

# Cold war warriors still gung ho



**F**ROM THE Western Hemisphere to Europe to the Asia-Pacific, nations are waiting for the Bush administration's foreign policy to unfold in a manner that does not undo the gains of the last several years. And if there is apprehension in different parts of the world over what has been said thus far, it is not without good reason.

All the talk even during the campaign trail that Mr. George W. Bush is "weak" or "inexperienced" in foreign affairs has been offset to some extent by the team that has been assembled, in the State Department, the Pentagon, the National Security Council, and the Vice-President himself, Mr. Dick Cheney.

But the over-riding first question is: has the mindset of the team comprising Mr. Cheney, Gen. Colin Powell, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld and Ms. Condoleezza Rice — all veterans of past Republican administrations starting with Gerald Ford — adapted to the post-Cold War realities of the international system and the ever changing character of international politics.

There is not a region that the Bush administration can afford to be unconcerned about. Despite the rhetoric, during the political campaign and after, of not wanting America to play the role of the "global policeman"; of commitments chasing interests; and of the obligations of the U.S. to allies in the East and in the West, the question remains: are the parameters for being a global policeman being drawn up, albeit in different terms?

It has been hard for the new Republican administration not to take a look at the world. Some sixty miles south of Florida sits Mr. Fidel Castro who has stood up to nine American Presidents and now faces the tenth, Mr. Bush.

And ten years after an "overwhelming" use of force, Mr. Saddam Hussein is still around and the international sanctions regime is crumbling. And thousands of miles away is China, and with it the Dalai Lama and Tibet — issues dear to the right wing Republicans.

Consistency with the way the U.S. has dealt with the world is a theme that Gen. Powell so eloquently dwelt on during his

testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "There is one such tradition in foreign policy that we will adhere to closely — we will always be very, very clear about the things we believe in strongly. No ally, friend or enemy will ever be unclear about where we stand on a matter that touches our heart and soul and our basic interests," Gen. Powell remarked.

But there are serious doubts whether the Bush administration has already started sowing seeds of change in its foreign policy in a way that is bound to challenge, if not upset, the existing scheme of things laid out by the outgoing Clinton regime.

Gen. Powell talked about human rights — that America stands ready to help any country that wished to join the democratic fold. The delight of the Conservatives can be seen in at least one aspect of American continuity — the hammering away at Mr. Fidel Castro and the tightening of the noose around Cuba. And this after the Clinton administration was starting to put things in perspective. Even the business community in the U.S. wants to position itself for the future in Cuba and has been calling for a re-look at sanctions. But, there is a clear message from the Bush administration that sanctions are there to stay with respect to Cuba and Iraq, just to mention two.

... Mr. Castro is an ageing starlet who will not change in his lifetime and we have to keep containing him. And it is President-elect Bush's intentions to keep the sanctions in place," Gen. Powell told Mr. Jesse Helms, Republican Senator from North Carolina, who by any account is the head of the anti-Castro, anti-Cuba movement on Capitol Hill.

What Gen. Powell must have read but did not refer to in his session with the Senators is Mr. Helms' own "prediction" on what will take place in Cuba. In a speech to the American Enterprise Institute on January 11, 2001, Mr. Helms, after going through the usual tirade against Cuba and Mr. Castro, remarked, "Before his term is up, President Bush will visit Havana — to attend the inauguration of the new

about through an enthusiastic support by the Republican right — and perhaps intense pressure as well on the Bush White House — for increased arms sales to Taiwan which is bound to increase tensions in the Asia-Pacific.

And there is the domestic agenda within China as well that some Republicans are after. That is, in the name of human rights and rule of law, questioning constantly the goings-on in Tibet. When asked by a Republican Senator what the role of the Tibetan Coordinator would be under the Bush administration, Gen. Powell remarked, "It would be an important role... in helping us develop a policy that will hopefully bring some reconciliation between the people of Tibet, the Tibetans and the Chinese".

The Secretary of State went on to argue that the situation in Tibet was difficult in the sense that Beijing was sending more and more Han Chinese to settle in Tibet in a policy that would destroy that society. And then came the not-too-subtle warning: "... we have to reenergise our discussions with the Chinese to let them know that this is another example of the kind of behaviour that will affect our entire relationship and show our interest and solidarity with the Dalai Lama and the people of Tibet".

A troubling phenomenon is in the impression that the U.S., under a Bush administration, can undo what has been done without a dramatic fallout. Disturbing too is the feeling that Washington in the pursuit of its national interests is somehow unwilling to factor in the national interests of others, be it in Europe or Asia.

The political implications of trying to ride roughshod over Russia, China, Cuba or Iraq, for instance, are not just regional but global.

Not all of the problems of the Bush administration's foreign policy are going to come from political and strategic arenas. Neither are they going to be confined to specific countries such as Iraq, Cuba, Russia and China. Even if Republican administrations generally are credited with an economics-first emphasis, a Bush administration's international economics policy is also fraught

with problems if the first indications are anything to go by.

Two weeks into office, senior officials have not yet had enough time to take a serious look at the international economic agenda for the President between April and November this year. In Quebec this April is the Summit of the Americas; then comes the meeting of the industrialised nations in Italy in June; and the annual economic meeting of the Asia-Pacific leaders in Shanghai later.

For an administration supposedly keen on getting back into the "game" of free trade agreements, the first temptation is already one of playing regions and nations against one another.

An argument has been made that at the Americas Summit, Mr. Bush will seek a western hemisphere free trade pact to pressure Europe and Asia to go along with American ideas for a new round of trade negotiations.

If allies in the Atlantic and the Pacific balk at the proposals, Washington could threaten to give Latin America special preferences. *The Wall Street Journal* has quoted what Mr. Robert Zoellick, the President's Special Trade Representative, had said last year, "If others hold back in the new (global trade) round, the United States should repeat this strategy of regionalism with a global goal in order to break the logjam".

The implications of pursuing a regional emphasis is not hard to fathom — it would only drive others in the Asia-Pacific and Europe to do likewise and start what will obviously be a protectionist war. The end loser is not America or its allies, but free trade.

Sooner or later, the Bush administration will have to start walking that fine line between rhetoric and what is practically possible: whether it has to do with dealing with the Russians on the National Missile Defence, finding the missing links for a lasting West Asia peace — that would obviously have to include Iraq and Syria — or an engagement with China that contributes to lasting peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific.

up Japan as an "old" East Asian ally, shown the back door by the Clinton administration, much will depend on how Tokyo's leaders respond, for there is a price. The Bush administration will most certainly demand that Japan play a larger role in the strategic/security realms of the Asia-Pacific.

But Japan is only part of the focus of the Republican Conservatives. In fact left to them, the road to "undoing" the recent U.S.-China relationship goes via Taiwan.

"President Clinton repeatedly let down our friends in Taiwan, first by going to China and repeating Beijing's fictitious constructions on the future of Taiwan; and then by refusing to meet America's legal obligations to provide for Taiwan's self defence under the Taiwan Relations Act. This damage must be undone," says Senator Helms. And much of this undoing of this so-called damage will come

Quite mindful of the politics on Capitol Hill, Gen. Powell has set forth a policy that apparently will deal with China on its "merits", at the same time removing the label of "strategic partnership" and bringing in the themes of Beijing being a "competitor" and a "potential regional rival".

## Are the parameters for being a global policeman being drawn up, albeit in different terms? SRIDHAR KRISHNASWAMI looks at the recent foreign policy pronouncements of the Bush Administration.

including the old baggage of human rights and the rule of law — must have been particularly heartening. If the political right in the U.S. has criticised Mr. Bill Clinton for going out of his ways to "humour" Beijing, the Bush administration is expected to "finally" put things in

perspective. And this is the most worrisome factor as it pertains to the Asia-Pacific. For all the inherent weaknesses of the Clinton team's China policy, there was at least the realisation that both the U.S. and China had much to gain by conducting a mutually beneficial relationship. If Washington tries to shore

The problem for and in the Asia-Pacific is not merely how the Bush regime will deal with China; there are also the implications of reviving decades-old suspicions and misgivings in a part of a world that continues to be deeply wary of Japan.

And much of this undoing of this so-called damage will come

democratically elected President of Cuba".

And Mr. Saddam Hussein does not come too far behind Mr. Castro. The onus is on Baghdad to "prove to the region, to the U.N., and to its neighbours and to its neighbours' children that they are no longer threatened, that Iraq is ready to live in the world and not apart from it", declared Gen. Powell. The U.S. has also said in clear terms that it will work with its allies to re-energise the sanctions regime which, incidentally, is in tatters. Once again a signal from the Republican administration that its Iraq policy is going to be pursued in a fashion that is not going to reflect the ground realities of West Asia. And if it seems confident that allies can be roped into a fuller and more meaningful sanctions regime, the realities are totally different.

And to the anti-China and pro-Taiwan lobby, Gen. Powell's summarisation of relations with China —

# Keep off Kashmir, think-tank tells Bush

By Aziz Haniffa



George W. Bush

WASHINGTON: A leading conservative think-tank here, which has traditionally maintained close links with Republican administrations, has advised the Bush administration not to get involved in the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan or attempt to mediate in the dispute.

The Heritage Foundation, in an executive memorandum on 'The President's Policy Challenges in Asia,' said: "In establishing a new agenda for strengthening U.S. relations with Asian countries, President George W. Bush faces a number of challenges, some of which were left unresolved by his predecessor."

With respect to the subcontinent, the Heritage said "He must make sure that relations with nuclear rivals India and Pakistan are carefully managed." Heritage advised that "the Bush administration should support the ongoing negotiations over Kashmir," but said it should

"refrain from getting involved or trying to negotiate a resolution."

It noted, "India is maturing as a stable democracy devoted to market reform; its leaders are seeking greater economic integration with and investment from the U.S." Meanwhile, Pakistan "is ruled by a military dictatorship trying to control an unravelling economy."

According to Heritage: "The dispute between these two countries over the province of Kashmir brought their peoples to the brink of nuclear war in 1999." It said, "President Clinton's visits to Pakistan and India appeared to involve the United States in the region but did nothing to address the basic issues."

With respect to U.S.-China relations, it said, "President Bush must emphasise to China that he wants a national missile defence as a way to increase stability and as a prudent response to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction."

It said he should also make sure that "China abides by the terms of its recent trade agreement with the U.S., which opened the door for its accession to the World Trade Organisation (WTO)." (IANS)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

9 FEB 2001

## Missile defence is not a threat to anyone: U.S.

MUNICH: Russia has no reason to feel threatened by U.S. missile defence and it is "Cold War think" to make the 1972 ABM treaty the centre of U.S.-Russian relations, U.S. defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld said on Saturday.

The new defence secretary flew in here to consult with U.S. allies and ease fears that President George W. Bush's plans for a missile defence system will antagonise Russia and China and set off a destabilising arms race. Mr Rumsfeld told reporters on the flight here it was an "open question" whether Washington would seek to modify the ABM treaty in discussions with the Russians, implying that it might opt to withdraw from the treaty instead.

"There is little doubt in my mind that if you were seeking a system that was earliest to deploy, the most cost-effective, and technically the best, you would very likely come up with something other than designing a system that would fit within a treaty that was signed 25 years ago," he said. "That is really Cold War think to elevate that treaty as something that is central to a relationship today," he added.

Russia adamantly opposes deployment of an anti-missile shield, warning it would cause "irreparable damage" to global security. Moscow has refused changes to the ABM treaty, which bars deployment of even a limited national missile defence system.

Mr Rumsfeld said the new administration would seek discussions with Russia, but he scoffed at the notion that the limited anti-missile shield under development by Washington posed a threat to Russia's vast nuclear arsenal.

"That doesn't threaten anyone. It just doesn't," he

said. "They know and you know and we know that the systems that are being discussed are not in any way relevant to the Russians with their hundreds and thousands of things," he said, referring to warheads.

"The idea that a missile defence system that is capable of dealing with handful of things is going to change in any way the interaction between the United States and Russia with respect to ballistic missiles is just not correct. And anyone who looks at the situation knows that," he said.

Mr Rumsfeld's visit—less than 24 hours long but packed with meetings with European defence ministers and a speech to a conference on security policy—is the first to Europe by a member of Mr Bush's national security team.

It offers the allies their first look at the new U.S. administration's views on a number of contentious issues besides missile defence, including Balkans peacekeeping and plans for a European Union rapid reaction force. Cautioning that he was "not fully informed" about the EU defence initiative, Mr Rumsfeld said the test he would put it to was whether it strengthened or weakened NATO.

"If I saw more dollars coming in budgets that would increase the strength of NATO nations, that would be encouraging. I haven't seen that," he said, adding, "I'm more interested in addition than subtraction," he added.

"The second thing is that the planning process is terribly important, and to the extent that it is separate, we could end up with the gears not meshing well. To the extent that it is common I think the gears would seem to mesh better," he said. (AFP)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

5 FEB 2001

# Bush begins sweeping defence review

**MUNICH (GERMANY), FEB. 3.** The U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, today said the new administration of the President, Mr. George Bush, had begun a sweeping review of America's defence strategy, from nuclear missiles to troops' living conditions.

Mr. Rumsfeld told mediapersons travelling with him from Washington to a meeting in Germany that the study would be separate from the quadrennial defence review or QDR, mandated by Congress every four years. The latest QDR was underway, but would not be completed for about eight months. Mr. Rumsfeld said the administration's own study would include missile defence, offensive and defensive weapons, the quality of life among the troops — "how you transform this force into a force that is appropriate for the 21st century."

He noted that the QDR, designed to match U.S. strategy with the nation's military forces, was not scheduled to be completed until September, and suggested that the separate study would be completed much faster — in perhaps 60 to 90 days on some issues. "A new President has come in. He has indicated that he wanted a review of defence strategy. And he

has asked us to do that and that is just beginning," Mr. Rumsfeld added. "I think as our thinking clears and we get our brains wrapped around some of these things, very likely we would find a way during the QDR process to implant them down into that process".

Mr. Rumsfeld sharply defended the Bush administration's National Missile Defence (NMD) plan and dismissed support for the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty as "cold war thinking".

Mr. Rumsfeld, in Germany for an annual meeting of European and international defence leaders, said Mr. Bush's controversial proposal to protect the U.S. and its allies from missiles "just doesn't threaten anyone". "That is really cold war thinking in my view," he said when asked about the importance and future of the 1972 ABM treaty, which would forbid a U.S. National Missile Defence.

"The Soviet Union is gone. Russia is a different country. That period is over in our life, why don't we get over it?" Mr. Rumsfeld said. Many European leaders say the ABM treaty, which Mr. Rumsfeld in December called "ancient history", is a bedrock of nuclear arms control and worry that Washington will abandon it.

He said Moscow, which bitterly opposes NMD and has refused to permit changes in the ABM treaty, was lobbying Western Europe and nations around the world to kill NMD.

"They know, and we know, and you know that the (U.S.) systems that are being discussed are not in any way relevant to the Russians with their hundreds and thousands of nuclear missiles", he said. "We are talking about systems that are able to deal with handfuls of things," Mr. Rumsfeld added, stressing that the limited defence would be designed to shoot down only a few missiles launched by potential enemies such as North Korea, Iran or Iraq.

He made the whirlwind one-day trip to the annual Munich conference on security policy to hold get-acquainted talks with allied Defence Ministers, address NMD concerns and discuss cross-Atlantic security. He suggested that the ABM treaty's time was past. "I mean, that is really cold war thinking in my view — to elevate that treaty as something that is central to a (U.S.- Russian) relationship today," he said.

Mr. Rumsfeld declined to say whether he felt the treaty should be modified, which Russia has rejected, or scrapped. He said the Bush administration had no intention of "moving precipitously" on NMD without close allied consultation and talks with Moscow. "There's little doubt in my mind but that if you were seeking a system that was the earliest to deploy, the most cost-effective, technically the best, you would very likely come up with something other than if you sat down and tried to design a system that would fit within a treaty that was written 25 years ago," he said. Mr. Rumsfeld, who was also Defence Secretary from 1975 to 1977, said the ABM was agreed "when technology was notably different, when we were in a cold war, when the nature of the threats in the world were vastly different".

He is the first senior Bush administration official to carry the argument on NMD to Europe. The meeting could set an early tone for cross-Atlantic security ties for Bush. Mr. Rumsfeld said he was open-minded about the European Union forming its own rapid-reaction force to deal with conflicts or peace-keeping in which NATO was not involved, but warned the force must not threaten NATO's power or status. "I begin at the beginning — and that is that NATO is the most successful military alliance in history probably, that it is enormously important to the United States and Western Europe and, I would add, to the world," he said. "If I saw more dollars coming in in (European) budgets that would net increase the strength of NATO nations, that would be encouraging. I haven't seen that, and I guess I'm more interested in addition than subtraction." — Reuters



The German Chancellor, Mr. Gerhard Schroeder (left), welcomes the U.S. Secretary of Defence, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, during the Conference on Security Policy in Munich, Germany, on Saturday. — AP

THE HINDU

4 FEB 2001



# They haven't bought it yet

FD-17 4/2  
 'A GUIDING principle of President-elect Bush's foreign policy will be that America stands ready to help any country that wishes to join the democratic world; any country that puts the law in place and begins to live by that rule, any country that seeks peace and prosperity and a place in the sun.'

This is an extract from the opening statement of the Bush Administration's Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, made two days before Mr. George W. Bush's inauguration, to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Gen. Powell was subsequently confirmed, as expected. Mr. Bush also took office. And now, the East Asian region awaits policy.

The General made many points. He talked about the importance of India. He spoke of doing business with China, not as a "strategic partner," but also not as an enemy. He promised a "thorough review" of ties, or no-ties with North Korea. Of maintaining Taiwan's defence capability under the Taiwan Relations Act. Finally, Gen. Powell said that Japan was the U.S.'s most important ally in the region, a position symbolically reinforced by the incoming-President who made one of his earliest foreign phone calls to the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Yoshiro Mori.

With respect, the General's use of the term "a guiding principle" amounts to no more than *spiel*. It is certainly not seen in East Asia as policy. One is tempted to ask under what guiding principle the U.S. continues to ostracise Cuba, but builds ties with North Korea, or even China.

By name recognition, the second tier of the Bush Administration shows much promise to East Asia. Their job is to be custodians of U.S. policy. The job of their opposite numbers in other capitals is to state their own policy priorities, so that points of confluence and divergence can be identified. This is what is happening now.

China's President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, and its envoy in Washington, paying a farewell call on Gen. Powell, seemed to remind the General what policy is about. An outline expression of national interest and national sentiment. Under that definition, China sort of issued a timely caution to the Gerald Ford holdovers of the Bush team, of where it would like to see the lines drawn in a Bush Administration.

Gen. Colin Powell's recent remarks are seen in East Asia as *spiel* and not policy... China, Japan and South Korea have found their own ways to convey to Washington what they would want to see in foreign policy.  
 F. J. KHERGAMVALA reports.

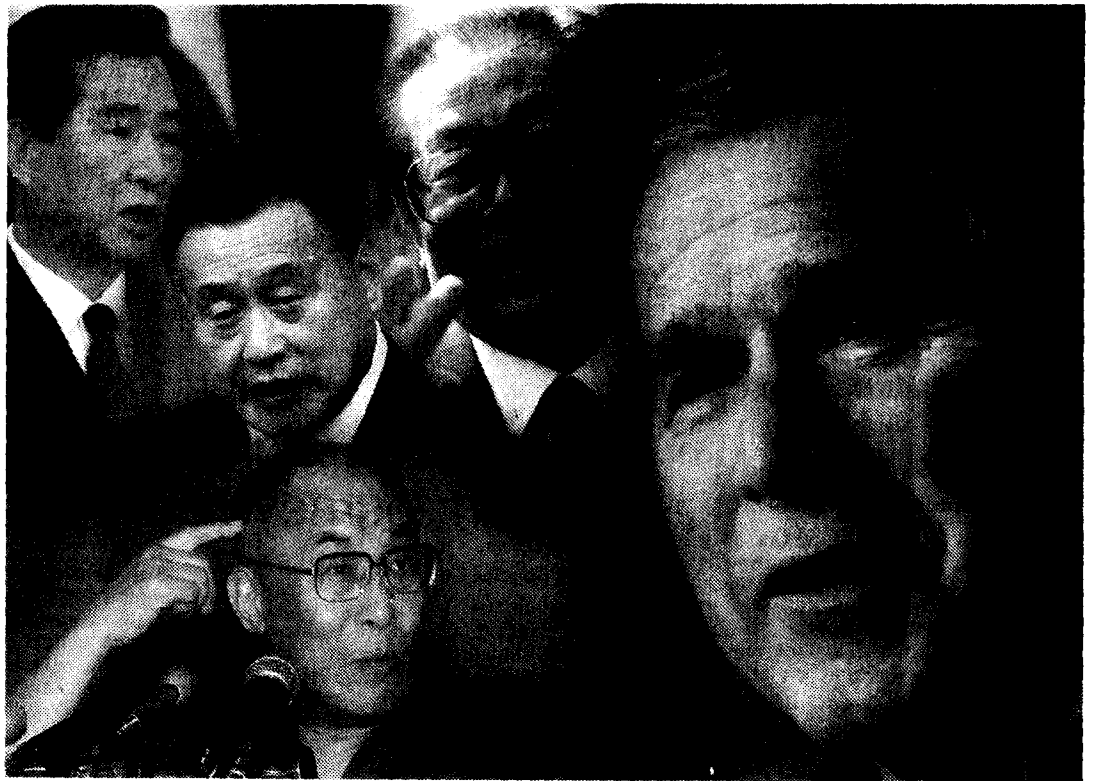
administration that China understands that it might be a while before the U.S. makes policy, Beijing informed Washington that lines that cannot be crossed include a missile defence scheme that protects Taiwan, and a departure from the "one-China" policy. How the latter is to be interpreted will be thrashed out in time, but so far as China is concerned, it wants Mr. Bush to subscribe to the three communiques. That was set out in the congratulatory message from Mr. Jiang to the just sworn in Mr. Bush.

