worst scenario in order to guarantee its national security," the RIA Novosti news agency quoted Mr. Ivanov as saying after his talks with the U.S. Secretary of State, Ms. Madeleine Albright, failed to bridge the sides' differences on the 1972 ABM Treaty.

If the U.S. decides to deploy a national missile defence system, Moscow "will not consider itself bound by the START-I, START-II and all other disarmament pacts," Mr. Ivanov told RIA Novosti in Washington. "This will trigger uncontrollable processes and spur on an arms race."

The U.S. would like to modify the ABM Treaty to be able to deploy what it calls a limited anti-ballistic missile defence consisting of at least 100 interceptors in Alaska and a chain of early warning radars to protect itself from nuclear missile attacks by what it calls "rogue" states such as North Korea.



The U.S. Secretary of State, Ms. Madeleine Albright, accompanied by the Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, answers questions from mediapersons during their joint news conference at the State Department in Washington on Thursday. — AP

Russia's leaders, however, say deployment of such a defence system would undermine the principle of mutually assured destruction which has always been a cornerstone of deterrence between the two nuclear superpowers.

Russian analysts say Moscow could agree to Washington's proposal on two conditions. The U.S.

pared to 3,500 allowed under START-II.

Mr. Ivanov and Ms. Albright agreed to continue their consultations on ABM, but analysts are sceptical the U.S. would accept Russian conditions.

"The U.S. will walk out of the ABM treaty," said Mr. Viktor Kremenjuk, deputy director of the Institute of U.S. and Canada Studies.

"Americans feel there is no point in making deals with Russia, which is worthless as an ally and not fearful as an enemy."

If the Russia-U.S. arms control system collapses, Russia will be able to maintain an effective second-strike nuclear capability for another 10 years, analysts said.

"Abrogation of START-II would allow Russia to deploy multiple warheads on land-based missiles as well as stop scrapping railway-mounted Topol ballistic missiles that will be difficult for U.S. satellites to spot," said Mr. Ivan Safranchuk of the Centre for Policy Studies.

"All in all, Russia can afford to keep 3,000 warheads operative, which would be enough to overcome a U.S. national defence during the next 10 years."

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## ✓ Nuclear duplicity 29/4

THE ORIGINAL nuclear covenant focused not only on non-proliferation but also on universal disarmament. However, the US saw to it, at the last review conference five years ago, that the disarmament clause would be overlooked while allowing the Big Five to retain their nuclear arsenals. The earlier understanding, therefore, that the non-nuclear powers — more than 180 of them — would voluntarily give up their desire to join the exclusive nuclear club of five in exchange for the latter to “cap, roll back and eliminate” (a phrase which the US used to throw at India) their nuclear weapons was broken. However, as the US must have realised to its dismay at the current review conference at New York, the sentiments in favour of a nuclear-free world are far too strong for the skewed NPT to be regarded as sacrosanct.

Nearly all the non-nuclear countries have been calling upon the Big Five to work towards disarmament. Indeed, a new bloc of seven countries comprising Brazil, Egypt, Ireland, Mexico, New Zealand, South Africa and Sweden has been formed to act as a pressure group in this respect. What may have caused some of them to express dissatisfaction with the present patently unfair nuclear regime is the US insistence both to upgrade its own nuclear weapons through sophisticated laboratory simulation and to set up a missile defence shield on lines of the Star Wars programme while lecturing to others about the virtues of shunning these very same weapons. It passes comprehension why the US, with two oceans on either side, should feel the need to have a defence shield to protect it from unnamed rogue states when it cannot see the threat which India faces with two collaborating nuclear powers on its borders.

It is duplicity of this nature which makes the present nuclear regime a suspect in the eyes of even those who do not harbour nuclear ambitions. The US may disingenuously claim, as its representative has done in her opening remarks, that it shares the frustration of the others at the lack of progress towards a nuclear-free world, but its contribution towards legitimising these doomsday weapons by giving them an aura of power and prestige is enormous. Unless a more honest approach is adopted based on a time-bound programme to eliminate them, neither NPT nor CTBT nor any other flawed treaty will remove the fear of a sudden catastrophe, which seemingly haunts the US as well.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

29 APR 2000

HD-13

# Ending the n-race

By Zia Mian, M. V. Ramana & Hui Zhang

**A**FTER THEIR nuclear tests in May 1998, the Governments of India and Pakistan sought to placate international criticism by announcing that they did not intend conducting more tests and promising to control nuclear technology exports. They have also not yet deployed nuclear weapons. But, India and Pakistan have continued building up stocks of plutonium and highly-enriched uranium for nuclear weapons in a fissile material race with profound economic, environmental and health consequences for their people. Stopping this race would benefit both countries. Using newly available commercial satellite images they could verify a production freeze independently with considerable confidence.

In December 1999, India's Minister of State for Atomic Energy announced plans to construct a new plutonium production reactor comparable to its 100 MW Dhruva plant. The older 40 MW CIRUS reactor (which produced the plutonium for the 1974 nuclear test) is currently being refurbished. India's Rattehalli uranium enrichment plant is likely to be used only to produce fuel for the planned nuclear submarine, and is of less immediate concern. Pakistan, for its part, has recently completed its 40 MW reactor at Khushab and continues operating its older Kahuta uranium enrichment facility.

India and Pakistan would be better off if they stopped the production of fissile material for weapons purposes. However, the atmosphere of mistrust and tension between India and Pakistan, resulting from the May 1998 tests and the subsequent Kargil war, makes even starting talks a problem. Their limited nuclear weapons capabilities also put a premium on keeping secret the scale and operational characteristics of their facilities, severely restricting if not eliminating possible on-site inspections to assess compliance with any agreement. Rather than try to resolve these difficulties straight away, both India and Pakistan could follow the example of the other nuclear states and unilaterally declare a moratorium.