As an ally, Japan got a different sort of a tutorial. A tutorial of high expectations. The

Japanese facilities, but U.S. soldiers and guns. In the broader scheme of things, it is the apportioning of these resources that is a matter of prolonged negotiations, with Japan resisting a more activist role.

The Bush people have already given notice to Japan that if there is one thing that is static, it is that the decibel level on trade and economics will depend upon the U.S. domestic economy. The better the economy, the lesser the protests about trade deficits.

The one big policy question mark is how the U.S. will progress or impede ties with North Korea. The excuse for the missile defence and South



Beijing's bosses may be forced by domestic compulsion to react to any outrage out of Washington on human rights issues, notably the treatment of the Falun Gong sect, headquartered in the U.S. In reality, China has got its way. In September 2000, the U.S. Congress overwhelmingly granted China the Permanent Normal Trading Relations (PNTR), instead of the annual review on human rights. That was new policy, adjusting itself to the reality of the U.S. being China's second largest trading partner (minus Hong Kong) at an annual merchandise trade worth \$74 billions (Chinese figures).

As if conveying to the new

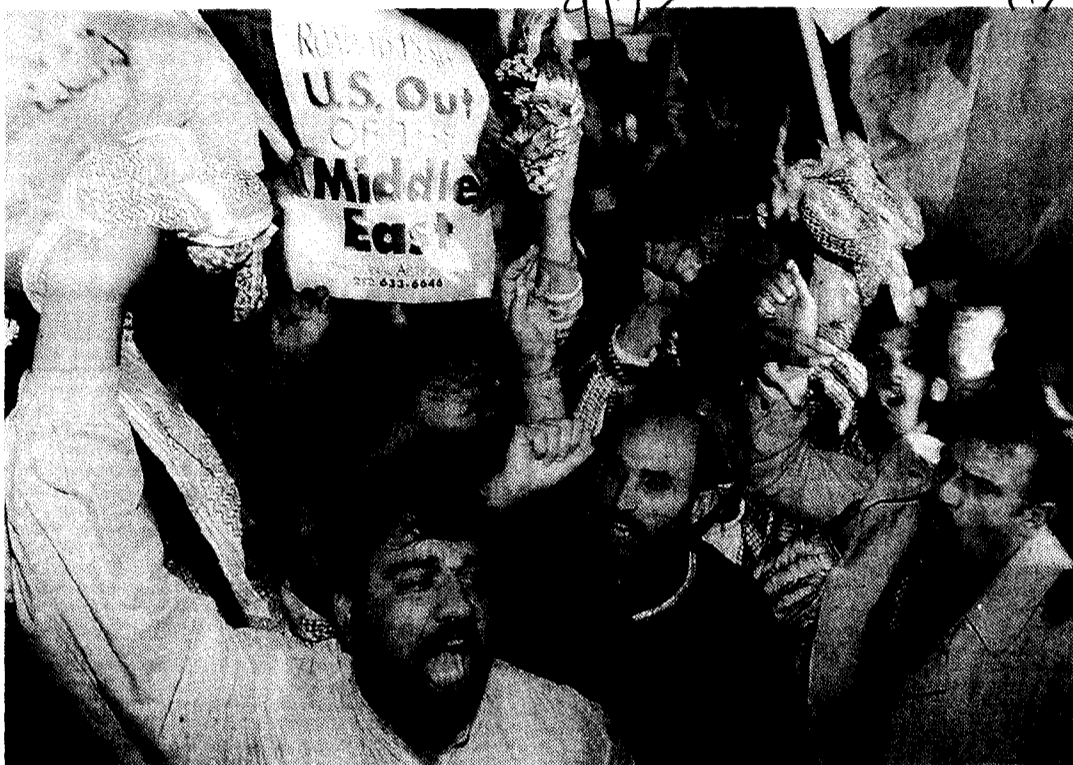
Foreign Minister, Mr. Yohei Kono, preferred to go to the U.S. himself. Though he was unable to arrange that Mr. Mori became the first to meet Mr. Bush (even Mr. Tony Blair will meet him earlier), Mr. Kono conveyed to Gen. Powell a priority quite the reverse of China's.

Beijing wants economic and trade activity and interests to dominate the Sino-U.S. equation. They do, though quite often there are systemic clashes or erratic actions like the bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade that make this a love-hate relationship. Japan, on the other hand wants to reinforce the security relationship, but under the old arrangement. Japanese money,

Korea's policy priority are deeply interlocked into the U.S. role in the Korean peninsula. Mr. Kim Dae Jung of the South will meet Mr. Bush in March, when some answers will be available.

In East Asia, China, Japan and South Korea found their own ways to convey to Washington what they would want to see in a Bush foreign policy. At the end of the day, when a new administration comes to town, nations do expect "shifts", not a reversal of policy. Just as a form of "group insurance", certain countries find it useful to rebuild or reinforce old relations, like India-China, Russo-China, China-North Korea, if only to send the U.S. signals of attempts at multi-polarism.

# No more storms in the desert?



Iraqis demonstrate against the U.S. in Baghdad.

WHEN GEN. Colin Powell was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff he did not get the mandate from his then Commander-in-Chief to go into Baghdad and physically evict the man his country had demonised as the greatest scourge on earth. Ten years down the line, the U.S. still treats Iraq's President, Mr. Saddam Hussein, as the world's number one ogre. Now Gen. Powell has the mandate as the chief of the U.S. diplomatic forces to try and rid the world of the Saddam regime.

In his appearance before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, preliminary to his being confirmed as the Secretary of State, Gen. Powell indicated that he would go about this particular task by following the methods thought up ten years ago. His task, he said, would be to re-invigorate the sanctions imposed on Iraq at the end of the 1991 Gulf War. Implied in this was the critique that the sanctions squeeze had not been applied with sufficient pressure over the past eight years. At that point Gen. Powell apparently believed that he could rally the world community and entuse them to apply so much pressure on Iraq that Mr. Saddam Hussein would be ejected.

Since taking office, however, Gen. Powell seems to have decided that a change in tactics was in order. He has spoken about re-designing the sanctions in such

manner that they are directed at the top echelons of the Iraqi Government while sparing the Iraqi people the deprivations and hardships they continue to suffer from. How Gen. Powell plans to go about this re-working of the tactics has not been spelt out.

A ban on Iraq's import of sophisticated conventional arms is already in place but various reports, official and non-official, suggest that Iraq has found ways to by-pass this restriction. A tightening of these restrictions is perhaps one of the elements of the plan being formulated. Although Iraqi officials have to put up with hardship when they travel out of the country they have not found the procedures so physically debilitating as to make them abort their travel plans. A tightening of these restrictions is another possibility.

***For all its posturing, the U.S. will have to consult the leaders in the region as it formulates its Iraq policy instead of just setting the direction and expecting others to follow, says KESAVA MENON.***

The last U.S. administration conceived and created the plan to fund and train Iraqi Opposition groups so that they would eventually gather the strength to topple Mr. Saddam Hussein and his regime. A variant on this plan is to channel additional aid to the Iraqi people through these Opposition groups so that they gain credibility and popular support. So far the Iraqi Opposition-oriented plans have attracted relatively meagre funding of \$ 97 million and the former U.S. military commander in the region, Gen. Anthony Zinni, had described the plan as unworkable. It is not as yet clear whether this plan fits into Gen. Powell's schemes.

Delineating the reasons for Gen. Powell's shift from country-specific to regime-specific sanctions is easier than trying to calculate the chances of success of this tactical shift. The world community far from being prepared for a re-invigoration of the sanctions is rapidly moving in the direction of dismantling the sanctions. Just in the time since Gen. Powell's new boss, Mr. George W. Bush, came within sight of the Presidency — awaiting the results of the Florida re-count — several countries moved decisively to an ending of the sanctions.

Turkey has announced that it is to re-establish diplomatic relations after they were broken off following the war. Norway is following suit though for the moment disingenuously claiming

that it is doing so in order to find out how regime-specific sanctions can be fine-tuned. Egypt has just signed a major trade agreement with Iraq and the Arab media believes that Cairo will make a major push for Iraq's rehabilitation in the Arab world when a summit is held in Jordan in March.

Turkey, Syria and Jordan are all believed to be heavily involved in the clandestine export of Iraqi oil beyond the rigours of the U.N.-sanctioned oil for food programme.

While most of the Arab world and the European Union have been moving towards a rapprochement with Iraq, two telling blows have recently been dealt to the 1991 coalition. The U.K., which has staunchly by the U.S. is apparently having second thoughts about their role in the enforcement of the two no-fly zones over Iraq. This programme has been found to be exceedingly tiresome (about 153,000 sorties have reportedly been flown at a cost in the last fiscal year of \$1.4 billion, 326 Iraqi civilians have been killed and over 900 injured). More importantly the British apparently feel that the Saudis no longer support this programme.

In a very surprising move, Kuwait's Foreign Minister endorsed a call by a local newspaper for the change from country-specific to regime-specific sanctions. This call came before Gen. Powell indicated his change of tactics. It is unlikely that the U.S. and Saudi Arabia were not informed by the Kuwait Foreign Minister before he endorsed the newspaper's call. If the primary victims of Iraq's 1990 aggression no longer support country-specific sanctions — in a context where 95 per cent of Iraqis, according to their government, think of Kuwait as a part of their country — then surely it is the end of the country-specific sanctions.

However, the Governments of the region do share the concern and do support the U.S. determination to ensure that Iraq never again develops weapons of mass destruction capability. In this respect at least they are willing to follow the U.S. lead. But they also have uneasy questions about the other power in the region that is believed to have such a capability, Israel, and they will be demanding more even-handedness in the U.S. handling of the whole Arab-Israel imbroglio. The U.S. will have to consult the regional leadership as it formulates its policy on Iraq instead of just setting the direction and expecting others to follow.

# USA to give \$4 m to Iraqi Opposition

WASH (W) W. Am  
REUTERS SC-12 9/12  
WASHINGTON, Feb. 3. — USA has authorised \$4 million for use by Iraqi Opposition groups in undermining the government of Iraqi President Mr Saddam Hussein, the White House has said.

The decision freed money for the Iraqi Opposition to use for activities inside Iraq for the first time since USA cut it off five years ago. Some money was being used by the Opposition for organising efforts outside Iraq during that period.

US officials insisted yesterday that while the money furthers President Mr George W Bush's get-tough-with-Iraq approach, the Bush team did not order the release

of the money. Ms Mary Ellen Countryman, spokeswoman for the White House National Security Council, said the decision to allocate the money came from the treasury department's office of foreign assets control as part of a process begun in the previous Clinton administration.

"President Mr Bush does support the Iraqi



Mr Saddam Hussein

Opposition leader was in Washington trying to convince the Bush administration to make

and the good on campaign rhetoric about helping them against Mr Hussein.

Mr Ahmad Chalabi, a member of the six-man leadership of the Iraqi National Congress, told the American Enterprise Institute on Thursday the relationship would be "very active." But US Secretary of State Mr Colin Powell said on Thursday he had not decided whether it would be wise to back the Iraqi Opposition against Mr Hussein and did not have any appointments with the visiting INC leaders.

The \$4 million is intended to help the INC gather information inside Iraq and help build a case against the Iraqi leadership on crimes against humanity.

THE STATESMAN

4 FEB 2001

# Bush sends a warning shot to Chinese <sup>WSA</sup> govt. <sub>11-15</sub> on foreign policy shift

By M D Nalapat

NEW DELHI: After eight years of



George W. Bush

a "tilt" towards Communist China and its closest allies, Pakistan and North Korea, the U.S. under President George W. Bush is shifting to a more "realistic" position on Beijing. Under Bill Clinton, the U.S. administration was influenced by the Shanghai-created theory that more the incentives given to the PRC (People's Republic of China), the faster is its "inevitable" progress towards a democratic polity. All this after Tiananmen!

In the Clinton years, China displaced Japan as Washington's principal strategic interlocutor in Asia and Tokyo was completely bypassed during Mr Clinton's Beijing visit in 1997. The shift in U.S. policy saw China openly, and repeatedly, threatening Taiwan with the use of force. After China's heated reaction to the American visa granted to President Lee Teng Hui of Taiwan, no top-level officials from that territory have been granted entry to the U.S.

Mr Clinton also postponed further work on a National Missile Defense (NMD) system that would, when fully deployed, protect the continental U.S. from a nuclear attack. Beijing opposes NMD because (a) it degrades China's own deterrent against the U.S., now capable of reducing San Francisco and Los Angeles (ironically cities with large concentrations of Han-race inhabitants) to rubble and (b) the entry of Taiwan into such a system would reduce to near zero any military chance of recapturing the island. Only the threat of nuclear attack can force Taipei into making the concessions needed to lock it into the mainland, Hong Kong style.

Conventionally, China does not have the capability to defeat Taiwan militarily. However, it can disrupt the Taiwanese economy through a naval blockade, although this would be a self-destructive step as the resulting economic retaliation from the U.S.-EU would send China's coastal regions into a depression, with highly negative consequences for its political stability.

Russia, too, opposes NMD, though here the reasons are more emotional than substantive. Today, Moscow has the fig leaf of parity with the U.S. in terms of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). Were NMD to become operational, the aging Russian nuclear deterrent would become less of a threat. Consequently, Moscow's ability to wrest huge sums of money from the U.S.-EU would wane, as would the restraint now being shown in NATO capitals towards "human rights abuses" under the Putin administration. Thanks to their fear of Moscow and Beijing, both the EU as well as ASEAN are publicly against NMD, though officials in Washington say privately that off-the-record the refrain is very different.

Rather than following the Clinton policy of sacrificing U.S. interests in favour of better relations with Moscow and Beijing, Mr Bush has begun living up to his campaign promise of giving top priority to American interests. The imponderable is the domestic economy. Should the tax cuts and business-friendly measures of the Republican administration continue the positive trend in job and income creation, Mr Bush would have the cushion he needs to implement the security agenda clearly mentioned in his campaign speeches.

Hopefully, New Delhi will not develop an itch to do the "fashionable" thing and team up with the critics of NMD, for the system is in no way directed against India.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

1 FEB 2001



# India's place in the new U.S. world view

AD-12

By Malini Parthasarathy

30

*It is in India's hands to ensure that the relationship with the U.S. is not reduced to an arena for strategic trade-offs but that can only happen if Indian diplomacy acquires true autonomy by taking upon itself the necessary challenge of dealing directly with Pakistan.*

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM amongst Delhi's diplomatic and strategic analysts has it that a Republican administration in Washington best suits India's interests because unlike the Democrats who are said to thrust too assertively their agenda of nuclear non-proliferation, the Republicans are thought to be less concerned with advancing such goals and instead more interested in exploring the potential for expanding economic engagement. This thinking has indeed coloured the approach of policy-makers in Delhi to the newly inaugurated Bush administration with a good deal of optimism and anticipation. Thus while the establishment in Delhi acknowledges that it was a Democratic administration in Washington which reinvigorated the ossified context and structure of the Indo-American relationship, there is now a conscious effort at the higher levels of policymaking to locate new premises of engagement with which to reach out to the administration of Mr. George W. Bush. But if the world view that was unveiled in the testimony of the new Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, is any indication, those in India's political establishment seeking to sustain the high cordiality and the warmth that was generated in the Clinton era between the two countries will have to reckon with a number of strategic realities that might not have figured in the breezy generalities of the Clinton worldview. In view of the strategic stakes that the Vajpayee regime placed in the relationship with Washington, particularly in relation to its strategy of "containing" Pakistan, the lack of any countervailing strategic emphasis on the part of the Clinton administration in its focus on Asia did make it easy for New Delhi to push ahead with its assertive engagement of Washington, counting as it did on Mr. Bill Clinton and his aides to go along with India's view of a truculent and subversive regime in Islamabad.

But as Gen. Powell's testimony which had unmistakable echoes of the Gulf War era in America's foreign policy made clear, Washington's strategic focus in Asia has changed subtly. If the Clinton administration had a more upbeat view of its engagement with China and was in fact seen as courting Beijing, the Bush administration is already sounding decidedly wary. The evangelical tone of the new Secretary of State's remarks on China, which

must surely grate on Chinese ears, suggests a throwback to a decade or more earlier in American foreign policy. According to Gen. Powell, "I hope that with full membership of the WTO, with increasingly responsible behaviour in the region and in the world and most vitally, hopefully with increased freedom for the Chinese people, China may yet fulfill the promise that Sun Yat Sen laid out almost 100 years ago." Apart from this gratuitous endorsement of a Kuomintang icon, likely to be seen as a provocative reference by the People's Republic, the new Secretary of State also said emphatically "in the meantime, we will treat China as she merits... a strategic partner China is not but neither is China our inevitable and implacable foe..."

Gen. Powell's testimony made it amply evident that the Bush administration is likely to draw heavily upon the moral universe that was in operation during the administration of the President's father, the former President, Mr. George Bush Sr., with the concepts of democracy and capitalism held out as "twin lasers working in tandem all across the globe to illuminate the last dark corners of totalitarianism and dictatorship". The new Secretary of State has also hinted strongly that the Bush administration will give new emphasis and life to ties with Japan and Indonesia, implying that these were given lower priority by the previous administration which had concentrated on engaging China. It is more than likely that given the return of emphasis to a strategy that eyes China warily even as it prefers to anchor itself to the reliables of yesterday such as the alliances with Japan, Indonesia and Australia in Asia, the scope for the engagement of other powers in Asia, including India, will be clearly defined. In the Clinton era, it might have been possible for India to build a relationship with the United States on fresh premises and even to resist the temptation of offering itself as a potential counterweight to China, because the Clinton administration was not interested in creating such a countervail-

ing force. But now for India to acquire real strategic value in the eyes of the Bush administration without becoming a pawn in the American strategic calculus in the Asian region hinges ironically on whether India can jettison its own strategic dependence on the U.S. to advance its interests in relation to Pakistan.

Today, Indian diplomacy has managed to coopt the global powers to its perspective that a Pakistan which is sponsoring "jihad" is an untrustworthy interlocutor. New Delhi has, in fact, created the absurd paradox that while it still claims that it is against external mediation of the dispute over Kashmir, it continues to shy away from engaging the Musharraf regime in Pakistan. So successful was the Vajpayee-Jaswant Singh engagement of Clinton's Washington that at the end of the Prime Minister's visit last September, the Clinton administration officials had almost unquestioningly bought India's argument that there could be no talks with Pakistan until cross-border terrorism ceased completely. Thus there was an amended version of the famous "Four R's" of Mr. Clinton which included a "return to dialogue" on India's part, which reflected in the post-Clinton-Vajpayee summit briefings by administration officials who predicated the "return to dialogue" formulation on the premise that it must be "at the appropriate time when the atmosphere is correct." Small wonder that the officials in the Prime Ministerial delegation returned home flushed with the success of their diplomatic coup of sorts in Washington.

The question today is that with a new administration in Washington that has its own ideas about its strategic priorities in Asia but which has of course made it clear that it is more than willing to sustain the high level of interest in engaging India, will it be possible for the Vajpayee administration to have the same strategic expectations of the Bush establishment as it had of the Clinton administration, without having to fulfill similar strategic expectations from the other side? If indeed Mr.

Vajpayee and his colleagues have been leaning on Washington to put pressure on Islamabad to contain militancy in Kashmir and to accept New Delhi's perspective of the strained context of relations with Pakistan, would it be realistic to believe that the new Bush administration might not have the unstated but implied calculation that India would begin to play the role, albeit subtly, of a countervailing force in the Asian region against China? The Vajpayee administration has already shown that it is not above the temptation of tapping into the residual Sinophobia that exists in the corridors of power in America, as demonstrated in the Prime Minister's remarks to the U.S. Congress last September. The real challenge for the Vajpayee regime now will be to ensure that the pressure on his Government from hardliners to adopt a combative policy towards Pakistan does not result in a succumbing to the temptation of playing up to the Sinophobia that looks to be on the ascendant in American foreign policy considerations.

However it must be underlined that the initial indications from those who will be at the helm of shaping the new Bush administration's policy towards India and South Asia have been weighted in India's favour. Gen. Powell has acknowledged that "India has to be a high priority for foreign policy activities of the U.S." and that the U.S. will have "to engage more broadly with India." Others expected to play an influential role in the Bush foreign policy establishment such as Mr. Richard Armitage and Mr. Richard Haas have specifically suggested greater attention to India as an emerging power. Mr. Haas has gone further to say that India should not be viewed only within the South Asian paradigm but given strategic emphasis as "a potential partner of the United States and... potentially even a global actor for the U.S. to engage." The key test of India's engagement with the new administration will be to see that the paradigm envisaged of India as an emerging global power is maintained with India engaging the world's leading powers on its own terms. It is in India's hands to ensure that the relationship with the U.S. is not reduced to an arena for strategic trade-offs but that can only happen if Indian diplomacy acquires true autonomy by taking upon itself the necessary challenge of dealing directly with Pakistan.

THE HINDU

30 JAN 2001

# Bush sets foreign policy agenda, to meet Putin

BY RANDALL MIKKELSEN

Washington, Jan. 27: President George W. Bush swore in secretary of state Colin Powell, casting a brief light on United States foreign policy, which has taken a back seat to domestic issues during the first week of his Presidency.

Mr Powell underscored the deliberate approach the Bush administration is taking by telling reporters the United States would begin a dialogue with Russian President Vladimir Putin "in due time," which stands in contrast with Mr Putin's apparent eagerness to begin a dialogue. "I know of no better person to be the face and voice of Amer-

ican diplomacy than Colin Powell," Mr Bush said at the Oval Office swearing-in ceremony. Mr Powell is the first black US secretary of state. Mr Powell's wife, Alma, accompanied him at the ceremony, vice-president Dick Cheney, a former defence secretary who recalled recommending Mr Powell to be chairman of the joint chiefs of staff some 12 years ago, administered the oath. Mr Bush said Mr Powell was a "unique leader" who would carry out the President's aim to maintain a foreign policy that is involved in the world and "true to our values and true to our friends."

"He is a leader who understands that America must work closely with our friends

in times of calm, if we want to be able to call upon them in times of crisis. He understands that our nation is at it's best when we protect our strength and purpose with hominility. He understands that if we do not set our own agenda, it will be set by others, by adversaries abroad or by the crisis of the day." Mr Powell said he would do his best to carry what he called Mr Bush's "message of freedom" throughout the world.

"I think we have enormous opportunities ahead of us. There will also be challenges, and there will also be dangers," he said.

When Mr Powell and Mr Bush were asked how soon a US dialogue would begin with Mr Putin, Mr Powell answered as the two

left the room. "In due time," he said.

Mr Putin wrote a letter to Mr Bush this week expressing a willingness to "deepen interaction" between Russia and the United States. On Friday Mr Putin said in a major foreign policy speech that he had seen signals from Mr Bush that relations between the two countries could be positive.

"Foreign policy is always important, but these are the issues on which he ran; that's why he's focusing on them first," Mr Fletcher said.

Mr Bush has gotten off to a low-key start on foreign policy and he has been spared any immediate involvement in international flare-ups. (Reuters).

THE ASIAN AGE

28 JAN 2001

# BUSH INSISTS ON MISSILE SHIELD PLAN

Washington, Jan. 27: President George W. Bush has reaffirmed his intention to deploy a national missile defence shield and cut US nuclear arsenals as his defence secretary made clear that the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty would not stand in the President's way.

The US leader on Friday restated his key election campaign promises just hours after his Russian counterpart Vladimir Putin warned that deployment of the anti-missile shield would do "irreparable damage" to international security.

even the limited anti-missile shield being developed by the United States.

Many United States' allies also are worried that fielding the system could ignite a new arms race.

However, Mr Bush's ~~over~~ appeal to Moscow, which has proposed that the United States and Russia cut their arsenals to 1,500 strategic nuclear warheads each, below the levels previously proposed for a Start III agreement.

US defence secretary Donald

Rumsfeld said a nuclear exchange with Moscow no longer was the main threat faced by the United States and that circumstances had changed since the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty was signed with the former Soviet Union.

The Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty "ought not to inhibit a country, a President, an administration, a nation, from fashioning offensive and defensive capabilities that will provide for our security in a notably different national security environment," he said on Friday.

"The President has not been ambiguous about this. He says he intends to deploy a missile defence capability for the country.

He has concluded that it is not in our country's interests to perpetuate vulnerability," he said. Speaking at his first news conference on Friday since being sworn in to a second term as defence secretary, Mr Rumsfeld would not say whether Washington was prepared to withdraw from the treaty.

Mr Rumsfeld will make his first overseas trip as defence sec-

retary to Munich next week to attend an annual security conference.

Mr Rumsfeld, 68, took the oath of office as United States defence secretary on Friday at a formal Oval Office ceremony in Washington D.C.

Mr Bush set three goals for him: to strengthen the "bonds of trust" between the military and civilians; defend against missiles, cyberwarfare and weapons of mass destruction; and begin to create the military of the future with revolutionary new technologies. (AFP)

28 JAN 2001  
THE ASIAN AGE

# U.S. will defend its interests abroad: Bush

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JAN. 20. Minutes after he raised his right hand and took the oath of office, the 43rd President of the United States, Mr. George Walker Bush, promised to bring "civility, courage, compassion and character."

In an impressive transfer of power, Mr. Bush first thanked Mr. Bill Clinton for his service to the nation and saluted the outgoing Vice-President, Mr. Al Gore, for "a contest conducted with spirit and ended with grace."

Vowing to build a single nation of "justice and opportunity," the new President in his inaugural address promised to live and lead by firm principles: "To advance my convictions with civility, to pursue the public interest with courage, to speak for greater justice and compassion, to call for responsibility and try to live it as well."

Mr. Bush also called on fellow citizens to be active participants in the process. "I ask you to be citizens. Citizens, not spectators. Responsible citizens, building communities of service and a nation of character," the incoming Republican President remarked.

Reminding Americans that what they did was as important as anything the government did, Mr. Bush called on fellow citizens "to seek a common good beyond

your comfort, to defend needed reforms against easy attacks, to serve your nation beginning with your neighbour."

The 19th Republican President and the first Texas Governor to assume the exalted office, Mr. Bush used the same Bible as George Washington did, which was also used by his father during his swearing-in 1989.

In his 14-minute address after the formal oath-taking, Mr. Bush said some believed that politics can afford to be petty because in a time of peace the stakes of the debate appeared smaller.

"But the stakes for America are never small. If our country does not lead the cause of freedom, it will not be led. If we do not turn the hearts of children toward knowledge and character, we will lose their gifts and undermine their idealism. If we permit our economy to drift and decline, the vulnerable will suffer most," Mr. Bush pointed out.

At a time when there is apprehension in some quarters that a Bush administration's foreign policy would be inward looking, the new President had this to say: "The enemies of liberty and our country should make no mistake.

America remains engaged in the world by history and by choice, shaping a balance of power that favours freedom. We will

defend our allies and our interests. We will show purpose without arrogance. We will meet aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength."

During the course of his address Mr. Bush also spelt out some of the priorities of his administration and he started with the pledge of reclaiming America's schools before ignorance and apathy claimed more young lives.

Then he went on to social security and medicare, reducing taxes, recover the momentum of economy. "We will build our defences beyond challenge, lest weakness invite challenge. We will confront weapons of mass destruction, so that a new century is spared new horrors," Mr. Bush observed.

The inauguration was not without its share of protests even if the security was extremely tight in and around the Capitol. But the weather turned out in favour of the new President — it was cold and misty, but the rain, sleet and snow did not make it as feared.

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. William Rehnquist, read the oath of office to both the Vice President, Mr. Richard Cheney and the President.

Before going through the formal ceremonies in the West Front of the Capitol, the incoming President and the Vice-President, their wives came for the traditional coffee at the White House.

The meeting with the outgoing President, Mr. Bill Clinton, and the Vice-President, Mr. Al Gore, was cordial after which the outgoing and the incoming Presidents rode together in a limousine to the Capitol.

Among the prominent guests were Mr. Bush's parents, the former President, Mr. George Herbert Walker Bush and Mrs. Barbara Bush; and the former President, Mr. Jimmy Carter and his wife, Ms. Rosalind Carter.

Forty years ago, Joseph Kennedy saw his son, John F. Kennedy, taking office. On Saturday it was the turn of the elder Bush. And eight years ago, it was the elder Bush who had to welcome the President-elect Mr. Clinton to the White House before relinquishing office. Today, it was the turn of Mr. Clinton inviting another Bush to the White House.

The last time a President was elected without winning the popular vote was in 1888. Mr. Bush, in the elections of 2000, beat Mr. Gore by a margin of one vote in the Electoral College.

The incoming Republican President had won 30 States but still Mr. Gore outpolled him by more than one-and-a-half-million votes. More than ninety per cent of African Americans voted for Mr. Gore — something that has been taken note of by the Republican President.

THE HINDU

29 JAN 2001



# Curbs on India may be lifted: Powell

UNI & REUTERS

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18. — The new US administration is all set to undertake a comprehensive review of the sanctions imposed on India after the Pokhran tests and consider lifting them soon, Mr Colin Powell told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee today.

Stating that he was not in a position to give an immediate commitment on lifting sanctions against New Delhi, Mr Powell said he and his colleagues in the state department would "review all of these sanctions ... to see whether this is the time to move forward and remove the remaining sanctions that are in place."

Outlining a carrot and stick policy towards India, Mr Powell said: "We have to do what we can to constrain their nuclear programme but at the same time help them with economic development so that they can handle the increased population."

Mr Powell announced that the

Bush administration doesn't plan to ask the Senate to take up the contentious CTBT issue again for ratification.

Referring to India at the fag end of his speech, he said New Delhi has the potential to help keep peace in the Indian Ocean area and its periphery. "We need to work harder and more consistently to assist India in this endeavour while not neglecting our friends in Pakistan." He described this as a delicate task for USA since both the countries are engaged in an arms race. He said India's ceasefire was an encouraging sign.

Describing India as a powerful and nuclear-armed country, he said USA would have to engage more broadly with it.

Recalling India's links with the Soviet Union during the Cold War, he said: "They were somewhere else, trapped in another kind of world to us. But now it is all opened up, and it is one of the largest country by population on the face of the earth, and it is a powerful

country and it is a nuclear armed country. And so I think we have to engage more broadly with India".

Mr Powell dismissed speculations that under Mr Bush the USA would turn inwards and ignore the world. "There is no inclination whatsoever to have our nation withdraw from the world into a fortress of protectionism or an island of isolation," Mr Powell asserted.

"We must be involved according to our national interests and not in some haphazard way that seems more dictated by the day than by serious, thoughtful foreign policy," he said.

On West Asia, he said Bush would start by calling on Mr Yasser Arafat to curb violence and would wait for Israeli elections on 6 February.

Mr Powell had stern words for



Mr Colin Powell during his confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Wednesday. — AP/PTI

Mr Powell endorsed many of the foreign policy initiatives of the Clinton administration but promised some changes.

He said Mr Bush wants to "re-energize the sanctions against the Saddam regime" against the government.

Mr Powell said USA hadn't done enough to convince its West Asia friends that peacekeeping missions, said the country's military was unique in its mobility and ability to apply decisive force wherever it wants. "Tying down such forces is often imprudent. We need to consider these points whenever we feel the need to use our armed forces for peace operations that promise

Mr Powell broke little new ground on either Russia or China.

He described China as "a competitor and a potential regional rival, but also a trading partner". "But China is not an enemy and our challenge is to keep it that way," he said. He iterated the USA's commitment to the "one China" principle, opposed reunification of China and Taiwan by force and promised to provide for Taiwan's defence needs.

On Russia, he said the ties could be strong and successful only if Russia pursues domestic reform, establishes rule of law, roots out corruption and stops proliferation of missile technology.

North Korean leader, Mr Kim Jong-il, calling him a dictator who fields far more troops than he needs to meet any conceivable threat.

Mr Powell, however, stepped back from suggestions that Mr Bush would withdraw US forces from Kosovo and Bosnia unilaterally. "Mr Bush has promised to look closely at our commitments in the Balkans, with the hope of reducing our troop levels there over time and in consultation with our allies. This will be part of a more comprehensive review of all of our commitments," he said.

The general, whose policy hallmark has been his opposition to deploying US forces on too many marginal peacekeeping missions, said the country's military was unique in its mobility and ability to apply decisive force wherever it wants. "Tying down such forces is often imprudent. We need to consider these points whenever we feel the need to use our armed forces for peace operations that promise

long or undetermined duration," he said.

Elucidating what is known as the Powell doctrine, he said he expected the guidelines for using force abroad would include a clear political objective. "It is then very wise to use military force in a decisive way," he said.

Mr Powell broke little new ground on either Russia or China.

He described China as "a competitor and a potential regional rival, but also a trading partner". "But China is not an enemy and our challenge is to keep it that way," he said. He iterated the USA's commitment to the "one China" principle, opposed reunification of China and Taiwan by force and promised to provide for Taiwan's defence needs.

On Russia, he said the ties could be strong and successful only if Russia pursues domestic reform, establishes rule of law, roots out corruption and stops proliferation of missile technology.

THE STATE

19 JAN 2001

# U.S. will review policies on Iraq, North Korea, says Powell

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JAN. 18. The Secretary of State-designate, Gen. Colin Powell, outlined a foreign policy framework in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that did not have any major surprises, be it on major issues such as the National Missile Defence or on how Washington would deal with its allies and adversaries.

But early on in the confirmation process, Gen. Powell made it clear that the incoming Bush administration had neither the intention nor the inclination to be isolationist.

Gen. Powell told Republicans and Democrats on the Senate panel that the Bush administration would review some of the existing policies in critical areas like North Korea, Iraq and West Asia.

"We must be involved according to our national interests and not in some haphazard way that seems more dictated by the crisis of the day than by serious, thoughtful foreign policy", the former Four Star General remarked.

Republicans and Democrats on the panel wasted no time in heaping praises on Gen. Powell even while trying to find some areas of disagreements.

So impressed were the Senators that a third session scheduled for Thursday has been cancelled; instead, the law makers will meet that afternoon to decide whether to recommend that the Senate confirm Gen. Powell. In fact, the Committee Chair-

man, Senator Joseph Biden, Democrat of Delaware, told the Secretary of State designate, "I have no doubt, General, that you will be confirmed."

To the Conservatives on the Senate panel, Gen. Powell had the right messages, be it with respect to the National Missile Defence system, Russia or China. And to the Democrats and other sceptics, he was gentle and convincing enough not to warrant a slanging match on the pros and cons of a policy or an approach. On the NMD, Gen. Powell argued that it was important to look at missile defence within the context of the entire strategic framework.

"This framework includes offensive nuclear weapons, our command and control systems, our intelligence systems, arms control including our non-proliferation efforts and missile defence. No one thinking soundly, logically would construct a strategic framework with offence only", Gen. Powell argued, going on to make the point that with the complete framework, the U.S. will be better off in its relations with both friends and foes.

The bottomline, according to Gen. Powell, is that the NMD would depend on the development of reliable technology and after this, establishing that there was a real threat to be countered.

In the course of his remarks, Gen. Powell also made it clear that the incoming President was not going to ask the Senate to reconsider the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Regionally, Gen. Powell made a number of observations, including on India and the future of bilateral relations.

But those in the Committee and elsewhere who believe that the outgoing Clinton administration had sacrificed its interests in the Asia-Pacific by forging an unnecessary close relationship with China, would have been delighted to hear what Gen. Powell had to say on allies in the Asia-Pacific and China.

Gen. Powell told law makers that the Bush administration will support ongoing efforts by European allies to improve their defence capabilities as long as it strengthens the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. "To our West, across the Pacific, a similar bedrock exists. It is our strong relationships with our Asia-Pacific allies and friends, particularly Japan. All else in the Pacific and East Asia flows from those strong relationships", Gen. Powell told the Senate panel.

Reiterating the known theme that China is not a strategic partner, but a competitor and a potential regional rival, Gen. Powell argued that the U.S. should engage China. "But it is not wise to think that China will move at our pace. It will move at its pace", he said. In putting forth the known "One China" principle, he assured Conservatives on the panel that the Bush administration would oppose reunification by force and Taiwan's defence needs would be provided for as in the past.

THE HINDU

19 JAN 2001

## Powell may be quizzed on NMD

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JAN. 17. At a time when his fellow Conservative and Republican nominee, Mr. John Ashcroft, is being put through some testy time at the Senate Judiciary Committee, the Secretary of State-designate, Gen. Colin Powell, faces a Committee of his own today. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee starts the two day process for the former four-star general this morning.

That Gen. Powell and Mr. Ashcroft are facing almost two different environments is not of any major surprise given the different intensity of personal feelings that the two posts bring. In the case of Gen. Powell, the issues are more outside of the American mainstream thinking whereas in the case of Mr. Ashcroft, it has brought to the fore such basic issues as right to life and race relations.

Gen. Powell who had a very distinguished career in the U.S. Army spanning 35 years is expected to be confirmed without any difficulty. And when that formally takes place he will be the first African-American to be the Secre-

tary of State. Aside from having a non-controversial track record thus far, Gen. Powell's strength is seen in his being cautious; in a general reluctance to use American military force; and firmly pegging commitments to national interests.

For all the generalities of the Bush administration's foreign policy that has been talked about, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee can be expected to be more specific in asking Gen. Powell the basic parameters of foreign policy, both with respect to change and continuity. Of interest to the members will be the CTBT which he backed and one that was rejected by the Senate.

Of immediate interest is Gen. Powell's views on the National Missile Defence system. For all the enthusiasm of the Bush administration on the NMD, Gen. Powell is said to be urging for some caution partly due to the strong reservations on the implications to the arms control pact with Russia. Gen. Powell is not expected to face any embarrassing exchanges but Conservative Re-

publicans will not give up easily on the NMD. For instance, Mr. Jesse Helms, the senior Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee, has said that the 1972 Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty is not legally binding.

Gen. Powell will also be heard carefully on East Asia, particularly the Bush administration's policies on North Korea; the Balkans and the nature and scope of continued American presence and relations with Russia. In general, the incoming Bush team has been quite sceptical of over-reaching in the global arena, especially in the absence of exit strategies.

But Gen. Powell's confirmation hearing comes a day after the tenth anniversary of the Gulf War; and for all the noise that was being made of driving "Saddam" out of Kuwait, there is also the constant reminder that the Iraqi leader is "still around", taunting the U.S. and its allies in every fashion he can. Gen. Powell is also going through the confirmation process at a time when the sanctions regime against Baghdad is falling apart.

THE HINDU

18 JAN 2001

**Baghdad, Jan. 14** (Agencies): A group of American activists landed in Baghdad on Saturday to deliver books and medicine and join the ranks of dozens of countries that have mounted symbolic challenges to sanctions on the Arab nation.

The 27 Americans arrived on a Royal Jordanian plane from Amman, Jordan, the latest of dozens of flights to reach Iraq in recent months following 10 years of UN sanctions that had essentially banned air travel.

"We're probably the first Americans who have flown over Iraq for a long time who haven't brought bombs," said James Jennings, organiser of the trip, which includes religious and humanitarian groups from 10 US cities.

"All these people have come together to show that there are many thousands of Americans who are concerned about the devastating effects of these sanctions," Jennings said.

# Americans snub sanctions on Iraq

The Americans did not request US authorisation for their trip. However, they did not technically violate the sanctions placed on Iraq after its 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

Jordan, which owns the airline, sent a passenger and cargo list to the UN sanctions committee for approval before the flight to Iraq, officials said.

"Down USA" is painted in large black letters on the sidewalk at the entrance to the Saddam International Airport and similar handwritten signs are posted throughout the massive terminal building.

However, a delegation of more than 100 Iraqis led by health minister Omed Medhat Mubarak warmly greeted the Americans on the tarmac on a cold, foggy day.

But the US administration kept up pressure on the Saddam Hussein regime, with President Bill Clinton approving a \$12-million plan to help Iraqi Opposition groups distribute food and medicine in clandestine forays into Iraqi government-controlled areas, the *Washington Post* reported on Sunday.

The aim of the potentially high-risk operation is to foster opposition to Saddam, the daily said.

The Clinton administration submitted its plan to support the Iraqi National Congress (INC), an umbrella group of Opposition groups, to Congress on Wednesday. Congress late last year earmarked funding for the scheme and gave the administration until January to submit its plan.

The money will be used to help the INC reestablish an operation inside the US-protected "safe area" of northern Iraq, according to the daily. The INC was ousted from the area by Hussein's forces in 1996.

The eight-page plan outlined how the INC will distribute food, medicine and other humanitarian aid in Kurd-dominated northern Iraq. The Opposition group will also mount a propaganda campaign with satellite television broadcasts, radio broadcasts and a weekly newspaper. The INC "is very conscious of the risk it faces," a senior US official told the newspaper.