In parallel, India and Pakistan could call on the nuclear weapon states (the U.S., Russia, the U.K., France and China)

to formalise their existing moratoria on fissile material production and, along with Israel (the only other nuclear weapon state), start negotiations on reducing existing fissile material stockpiles. This initiative could, in turn, help free up the global Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) that has been stuck at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. The nuclear weapon states refuse to discuss their stockpiles in that forum and most non-nuclear weapon states insist that stocks

anyone to buy pictures showing structures on the ground about one meter in size.

While less capable than military satellites, commercial images are now sufficient to detect nuclear facilities and, often, to assess whether they are operating. For example, analysis of IKONOS pictures released by the Federation of American Scientists (available on the internet at [www.fas.org](http://www.fas.org)) suggests the presence of water vapour emerging from the large cooling towers used to remove the

verified. The medical and commercial isotope production at Dhruva, and possibly at Khushab, could be moved to nuclear power reactors in the respective countries. To build confidence that these power reactors are not contributing to the nuclear weapons stockpile, they could be put under international safeguards. At present, both power reactors in Pakistan, and four of the 12 in India are safeguarded.

The shutdown of Pakistan's Kahuta uranium enrichment centrifuge plant would be more difficult for India to verify from current satellite images. One way around this problem would be to look not at the enrichment plant itself but at the facility that produces the uranium hexafluoride gas, which is fed into Kahuta's centrifuges. The production of uranium hexafluoride is an energy intensive, high temperature, chemical and electrochemical process and may be detectable in thermal images. Since Pakistan has no use for uranium hexafluoride other than producing fissile material for nuclear weapons it would be feasible for its production to stop under a moratorium.

Stopping fissile material production in South Asia, like any other arms control or disarmament measure, is a question of political commitment; the technical capability to verify such a commitment is available. A halt now to fissile material production for weapons in South Asia, announced unilaterally and independently verifiable by commercial satellite images, offers an opportunity for Pakistan and India to avoid the long, dangerous, and expensive race that the U.S. and the Soviet Union ran for 40 years.

At the same time, their initiative could help push the nuclear weapons states to deal more urgently with the reduction of the vast stockpiles of nuclear weapons and fissile material they have accumulated. The fissile material gap could be closed by going down rather than up.

*(The writers are physicists, the first two at the Center for Energy and Environmental Studies, Princeton University, and the third at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University).*

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***Stopping fissile material production in South Asia is a question of political commitment; the technical capability to verify such a commitment is available.***

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must be addressed if the FMCT is to have any disarmament value.

By instituting a moratorium, Pakistan and India would do more than limit the health, environmental and economic consequences of large-scale fissile material production. Pakistan could prevent the escalation of an arms race that it can ill-afford, and would certainly lose — by an ever-increasing margin — if India were to build and operate its planned new reactor. Indian hardline concerns would be addressed by a Chinese formal commitment to not resume fissile material production as a response to U.S. deployment of ballistic missile defence systems. India would also be able to engage with the other nuclear weapons states to reduce their nuclear stockpiles, thereby limiting the requirements on the size of its own prospective arsenal, and shape a disarmament agenda that it has long been claiming to support.

Unlike the other nuclear weapon states, India and Pakistan lack the capability to independently assess whether the others (and especially each other) were keeping their word. The U.S. and its allies, and Russia, use various forms of high-tech spying, including satellite imagery to closely monitor each other and everyone else. However, recent developments in commercial satellite imaging, notably the IKONOS satellite owned by Space Imaging Inc., make it possible for

heat generated by the operation of Pakistan's 40 MW Khushab reactor. This tell-tale sign is the first independent confirmation that Khushab is in fact operational. Under an agreement to cease fissile material production, which would require shutting down the Khushab reactor, evidence of water vapour plumes would be a give-away. Thus, by independently obtain images of each other's key nuclear facilities that are very revealing, India and Pakistan can gain confidence in a declared moratorium. They could, of course, gain even more confidence if they were to allow for some monitoring within the country.

Similarly, the images of India's CIRUS and Dhruva, the two reactors that are used to produce weapon-grade plutonium and part of a larger complex near Mumbai, suggest characteristic patterns forming as warm water carrying heat from the reactors is discharged into the ocean and begins to mix with seawater. Infrared images from commercial satellites such as Landsat 7 and ASTER, launched last April and December respectively, would enhance the already existing ability to monitor these cooling water traces. Since discharges from both reactors flow into the same body of water, it would not be possible to separately identify which reactor is operating. A fissile material moratorium would require both to be inoperative, and this could be

THE HINDU

25 MAY 2000

# Engaging the NPT crowd

By V. R. Raghavan

HD-12  
28/4  
Disarmament

**T**HE NUCLEAR Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was extended indefinitely in 1995. It was considered a fine achievement by some. India called it the perpetuation of nuclear hegemony of the permanent members of Security Council who are also the major nuclear powers. The vast majority of the countries who signed up did it on the assurance that nuclear weapons would be eliminated. Elimination of nuclear weapons was part of the contract built into the NPT. The nuclear weapon states were required to put into effect disarmament measures which would lead to the elimination of such weapons. In return, the other states were to forego the option of acquiring nuclear weapons. India did not join the NPT on the ground that the treaty did not link disarmament and elimination to any time-frame.

The NPT signatories decided in 1995 that a review of the progress made by the treaty would be undertaken in April 2000. The non-proliferation scene has, however, greatly changed in the five years since the NPT came into effect. The review conference, on since April 24, will find that the outlook on non-proliferation has become worse since the NPT was signed. In 1994, the U.S. had completed its Nuclear Posture Review and had concluded that nuclear weapons are essential to its security needs. The U.S. remains committed to retaining large nuclear arsenals. It is also committed to first use of such weapons and the doctrine of nuclear retaliation even against non-nuclear adversaries.