15 JAN 2000



# New Indo-Pak. initiative 'home grown'

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JAN. 11. The main element of the evolving relationship between the United States and India over the last few years has been the way the two countries have taken on bilateral relations — candour along with a broad-based approach that moved away from the single issue agenda of the past, says the outgoing Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, Mr. Karl Inderfurth.

In his farewell meeting with South Asia Journalists at the State Department here on Wednesday, Mr. Inderfurth said though New Delhi and Washington had been exploring the full range of the relationship, it would be upto the new Bush administration to address the remaining issues such as sanctions. The same would go for designating the Lashkar-e-Taiba a terrorist outfit.

For a person who has been part of three transitions, Mr. Inderfurth said he and other senior colleagues had briefed the Secretary of State-designate, Gen. Colin Powell, on the challenges and opportunities in the region. Gen. Powell was fully engaged, had a lot of questions and took a lot of notes.

"It was a good session," the senior official of the Clinton administration noted. Besides State Department officials dealing with South Asia, there were representatives from the Departments of Defence, Commerce and Energy; the USTR, Mr. Edmund Hull dealing with Counter-Terrorism, Mr. Robert Einhorn, Assistant Secretary of State for Non-Proliferation, and Ms. Julia Taft, who takes care of the refugees issues. The U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan, Mr. William Milam, was also present.

## S. Asia getting its due

Stating that the U. S. did not want the op-

portunities with South Asia wasted, Mr. Inderfurth talked of the accomplishments and disappointments of the last three and a half years.

On the "accomplishments" side would be that from being the "backside" of the American diplomatic globe, the region was finally getting the attention and priority it deserved; that the U.S. apart from successfully re-introducing itself to India had begun to deal with countries in the region on their own merits; and that the visits of President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to India in March and that of the Prime Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, to the United States in September last had resulted in a closer relationship.

Of specific accomplishments, he said the Clinton administration in December 1998 had successfully resolved the Pakistan F-16s issue with a financial and commodities re-payment arrangement; and recently the long-standing issue of Nepal-Bhutan refugees was resolved and the process of verification begun.

As a "disappointments" and generally, the U. S. would have liked more progress on ending conflicts in the region; the nuclear tests of 1998 and the Kargil conflict had caused great concern; and Washington had been trying to use its influence and support to see parties reduce tensions between India and Pakistan, including over Kashmir.

## Sanctions against Taliban

Another disappointment would be Afghanistan, where the U.S. States after making a brief peace attempt in 1998 was pushing for sanctions against the Taliban as also hoping that Osama bin Laden would leave Afghanistan and brought to justice.

That apart, Mr. Inderfurth said, the U.S. continued to be the largest provider of hu-

manitarian assistance to Afghanistan totalling nearly \$120 million.

On the ongoing conflict in Sri Lanka, he said the U.S. strongly supported Norway's peace efforts and hoped for a lasting solution that addressed the legitimate grievances of all including the Tamils.

Asked to comment on Washington's role in the evolving new detente in the region between India and Pakistan, Mr. Inderfurth said the unfolding process was "home grown" and was not coming from the outside; others were very interested expressing support; and that hopefully the serious dialogue amongst the parties would be positive and productive. The U.S. would very much want to see the resumption of a direct Indo-Pakistan dialogue.

Mr. Inderfurth said the U. S. was aware of the struggles under way in Pakistan between the jehadis and the forces of moderation; and that Washington had always supported a direction in Pakistan consistent with what its founding father Jinnah had called for. Keeping in mind the issues of moderation and extremism, a legislation had recently been passed by the U.S. Congress enabling direct funding to education in Pakistan with the outgoing administration asking the incoming team to give several million dollars for the purpose.

Mr. Inderfurth, however, did not wish to be drawn into speculating on the new administration's policies towards the region or who would succeed him at the South Asia Bureau. Confident that his successor would do as well "if not better", South Asia was a "plum assignment" at the State Department and had everything for everyone, be it a policy wonk, a people's person, one with an interest in religion or a geography buff, he said.

THE HINDU

12 JAN 2001

49-12

## WEIGHING THE COST OF 'PEACE'

81

MR. BILL CLINTON, outgoing U.S. President, is left with little time to broker a decisive phase of the intractable negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians for determining the outlines of a settlement. But both the Jewish state and the Arab countries, whose core interests converge on the Palestinian issue, are wary of the very idea of a quick fix at this stage. They are concerned about the political price they might have to pay now to clinch a possible settlement. For his part, Mr. Clinton, too, seems to be evaluating the long-term implications of any hasty peace settlement that could mean a differential cost to each of the major players on the West Asian scene. Yet, he is obviously willing to confront the Israelis and the Palestinians with ideas that will not meet the litmus test of the conventional wisdom inherent in the principles of either land-for-peace or peace-for-peace. These widely recognised principles vary in scope, but the competing theories are not really in conflict. Under one, a peace dividend is said to be possible only if Israel vacates all Arab territories that it seized in wars. The other notion is that peace is attainable in West Asia if Israel and its adversaries willingly enter into agreements through negotiations based on mutual accommodation. Mr. Clinton's latest proposals are transparently anchored to the principle of peace-for-peace.

The enormously arduous road to peace in West Asia — the Israel-Palestinian front included in particular — is strewn with many discarded propositions as also the political-psychological debris of the several wars that have followed the creation of Israel. Indeed, very little substantive progress has been achieved since the Madrid peace conference of the early 1990s and the commencement of the Oslo process. The timetables for various aspects of negotiations, outlined early in the process, have virtually remained a dead letter. The Arabs find it easy to blame Israel's 'mindset', and there

is much justification for their anger. Most importantly, it stands to reason that the larger international community should empathise with the Palestinians' sense of anguish that Israel often appears lukewarm about acknowledging their right to statehood in letter and in spirit of the peace process of the early 1990s. Yet, it is not inconceivable that the Jewish state should also want to safeguard its security interests consistent with the political aspirations of the Arabs. The bottom line for a durable peace in West Asia is that Israel's perceived origin as a state 'imposed' on the Arabs is somehow addressed to the satisfaction of both sides.

Mr. Clinton's latest proposals seem to go qualitatively beyond any previous formula in bringing the Arabs closer to the choice which they really need to make in the final analysis about the political space that they may have to concede to Israel. The critical proposition in Mr. Clinton's reported new package is that the Palestinians and other Arabs must consider giving up the insistence that the refugees displaced by Israel be allowed to return to their old homes. On the face of it, this idea will deeply hurt the Arab psyche despite the practical difficulties of resettling several millions of refugees. However, the Arabs have been asked to mull over a concession of this magnitude only in conjunction with the demand that Israel allow the Palestinians to exercise sovereignty over a celebrated mosque and some other quarters in Jerusalem. Not surprisingly, the Palestinian leader, Mr. Yasser Arafat, has shown commendable statesmanship by indicating his willingness to evaluate these and other new ideas put forward by Mr. Clinton. Mr. Arafat has of course insisted on doing so in the light of his own interpretations and reservations about them, and the Arab Foreign Ministers have reaffirmed the right of the refugees to return to their original homes. This only reflects the difficulty of divorcing the idea of land-for-peace from that of peace-for-peace.

THE HINDU

9 JAN 2001

# USA will not meddle in Kashmir

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

CHENNAI, Jan. 5. — The USA has decided not to interfere in the Kashmir issue, as it feels the problem should be solved directly by India, Pakistan and the people of Kashmir, the US Ambassador to India said today.

Mr Richard F Celeste called for the resumption of dialogue between India and Pakistan as envisioned in the Lahore Declaration for a fast solution to the Kashmir issue. He applauded Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's Ramzan ceasefire offer and its extension.

He was delivering the Abraham Lincoln memorial lecture organised by the Indo-American Chamber of Commerce and the United States Consulate.

The USA was encouraged by the steps taken by both countries to reduce violence, Mr Celeste said. "That is why we respect India's efforts to engage in substantive talks with a wide range of leaders in Kashmir," he said.

"My country shares the concern of many of India's friends about tensions between India and Pakistan which have been specially high since the Kargil conflict last year. For many Indians, President Bill Clinton's Indian tour was not over till his televised speech to the people of Pakistan. His message calling for respect for the Line of Control, reduced violence and renewed dialogue was articulated clearly then and continues to guide our policy today," Mr Celeste said.

The USA is firm on its non-

## 27 WOUNDED IN SRINAGAR BLAST

SRINAGAR, Jan. 5. — Twenty-seven people, including four BSF personnel, were injured in a powerful grenade explosion set off by militants here today.

The grenade was aimed at a BSF picket in Hanuman Mandir on Hari Singh High Street but it fell short of its target and exploded.

The injured were rushed to hospital where four of them was stated to be "serious", the spokesman said.

Ten minutes later, the militants struck again at Khanyar. This time the target was the police station. But the grenade did not explode and was defused by experts. — PTI

interference policy. "The June 1999 war against Pakistan should be dealt with directly between India and the people of Kashmir and between the Indian and Pakistani governments... We are not trying to draw new boundaries for India. That is not our business," he said.

The Ambassador said the problem should be dealt with "Pakistan-supported infiltration into Kargil" provided the context for a dramatic shift in India-USA relations. "The Pokhran-triggered non-proliferation talks between the US deputy secretary of state, Mr Strobe Talbott, and the Indian foreign minister, Mr

Jaswant Singh, were the most senior, serious and sustained conversations in the history of our ties with independent India," Mr Celeste said.

During the Kargil conflict, the telephone conversations between Mr Clinton and Mr Vajpayee set a standard for transparency and confidence unmatched in the Indo-US ties. "As a result of these efforts, the success of Mr Clinton's visit and the well-regarded return visit by Mr Vajpayee, the opportunity to build a dynamic relationship for the 21st century is ripe," he said.

India and the USA have agreed to cooperate on several issues like fighting terrorism, addressing global climate change, enhancing military-to-military relations and developing and testing a

HIV/AIDS vaccine and opening markets to the US and Indian goods and services. On trade ties, Mr Celeste said: "The work of commercial advocacy and trade negotiation will benefit from a fresh perspective in the Bush administration; one that I trust will strive to demonstrate to the Indian public that a more open system will generate substantial benefits to Indian economy. One way to frame this agenda would be to probe what India and the USA could do together." As part of a cooperative programme with India, 10 industries would be identified and working committees set up to tackle the problem of child labour. Both governments would set aside equal and substantive grants for the purpose, he said.

THE STATESMAN

6 JAN 2001

# West Asia foes accept Clinton talks offer

AP & AFP

JERUSALEM, Jan. 3. — Both Israel and Palestine have agreed to US President Mr Bill Clinton's proposal to resume peace talks. Israel will send negotiators to Washington in the next few days, an Israeli official said on Wednesday.

Palestinian leader Mr Arafat "accepted with his interpretations" Mr Clinton's framework for an accord, said Hassan Abdel Rahman, the head of the PLO's office in Washington.

Israel made known its decision after a brief meeting of Security Cabinet late on Wednesday, said Mr Amit Zimmer, a spokesman for transport minister Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, who participated in the session.

Earlier on Wednesday, Mr Clinton talked over telephone to Mr Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Mr Ehud Barak.

"What we have to do now is work with both sides to see if we can reconcile those reservations," White House spokesman Mr Jake Siewert

said after the phone calls. "The President is committed to trying."

Israel's decision came only a day after Prime Minister Mr Ehud Barak said his government cut off all contacts with Palestinian officials and in the weeks remaining until Israel's 6 February would focus on suppressing Palestinian violence.

Despite Mr Barak's tough talk, a last-minute peace deal with the Palestinians was widely seen as Mr Barak's last chance to win re-election.

Mr Clinton's formula would establish a Palestinian state on about 95 per cent of the West Bank and give the Palestinians some control in East Jerusalem.

But the Palestinians are demanding certification of a right of Palestinian refugees to

## LEBANON ATTACKED

TEL AVIV, Jan. 3. — Israelis attacked south Lebanon with artillery fire this morning in response to the firing of three mortar shells, apparently by Hezbollah guerrillas, at Israeli army positions in the Har Dov area on the border with Lebanon, army radio reported. Israeli warplanes were also sent to the area, it said. There were no immediate reports of injuries. — DPA

return to Israel, from which they were expelled at Israel's founding in 1948. Including descendants, this could involve some five million Arabs.

Mr Yossi Beilin, Israel's dovish justice mi-

nister, earlier in the day said in an Israeli television interview that "if, in fact, positive answers are given, and if, indeed, efforts are made to prevent the continuation of the violence and terrorism, we will be prepared to meet with the Palestinians and reach, with the help of the USA, in the coming days, understandings and agreements that will be able to prepare for the more detailed negotiations that will lead to a permanent peace agreement between them and us."

Mr Zalman Shoval, a former Israeli ambassador to Washington, and member of the staff of Likud leader Ariel Sharon, who will face Mr Barak in an election on 6 February was skeptical of Mr Barak's tactics.

Mr Shoval said the "clarifications" that Mr Clinton gave to Mr Arafat were "further proof" that Mr Barak gave Mr Clinton "a green light in advance for further concessions, even beyond those he had already made."

According to Palestinian sources, Mr Clinton told Mr Arafat if he wanted changes it was up to the Palestinians and Israel to try to see if they could be arranged.

Mr Clinton proposed 12 days of negotiations, and Mr Arafat agreed to lower-level negotiations, said the sources, insisting on anonymity.

In two meetings at the White House on Tuesday, Mr Arafat "presented our position in a positive way," head of the PLO's office in Washington, Hassan Abdel Rahman said.

THE STATESMAN

4 JAN 2001



# A last chance for peace?

By Chinmaya R. Gharekhan

*Mr. Clinton's proposals on West Asia offer something significant to both sides and demand equally substantial concessions from each.*

AD-12/31

**T**HE COMING few days will be extremely crucial for West Asia. They will decide the personal fates of the Palestinian leader, Mr. Yasser Arafat, and the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr. Ehud Barak. Even more importantly, we will see, before the end of this week, how the entire region of West Asia will evolve over the coming years, whether Israel will finally obtain the recognition, however grudging, of its Arab neighbours, allowing it to live in a reasonably secure environment and its citizens to move about free from the fear of suicide bombs and whether the Palestinian state, which, if not quite around the corner, is quite close to it, will enjoy a reasonably livable relationship with Israel which it would certainly need.

The trigger for the spate of extremely hectic activity which shall be witnessed over the next days is the last-ditch effort of the U. S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to break the deadlock between Israel and the Palestinians by offering his own bridging proposals. As is known, the Camp David Summit in July had broken down essentially over the issue of Jerusalem. Mr. Arafat was insisting on sovereignty over East Jerusalem which Mr. Barak could not concede.

Since then, much blood has been shed in the streets of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip as well as Israel. A very large percentage of the 350 lives lost was Palestinian. This has greatly weakened the negotiating position of both leaders. It followed that both sides must gain something and give up something if a deal is to be struck in the remaining days of the Clinton Presidency.

Details of Mr. Clinton's proposals have not been released. In fact, there is no written text of the proposals. However, enough has been leaked out to form a fairly good picture of what is involved. Of the three issues holding up agreement, the one relating to territory, surprisingly, appears to be the least difficult to resolve. The Palestinians want 100 per cent

of the West Bank, in fact a return to the pre-1967 line.

Israel will not and cannot agree, for two reasons. First, thousands of Jewish settlers will be left under the jurisdiction of the future Palestinian state. Second, Israel says it is strategically vital for it to control a corridor along the Jordan river to ensure that it will not be subjected to any invasion from the east. A compromise has all along been envisaged whereby the Palestinians will receive territory equivalent to 100 per cent of the West Bank, almost all of it in the West Bank itself, but a small part elsewhere, possibly in the Negev.

Mr. Clinton is reported to have suggested 95 per cent in the West Bank and 5 per cent somewhere else. This four to five per cent of the West Bank, in which 80 per cent of the settlers live, will be annexed to Israel. Mr. Arafat is holding out for 96 to 97 per cent. Obviously, this issue is not a deal-breaker. A closely related issue is Israel's demand to station its own troops in the Jordan river corridor for a fixed number of years. Israel is insisting on this period being three years whereas the other side wants to restrict it to two years. The gap does not seem unbridgeable.

The other two issues are infinitely more complex and emotion-charged: Jerusalem and refugees. Mr. Clinton seems to have proposed that the Palestinians will be given sovereignty over the Temple Mount or Al Haram Al Sharif. The Palestinians will refrain from any digging or carrying out archaeological excavations beneath the Temple Mount or its vicinity. Israel will have sovereignty over the Western Wall or the Wailing Wall.

The old city, which, for most people, is

synonymous with Jerusalem, will thus have divided sovereignty, roughly in equal parts. The Arab neighbourhoods of East Jerusalem will go to Palestine under its sovereignty and large settlement blocks such as Ma'ale Adumim will form part of an enlarged Jerusalem.

In return for this gain, Mr. Arafat will have to agree to make a very major and, for him, an extremely difficult, almost impossible, concession. The Palestinians will be required to give up the right of return for the refugees who have been living in exile since the 1948 war, and whose right to return to their homes in what is now Israel has been affirmed in countless resolutions of the United Nations, starting with resolution 194 of 1948. Return would be allowed on humanitarian grounds such as family reunification, but the others will have the right of returning only to the homeland offered by the new Palestinian state.

The refugees are a volatile constituency for the Palestinian leadership. Mr. Arafat has to worry not just about the opposition parties, Hamas and Jihad, but also his own supporters. On the other hand, Israel regards this issue as one of life and death. An additional one million Palestinians, if not all the 3.5 million registered with United Nations Relief and Works Agency, will permanently destroy the Jewish character of the Israeli state.

While some people believe that this is bound to happen at some point of time in the future, given the near zero rate of growth of the Jewish population and the 3.5 to four per cent growth among the Arab population of Israel, no Israeli leader of any persuasion will agree to what they perceive as a certain doom of their state by agreeing to a large influx of Pal-

estinians. An international fund to compensate the refugees will be set up.

Mr. Barak has said openly that if he succeeds in reaching an agreement with Mr. Arafat, he expects to win huge in the prime ministerial elections to be held on February 6. He has indicated that if Mr. Arafat accepts the American ideas, Israel will also need to accept them.

The most recent polls in Israel suggest a majority against the package, but this could change under the dynamics of the peace process and the hopes and expectations of living in security at home as well as the prospect of gaining the acceptance of the Arab and the wider international community.

For Mr. Arafat, the stakes are equally, if not more, vital. While he may not mind being accused of missing yet another opportunity, he certainly must weigh carefully the odds of getting a better deal at some point of time in future.

Egypt's President, Mr. Hosni Mubarak, is reported to have advised Mr. Arafat that he might get better terms through war but certainly not through peace. If Mr. Ariel Sharon wins the Israeli election in February, as well he could in the absence of an agreement, the chances for a peaceful peace would recede by many years.

The *prima facie* positive feature of Mr. Clinton's proposals is that they offer something significant to both sides and demand equally substantial concessions from each.

Can Mr. Arafat convince his own people that obtaining sovereignty over the Haram Al Sharif and East Jerusalem, with the Palestinian flag flying over the sacred Muslim monument, is enough of a diplomatic, and indeed military, victory and more than makes up for abandoning the Palestinians' right of return? One must always expect the unexpected in West Asia.

THE HINDU

3 JAN 2001

## Arafat-Clinton meet' crucial

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

**WASHINGTON, JAN. 2.** The scheduled meeting later today of the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton and the Palestinian leader, Mr. Yasser Arafat, is being billed as crucial, three weeks before the American President leaves office.

Not much is being said about the "urgent" trip of the Palestinian leader but agency reports say that the visit materialised after an hour-long telephone conversation between Mr. Arafat and Mr. Clinton. Mr. Arafat is visiting Washington to get a response to some questions raised by the Palestinian side, it is being reported.

According to a report, during the conversation, the Palestinian leader apparently told the U.S. President not to pressure him on any issue and that a formal response to what has already been put forth will come only after certain clarifications have been made. "It does not necessarily mean that the Palestinians will give their response in Washington, but the meeting with Mr. Clinton will be decisive," a senior Palestinian official has been quoted as saying. The White House, while confirming the meeting of the leaders, said it would help ensure a "common understanding of the parameters" the President had put forth.

In the course of the several peace initiatives of the Clinton administration, the Palestinians have consistently raised serious questions on core issues such as the future of Jerusalem, the Jewish settlements and the fate of the Palestinian refugees. The Palestinian side has reservations on an American proposal to give limited sovereignty over parts of Jerusalem, including the Temple Mount in exchange for relinquishing the right of return of refugees to Israel. What has complicated the issue is the continuing violence in the region which will have an impact on the elections to be held in Israel on February 6.

# USA, Israel sign war crimes court treaty

**PRESS TRUST OF INDIA**

UNHQ, Jan. 1. — Paving the way for the first permanent international war crimes court, the United States signed a 1998 Rome treaty and was immediately followed by Israel, which in reversal of its previous stand, consented to countries supporting the establishment of the court.

The court, which will try war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity, is to be established at The Hague after the treaty is ratified by 60 countries.