There has been no progress on nuclear disarmament since the NPT was brought into effect. On the START-II there is no forward movement. The Russian Government recently made public its stand on nuclear weapons. It feels they are not only required but are vital to Russia's security interests. The U.S. policies of military intervention and of the expanded role for NATO have had much to do with it. Britain, France and China will also have nothing to do with disarmament, until the U.S. and Russia make substantial progress on reducing their nuclear weapon stockpiles. Disarmament has become the buck that does not stop. Some have la-

*India may not be part of the NPT, but it has the leverage to make an important impact. It needs to play its part as a nuclear weapon state.*

mented that disarmament is now a lost ideal.

The nuclear tests of India and Pakistan in 1998 have raised many questions on the viability of the NPT. The tests broke up the comfortable international structure based on the nuclear haves and have-nots. The NPT signatories have found that the treaty held no terrors to either India or Pakistan. The sanctions imposed consequent to the tests have been weathered by the two countries. India did so, albeit not fully, by its economic growth. On the other hand, Pakistan was able to obtain essential economic reprieve as the sanctioning states did not wish its economic collapse. The ineffectiveness of the NPT was thus laid bare. The double standards evident in the nuclear weapons states doing nothing on disarmament while pushing others to abide by the NPT have not been missed by anyone.

The U.S. Senate has in the meanwhile refused to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), despite the U.S. President's exhortations. The Republican presidential candidate has made clear that he does not think the treaty should come into effect. The CTBT is not ratified by Russia and China either. It seems unlikely that the CTBT can be revived in the near future. The inequity of asking others to join the CTBT while three out of five nuclear weapon states do not ratify it is apparent to all. The non-proliferation regime is, therefore, in a limbo and no one knows how to get it moving again.

The review conference has no clear notion of what initiatives it can take to make non-proliferation and disarmament feasible. It will have to address some tricky problems. There is a need to reduce the renewed emphasis placed in the last five years on nuclear weapons. The five major nuclear weapon states cannot seem to bring themselves to move forward on reducing the salience of nuclear weapons in their security calculus. That would mean that there is no hope for an eventual elim-

ination of nuclear weapons. It would also mean that with the NPT in disarray, some more states would obtain nuclear weapons. The longstanding U.S. attitude of protecting Israeli nuclear capability in West Asia and doing deals with North Korea in East Asia are instances of the differing yardsticks applied on the subject.

The measure by which progress on the NPT should be judged is another important issue. That brings into question the meaning of nuclear proliferation. Are nuclear tests of the kind undertaken by India and Pakistan the only kind of proliferation? What about the redeploying of weapons and missiles by nuclear states? They are also a form of proliferation since they increase fears and anxieties and persuade other states to go nuclear. The argument that the ABM Treaty should be renegotiated is also a form of proliferation, due to the impetus it would give to new forms of weapons and more states going nuclear. The transfer of nuclear weapons and missile technologies by nuclear weapon states to some while denying the same to others is another form of proliferation. The notion of proliferation will need to be enlarged, if the NPT is to be revived.

The 2000 NPT review will in all likelihood be used by the participating states to berate each other instead of to reinvigorate the essential issue of disarmament. The five nuclear powers will criticise India and Pakistan for having gone nuclear. They will draw attention to the Security Council and other resolutions. They will reaffirm their determination to eliminate the Indian-Pakistani capability while doing nothing about their own stockpiles. The U.S. Secretary of State, Ms. Madeleine Albright, has already fired the first salvoes by stating that too much should not be expected too soon from the nuclear powers on disarmament. On the other hand, she has made emphatic demands that no more states can be permitted to join the NPT as nuclear weapon states. The nuclear powers will exhort India and

Pakistan not to deploy and target the weapons and missiles, even as similar actions are ignored elsewhere.

The non-nuclear states will criticise the nuclear weapon states for their failures on the disarmament front. Some useful suggestions are being put out since the NPT was shown up to be ineffective in obtaining the ends of disarmament and non-proliferation. One relates to bringing the disarmament responsibilities of nuclear powers and the non-proliferation commitments of the rest on an equal footing. This involves creating an NPT secretariat and consultative commission to look at issues of NPT compliance. There is a suggestion that a realistic dialogue be commenced with countries whose security concerns require a nuclear capability. A proposal that China, Britain and France also join the START regime.

There is a U.N. Institute of Disarmament Research report which places an appropriate perspective on proliferation. It states that there is "a need to resolve the status of India and Pakistan to provide a context in which they could be addressed as *de facto* nuclear weapon possessors, but without acceptance or rewards as such for their behaviour".

In India, there are strident calls for India keeping well away from the NPT review conference to safeguard its own interests. On the other hand, the defining event since the NPT was indefinitely extended in 1995 was the Indian decision to acquire nuclear weapons. This is going to figure large at the review conference. Turning its face from the meeting would harm the Indian case. There is need for the Government to make a formal statement addressed to the conference stating India's case. It can be made in New Delhi by a senior Minister. The statement can indicate willingness to examine the possibilities of participating in a revised NPT which acknowledges the reality of a nuclear India. It can reiterate India's commitment to disarmament and the basic elements of the CTBT. India may not be part of the NPT, but it has the leverage to make an important impact on it. It needs to play its part as a nuclear weapon state.

(The writer is Director, Delhi Policy Group.)

28 APR 2000

# India, Pak asked to stop N-programmes

Dhaka, February 29

INDIA AND Pakistan have been urged to cease the development, manufacture, induction and deployment of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles while being accused of "sabotaging" South Asian cooperation.

The call was made in the Dhaka Declaration adopted during a three-day conference here on nuclear disarmament attended by 150 activist delegates from 14 countries.

The Dhaka Declaration called on India

and Pakistan to dismantle their nuclear programmes, sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and take up other restraint measures as steps towards nuclear disarmament.

The declaration said by conducting nuclear tests in 1998 and undertaking the development of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, India and Pakistan have gravely endangered their own and the region's security and set back the global disarmament agenda. This nuclearisation imitates hege-

monic states whose nuclear weapons represent the gravest danger to global security, it said.