"In taking this action, we reaffirm strong support for international accountability and bringing to justice perpetrators of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity," the US President, Mr Bill Clinton, said after signing the treaty yesterday, hours before the 31 December 2000 deadline.

He, however, said that significant flaws in the treaty must be corrected before he could recommend it to the Senate for its ratification.

Following USA's lead, the Israeli ambassador to the UN, Mr Yehuda Lancry, signed the treaty saying: "Israelis bear in their mind and hearts the memories of the holocaust, which remains the greatest and most heinous crime ever done against mankind".

Israel's cabinet, which had voted against the court earlier, changed its stand following clarity that such signature will not harm its interests, the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr Ehud Barak's office said in a statement. Now it remains for 33 countries more to ratify the treaty, which has been signed by 139 nations. India, however,

is yet to sign the treaty.

UN officials expect that it would take about two more years for the court to come into existence. UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, said he was "greatly encouraged by the fact that so many states took the decision", adding that he was well aware of Mr Clinton's difficulties.

## Five killed in Dutch cafe fire

**REUTERS**

AMSTERDAM, Jan. 1. — A fire broke out at a cafe, packed with teenagers celebrating the New Year, in the town of Volendam, killing five people and injuring about 130 today, police said.

Many were hurt when they smashed windows and jumped from the third floor premises of the Small Heaven (Het Hemeltje) cafe to escape the flames.

Volendam's mayor Mr Frank Ijsselmuiden told Radio 1: "Up till now there are five dead, one of whom died in hospital. We estimate there are 130 injured. We needed about 100 ambulances."

A spokesman for Amsterdam AMC hospital told Nos Journal television that 53 injured had been admitted there, half of whom were in a serious condition. Others were only slightly injured. He said those admitted were aged from 17 to 30.

Police told reporters: "There were mainly teenagers in the building who were celebrating New Year's Eve... in panic several people jumped out of windows".

THE STATESMAN

2 JAN 2001

# US warns Iraq

S Rajagopalan  
Washington, July 30

THE UNITED States has put Iraqi President Saddam Hussein on notice, warning him of a "more resolute" use of force in case Baghdad did not end its "provocative" actions like the recent firing of a missile at an American surveillance plane.

As National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice made it clear on Sunday, that Washington is not going to rest content with tit-for-tat responses. The US is reportedly in touch with allies and friends to fashion a more resolute use of military force against Iraq.

"I can be certain of this and the world can be certain of this: Saddam is on the radar screen for the (Bush) administration," she remarked on a CNN programme.

Washington has been considering a military response to last Wednesday's Iraqi bid to down an American U-2 spy plane which was flying in the region as part of the US-British patrolling of the "no-fly zones" to protect the Kurdish and Shi-ite minority groups. The sur-

face-to-air missile missed its mark.

Iraq itself has denied firing at the spy plane, saying the US assertions were part of a bid to "create a pretext for a fresh military attack". While the Pentagon says this "close call" was the latest of about two dozen attempts to bring down its surveillance planes, Baghdad insists that the firing was at an F-15 warplane, and not at any spy plane.

Rice declined to spell out how soon the US might act by confining herself to the remark that President Bush reserved the right to respond at a time when Saddam Hussein's threat "becomes one that he wishes no longer to tolerate".

Bush himself had commented last week that Saddam remained a menace and a threat to the US and international security even a decade after he was defeated in the 1991 Gulf war. Apart from the military response, the US is also consulting allies and friends to make sure that the impact of economic sanctions was felt by the Saddam regime rather than the Iraqi people.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

3 JUL 2001

# 'U.S. ratification of CTBT may be delayed'

By George Chakko

**VIENNA, APRIL 30.** The former CTBT chief moderator at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva in 1996 and current Chairman of the CTBT Preparatory Commission (PrepCom), Mr. Jaap Raamaker, has said that the Bush administration in the U.S. has initiated a thorough review of its defence policy and any Senate decision on CTBT ratification can only be expected after that, and this could take many months.

Mr. Raamaker and Dr. Wolfgang Hoffmann, CTBTO Executive Secretary, had returned from the U.S. after attending the annual International Arms Control Conference of over 300 experts from 36 countries at Albuquerque.

Explaining the current go-slow, low key U.S. position, Mr. Raamaker said, "When the U.S. Senators had to vote for this treaty, 62 Senators of whom 26 were Republicans had asked for more time to consider this treaty. Many thought this was not the way to go about a multilateral treaty like this". Questioned on the attitude of people like Senator Jesse Helms in bringing forth unrelated matters as excuses not to ratify, the opinion power of experts in weapon labs like Los Alamos and

Lawrence Livermore and the European view of it, Mr. Raamaker said, "I am speaking in my personal capacity. One shouldn't see it too dramatically. All these issues are under review in the U.S. which also means there are different viewpoints within the administration. You have, of course, new people coming in the new administration, from different sides, from think tanks, who in our European terms have been serving the Republican Opposition in Clinton years. But in the end, there will be a balanced view of things. CTBT and missile defence I don't see an actual factual relationship. The U.S. has gone public to maintain moratorium on testing. Actually, when the Senate debate took place on this

treaty in a far too short period of time, there were mainly two areas where the Senators were concerned that were complicated enough as they called it, one was verification and the other, guarantee of the safety, security and reliability of their nuclear stockpile once the treaty has entered into force. There are all sorts of answers to this. Verifiability is a question of how far, how much. If you want to be 100 per cent sure, you can't say that of any international treaty, you have to get into

a process of negotiations. However, if you want to have a reasonable, high confidence in clandestine tests being discovered, this treaty is O.K. It also deters violators from clandestine tests. On the sidelines there are countries which intend to do test weapons, they don't want to be clandestine. They want the whole world to see that they can do it, as is the case with India and Pakistan. So, the question reliability is a matter of definition and in the end, the stronger point is the question of deterrence. In fact, the technology of verification has improved enormously since the negotiations on the treaty ended. In those five years, tremendous progress has been made on verification by the same national

labs you mentioned.

On the Los Alamos weapons director, Dr. Steven Younger's views, Mr. Raamaker younger's "He is one of last war was acidic, Los Alamos has upon design- of aging of nuc! The problem stored is also the fear weapons ing of weapon deproblem of ag- actually been abo'signers. It has those P.2 people it 10 or 12 that active. They are a have not been tirement. I thinkll going into re- forget that the Col we should not the point of view/d War is over. In golden age of n of scientists, the over. So, they arcuclear testing, is ferent things; th looking into dif- are going into ohe younger ones the older ones ther activities and still hopeful tha are retired. I am end of Cold War we have seen the

# U.S. may buy Russian missiles to eliminate ABM treaty

NEW YORK: The Bush administration is preparing a broad offer of arms purchases, military aid and joint anti-missile exercises to Russia to win its cooperation for scrapping the 1972 anti-ballistic missile (ABM) treaty. The proposals are likely to include an offer to buy Russian-made S-300 surface-to-air missiles that could be integrated into the defensive shield over Russia and Europe, *The New York Times* reported quoting administration sources.

Some proposals have been sketched out to Russian officials, and the full plan is to be presented in conjunction with the first meeting between President Bush and President Vladimir V. Putin on June 16 in Slovenia.

The proposals also include offers to hold joint exercises in future years to identify and shoot down attacking warheads, to provide money for Russia's decaying radar system and to share early-warning data.

The administration has not elaborated on its plans publicly, the *Times* said. However, U.S. national security adviser Condoleezza Rice told the paper last week that "we want to convince the Russians that it is in their best interest to move beyond the ABM treaty and to develop a new relationship with us."

Mr Bush, the paper says, finds himself in the position of needing Mr Putin's agreement to dispense with the ABM treaty both to defuse strong European objections to the military plans and to satisfy Congress, where senate committees overseeing military and foreign affairs are about to come under democratic control. The evolving strategy is in strong contrast to that

of the administration's early weeks, when Mr Bush and his national security aides said they were preparing to speed ahead alone to undo the treaty, the report noted.

But Mr Bush's plan faces many obstacles in the U.S., Moscow, and in foreign capitals, especially Beijing.

Even a limited alliance with Moscow on missile defence would almost certainly raise fears among Chinese leaders that they were being frozen out and that the system was being designed to contain their modest nuclear force. Mr Putin and President Jiang Zemin of China have themselves begun talking about cooperation to counter growing American military and economic power around the globe.

The *Times* said most details of the administration's proposals have not been presented to Moscow, though hints were floated in meetings earlier this month.

An unidentified administration source was quoted as saying there was "zero indication" of a response, but added that we hope to have cooperative proposals on missile defence, on nuclear reductions and on a broader relationship by the middle of the summer.

Mr Bush's task, the paper stressed, has been greatly complicated by the defection of Senator James M. Jeffords of Vermont from the Republican Party, and the subsequent loss of Republican control of the Senate.

The Democratic Senators likely to take over as chairmen of the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees are wary of Mr Bush's plans, and have expressed a determined opposition to a unilateral withdrawal from the missile treaty. (Agencies)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

29 MAY 2001



# Senator's defection throws open U.S. foreign policy

By Chidanand Rajghatta  
The Times of India News Service

WASHINGTON: The crossing over of Republican Senator Jim Jeffords to the ranks of the Independents this week has convulsed the American political scene and threatens to unhinge President Bush's ambitious social and economic agenda. But the defection — a word one seldom comes across in American political lexicon — also has important foreign policy implications across the world, including for India, which may see a purely American political play as a blessing in disguise.

Mr Jeffords, a long-time moderate Republican from Vermont, confirmed on Thursday weeks-long speculation that he was leaving the party by declaring himself an independent at a hotel ballroom in the state capital of Burlington.

"For the past several weeks I have been struggling with a very difficult issue," Mr Jeffords said in an event that was nationally televised because it is so rare and it has such profound political implications. "Increasingly I find myself in disagreement with my party."

The immediate upshot of the move is that it hands over control of the Senate back to the Democrats for the first time since 1994 when the latter under President Clinton lost it to the Republicans. The Senate was tied 50-50 following the recent election, but Mr Jeffords becoming unattached puts the Republicans in a minority.

As a result, chairmanship of various committees, which are usually headed by Senators of the Majority Party, will revert to Democrats. The Senate Majority leadership, now with Republican Trent Lott, will instead go to Senator Tom Dashle, who is now the minority leader (equivalent to leader of the opposition in India). The changeover will enable the Democrats to more forcefully meet or challenge or counter the Republican White

House's legislative agenda.

But more importantly for India and many other countries across the world, there will also be changes in the foreign relations canvas. Leadership of the full International Relations Committee will pass from the formidable Sen, Jesse Helms of North Carolina, to the ranking minority member, Sen, Joseph Biden of Delaware.

The curmudgeonly Helms for long has considered himself an overlord of U.S. foreign policy. He was an implacable foe of India for many years. More recently, after influential Indian community members from the tech community and research triangle in his state made inroads into his camp, he has tempered his views a bit to become a skeptic of India instead of an enemy. Still, his ouster from the committee will come as a vast relief to many countries across the world that found his archaic views quite insufferable.

In contrast, his presumptive replacement, ranking minority member Senator Joseph Biden, is widely seen as a moderate more in tune with the changes sweeping across the world. Although he is a non-proliferation hawk, he is well-disposed towards New Delhi. Despite fierce criticism of India's nuclear tests in 1998, Mr Biden was one of the first lawmakers to propose dilution of punitive sanctions, introducing amendments that would have curtailed the Glenn law, and which were ultimately folded into what came to be known as the Brownback Amendment.

In fact, Indian officials expect Mr Biden to be far more accessible and open than Mr Helms, who considered himself the helmsman of US foreign relations and was a difficult man to deal with. One of Mr Biden's key aides, Jonah Blank, is an Indophile who has written several books on India, including *Arrow of the Blue-Skinned God* which retraces the *Ramayana* and a more recent book on Dawoodi Bohra.

# Senate power shifts as Republican jumps sides

**Burlington (Vermont), May 24** (Reuters): Vermont Sen. James Jeffords quit the Republican Party today in a dramatic move that will give the Democrats control of the US Senate and threatens President George W. Bush's conservative agenda.

Announcing his decision from his home state of Vermont, the moderate Senator said: "I will leave the Republican Party and become an independent. Control of the Senate will be changed by my decision."

His decision gives the Democrats a 50-49 seat advantage in the Senate. The party will now control the body's agenda, undermining the Republican President's ability to push through his programmes.

In Washington, President George W. Bush's administration expressed disappointment with Sen. Jeffords' decision to quit the Republican Party and hand control of the Senate to the Democrats, a White House spokeswoman said today.

"We're disappointed, but the President was elected to get results. He's going to continue to work with Republicans and Democrats as he has been doing to get results for the American people," said White House spokeswoman Claire Buchan.

Buchan said she was not certain when Bush last spoke to Jeffords, but there was no indication the two had talked yesterday, following a Tuesday meeting during which Bush tried to persuade Jeffords to reconsider. Bush was expected to discuss Jeffords' decision in a speech in Cleveland later.

Jeffords said in announcing his switch that he had realised he would face major future disagreements with the Bush administration, particularly over funding education. He said Bush's budget priorities and tax cut did not appear to support the funding needed to improve education, despite Bush's push for an education reform bill.

Asked about this assertion by Jeffords, Buchan said: "The education bill has gained strong bipartisan support and we have worked successfully with both Republicans and Democrats... to accomplish one of the President's key objectives and to bring important education reforms."

## Tax cut proposal passed

The Senate yesterday passed a sweeping \$1.35 trillion tax cut as Republican leaders rushed to land President George W. Bush's top priority on his desk before a possible shift in power in the Senate.

The Senate modified Bush's original tax cut proposal and the bill now has to go to a conference between the Senate and the House of Representatives, which has approved its own version along the lines of Bush's original \$1.6 trillion plan.

Lawmakers said the conference could act swiftly to produce a final version of the bill that could land on Bush's desk for his signature.

ture before Democrats take control of the Senate after a possible Republican defection.

"I don't think there is much of a cloud on the tax bill," said Sen. Max Baucus of Montana, the top Democrat on the tax-writing Senate Finance Committee.

Baucus and committee chairman Charles Grassley, an Iowa Republican, helped forge the compromise approved by the Senate on a vote of 62-38. Twelve Democrats joined all Republicans to pass the bill. Sen. Jeffords voted for the Senate compromise package.

The Senate bill calls for lowering the top 39.6 per cent tax rate to 36 per cent and creates a new 10 per cent bracket at the lower end of the current 15 per cent income bracket retroactive to the start of the year. The House tax cut and Bush's original proposal called for a top rate of 33 per cent, which moderates said was too big of a cut at the top end.

The bill also gradually repeals estate taxes by 2011, raises the

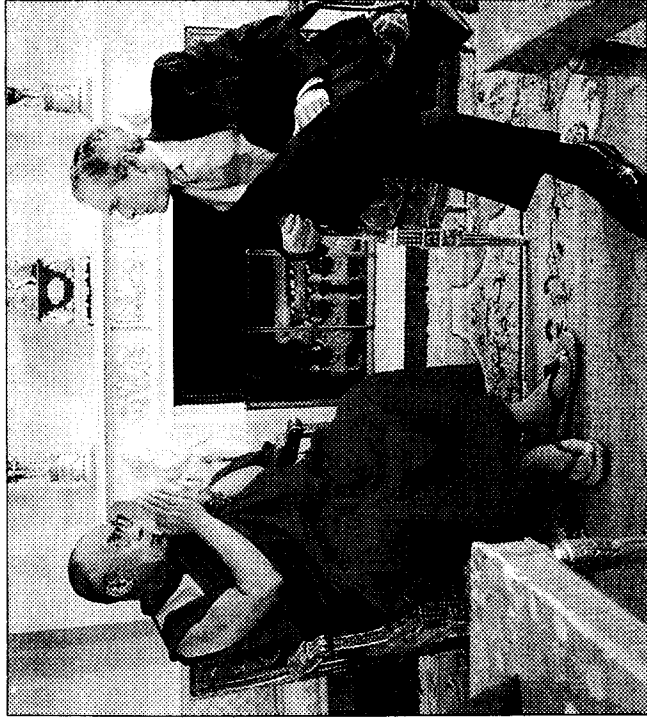
child tax credit and makes it partially refundable.

It provides new tax breaks for education and allows bigger contributions to retirement savings account. It also eases the marriage tax penalty for working couples.

## Big mistake

Many Democrats are highly critical of the tax cut, arguing it is too big and mostly benefits the wealthiest taxpayers. They also argue that the cost of the 11-year package would explode by 2011 just as the baby boom generation is preparing to retire and draw on their Social Security retirement benefits and Medicare health care benefits.

"I believe with all my heart we will regret the day that this passes and is sent to the President for his signature," Senate Democratic Leader Tom Daschle of South Dakota said. "I think we will regret it in part because it is based on projections that are very faulty."



The Dalai Lama (left) greets US President George Bush at the White House on Wednesday. (AFP)

THE TELEGRAPH

25 MAY 2001

# US friend, neighbours threat: GoM report

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

**New Delhi, May 23:** Pakistan and China have been identified as neighbouring threats to the country with Bhutan also playing host to anti-India forces in the Group of Ministers' report on reforming the national security system even as the document justifies developing close relations with the United States.

The second chapter of the report says, "US pre-eminence in the global strategic architecture is unlikely to diminish in the foreseeable future. Meaningful, broad

based engagement with the US spanning political, economic and technological interests and complementarities, will impact beneficially on our external security concerns with a resultant albeit less visible impact on our internal security environment. Conversely, an adversarial relationship with it can have significant negative repercussions across the same broad range of issues and concerns."

The sections related to China have been mainly kept confidential and all that is mentioned is, "The rapid growth of China in the last few years coupled with its ambi-

tious military modernisation programme will enable it to attain near superpower status by 2020. Special note must be taken of China's wide ranging defence modernisation with a special focus on force multipliers and high technology weapon systems."

Referring to Pakistan it has clearly stated, "Pakistan will continue to pose a threat to India's security in the future also. Its traditional hostility and single minded aim of destabilising India, is not focused just on Kashmir but on a search for parity. This arises out of the two-nation-theory, coupled with a

desire to exact revenge for the 1971 humiliation over the separation of Bangladesh."

Charging Pakistan with carrying out a proxy war since 1980s the report states, "Through its nexus with the Taliban and Jihadi elements, as well as its involvement in religious extremism, international terrorism and the narcotics trade, Pakistan poses a threat not only to India but to the stability of the region as well. As a result of Pakistan's political and economic instability, its military regime may act irrationally..."

It further states that Pakistan's

weapon acquisition from the West and China and its close collaboration with China and North Korea on nuclear and missile matters will continue to be of grave concern to India. "Pakistan is following the policy of bleeding India through a thousand cuts," the report says.

The report points at cropping up of organised criminal gangs and syndicates with powerful political and communal influence and patronage along the Indo-Bangla border. Similarly concern has been expressed at illegal trade activities in contraband at Moreh on the Indo-Burma border.

# US steps in to end W Asia crisis

Jerusalem, May 22

US DIPLOMATS held talks with Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon on Tuesday as the United States took initial steps to give teeth to a plan to end months of Israeli-Palestinian bloodshed.

A US official said Sharon, US ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk and US Consul-General Ron Schlicher met for more than two hours "to develop a framework and timetable for implementation of the Mitchell Commission report".

The report released on Monday by a panel chaired by former US Senator George Mitchell calls for an immediate cessation of violence followed by confidence-building measures and a resumption of security cooperation and peace negotiations.

The US official said the American diplomats expected to see

22/5  
Palestinian President Yasser Arafat later in the day to discuss the Mitchell report. An Arafat aide, Nabil Abu Rdainah, said no meeting had been scheduled.

Secretary of State Colin Powell has endorsed the committee's findings and announced the appointment of a "special assistant," the US ambassador to Jordan, William Burns, to help the sides step back from eight months of confrontation.

Differences quickly emerged between the Palestinians and Israelis on putting recommendations, which include a call — rejected by right-winger Sharon — for a freeze in the construction of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza.

An official in Sharon's office said the Israeli leader had told the Americans that Israel wanted a two-month "cooling-off period" of calm before undertaking confidence-building mea-

sures.

Ahmed Abdel-Rahman, a senior aide to Arafat, accused Israel of using stalling tactics and said its security would best be achieved by "implementing international law and UN resolutions".

Palestinians fired three mortar bombs into Israeli territory near the Gaza Strip early on Tuesday, the army said. It said one mortar round landed in a Jewish settlement in Gaza.

Late on Monday, five Israelis and two Palestinians were wounded along a fierce firing line between the Jewish settlement of Gilo, regarded by Israel as a neighborhood of Jerusalem, and the West Bank town of Beit Jala near Bethlehem. Arafat, accepting the recommendations of the Mitchell report, repeated a call to reconvene an international summit that proposed a ceasefire last

October. The ceasefire was not implemented.

A Sharon spokesman also welcomed the report but accused the Palestinians of "playing games", reiterating Israel's position that a complete cessation of violence must come before talks.