The conference, the declaration said, deplored the hardening of nuclear postures in the region, as was evident in India's draft nuclear doctrine and Pakistan's announcement of a command and control structure.

Nuclearisation has increased mutual suspicion and hostility between India and Pakistan, clearly reflected in the Kargil conflict, it

said, adding that the rapidly worsening security environment cannot be redressed by standard confidence-building and crisis-defusing measures.

The declaration said India's and Pakistan's nuclearisation has undermined regional cooperation and "sabotaged" the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. It called upon the other members of SAARC — Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and the Maldives — to pressure India and Pakistan to enter into a dialogue for peace and security in the region. (IANS)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

- 1 MAR 2000

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## U.S. reaffirms commitment to NPT

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

**WASHINGTON, MARCH 7.** The United States remains committed to achieving universal adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and will continue working to bring all remaining countries into the fold.

In a statement on the 30th anniversary of the entry into force of the NPT, the President, Mr. Bill Clinton, argued that both the U.S. and Russia were cooperating to ensure that no further production of material used for making nuclear weapons took place and also on the safe storage of existing material and internationally-supervised elimination of surplus stocks of nuclear materials.

"We will continue the U.S. moratorium on nuclear tests and work to establish a universal ban through the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). The Conference on Disarmament should take the next essential step for global nuclear disarmament by negotiating a fissile material cutoff treaty without conditions," Mr. Clinton said.

The Senate, last year, had rejected the CTBT, saying that it was deeply flawed. The Clinton administration has promised to persist with the passage of this Treaty, but no one sees this as a realistic proposition in a lame duck Presidency.

The President did not give a date as to when the U.S. may be ready to eliminate all nuclear weapons, but said the country was "committed" to the ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons. "Achieving this goal will be neither easy nor rapid. Accordingly, the U.S. rededicates itself to work tirelessly and expeditiously to create conditions that will make possible even deeper reductions in nuclear weapons, and ultimately their elimination."

During his coming visit to India, Mr. Clinton is expected to talk about the NPT and the CTBT. Senior officials have said that even if Mr. Clinton set the stage for a "new chapter" in bilateral relations, there was unfinished business on the agenda, especially on matters relating to nuclear issues where a lot of ground is yet to be covered.

THE HINDU

- 8 MAR 2000



# CTBT is not the right answer to global security

BY GEORGE W. BUSH

**A**ustin: American defence must be the first focus of a president, because it is his first duty to the Constitution. Even in this time of pride and promise, America has determined enemies, who hate our values and resent our success: terrorists and crime syndicates and drug cartels and unbalanced dictators.

We must protect our homeland and our allies against missiles and terror and blackmail. We must restore the morale of our military, squandered by shrinking resources and multiplying missions, with better training, better treatment and better pay. And we must master the new technology of war to extend our peaceful influence, not just across the world, but across the years.

But military power is not the final measure of might. Our realism must make a place for the human spirit. This spirit, in our time, has caused dictators to fear and empires to fall. The most powerful force in the world is not a weapon or a nation but a truth: that we are spiritual beings, and that freedom is "the soul's right to breathe."

America cherishes that freedom, but we do not own it. We value the elegant structures of our own democracy but realise that, in other societies, the architecture will vary. We propose our principles, we must not impose our culture.

Yet the basic principles of human freedom and dignity are universal. People should be able to say what they think. Worship as they wish. Elect those who govern them. These ideals have proven their power on every continent.

An American president should promote a fully democratic western hemisphere, bound together by free trade. He should defend America's interests in the Persian Gulf and advance peace in the Middle East, based upon a secure Israel. He must check the contagious spread of weapons of mass destruction, and the means to deliver them. And he should work with our strong democratic allies in Europe and Asia to extend the peace.

Two of Eurasia's greatest powers, China and Russia, are in transition. It is difficult to know their intentions when they do not know their own futures. If they become America's friends, that friendship will steady the world. But if not, the peace we seek may not be found.

We must see China clearly — not through the filters of posturing and partisanship. China is rising, and that is inevitable. Here, our interests are plain: We welcome a free and prosperous China. We predict no conflict. We intend no threat.

Yet the conduct of China's government can be alarming abroad, and appalling at home. Beijing has been investing its growing wealth in strategic nuclear weapons, new ballistic missiles, a blue-water navy, and a long-range airforce. It is an espionage threat to our country. Meanwhile, the State Department has reported that "all public dissent against the party and government (has been) effectively silenced." China's government is an enemy of religious freedom and a sponsor of forced abortion policies.

If I am president, China will know that America's values are always part of America's agenda. Our advocacy of human freedom is not a formality of diplomacy, it is a fundamental commitment of our country.

And I view free trade as an important ally in what Ronald Reagan called "a forward strategy for freedom." Economic freedom creates habits of liberty. And habits of liberty create expectations of democracy. Trade freely with China, and time is on our side.

Russia stands as another reminder that a world increasingly at peace is also a world in transition. Here, too, patience

is needed — patience, consistency, and a principled reliance on democratic forces.

Together Russia and the United States face an emerging threat from rogue nations, nuclear theft and accidental launch. All this requires nothing short of a new strategic relationship to protect the peace of the world.

Under the mutual threat of rogue nations, there is a real possibility the Russians could join with us and our friends and allies to cooperate on missile defence systems. But there is a condition. Russia must break its dangerous habit of proliferation.

In halting proliferation, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) is not the answer. I've said that our nation should continue its moratorium on testing. Yet far more important is to constrict the supply of nuclear materials and the means to deliver them by making this a priority with Russia and China.

Our nation must cut off the demand for nuclear weapons by addressing the security concerns of those who renounce these weapons. And we must diminish the attraction of these weapons for rogue states by rendering them useless with missile defence. The CTBT does nothing to advance these goals. It does not stop proliferation, especially to renegade regimes. It is not verifiable or enforceable. And it would stop us from ensuring the safety and reliability of our nation's deterrent, should the need arise.