Commenting on Israel's demand for a two-month cooling-off period, the official in Sharon's office said the Palestinians should implement security arrangements agreed at US-hosted talks at the Wye River plantation in Maryland in 1998. Under the Wye accords, the Palestinians have to reduce their police force to the size agreed to in the 1993 Oslo interim agreement, arrest "terrorists" and hand illegal weapons to the Americans.

Palestinians blame the violence on Israel and say it is up to Sharon to take steps to halt the bloodshed. **Reuters**

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# Bush to meet Dalai Lama today

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, MAY 22. In a move bound to further jeopardise relations with China, the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, and other senior officials are scheduled to meet the Dalai Lama over the next two days.

The Tibetan spiritual leader will also meet the Under-Secretary of State for Global Affairs, Ms. Paula Dobriansky, recently appointed special coordinator for Tibetan issues.

On Wednesday, Mr. Bush will meet the Dalai Lama in what has been described as a "private" interaction, but the real significance has not been lost.

The Bush administration has said senior officials' meetings with the Dalai Lama are nothing new. It has been pointed out that the former President, Mr. Bill Clinton, used to "drop by" at White House meetings involving the Dalai Lama.

In the past, conservatives on Capitol Hill tried to make much out of the Dalai Lama's visits here. This time the Tibetan leader is on a tour of several cities, and will make the commencement address at the School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University on Thursday. The political right wing has said it does not really care what Beijing thinks of the receptions accorded to the Dalai Lama.

China had always been at odds with the U.S. over the visits of the Dalai Lama and his senior level meetings with officials. Beijing also denounced the appointment of Ms. Dobriansky as special coordinator for Tibetan issues. In 1997, under pressure from Congress, the Clinton administration had named the first special coordinator.

Ms. Dobriansky is the highest ever official named by the Bush administration. In the process, the administration has sent out the signal that its tough line with China on security issues and Taiwan is also being extended to Tibet. China responded angrily saying it would not deal with any person in the post.

This week is the beginning of yet another critical period for U.S.-China relations starting with the "transit" of the President of Taiwan, followed by the visit of the Dalai Lama. The two countries are yet to get over the April 1 collision between an American surveillance plane and a Chinese fighter over the South China Sea. Both sides are looking at ways to end the standoff over the EP-3E plane now sitting crippled at a military base on Hainan Island.

## 'Withdraw MFN status'

PTI reports from New Delhi:

Mr. Tsewang C. Tethong, a close aide of the Dalai Lama, today demanded that the U.S. immediately withdraw the most-favoured nation status on trade accorded to China.

"While it is important for the U.S. to engage China for an open dialogue, we feel that, at the same time, China should not be given any special status as was done by the previous administration," he told reporters here.

Contesting the validity of a 17-point agreement between Tibet and China, Mr. Tethong said, "this controversial document, forced upon an unwilling but helpless Tibetan government, compelled Tibet to co-exist with communist China." The Dalai Lama, after his escape to India in 1959, had declared the agreement as illegal and signed under duress.

THE HINDU

10 MAY 2001

# US SET TO UNVEIL NEW W. ASIA PLAN

Gen. Powell  
to offer both  
sides 'lifelines'

New York, May 21: Secretary of state Colin Powell is planning to present an American proposal to help bring the Israeli-Palestinian conflict under control, the *New York Times* reported in its online edition on Monday.

Quoting senior administration officials, the paper said Gen. Powell was likely to make a formal statement as early as Monday, in which he will offer the two sides "lifelines" that could lead to further public and personal diplomacy. Gen. Powell is to use as a vehicle for his proposal a report by a fact-finding commission led by former Senator George Mitchell, which is to be officially released on Monday, the paper said.

The secretary's statement would move the administration into a more visible role after months of behind-the-scenes diplomacy.

It follows an intensification of the conflict in recent days, which have seen a Palestinian suicide bombing and retaliatory strikes by Israeli warplanes. The scale of the Israeli retribution has brought international and domestic criticism of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. Gen. Powell might launch his proposal after a fact-finding commission led by former US Senator George Mitchell releases its report later on Monday into eight months of violence. The Mitchell report has heightened expectations that the US will be more aggressive now. The new clashes are seen as testing President Bush's reluctance to involve himself in peace efforts. (*Reuters*)



WEST BANK DIPLOMACY: Russian foreign minister Igor Ivanov (right) gestures as he speaks to his Israeli counterpart Shimon Peres during their meeting in Moscow on Monday. (*AP*)

## Israel missiles hit Gaza again

BY NIDAL AL-MUGHRABI

Gaza, May 21: Israeli helicopter gunships fired at least seven missiles at Palestinian buildings in northern Gaza early on Monday, as fighting flared before the release of a US-led committee's report into eight months of bloodshed.

Palestinian officials said the helicopters also opened fire with machine guns, but reported no casualties other than a night watchman who was slightly hurt.

The blasts rocked Gaza City and awakened residents in the early

hours of Monday morning. Ambulance rushed to the scene with sirens wailing and the police picked through the rubble.

Palestinian public security chief Abdel-Razek al-Majaydeh said the missiles seriously damaged a car mechanic's workshop on the outskirts of the Jabalya refugee camp in northern Gaza. He said a marble factory and library were damaged in the barrage.

The Israeli Army said the helicopters hit a factory used to make mortar bombs, 160 of which have been fired at Jewish settlements in

the Gaza Strip and Israeli farming communities nearby in the past few months of a Palestinian revolt.

About 200,000 Israelis live in 145 settlements scattered in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, areas home to about three million Palestinians. Built on land captured in the 1967 war, the settlements are illegal under international law.

"The factory is one of a few facilities which makes mortar bombs that are shot towards Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip and towards Israel," the Army said in a statement. (*Reuters*)

THE ASIAN AGE

22 MAY 2001



# USA may not back weapons document

UNITED NEWS OF INDIA

NEW YORK, May 21. - The US administration has decided not to support yet another important international document - the draft protocol on the verification of the fulfilment of the 1972 Convention on Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons.

A *New York Times* report referring to American officials, who were not named, said the refusal to support the protocol was the recommendation of a group of experts who had secretly reviewed it.

Formally, the administration is still to take a final decision on its stand on the protocol, but the main recommendation is likely to be approved by the White House, since the group consisted of experts from all key departments - the state department, the Pentagon, the investigative agencies, and the energy and trade departments, the newspaper stated. According to the report, quoted by Novosti, secretary of state, Mr Colin Powell has already approved the recommendations of the group.

The *New York Times* said that over the past six years diplomats from various countries, including USA, worked on the draft protocol in Geneva. A refusal to verify the convention would strain relations between USA and its allies, who had made apparent their displeasure over the Bush administration's refusal to support the Kyoto protocol and its intention to withdraw from the 1972 ABM treaty. The review, says that the protocol, would not be of much value in catching potential proliferators, a senior American official told the *New York Times*.

Though the review questions the utility of the protocol in the current form, it leaves open the possibility of fresh negotiations to draft another version.

THE STATESMAN

11 MAY 2001

# NMD as Fait Accompli

## India Must Fit into New Paradigm

By K SUBRAHMANYAM

11/12/2015

A lot of the debate on the US National Missile Defence (NMD) issue in India recalls to one's mind a popular story in Pakistan. A learned Maulana delivered a one-hour sermon during the Friday prayer to the effect that Pakistan signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) would amount to mortal sin. After the prayers, someone asked the clergyman which aspect of CTBT was sinful. The latter replied that he did not care for details, but he had no doubt that signing it was sinful.

President Ronald Reagan had called for 'Star Wars'. Twelve years and \$60 billion later, the project had to be closed down. No knowledgeable American analyst is prepared to back the story that the US needs NMD against the rogue states. President Bush's speech refers to the NMD in different modes: boost-phased, terminal interception and space-based.

Everyone remembers that defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld headed a commission which highlighted the potential threat to the US arising from the spread of long-range missile technology to states of concern. Not so well known is Mr Rumsfeld's second, strictly classified report on the linkage between space and US military security. Mr Rumsfeld's military doctrine is capability-based, not threat-based. In other words, the US is planning to expand its military capabilities into space irrespective of what other nations do. The NMD is about the conquest of a new medium — outer space and dominating it.

The US is in a position to spend more money on the effort but Russia, France, China and Japan are in no position to compete with it, individually or collectively. Dominance over space is expected to give the US dominance over earth. In the process of establishing dominance over space, the US may also develop capabilities to intercept missiles. The new American defence doctrine is technology-driven. US defence department officials make no secret that they expect the US state department and the national security council to reshape their policies to follow the contours of the defence doctrine already laid down.

President Bush's speech on May 1, 2001 proclaimed to the world that the Cold War was over and Russia was no longer an adversary. China is not in the same class of

military capability as the erstwhile Soviet Union. China's \$100-billion trade with the US rules out a Cold War between the two countries. The Cold War between the US and the USSR began with the US policy of containment, and Russia's 'iron curtain' response. The US is no longer interested in arms control agreements, a product of the Cold War. With the passage of time, the technology gap between the US and China would grow and not reduce. The NMD will ensure this.

With Russia, the US proposes to jointly run the space station. US policy-makers are confident that the Russians could be persuaded to sideline the ABM treaty so long as the US formally does not reject it. Hence the Bush argument of having to think beyond mutual assured destruction (MAD) and beyond Cold War logic. China has 25-30 missiles; the US has an arsenal of thousands of warheads and hun-

### IN BRIEF

- Dominance over space will give the US dominance over earth
- China can pose no threat to the US
- The new security paradigm poses a formidable challenge to India

dreds of missiles. There is no question of mutual assured destruction between the two nations. Any attempt by China to engage the US in an arms race would only slow down China's economic growth. The US has no grounds to fear a technological threat from China.

The threats that the US fears are indirect ones, such as nuclear and missile proliferation to areas of vital interest to the US and international terrorism. Therefore, most of the analyses reviving Cold War scenarios and talking about an arms race involving the US, China, Russia and India are unrealistic. As China becomes more prosperous, it will have less incentive to initiate and legitimise a nuclear strike. So long as the US can dominate China and the rest of the world through its overwhelming capabilities in space and high technology defence, the US can contain China politically even while engaging it economically.

The US missions sent out recently to Europe, Russia, Japan, South

Korea and India did not explain in any detail how the rogue states would develop nuclear and missile capability, nor did they outline the technologies of missile defence. They were attempting to develop a framework of a broad balance of power involving the US, the European Union, Russia, Japan, India and China with the US as the primary and active balancer. The US is also emphasising that it is shifting to the philosophy of defence dominance from MAD and attempting to invest this shift with moral overtones.

Whether this policy will enhance international stability and contribute to international peace or not will depend on whether there are likely to be credible challenges to growing US dominance from any other single nation or group of powers. The idea of an India-China-Russia combine does not appear to be realistic because of asymmetry of power among the nations, their geographical proximity, Chinese demographic pressure on Siberia and Central Asia and China's condescending attitude towards India and its relationship with Pakistan. Further, India has a 1.6-million-strong human bond with the US and the latter does not make any secret of its intention to import more Indian brains in order to ensure its technological lead over the rest of the world.

A US-dominated world may not be to the liking of non-Americans. However, in the next two or three decades, US dominance over the rest of the globe in technological, military, economic and political terms is inevitable. The only possibility of countervailing power and influence is for the other balancers to get together. Given China's political centralism one wonders whether that is likely.

The Cold War has ended and the world is entering a new security paradigm. Assessing it in terms of a continuation of Cold War bipolarity will be a grievous error. The Cold War with two superpowers was a unique period in history. A better analogy would be with Pax Britannica, when Britain was the sole superpower because of its dominance over the oceans. In these circumstances, coping with this new security paradigm, attempting rapid economic growth in a globalised world and sustaining optimum strategic autonomy presents a formidable challenge to the Indian security establishment.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

71 MAD 4-5

# Bush, Putin to hold first-ever summit at Slovenia in June



JS President George W Bush shakes hands with Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov during their Oval Office meeting at White House on Friday.

Washington, May 19

PRESIDENT BUSH and Russian President Vladimir Putin will hold their first-ever summit in Slovenia in June, the White House said on Friday.

The announcement of the meeting was issued near the close of a day of intense talks between Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov, Bush and other US officials focusing mainly on Washington's proposals to build an anti-missile shield.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the talks, aimed at ironing out blips in relations from the early weeks after Bush took office. And both pledged further consultations on the missile shield, viewed with suspicion in Moscow, though Secretary of State Colin Powell said there was a limit beyond which Washington would have to take action.

White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said Bush was looking forward to the summit so the two countries "can build a strong, positive relationship and work together toward common goals". Powell later told a news con-

ference the meet would take place on June 16 at the close of Bush's first European tour, which will take him to Spain, Belgium, Sweden and Poland.

Both sides had fudged complicated timetables in pressing for a quick meeting ahead of talks already planned on the sidelines of the G8 summit of industrialised countries in Genoa in July.

Ivanov told the news conference he believed the dialogue between the two presidents would be "lively, complete and directed at very specific issues". Powell predicted a "very frank and direct relationship".

Friday's talks were aimed at consolidating an improvement in ties jolted earlier this year by Bush's decision to proceed with his anti-missile defense project and a spy scandal in which each side expelled four of the other's diplomats. Both sides said they were committed to more consultation on the missile shield, which Bush says is needed to guard against missile launches by "rogue states" like Iraq or North Korea. But Powell said consultations could not be indefinite.

Consultations can't be a substitute for action. So we will take the time to get the views of all who have an interest in this matter and factor those views into our consideration," he said.

"At the time when we think there has been enough consultation and we've reached agreements with others, then we will act on those agreements or act on what we believe are our best interests at that time."

The two ministers said talks on the missile plan between US under Secretary of State John Bolton and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgy Mamedov continued into Friday evening. Bush sent emissaries to European and Asian capitals last week to try to marshal support for the scheme.

Russia and China oppose it on grounds that it would upset decades of arms control efforts based on the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, dismissed by Bush as outmoded. The plan is viewed skeptically by some US allies in Europe.

Putin and other officials have been moderate in their approach

to the US proposal but insist on upholding ABM. Ivanov said further consultations were needed to "determine what the challenges to stability are and how to resolve them".

He said following talks with Bush: "There can be no breakthrough on missile defenses. There can only be lengthy consultations. This is not a question to be resolved in a single day."

The two ministers said Russia was proposing the creation of two groups—one to examine current and potential threats to stability and the second to look at existing arms accords.

Ivanov said discussions had also focused on U.N. sanctions against Iraq. He made no comment on a US-British proposal to tighten controls on Baghdad acquiring arms while easing imports of consumer goods.

Ivanov said at the request of Powell he had agreed to raise with Russian authorities US concerns over John Tobin, a US student sentenced last month to 37 months in prison for possession of a small amount of marijuana.

Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

20 MAY 2001

# Powell urges world leaders to back West Asia ceasefire

Wash  
W. Asia  
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20/5

Washington, May 19

SECRETARY OF state Colin Powell demanded an unconditional cessation of violence in West Asia and urged all world leaders to support the US appeal.

Deploring the rising bloodshed between Israel and the Palestinians, Powell said on Friday that terrorist groups might be beyond control. But, "What we need now, more than anything else is a cessation of violence by all," he said.

Powell said leaders in the West Asia and elsewhere should speak out against violence more directly and "do everything they can to control passions" in the troubled region. He issued his call for peace during a news conference at the State department with Russia's visiting foreign minister, Igor Ivanov.

A devastating suicide bombing on Friday in Netanya, Israel, prompted Israel to send warplanes into action on the West Bank and Gaza. The day's events pushed the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians to new heights.

Hamas, a militant rebel group, claimed responsibility for the bombing in a Netanya market. Powell said Hamas might be beyond the immediate control of the Palestinian authority, whose security outposts were among reprisal targets of the Israelis.

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon telephoned Powell in mid afternoon and talked about the violence, a report by a fact-finding commission by former senate democratic leader George Mitchell that proposed a cease-fire and how to go about eventually returning to Israeli-Palestinian negotiations.

With evident distress, Powell said, "all of our lives have been made more difficult by this situation." Admitting he was at a loss for a guaranteed formula to stop the bloodletting, Powell said, "We continue to look for solutions" and expressed the wish for "a new kind of activity that could be helpful."

Continuing, in a tone of frustration, Powell said: "At the moment, we are trapped in this cycle of violence, and if there was any solution that I could



come up with, any conference or meeting that could be held right away that might move this in such a direction, I would leap at it." In its early weeks, the Bush administration stepped back from peacemaking. But as violence escalated and the killing continued, the administration has assumed a more activist stance to end the fighting. The idea is that once the violence recedes, the focus again can turn to bringing the two parties back to a negotiating table.

Powell said he had no plans to meet with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. A meeting had been under discussion.

In New York, the Palestinian mission to the United Nations said in a statement: "the present volatility of the situation in the occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, is caused partly by Israeli settlement activities aimed at colonizing the Palestinian land."

The Arab Governments want to see a path cleared toward renewed negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, Powell said, "And so do I."

Egypt and Jordan, the only Arab countries connected by peace treaty to Israel, have proposed a cease-fire, an initiative also endorsed by the bush administration. Like the Mitchell commission report, the Arab countries called for a halt to construction in Jewish settlements on the West bank and in Gaza.

Palestinian officials have endorsed the Mitchell report despite their disappointment at its failure to back their demand for an international observer force in Gaza and the West Bank. AP

INDUSTRIAL

20 MAY 2001

# Sign of farewell to sanctions

FROM K.P. NAYAR

Washington, May 18: The first categorical assertion that sanctions imposed on India and Pakistan for their 1998 nuclear tests may be on their way out was made on Capitol Hill yesterday when the Bush administration's nominee for dealing with South Asia said "they have outlived their usefulness" and have become "an obstacle to fully engaging both nations".

But the difficulties in simply repealing the sanctions were equally evident when she told a Senate committee that "we need to find a new framework and a new way to accomplish our nuclear concerns" in south Asia.

Christina B. Rocca, the nominee for assistant secretary of state for South Asia, was testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Sub-committee for Near East and South Asia.

Her confirmation, due in a week to a fortnight, is expected to be a formality since she is hugely popular with the committee with which she has worked closely for the last five-and-a-half years as a senior aide to its chairman Republican Senator Sam Brownback.

She conceded that the sanctions, automatically triggered under US law with the nuclear tests, had failed to achieve their objectives. At the same time, she argued that "our security concerns (in South Asia) remain real".

Rocca told the committee that the Bush administration was cur-

rently reviewing the US sanctions policy as a whole and also reviewing the policies on South Asia.

"If confirmed, I will add a strong voice to these policy reviews. There are a number of ways in which we can work with both countries. I think the first step has to be to lift the sanctions".

It is clear that once she is in office, Rocca will have to walk a tightrope in getting the sanctions repealed by carefully matching the non-proliferation concerns on Capitol Hill and in the state department with the need to realise the full potential of ties with South Asia, to which the sanctions are clearly an impediment.

As part of this matching process, she said the security and non-proliferation dialogue, started between India and the US on the one hand and between Islamabad and Washington on the other after the nuclear tests, have to go on.

The significance of her testimony, however, is that it is the first categorical assertion by anyone connected with the new Bush team that the sanctions have to go once and for all.

So far, Bush administration officials have only talked in general terms about a sanctions review, although Indian officials have liberally interpreted it as a policy to end sanctions.

When external affairs minister Jaswant Singh was here last month, secretary of state Colin Powell took the initiative to elicit Singh's views comprehensively on US sanctions against India.

THE HINDU

19/5

## U.S. names coordinator for Tibet

19/5  
PD-14

**WASHINGTON, MAY 18.** The United States has named Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs, Ms. Paula Dobriansky, as its special coordinator for Tibet, making her the highest-ranked official ever to hold the post.

The State Department made the nomination, a day after administration aides signalled that Ms. Dobriansky was in line for the job.

Ms. Dobriansky, who will hold the Tibet portfolio in addition to her existing responsibilities, will be the third U.S. coordinator for Tibet policy.

"Ms. Dobriansky will work to promote a substantive dialogue between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama and his representatives," said the State Department spokesman, Mr. Richard Boucher.

"She will maintain close ties with the Congress and with NGOs." Officials yesterday said despite the naming of a high-profile official to the post, the U.S. policy on Tibet had not changed.

"We clearly see Tibet as a part of China, but (the appointment) does show the emphasis that this administration is going to be putting on human rights especially in China," an official said on condition of anonymity.

Ms. Dobriansky's appointment was revealed as Tibet's spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, continued a tour of the United States, with meetings planned with members of the President, Mr. George W. Bush's administration next week.

### China opposes U.S. plan

PTI reports from Beijing: China today strongly opposed the U.S. plan to appoint a special coordinator for Tibet, asking Washington not to interfere in its internal affairs.