America must be involved in the world. But that does not mean our military is the answer to every difficult foreign policy situation or a substitute for strategy. American foreign policy must be more than the management of crisis. It must have a great and guiding goal: to turn this time of American influence into generations of democratic peace.

**O**ur nation must cut off the demand for nuclear weapons by addressing the security concerns of those who renounce these weapons. And we must diminish the attraction of these weapons for rogue states by rendering them useless with missile defence. The CTBT does nothing to advance these goals. It does not stop proliferation, especially to renegade regimes

George Bush

**A**merica's allies are currently spending too little on their own defence. They are increasingly indifferent to the serious problems inherent in developing a defence identity separate from Nato. And they persist in avoiding coming to terms with the necessity of forging a mutual defence against threats to our interests outside Europe. These failings require immediate improvement and we must use the forms of persuasion

John McCain

# Annan for effective N-disarmament measures

United Nations, February 3

UNITED NATIONS Secretary General Kofi Annan has chided nuclear weapon States for their lack of commitment to nuclear disarmament and has called for "new and effective measures" to make the world free of nuclear weapons by the turn of the 21st century.

Addressing the UN Advisory Board on disarmament, Annan said "efforts being pursued at the bilateral level" in South Asia to contain the "negative effects" of nuclear tests on regional and international security were an "optimistic" sign.

The Middle East peace process was among the other positive inter-

national developments, he said.

However, he warned, a "dangerous new arms race looms large on the horizon... If we are even to dream of a world free of nuclear weapons by the end of the Twenty-first century, we should start taking new and effective measures of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation right now.

ures and plans, which envisage reliance on nuclear weapons for the foreseeable future," he said, sharply criticising the lack of efforts, especially by nuclear weapon States.

Without naming the US and Russia, Annan criticised them for not moving fast enough towards disarmament and warned that deployment of missile defences posed a "serious threat" to the ABM Treaty and the strategic stability it embodies. He was apparently referring to the US' plans to develop a missile shield enabling it to destroy incoming missiles before they reach their target.

Annan asked the Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament, the main forum for disarmament, to show "far greater urgency and flexibility" for a compromise on its programme.

"Success there would enable the NPT review conference to meet in a far more hopeful atmosphere and conduct a far more productive review," he said. The 66-member conference ended its last session in December, with differences over approach to disarmament preventing agreement even on a future agenda.

While several nations called for complete disarmament, nuclear weapon States preferred a step by step approach which would enable them to keep such weapons indefinitely.



# CTBT will not mean cap on right to N-tests: Pak

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
ISLAMABAD, FEB 7

PAKISTAN on Sunday said even if it were to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), Islamabad would not forego its right to conduct further tests, if India did.

"Whether Pakistan and India become parties to the CTBT or not, that will not affect the nuclear status of either country or their right to maintain and even develop their arsenals," Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar said here.

"This non-discriminatory principle is contained in article 14 of the CTBT which was incorporated in 1996 and Pakistan was in the forefront among movers of this amendment," Sattar told the official AAP news agency in an interview.

Before the amendment, Sattar said, he had personally opposed

signing the CTBT. But after the change it was no longer necessary to oppose it.

On claims of critics that signing the CTBT would result in rollback of Islamabad's nuclear programme, he said, "Its only object is to prohibit nuclear tests. Pakistan will never agree to a rollback."

"The treaty has been signed by 156 countries including not only all other major Muslim countries, but also China and Israel. Have they agreed to give up nuclear options? If either one does not become a party, the treaty just cannot enter into force. So its has become irrelevant which country signs first," he said.

"Let us remember that deterrence does not depend on ultimate sophistication of design. Pakistan has possessed credible nuclear deterrence since before we conducted tests in May 1988 ... maintenance of credible nuclear

deterrence capability is indispensable for our security," he said.

Asked if simulation tests were enough for updating Islamabad's nuclear deterrence, the Foreign Minister said research and development "contribute to upgradation of technology". "That can and will continue even if and when the CTBT comes into force". Pakistan will also "be free to expand its arsenal," he added.

He said Islamabad did not need a "certificate" for its nuclear status and the international community "does not deny this fact. Pakistan is a nuclear weapon state and signing the CTBT will not alter its status".

On US Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbot's statement acknowledging India as a de facto nuclear state, the Pak Foreign Minister said US Assistant Secretary of State Karl Inderfurth had said the same about Pakistan.

INDIAN EXPRESS

- 8 FEB 2000

## Let us convince India, Pak on CTBT: U.S. tells Russia

**WASHINGTON, FEB. 11.** The U.S. Secretary of state, Ms. Madeleine Albright, has urged Russia to work with the U.S. in bringing India and Pakistan "back from the nuclear precipice" and making them sign the CTBT as they both (U.S. And Russia) have "powerful reasons" and "interest" to attain these goals. *FD 1/11/00*

"We both have an interest in walking India and Pakistan back from the nuclear precipice, and in reinforcing global norms that were challenged by those countries' nuclear blasts," Ms. Albright said in a speech at the diplomatic academy in Moscow on February 2, which was released here. *Dis 1/11/00*

Continuing her crusade to rope in India and Pakistan into the CTBT and impose the U.S. ideas on nuclear issues, she said, "we both have an interest in bringing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (rejected by the U.S. Senate) into force, and in maintaining our respective moratoria on testing until we do." She said, "Russia and the U.S. have a host of powerful reasons to work together to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction and missiles that carry them."

However, if U.S. and Russia have differences on the issue, it would be a 'troubling sign,' she said. Ms. Albright created a furor on Tuesday when she said that the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton's forthcoming trip to India should not be taken as a vindication of New Delhi's policies and that issues of nuclear proliferation and Kashmir remain to be addressed. — PTI

**THE HINDU**  
**12 FEB 2000**

# In Testing Times

## Repercussions of Signing the CTBT

By P K IYENGAR

71-12  
IN an ideal world, perhaps of the future, there will be no nuclear weapons. But in today's world, hostile and armed, in which the nuclear powers refuse to dismantle their stockpile of weapons, India would like to keep its nuclear option open. This is clearly enunciated in the 'nuclear doctrine'. Given this, should we or shouldn't we sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)? Politically, there seem to be reasons both for and against signing, but scientifically the inexorable conclusion is that India today has no option but to keep testing.