"We ask the U.S. side to observe the position that recognises Tibet as part of China and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of China," the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Sun Yuxi, told a press briefing. — AFP, PTI

THE FINNELL

23 MAY 2001

# Helms talks tough on rights panel seat

By Sridhar Krishnaswami  
WASHINGTON, MAY 13. If there was small hope in some quarters that the United States Senate will interject favourably on the part of the United Nations and help unfreeze some \$ 244 millions blocked by the House of Representatives, that is not going to be the case, it appears. In fact, things could get more difficult.

The powerful Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Jesse Helms, has argued that the amount withheld by the House is the "minimum" action that has been taken; and has rejected the Secretary of State's contention that the U.S. will be restored to the U.N. Human Rights Commission provided officials here keep cool in the interim period.

"I don't think we should keep cool about this thing. Here we are, the heaviest contributor to the United Nations by far, and to be kicked around like this... is an outrage in my opinion", Mr.

Helms said in an interview. The outspoken conservative Republican Senator from North Carolina -- who can make things very difficult for the administration in a number of ways including holding up nominations -- argued that he is convinced that many Americans want the U.S. to distance itself from the U.N.

Mr. Helms has threatened with more on the U.N. in the days to follow -- several days of hearings which has all the promise of intensity, given the feelings on the subject by Republicans, Democrats, and from the administration which has criticised the action of the House of Representatives. "We pay dearly for it... I want to find out what the United Nations is really doing over a broad strata of things, for or against the United States and other countries", Mr. Helms remarked.

The Conservative Senator, who was one of those who managed to work for a package for the pay-

ment of American arrears to the U.N., has minced no words in expressing his outrage over the U.S. losing the seat on the Human Rights Commission and countries like Sudan getting on board.

Mr. Helms is also miffed at the way in which Europe has gone about convinced that many in that part of the world worked to get the U.S. out of the commission.

Mr. Helms was quite blunt when asked if the American loss can be pinned on the Bush administration's stance on the Kyoto Accord on the Environment and on the decision to go ahead with the National Missile Defence system. "If the rest of the world is going to retaliate against us for taking the positions that ought to be taken in defence of this country, well, they can go fly a kite. I bet the American people protected and I don't care what they think overseas", Mr. Helms remarked.

A fierce critic of China and an

ardent supporter of Taiwan, Senator Helms has criticised the Bush administration's "docile" policy with respect to Beijing in the context of the American Navy plane still being detained in Hainan island. "We did a little firm stand when they shot down that plane... but we've got to straighten up and fly right about who's in charge of the United States foreign policy and I don't want it to be Beijing", Mr. Helms said.

A supporter of retaliatory measures against Beijing which includes withdrawing the most favoured nation trading status, blocking China's attempt to host the Olympics of 2008 and "various other measures that would not be all that pleasant", Mr. Helms took aim at the "One China" policy of the Bush administration. "I admire the President of the United States. I supported him and continue to support him. But it's not just One China as far as I am concerned. Shouldn't be", Mr. Helms said.



# US Senate votes to withhold UN dues

Washington, May 11

THE US Senate, encouraged by its Republican leaders, voted on Thursday to withhold some back dues from the UN until the USA is reinstated on the UN Commission on Human Rights.

The vote was 252-165 for a measure that would allow one payment of \$582 million in back dues but hold back \$244 million owed until the country is back on the human rights panel.

"I think there's an injustice there that ought to be addressed," House Speaker Dennis Hastert, said of the ouster of the United States from the panel. The commission still counts as members Sudan, China and Libya, governments that Hastert

called "some of the greatest perpetrators of human rights abuses in the world."

The House, debating the State Department Authorization Bill for 2002-2003, also voted to keep the USA out of the International Criminal Court.

Several members had sought to hold back the entire \$582 million from the world body because of the human-rights issue.

In response, the International Relations Committee chairman, Henry Hyde, and Tom Lantos of California, the panel's top Democrat, offered the compromise that would save the \$582 payment despite their own anger at the UN action.

The ouster from the commission was "a deliberate attempt to

punish the USA for its insistence that we tell the truth about human rights abuses wherever they occur including in those countries represented on the commission, such as China and Cuba," Hyde said, calling on his colleagues to send a return message. "To do anything less would be a repudiation of our own values and principles."

In a sign that the House was not completely opposed to all things UN, it voted 225-193 to support a return to Unesco and pay it \$65 million. The USA left Unesco in 1984, angered by management problems and what was perceived to be an anti-US bent.

Several Democrats spoke in favor of Bush's opposition to putting conditions on the \$244

million final payment to the UN.

Representative Carolyn Maloney, D-NY, said the UN has "held up their end of the bargain" reached in 1999 under which the USA would pay its arrearsages and the United Nations would reduce the US proportion of dues and peace-keeping expenses.

"Because the UN has voted the US off the Human Rights Commission, we are deciding that we can break our agreement, that we can break our contract," Maloney said. "This is wrong, and I think we would be ashamed if our children acted in this manner."

UN spokesman Fred Eckhardt said the money has been pledged to countries with troops serving in UN peace-keeping missions.

"All \$582 million are going

directly to troop contributors, to peace-keeping, so we have a lot of eager candidates awaiting that money and I think it would be a very negative reaction if it didn't arrive," Eckhardt said.

The House also voted 282-137 for an amendment by Majority Whip Tom DeLay, R-Texas, to keep the USA out of the International Criminal Court. He contended the court could be used to try US servicemen and women carrying out peace-keeping and other duties overseas without providing them due process protections they are entitled to at home.

Lantos countered that there was "no chance of US military personnel being charged" by the court because it was designed to

deal with international criminals. He said voting against the court "would mean our acceptance of the impunity of the world's worst atrocities."

**Annan satisfied:** UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan has expressed satisfaction that Washington has agreed to pay most of the arrears owed to the world body and hoped US would establish "normal" relations with the organisation. "I am really grateful that President Bush and the administration did not endorse this withholding of the funds and believe that the funds should be paid and that the US should establish normal relations with the UN", Annan said yesterday.

AP/PTI

# US calls Pak a rogue state

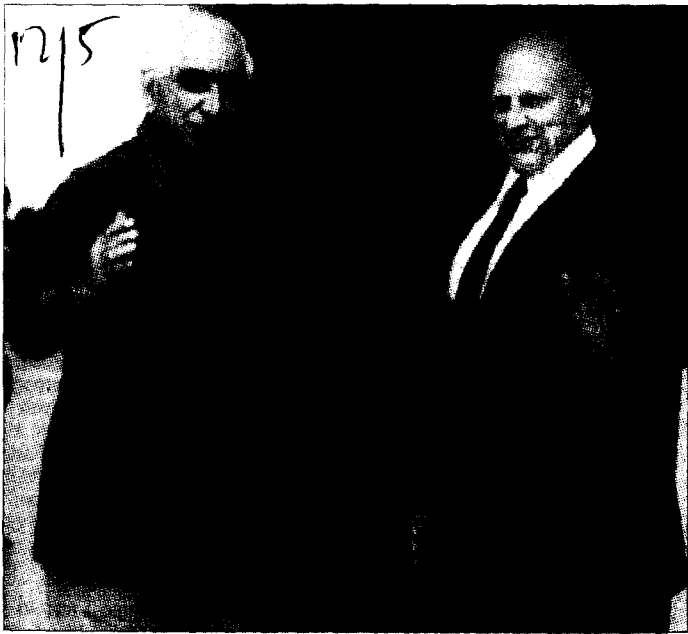
■ On Pokharan third anniversary, Armitage indicates sanctions may be off

SONIA TRIKHA  
NEW DELHI, MAY 11

THE United States today grouped Pakistan along with "rogue" States like Iran, Iraq, Libya and North Korea while discussing the aim of America's proposed missile defence programme, indicating at the same time that the US may be ready to lift post-Pokharan sanctions.

The visiting Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, described his visit to discuss America's new strategic framework as "the beginning of a new relationship between the US and India", but denied the missile defence programme was targeted at restraining China and said it is to counter a "handful of rogue nations and a handful of missiles".

On being asked to spell out the rogue nations, he named Iran, Iraq, Libya and some in India's neighbourhood and North Korea. Elaborating on the country in India's neighbourhood he said, "We have questions about Pakistan. It is well known and you and your colleagues in India will know even better. These we refer to as hard cases."



Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh and US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage gesture to mediapersons at Hyderabad House in New Delhi on Friday —PTI

Armitage was speaking immediately after his meeting with Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee.

The US Deputy Secretary of State who arrived in New Delhi as a special emissary of President George W. Bush — coincidentally

speaking on the third anniversary of India's nuclear tests — indicated that post-Pokharan sanctions could well be on their way out. He stressed the significance of wide-ranging discussions between External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh and Bush and US

Secretary of State Colin Powell. Armitage said it was also significant that he had been sent to India so "quickly" after that "to consult with our friends in India and the upcoming visit of Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff Henry Shelton also shows we are on the verge of moving forward in our relationship".

He added that US must "discuss this matter with our Congress but it is quite clear the direction we are heading".

Armitage, who was clearly launching a charm offensive on the last leg of his mission that took him to Tokyo and Seoul, allayed fears that the missile defence programme will launch another arms race and that India stands the chance of being used to contain China.

Armitage was vehement in his response that the programme is not targeted against China. He said "I am baffled by comments about a new arms race. The US is suggesting that it would unilaterally reduce its nuclear arsenal" to below the Start II treaty levels. The early 90s Start II treaty between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush talks about levels of 2000 missiles.

INDIAN EXPRESS

12 MAY 2001

# 'Missile plan targets rogue states'

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 11. - The USA today said North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Libya and some neighbours of India were "rogue" states. It said its proposed missile defence programme intends to counter possible missile threats from these "handful" states.

The US deputy secretary of state, Mr Richard Armitage, stopped short of grouping Pakistan with these states. He said: "We have questions about Pakistan. We refer to these cases as hard cases."

Mr Armitage met Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee today for half-an-hour and later addressed the media. When asked about "rogue" states, he said, "Iraq, Iran, Libya are involved in proliferation. North Korea has also announced it would continue to export missile technology."

Mr George W Bush has said Washington would continue efforts to persuade Pakistan to create conducive conditions for resumption of Indo-Pak talks.

In a letter to Mr Vajpayee, Mr Bush welcomed his peace initia-

## BUSH TO VISIT INDIA

NEW DELHI, May 11. - Mr George Bush has accepted Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's invitation to visit India, the US deputy secretary of state said today. Mr Richard Armitage said he had delivered Mr Bush's letter to Mr Vajpayee "in which the US President has accepted his invitation to visit India." Will Mr Bush visit India this year? Mr Armitage said the dates would be worked out through diplomatic channels. - SNS



Mr Richard Armitage addresses the media in New Delhi - AP/PTI

tive in J&K. Mr Bush said he was looking forward to his visit to India. He said he intended to work closely with Mr Vajpayee to promote common interests in Asia and the world.

Mr Armitage said Mr Bush's thinking has four elements - non-proliferation, counter-proliferation, limited missile defence and US willingness to reduce its strategic nuclear arsenal "unilaterally, if necessary, beyond the levels envisaged in START II."

Asked if India could be pitted

against China under the new strategic programme, Mr Armitage said he was "baffled by such comments about a new arms race. The USA will unilaterally reduce its nuclear arsenal and the missile plan would be directed only against some rogue states", he said.

On India's status in the missile defence paradigm, Mr Armitage said the plan "will render unnecessary some states producing their own missiles in response to threats from neighbours." He hoped India would

see all facets of the missile plan, aimed at reducing nuclear arsenal levels globally.

Mr Armitage said: "We want India to understand our line of thought and we will allow them to present their views on this".

**PM on US nuclear cuts:** Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee today welcomed Mr Bush's NMD policy. He was speaking at a function organised by the DRDO.

Mr Vajpayee said India did not subscribe to concepts of military dominance or doctrines of mutually assured destruction. He said he favoured cuts in nuclear arsenal and the move away from the development of offensive nuclear technologies.

He hailed Mr Bush's offer to consult his allies and Russia on this and said such consultations would promote a stable global security framework.

**Aid for India:** The US budget for foreign operations in the fiscal year 2002 has earmarked \$7 million aid for India to promote judicial reforms and address the problem of trafficking and forced labour of women and children, adds PTI from Washington.

THE STATE

12 MAY 2001

## NORTH KOREA

# Armitage tells Kim US will talk to North

By DON KIRK  
*International Herald Tribune*

Seoul, May 10: A senior US envoy on Wednesday offered President Kim Dae Jung the firmest assurance he has received so far that the United States would resume its dialogue with North Korea.

Richard Armitage, deputy secretary of state, said he expected talks between the United States and North Korea "in the near future" after completion of a review of policy vis-a-vis the North "in a few weeks."

Underlining the point, according to Park Joon Young, Mr. Kim's spokesman, President George W. Bush said in a letter carried by Mr Armitage that the United States would "strongly support the South's engagement policy on the North" — known as Mr Kim's "Sunshine Policy."

Mr Armitage's remarks, after a 70-minute meeting with Mr Kim, appeared to answer Mr Kim's repeated calls for the renewal of US-North Korean talks as needed to revive the stalled dialogue between South and North Korea. Mr Armitage was in Seoul to elab-

orate on Mr Bush's proposal for national missile defence, but from the viewpoint of the Korean government, his reassurances on talks with the North were the biggest dividend of the trip.

The United States expectation of renewed dialogue with the North Korea came two months after Mr George W. Bush cited problems of verification of any agreement with the North Korea on stopping the production, testing or export of missiles. Mr Bush ruled out any possibility of resuming the negotiations that were begun during the Clinton administration pending the policy review.

Mr Bush's comments at the time were widely interpreted as indicating a shift in US policy toward a conservative or hardline stance on North Korea, especially since Mr Bush said he had "some scepticism" about the good faith of the North Korean leader, Kim Jong Il.

Kim Jong Il, in a five-hour meeting last week with a European Union delegation led by Goran Persson, the Swedish Prime Minister, said he would await the results of the US policy review before visiting Seoul for a long-awaited second summit meeting.

## SOUTH KOREA

# US envoy presses case for global missile shield

By BILL TARRANT

Seoul, May 10: US deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage was meeting South Korean security officials on Thursday as Washington pressed its case for a global missile shield that has aroused scepticism and protests.

Protesters threw eggs at Mr Armitage as he was driven from his hotel to meet South Korean defence minister Kim Dong-Shin. At least six activists were arrested after pelting Mr Armitage's car with eggs as he was driving out of the Grand Hyatt hotel after breakfast in the hotel's coffee shop, witnesses said. "We're not happy with his coming to Korea," said the Rev. Mun Jeong-Hyun, a leader of a group that objects to US plans for a global missile defence system. "He's trying to force Korea to accept the missile defence." Witnesses said protesters tussled with riot police as Mr Armitage later entered the gates of the defence ministry. Mr Armitage was also scheduled to meet South Korean unification minister Lim Dong-won at 11 am. (Reuters)

THE ASIAN AGE

31 MAY 2001

# Armitage among the first to accept emerging security paradigm

11-7  
10/5

By Chidanand Rajghatta  
The Times of India News Service

WASHINGTON: The Bush administration's decision to send deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage to New Delhi to brief Indian leaders on the nuclear missile defence (NMD) issue indicates a shift in American policy, which now recognises India as a rising power.

Although it may have been the Clinton administration that laid the blueprint of this strategic engagement, Mr Armitage was among the very first Republicans who recognised the newly emerging security paradigm in Asia. "We have to get the big ones right. We must get correct our relations with Japan, China, Europe, India and the southern hemisphere," he said, even as the new administration got the first whiff of office. Another time, he identified the key elements of Republican foreign policy as being the management of the rise of two great powers—China and India—and the further management, at least temporarily, of the decline of another great power, the Russian Federation.

As an out and out Asia expert, Mr Armitage is uniquely positioned to make such a call. After

graduating from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1967, he completed three combat tours in Vietnam. He left active duty in 1973 and joined the U.S. defence attache office, Saigon, and soon after the Americans were evicted from there did a stint in another hotspot, Teheran. He returned to Washington to become an aide to senator Bob Dole before joining Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign in 1980.

He later landed the job of the assistant defence secretary for East Asia and Pacific Affairs (under then defence secretary Dick Cheney), where he played major roles in policy-making in the Persian Gulf, the ouster of Philippines president Ferdinand Marcos and in overseeing foreign military aid programmes.

As assistant secretary of defence for international security affairs between June 1983 and May 1989, he helped develop politico-military relationships and initiatives throughout the world, spearheading U.S. Pacific security policy, including the U.S.-Japan and U.S.-China security relationships. He also managed all DoD security assistance programmes, and provided an oversight of policies relating to the law of the sea, counter-terrorism and

U.S. special operations, including, some critics contend, several dirty tricks exploits.

A consummate Washington insider, Mr Armitage stayed in the think-tank loop through eight years of Democratic rule and returned as a defence adviser to Mr George Bush during the Republican campaign. Although expected to land a job in the DoD, he was picked as a deputy to Colin Powell, with whom he is said to share a warm relationship going all the way back to the early 1980s.

Gen Powell has described Mr Armitage as akin to "my brother and bodyguard". Mr Armitage has called Gen Powell "a man of integrity, a man of discipline, a man of courage and a man of vision" and a "can-do person". According to State Department insiders, Gen Powell recently issued a memo empowering Mr Armitage to discharge almost all his functions.

Strobe Talbott was a long distance runner. Richard Armitage is a powerlifter. Although he has never dealt directly with India, Mr Armitage's career shows some hefty policy-making that should interest his Indian interlocutors and lead to discussions on more than just NMD.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

# Snubbed, US may stop UN payments

REUTERS  
WASHINGTON, MAY 9

96-9  
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10/5

**T**HE leaders of a key House panel on Tuesday proposed freezing the final payment on US arrears to the United Nations until the United States regained its seat on the UN Human Rights Commission.

Under a bipartisan amendment to be offered later this week to a broader State Department Bill, the third and final US payment of \$244 million in arrears to the United Nations would be conditioned on the United States' return to the Geneva-based Commission.

But the measure — by Representatives Henry Hyde of Illinois and Tom Lantos of California, the top Republican and Democrat on the House International Relations Committee — protects the second US payment of \$582 million in UN arrears and allows it to stay on track.

## Afghan offices shut

■ **UNITED NATIONS:** THE United Nations this month intends to close a network of political offices in Afghanistan as demanded by the ruling Taliban but leave open its bureau in the capital Kabul, a UN spokesman said on Tuesday. The closure of four offices in Herat, Jalalabad, Kandahar and Mazar-i-Sharif is to take place by May 20 in retaliation for the shutdown of the Taliban's New York office by the United States in line with the UN sanctions against the group.

That payment has been approved by the Senate but is under threat in the House of Representatives, which will take it up on Thursday in an atmosphere of outrage over last week's vote to remove the United States from the 53-member UN Human Rights Commission.

"I believe Chairman Hyde and I have devised a formula to enable the United Nations to set things straight and return the United States to the UNHRC while ensuring that the bulk of our UN arrears payments go forward," Lantos said. Lantos said the exclusion of the United States from the Commission was "outrageous" but "we should not compound the damage by withholding the bulk of our arrears payments to the United Nations."

Hyde said many of the world's most prominent human rights violators were now members of the Commission. "In a clear voice, we must express our disapproval of this outrage and work diligently to restore some credibility to this Commission," he said.

The second \$582 million arrears payment is included in a Bill that authorizes fiscal 2002 and 2003 spending for the State Department and related agencies. The Bill is expected to be taken up

by the House on Thursday.

That measure will also spark a battle over language approved by the International Relations Committee last week that reverses President George W. Bush's ban on providing US funds to family planning groups that perform or advocate abortions overseas.

Hyde plans an amendment striking out that language.

Last week's vote to oust the United States from the human rights panel and give the three seats up for grabs by Western nations to France, Austria and Sweden provoked anger on both sides of the aisle in Congress.

House Republican Leader Richard Armey of Texas said the inclusion on the Commission of Sudan, which has been condemned for executions, bombings, the use of child soldiers and slavery, and the snub to the United States were "more of an affront to the whole notion of human rights than it is to this country."

INDIAN EXPRESS

10 MAY 2001

# Surveillance flights in line with policy: U.S.

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, MAY 8. Without much fanfare, the United States has started its surveillance flights off the coast of China; and the Bush administration has not yet formally responded to Beijing's resumed demand that such flights should not take place. China has long said that surveillance flights near its coast are to be stopped but the U.S. has been equally firm, saying such flights are in international airspace.

Neither the White House nor the Pentagon is saying much on the nature of the resumed surveillance missions excepting that the

resumption was in line with American policy. On Monday, an Air Force RC-135 made a solo flight off northeastern China, the first such after the collision of the EP-3E with a Chinese fighter on April 1.

"Right from the beginning, it has always been the position of the United States that it is our prerogative and right to fly over international airspace to preserve the peace by flying reconnaissance missions, but I am not going to entertain any questions about any specific missions", the White House spokesman, Mr. Ari Fleischer, said.

The resumed surveillance flight, which took off from the Kadena Air Force base in Japan, is said to have followed a less contentious route, and met with no resistance from Chinese Air Force either by way of tracking or any attempts at interceptions. The Pentagon officials are also making the point that the RC-135 was unescorted.