### Significant Achievement

This conclusion is based on four grounds: (1) improving the thermonuclear device; (2) weaponisation (3) limitations of computer simulations; and (4) fourth-generation nuclear weapons. Three devices were detonated simultaneously on May 11 1998: a pure fission device, a thermonuclear device, and a sub-kiloton fission device, and their combined yield was around 55 kilotons. The pure fission device had a yield of 15 kilotons. The thermonuclear device had two parts: a 'boosted-fission' trigger, and the actual thermonuclear part. The boosted-fission trigger would have yielded at least 20 kilotons, which means the thermonuclear yield of this device could only be around 20 kilotons. About 400 grams or only around 500 ml of LiDT is needed to produce this much energy.

In my judgment, this is a very small volume for the core of the fusion secondary. It, therefore, seems that the secondary (fusion) device burnt only partially, perhaps less than 10 per cent. To get any burn at all in such a complex device is in itself a significant achievement, but clearly the next step would be to improve the device to get greater burn, leading to greater efficiency and smaller size. This would require design changes in the thermonuclear device, and further tests will be needed to validate the improved design.

Even if we decide not to improve on the present thermonuclear design, what has been tested is only a thermonuclear device. To go from a device to a nuclear weapon, i.e. to weaponise, is a big step. Such a system will need to be light, compact and reliable. One has to deliver a design and a system that can be used by the military in a field envi-

ronment. There are issues of safety, reliability and command and control systems. These changes could be validated only through further tests: one cannot ask the military to accept weapons based only on computer simulations.

Technical arguments for signing the CTBT often run as follows: we have confirmed the validity of our computer simulations using data from Pokhran I and Pokhran II. These computer codes can, therefore, be used to design nuclear weapons. If any further changes are made to these computer codes, we can revalidate them using sub-critical tests that are not barred by the CTBT. Therefore, it is all right to sign the CTBT.

Of the total of six tests, five were fission devices, and only one was a fusion device. The physics of fission and fusion devices, and hence the computer codes used to model them, are very different. Therefore, for the fusion device, we really have only one test with which to check the computer simulation. In any case, fusion (and, for that matter, fission) devices are extremely complex systems with a large number of variable parameters. It is unwise to benchmark a computer simulation of a full-scale explosion using data from just one test.

### Thermonuclear Devices

Even as we are arguing about the CTBT, research is going on in the US and other countries on new nuclear technologies, the so-called 'fourth-generation nuclear weapons', that may completely bypass the strictures of the CTBT or the NPT. This is a serious issue that has been ignored in this country. One possibility being pursued is the use of a non-fission trigger for fusion devices. Nobel Laureate Hans Bethe, one of the great physicists of this century who played a leading role in the development of the first atomic bomb, has emphasised this in a letter written to President Bill Clinton in April 1997, where he has urged that the US cease working on all new types of nuclear weapons, such as these 'pure fusion' weapons.

Other possibilities for developing fourth-generation nuclear weapons also exist. Such weapons could, in the future, lead to a new class of weaponry that does not fall within the purview of present treaties. Countries like India, which have caught

up with today's nuclear technology, will again be left behind.

The fundamental political decision that the country has to take is whether or not to weaponise. If the decision is to weaponise, as the nuclear doctrine suggests, then, as I have argued here, there is no option but to test. I would like to emphasise that thermonuclear devices are better for weaponisation and deployment, because they are compact, light, use less sensitive material and offer better safety features. For example, a boosted-fission thermonuclear device can be as light as 200 kg, compared to a pure-fission device that can weigh as much as 800 kg and more. It is for this reason that most of America's nuclear weapons are fusion weapons. Therefore, my focus here has been on the inadequacy of just one thermonuclear test of low yield, for weaponisation.

### Political Consensus

In the US Senate hearings on the CTBT, Richard Garwin, a distinguished weapons' scientist and chairman of their arms control and non-proliferation advisory board, argued strongly for ratifying the CTBT. In his statement, he said: "It is possible to build simple nuclear weapons without nuclear explosion tests, but there will always be a nagging doubt whether or how well they will perform," and, "without nuclear tests of substantial yield, it is difficult to build compact and light fission weapons, and essentially impossible to have any confidence in a large-yield two-stage thermonuclear weapon." From the American perspective, this is a strong argument for the US ratifying the CTBT, pressuring India to follow suit, and thus freezing our efforts. From the Indian perspective, the same argument makes an even stronger case for *not* signing the CTBT.

It is my thesis that we are just at the beginning of a weaponisation programme for this country. Of course, the decision of whether or not to weaponise is a political, not a scientific, one. Scientifically, it is clear that there can be no weaponisation without further testing: the question of when, where, and how many further tests will be required, is a matter of detail. But if the political consensus is to weaponise, we cannot tie our hands by signing the CTBT at this stage.



THE TIMES OF INDIA

17 FEB 2000

## Persuading India, Pak. to sign CTBT 'not easy'

HD 1 70 2  
WASHINGTON, FEB. 19. The U.S. has said it was "not easy" to convince India and Pakistan to give up the right to conduct nuclear tests when Washington retained it, but said it would continue its efforts in the interests of the international community.

"Persuading India and Pakistan to formalise their testing moratoria through the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is a major goal of the international community... as it would help in heading off an arms race in South Asia," senior advisor to the President, Mr. Bill Clinton, on nuclear proliferation, Mr. John Holum, told mediapersons here yesterday.

But it was "not easy" as the U.S. was yet to ratify the CTBT. Mr. Clinton's efforts in this direction suffered a setback when the Senate rejected it last year.

Ruling out the possibility of the issue being considered by the Senate this year, Mr. Holum said, "we hope to make real progress on correcting misperceptions that arose during the debate answering legitimate questions and explaining how the CTBT supports our larger national security strategy."

The CTBT would also strengthen the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty, which permitted only the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council to retain nuclear weapons.

The U.S. had everything to gain by ratifying the treaty, as it could withdraw from the treaty in "supreme national interest" and resume testing. — PTI

THE HINDU

20 FEB 2000

# Pakistan in no hurry to sign CTBT; Sattar

ISLAMABAD: Pakistan's government is in no hurry to sign the CTBT, foreign minister Abdul Sattar said on Tuesday. Before signing the treaty, Pakistan will evolve a national consensus, he said.

"The government is in no hurry to make a decision, let alone sign the treaty," Sattar told a seminar looking at the impact on Pakistan should Islamabad sign the CTBT. "The final decision will not be made unless an informed consensus emerges as to what will best serve the interest of our country."

Sattar said Pakistan would get a moral edge over India if it is the first to sign. "Not signing the treaty has identifiable costs, but no benefits. Signing the CTBT has no identifiable costs even though the benefits, too, are more intangible than concrete."

Regardless of whether Pakistan

11-14 5/1  
signs the treaty, the army-led government is committed to a minimum nuclear deterrence defense strategy. However, neither India nor Pakistan has spelled out how many nuclear weapons and what kind would constitute a minimum nuclear deterrence.

"Gen. Pervez Musharraf's government is determined to maintain a robust and credible deterrent capability," Sattar said. But Pakistan, as a declared nuclear weapons state, remains conscious of its obligations to the world community and is committed to its policy of restraint and responsibility, he said.

Sattar said the signing of the treaty will not "strangulate" Pakistan's nuclear programme or force the country to roll it back. The treaty does not effect Pakistan's right to maintain or enhance its nuclear stockpile, he said. (Agencies)

# Significance of the CTBT

By Prem Shankar Jha

*Paradoxically, the yardstick of success is not the absence of international commitments which limit India's sovereignty, but the very demand that it make these commitments.*

AS THE moment draws near when India will have to decide whether or not to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, a large section of the Indian intelligentsia has begun to suffer from a crisis of nerves. The treaty and the allied assurances the U.S. is seeking, represent some large although indefinable loss. India will be giving away some of its rights, foreclosing some of its options — in short surrendering some part of its sovereignty — if it accedes to the U.S. wishes. But it is difficult to see what India will get in return. This is why, as the date for the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton's visit draws near, the air is thick with insinuations that the Vajpayee Government is about to sell India out by conceding some of Washington's demands. This is quite the opposite of the truth. Far from sealing India's subordination, signing the CTBT and giving the U.S. (and the rest of the world community) some of the reassurances on our nuclear weapons programme will put the seal of international acceptance on India's emergence as a mature and stable nation-state, destined for a place in the first tier of nations. It will thus crown India's search for equality, the quest begun by Pandit Nehru 53 years ago when he hosted the first Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi.

Paradoxically, the yardstick of success is not the absence of international commitments which limit India's sovereignty, but the very demand that it make these commitments. As scholars belonging to all schools of international relations ceaselessly point out, absolute sovereignty is a myth. No state exists in limbo. All are part of a "state system" in which the sovereignty of each nation-state is constrained by the sovereignty of others. Wars break out only when accommodation breaks down, and this is an exception rather than the rule. India is being asked for these commitments precisely in order to fit it as a mature player into the "state system" of the post-Cold War world.

India and, for that matter, most other countries were shielded from the constant international jostling and strength testing needed to establish the "state sys-

tem", and the consequent need to enter into binding international commitments that limited their sovereignty, by the Cold War. This was because the Cold War created, in effect, a "state system" which consisted of only two "state blocs". For 50 years, all the strength testing and accommodation took place between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Other countries lived under the umbrella of one or the other hegemon or fell into the cracks in between. They, therefore, enjoyed a degree of freedom from constraint which in fact no state had ever enjoyed before. That was as true of Germany and Japan, which could live next to the two nuclear powers, Russia and China, without arming themselves with nuclear weapons, as of North Korea or Libya, which could thumb their noses at the West without fear of retaliation.

This was a highly artificial condition which could not last. It in fact ended with the Cold War. The next decade was spent, spelling out the terms of association of the newly-reconstituted "state system". The new system which was first placed on offer centred round the NPT. Five countries were, largely for historical reasons, accepted as legitimate possessors of nuclear weapons. The rest of the world was offered, in essence, the same levels of freedom enjoyed under the U.S. and Soviet umbrellas during the Cold War if it agreed to remain part of the subordinate group. Thus the number of countries whose sovereignty would be constrained in the old way by the sovereignty of others was proposed to be expanded from two to five. The key institution for overseeing this new "system" was the U.N. Security Council. It was not accidental that the five permanent veto-holding members are the very same five nuclear powers. Although none of the P-5 was prepared to

been pursued are a tribute to both Governments and underline India's good fortune in having had in the White House a President who was a committed democrat and who felt a genuine admiration for the way India had used democracy to resolve the problems of nation-building.

These negotiations are in their final stage. India ideally wanted the P-5 expanded to become P-6, but has accepted that this cannot happen without destroying the entire "state system" now built around the NPT. China still wants India relegated all the way back to the status of a second-tier non-nuclear nation. But this too has been rejected not only by India but tacitly by the U.S. and Europe. The broad outline of the emerging bargain is that India will be accepted as a *de facto* nuclear state but it should in exchange accept some voluntary constraints on its weapons programme. These relate to the scope of its deterrent and its willingness to join the nonproliferation regime as a nuclear weapons power, i.e. to sign the CTBT and accept the fissile materials cap.

Given the quality of India's negotiators, it would be both unnecessary and presumptuous to suggest what constraints India should or should not accept. What the Indian intelligentsia and politicians need to accept is that the next round of negotiations in London this month will be the last. If an agreement is not reached, India will have to start all over again with a new and almost certainly less sympathetic administration in Washington.

This would be an immense pity because India has already succeeded in getting the substance of its demands. The commitments it is being asked to make will open the way for it to consolidate its position eventually as a member of the first tier of nation-states. In specific terms, it will greatly enhance cooperation on issues such as international terrorism, increase India's access to sensitive technology and open the way for its eventual permanent membership of the Security Council.

say so, even at the NPT conference in New York in 1995, implicit in this bargain was the promise of protection against nuclear blackmail to the signatory states. This was, of course, explicit in the case of the NATO and only slightly less so for Japan, Taiwan, Australia and New Zealand. But one has only to imagine the reaction of the P-5 to a threat by China that it would use nuclear weapons to settle the Spratly dispute in its favour, to see how nearly-impossible the NPT has made it for a nuclear state to blackmail a non-nuclear one.

A total of 174 non-nuclear countries accepted this state system in 1995 and signed the NPT. Only Israel, Pakistan and India held out. All the three did so because they had ongoing territorial and existential disputes with nuclear, near-nuclear or trying-to-be nuclear states. But of these India was the only country for which the proposed new "state system" simply had no place.

For while Israel and Pakistan had disputes with militarily weak, "second tier" countries which could easily be coerced into giving up their nuclear threats or plans, India's dispute was with China — a member of the P-5 and therefore of the first-tier governing countries. That is why, although the actual threat of nuclear blackmail by Beijing is remote, it is China and not Pakistan to which Indian negotiators have continually referred, justifying their decision to go nuclear.

It was, therefore, inevitable that India would demand a renegotiation of the state system one day to find a secure place for itself within it. It did so by exploding nuclear weapons at Pokhran in May 1998. The Strobe Talbott-Jaswant Singh talks were the direct outcome. The speed with which they were initiated and the purposefulness with which they have



# Musharraf denies any US pressure on signing CTBT

Islamabad, January 23

PAKISTAN'S CHIEF Executive Gen. Pervez Musharraf said that Islamabad was under no pressure from the US to sign the CTBT and would take a decision on signing the treaty after a national consensus on the issue.

"They (the Americans) appreciated the debate in newspapers on CTBT and did not mention any timeframe for signing the treaty," Musharraf told the *Nation* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* newspaper in a panel-interview yesterday.

"I want to assure you that we are not in a hurry to sign the CTBT. And there is no internal pressure on me. We will sign when there is a national consensus and when it is in the interest of the country."

Gen. Musharraf also denied there was any rift in the Army and said all the corps commanders were with him.

"I am in charge and in military there is unity of command," he said, dismissing the whisper campaign that there was any split in the Army.

"I have never felt more confident and comfortable."

Referring to the visits by American leaders to Pakistan, Gen

Musharraf said the foremost US concern related to terrorism.

Gen. Musharraf said the Americans were concerned about the Saudi dissident Osama Bin Laden, whose organisation they regarded to be involved in terrorism.

They also expressed concern over Maulana Masood Azhar's statement that he will eliminate America. He dispelled impressions that America had warned Pakistan on issues related to terrorism.

"The Americans have not warned us on terrorism issues at all." He said US Assistant Secretary of State Karl Inderfurth and other American delegations accepted that Kashmir was a core issue between India and Pakistan and this was also accepted by President Bill Clinton.

Asked to comment on US pressure on his government to restore civil rule, Gen. Musharraf said it was not possible to give a timeframe and the Americans had accepted his position.

"I have no plans to join politics." He said the process of accountability will continue and that large number of politicians will be disqualified on charges of corruption.

(Agencies)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

24 JAN 2000

# Secondary proliferation threat worries U.S.

LANGLEY (U.S.): The CIA's chief of intelligence analysis said he is concerned about growing evidence of "secondary proliferation" as countries striving to obtain nuclear, biological and chemical weapons share information with other aspirants.

"I would say the problem of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is becoming more complex and difficult," CIA deputy director for intelligence John McLaughlin said in a recent interview with Reuters at the CIA headquarters.

"We're starting to see more evidence of what I might call a kind of secondary proliferation. That is more evidence of sharing of information and data among countries that are striving to obtain weapons," said Mr McLaughlin, who is privy to information from spies, satellites and intercepted communication.

The concern is that once some of those countries attain such capabilities they will turn around and help other aspirants acquire similar weapons. "As the systems mature in the obvious countries like North Korea and Iran, they themselves have the potential to start becoming sources of proliferation as distinct from aspirants. And that begins to complicate the whole picture," Mr McLaughlin said.

CIA director George Tenet is scheduled to give his annual "World Threat Assessment" at a Senate intelligence committee hearing on Wednesday where threats to U.S. national security such as proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, state-sponsored

"terrorism" and non-state "terrorists" will be discussed.

The spy agency's analytical unit helped prepare that report, but Mr McLaughlin would not comment on it, saying he did not know what Mr Tenet would choose to highlight. *The New York Times* last week reported that the CIA told the White House it can no longer rule out the possibility that Iran may be able to make a nuclear weapon. Iran rejected that report, saying it did not need to resort to nuclear weapons.

The CIA's job of monitoring potential overseas threats to the U.S. has become more difficult as adversaries become more masterful at "denial and deception," Mr McLaughlin said. "In the intelligence business it's an art form unto itself, it is how do you deny information to the other side and how do you deceive the other side?" he said.

He said there were 16 or 17 countries developing biological and chemical weapons that the CIA watched closely, alert for signs of any deployment plans in areas such as West Asia where U.S. forces are based. Getting the information on them was difficult, Mr McLaughlin said.

"Making the task more difficult is that groups hostile to the U.S. have growing access to sophisticated technology. They use laptop computers and commercial encryption," he added. CIA analysts piece together information streaming in from spies, satellite imagery, intercepted communications, news outlets and the Internet to identify potential threats. (Reuters)

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26 JAN 2000