It has to be recalled that in the aftermath of the April 1 collision over the South China Sea, there were reports that the Defence Department was thinking of sending armed escorts to its surveillance flights. But there are reports that the Pentagon is considering send-

ing escorts when flying closer to the South where there has been a pattern of Chinese pilots getting too close to American aircraft.

Meanwhile, the President, Mr. George W. Bush, is expected to make a decision this week on how to go about getting the EP-3E plane back. The real issue is one of how hard to lean on Beijing so that the surveillance aircraft gets back to the U.S. The technicians who inspected the aircraft in the Hainan Island have said that after repairs the plane could be flown out. But Beijing has said that it will not allow the EP-3E to fly out of the Hainan Island.

THE HINDU



# India scores as US stumbles in race for UN panel posts



An American (right) trains a soldier of the anti-narcotics battalion in Colombia. (AFP)

FROM K.P. NAYAR

New York, May 8: For the second time in a week, the Bush administration suffered a humiliating rebuff from the world community when it was voted out of the UN's International Narcotics Control Board, the 13-member body which monitors illegal trafficking and compliance with UN drug conventions.

Last week, the US was voted out of the UN Human Rights Commission in which it has been a member — along with India — since the panel's creation in 1947. India was elected to both these bodies for another term.

Stung by the twin defeats, the first major test of the Bush administration's popularity in the international community, American lawmakers are now

demanding that the Congress should withhold payments to the UN amounting to \$650 million.

In addition, there are demands that US aid should be stopped to countries which voted against Washington.

Representative Benjamin Gilman, a New York Republican and a former chairman of the House International Relations Committee, said "someone approached me last night on the floor (of the House of Representatives) about withholding aid from countries that voted against us".

Dick Arney, Bush's fellow Republican from Texas and majority leader in the House of Representatives, described America's ouster from the twin panels as "ludicrous".

"What they have done is thrown out the world's oldest democracy and put a country with the world's worst human rights record, Sudan, in its place," he said with reference to the vote for the UN Human Rights Commission.

The House of Representatives is to vote this week on an authorisation Bill for the state department, which contains provisions for paying America's UN dues of \$582 million, including \$67 million for rejoining Unesco.

Dana Rohrabacher, a Republican member of the House of Representatives from California, said Congressmen were "seriously considering amendments to reflect our dramatic loss of faith in the UN structure". He said "withholding funds

is the best way to reflect such loss of faith".

America's defeat in the two elections, in which some of its European allies colluded with Washington's enemies, is the result of international resentment against the Bush administration's policies.

Several of America's allies are unhappy with the Republican administration's decision to dump the Kyoto protocol on environment, jeopardise the anti-ballistic missile (ABM) treaty and go ahead with National Missile Defence (NMD), all of which have caused ripples in New Delhi as well.

The decision by President George W. Bush not to ratify a treaty creating an international criminal court has also bred re-

sentment against Washington among US allies.

UN secretary-general Kofi Annan said yesterday that "(UN) member states, particularly those who have been very strongly supportive of the international criminal court have been disappointed by the US not coming on board".

Elections for both these organisations took place in the UN's Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc), the 54-member umbrella group which is responsible for the world body's economic and social activities.

The *Washington Post* reported today that stung by the setbacks, secretary of state Colin Powell had lost his cool and heads are expected to roll in the state department soon.

THE TELEGRAPH

9 MAY 2001

# Bush aide attacks Blair on missile shield

**LONDON, MAY 6.** The British Prime Minister, Mr. Tony Blair, is "wishy-washy and ambivalent" over American plans for a nuclear missile shield, a senior adviser to the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, has said.

Mr. Richard Perle, a consultant to Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, the U.S. Defence Secretary, said Mr Blair was "dodging the issue" by refusing unambiguously to back the project.

His comments came after a week in which the British Government at first signalled its support for the American plans — and then withdrew in the face of a Labour backbench rebellion.

Mr. Perle's intervention could embarrass the Prime Minister in the run-up to the general election because critics will claim that it demonstrates Mr Blair's indecisiveness and lack of commitment to Britain's special relationship with America.

Mr. Perle's comments represent the first sign of irritation and impatience in the Bush administration at the Blair Government's stance over the missile shield. Mr Blair hoped he had given enough reassurances of broad support — without committing himself — when he met Mr. Bush at Camp David earlier this year.

Last week, Mr. Blair side-stepped the "Son of Star Wars" issue in the House of Commons by saying that the Government could not take a "firm decision" until the U.S. produced detailed plans, such as whether the missile shield would be based at sea or on land.

Labour backbenchers are concerned that if it is a land-based system it is likely that two American bases in Britain would be used — RAF Fylingdales in North Yorkshire and RAF Menwith Hill, near Harrogate — and that Britain would become a major target.

Mr Perle, who was Assistant Defence Secretary in the Reagan administration, said of Mr Blair: "Basically, I think he's dodging the issue. You don't have to have the details before you form a judgment on them. The fact is, we may not need to use British bases. It will ultimately depend on what technology we use."

Asked how the British Government's stance was perceived by the Bush administration, he said: "They see it as wishy-washy and ambivalent."

Mr. Iain Duncan Smith, the Conservatives' defence spokesman, said: "This issue is about leadership and Tony Blair has shirked responsibility on this. He always said he would take tough decisions, but he is carping on the sidelines. He has been told there will be a threat from rogue states in six or seven years' time and he should lead the Europeans on this."

The vacillation within Government circles was evident when within half an hour of Mr Blair saying the missile shield was a "sensitive issue", his official spokesman, Mr. Alastair Campbell, unexpectedly signalled support for the project.

The following day, Mr. Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, adopted a more cautious position amid hostile questioning from Labour MPs in the Commons, saying the Government should wait to see the details.

There was further confusion when Mr. Jonathan Powell, Mr Blair's Chief of Staff, signalled in an interview with *The Daily Telegraph* that he was a strong supporter of the ballistic missile defence system. "The more you can do with the Americans, the stronger you are with the Europeans," he said.— © *Telegraph Group Limited, London, 2001*

THE HINDU

1 MAY 2001

# USA urged to use financial power to push freedom of worship abroad

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

5-1-8

The companies should also disclose the extent to which they or their affiliates support the discriminatory religious practices of the local authorities, the panel urged.

On the issue of economic sanctions, the report recommended that the US government examine how the structuring of securities transactions or the manipulation of corporate relationships by non-American issuers can be used to circumvent US economic sanctions.

The report also observed that there are significant religious-freedom violations in some countries that receive US foreign aid.

The panel recommended that no such aid be given to any governmental or private body that, at any time during the last 24 months, has committed or abetted acts of violence or discrimination against individuals on account of religion.

USCIRF made clear its displeasure at the lack of action taken in the preceding year by then Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright against countries notorious for religious freedom violations.

USCIRF is headed by Elliott Abrams who is also president of the Ethics and Public Policy Centre and vice chairman is

## INDIRECT ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

Firuz Kazemzadeh, special adviser to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of the United States. Other USCIRF members include Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Religious Action Centre of Reform Judaism; and Nina Shea, director of the Centre for Religious Freedom at Freedom House.

Mr Abrams, at a press conference here on 30 April noted that the countries in the report do not constitute the entire list of serious violators of religious freedom, nor are all of them equally bad.

The nature of problems also differs widely. In Indonesia and Nigeria, he observed, the problem of violations of religious freedom lies with local and state officials and private citizens, rather than with the central government.

With regard to India, the commission noted a "disturbing increase in the past several years in severe violence against religious minorities in that country." This violence has coincided with the increase in political influence of a collection of Hindu nationalist groups, of which the

ruling Bharatiya Janata Party is a part.

The report admitted that India "generally respects religious freedom," but added "there is concern that the government is not doing all that it could to pursue the perpetrators of the attacks and to counteract the prevailing climate of hostility."

In China, the commission noted, the government in the past year "has expanded its crackdown on unregistered religious communities and tightened its control on official religious organisations."

Authorities have intensified their crackdown against Falun Gong followers, and confiscated and destroyed up to 3,000 unregistered religious buildings and sites in southeastern China. Government controls over the official Protestant and Roman Catholic churches also have increased, and officials continue to interfere in the training and selection of religious leaders and clergy.

As for Indonesia the U.S. panel reported a rise in the number of disputes in which religion or religious freedom is a factor.

The situation is particularly grave in the Moluccas, where 5,000 to 8,000 people have died since the outbreak of Muslim-Christian fighting in January 1999.

Moreover, "there are numerous reports that elements from the Indonesian military and local police forces have done little to stop the fighting," the commission noted. "Rather, it is alleged that they have contributed to - and perhaps even initiated - it."

In Iran, the panel said, "the conditions of religious freedom are very poor," particularly with respect to minority religious groups that are not officially recognised by the state and those perceived to be trying to convert Muslims. Members of the officially recognised non-Muslim minorities - Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians - are subject to legal and other forms of official discrimination, the report noted.

Muslims also suffer, the report noted, including some Shiite religious leaders who have opposed the government and have consequently been targets of state repression.

In Russia, the USCIRF judged that the future of religious freedom "remains uncertain at a critical moment in that

nation's history." About 1,500 religious groups face "liquidation" after the government refused to extend a deadline for their registration.

Moreover, the government of President Vladimir Putin "has yet to establish an effective way to ensure that local and regional laws, policies and practices do not abridge religious freedom," the report said.

Regarding Africa, the commission singled out Nigeria and Sudan for scrutiny. The report observed that "the threats to religious freedom, including reports of religious discrimination, are serious and ongoing." Recent events suggest the situation will worsen.

Outbreaks of Muslim-Christian violence "threaten to divide further the populace along religious lines and undermine the foundations of religious freedom in Nigeria," the report warned. In Sudan, meanwhile, the situation has deteriorated further, the USCIRF said.

Its report lamented that "the issue of Sudan for the most part remained on the back burner of U.S. policy." The commission urged the Bush administration to mount a "sustained campaign" of protest against the abuses committed by the Khartoum government.

THE STATESMAN

7 2001 20

## US slams China and Sudan for religious bigotry

Washington, May 5

A DAY after it was voted off the UN Commission on Human Rights, the US has lashed out against China and Sudan for stifling independent religious expression and human rights.

"We view with special concern the intensifying attacks on religious freedom in China. The Chinese Government continues to display an unreasonable and unworthy suspicion of freedom of conscience," President George W Bush said yesterday.

"We hear alarming reports of detention of worshippers and religious leaders. Churches and mosques have been vandalised and demolished. These acts are of fear and therefore of weakness," he told the American Jewish Committee.

Denouncing the "religious bigotry" in Sudan, which was elected to the commission on Thursday, he said it was a "disaster area" of human rights. "The right of conscience has been singled out for special abuse by the authorities. Unicef estimates that some 12,000 to 15,000 people are still in bondage. We must turn the eyes of the world upon the atrocities in Sudan."

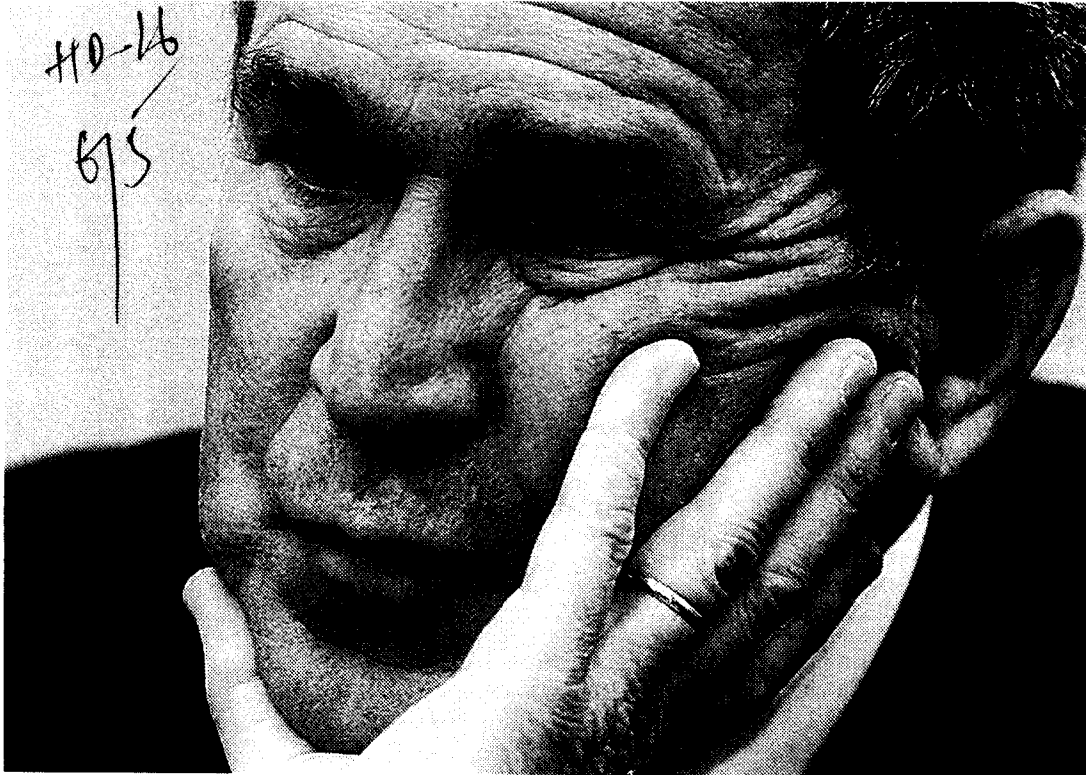
Bush said his administration would continue to "speak and act as long as the persecution and atrocities in Sudan last".

He said disrespect for freedom by regimes like Iraq and Taliban is a grave cause of concern.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

6 MAY 2001

# The eagle eyes the field



The U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush... pondering the probabilities.

**T**HE REPUBLICAN administration is certainly not naive in coming to terms with the workings of international policy. For instance, the Bush foreign policy team certainly cannot be under the impression that it can go about setting the terms of engagement of the post-Cold War era and expect the other major players, the Russians and the Chinese, to watch quietly from the sidelines.

Washington may not be responding to every move of Moscow and Beijing — individually or jointly — but it is surely watching the trends in the ties between these two nations. The proposed Treaty of Friendship which is to be formally inked in the next few months is a case in point.

For the record, the response has been only along expected lines — that the nations of the world are free to go about pursuing positive relations and the Bush administration will be keenly pursuing U.S. objectives and interests, for peace, prosperity and the promotion of American values abroad.

Having set the terms for dealing with them in the fashion it has, Washington is watching with more than ordinary interest the moves of Moscow and Beijing. And, in the last three months, it has become rather obvious that the Bush administration will have to factor in how these two nations are going to respond, in cases involving them directly and also the regimes Washington may see as politically

troublesome or uncomfortable.

The Republican administration is seeking to draw up an agenda that might even “tolerate” the Russians; but is bent on going out of its way to make China uncomfortable. But the issue that many in the right wing have not answered is if Washington is prepared for the consequences — economic, political and strategic.

In the last few months, the U.S. has not only seen relations between Russia and China being fine-tuned on the political front, but on the military and the strategic as well. The Bush administration has expressed concern — privately at least — over the sophisticated air and sea supplies cooperation that is coming about, as also the intelligence reports of Russian troops participating in mock exercises over a crisis in the Straits of Taiwan.

That is on the bilateral front concerning Russia and China. And China on its own has told the Bush administration in very plain terms that there will be a price to pay for not only the National Missile Defence System but also for the latest

arms package to Taiwan. Even if the Chinese do not admit it in any blunt way, the “price” is in its dealings with such regimes as North Korea, Iran and Pakistan on the nuclear and missile fronts.

The Bush administration’s response to the Sino-Russia Treaty of Friendship will also come by way of trying to woo the Russians. The Russian leader, Mr. Vladimir Putin, has clearly proved himself to be quite adept in the realm of international politics and diplomacy and has given the impression that Moscow cannot be pushed around, especially by waving the economic card, bilaterally and through the International Monetary Fund.

The U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, had some very nice words for Russia in his speech at the National Defence Academy saying that he was willing to work with Mr. Putin to move away from the climate of distrust of the Cold war era. In hanging tough on the anachronism of the 1972 Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty, Mr. Bush pointedly stressed that he was quite willing to work with the Russians on an alternative.

The point to keep in mind is that in spite of all the rhetoric that may come about from Washington, Moscow and Beijing, the bottom line is that the three countries will be keen on playing a grand game, each under the impression that it is coming away as the winner even as it looks for new allies to make the others uncomfortable.

*Washington is watching with more than ordinary interest the moves of Moscow and Beijing, says Sridhar Krishnaswami*

# George Bush force, accelerated

WASHINGTON:



George Bush

President George W. Bush intends to make deep reductions in U.S. nuclear weapons, perhaps without negotiating reciprocal cuts by Russia, officials say. The administration sees these reductions as one element of a new national security strategy that includes a global missile defense.

Mr Bush was spelling out his vision for security in a speech on Tuesday at the National Defense University—the same venue that then-president Bill Clinton used exactly eight months ago to announce that he believed the technologies needed for a shield against ballistic missiles were not mature enough to commit to building one.

The President was presenting a “general framework” for a comprehensive security strategy, rather than specific details, a senior ad-

ministration official said on Monday, speaking on condition of anonymity. Mr Bush will shift emphasis toward a defensive nuclear strategy—not just missile defenses but also coordinated efforts to stop the global spread of nuclear weapons technologies—and away from the traditional U.S. strategy of deterring aggression by maintaining a large offensive nuclear capability.

The U.S. has about 7,200 nuclear weapons and is committed under the START II treaty to reducing that stockpile to 3,500.

Mr Bush often has said he would like to reduce the nuclear arsenal to the lowest level possible while still maintaining enough weaponry to deter an aggressor, but he has not said exactly how low he would go.

The President in his speech on Tuesday was not committing the U.S. to specific nuclear cuts, the senior administration official said. “We’re not ready to get into numbers,” the official said.

The officials also said Mr Bush was not announcing a U.S. withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, although the administration has made it clear for months that it considers the 1972 treaty outmoded and an illegitimate stumbling block to developing effective missile defenses at the earliest possible date.

He will also urge key allies and Russia to forgo Cold War thinking and embrace a U.S. missile shield as the best defense against attacks by “rogue states,” officials said.

The President “really is making an argument about a new environment about the need for a new foundation for peace and stability ... That’s it’s time to think conceptually different,” said the official.

The President will tout “a new way of thinking reflecting the fact that Cold War is over, and that the threat to peace comes mostly from rogue-nation missile launches or accidental missile launches,” said spokesman Ariel Fleischer. (Agencies)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

# US loses seat on UN human rights body

REUTERS

UNITED NATIONS, MAY 4

**I**N a stunning upset, the United States lost its seat on the top United Nations human rights body it helped found in 1948, a move that reflected frustration at US positions from its allies and foes alike.

The defeat on Thursday came during voting for three seats allocated to Western nations on the UN Human Rights Commission. France got 52 votes, Austria 41 votes, Sweden 32 votes and the United States 29 votes.

Speculation on why it happened ranged from poor lobbying and the absence of a US ambassador to American condemnation of rights abuses in China, Russia, Cuba, Sudan and elsewhere.

Others blamed the action on the huge debt Washington has yet to pay the United Nations and the Bush administration's position on environment, defence and attitude towards international organizations.

The secret balloting took place in the UN Economic and Social Council in New York, the parent body of the 53-nation Geneva-based human rights commission, which assigns investigators to probe abuses around the world.

The United States as well as Russia and India had served on the Commission since its inception. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of President Franklin D Roosevelt, was the Commission's first chair and the main author of its 1948 landmark Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"Understandably, we are very disap-

pointed," James Cunningham, the chief US representative, told mediapersons, declining to speculate on the reason for the defeat.

"We very much wanted to serve on the committee," he said.

In Washington, a State Department official, who would not be named, said "there is no question that financial questions formed an important background to this vote."

She was referring to the long dispute between Washington and the United Nations over US arrears and the level of the US contribution.

The dispute has been settled in principle but Congress still has not paid its \$1.7 billion debt.

However, Joanna Weschler, the UN representative for Human Rights Watch, said the United States had voted "on the wrong

side of several human rights issues in the last few years," and lost votes among its some of its allies.

Among them were the treaty to abolish landmines, opposition to the treaty creating an international criminal court and rejection of a resolution calling for AIDS drugs to be made available to everyone, she said.

"It's not surprising that the United States was voted off. But to punish the United States and reward Sudan, which was elected, is clearly absurd," Weschler said.

She called several of the countries elected to the Commission this year and last, such as Uganda, Togo, Syria, Algeria, Libya and Saudi Arabia a "rogues' gallery of human rights abusers," saying that nations with a poor rights record should not sit in judgment of other abusive countries.

EXPRESS

# USA reverses suspension of military ties with China

THE CHINA DAILY  
ASIA NEWS NETWORK

BEIJING, May 3. - An embarrassed US defence department yesterday reversed an order issued by defence secretary, Mr Donald Rumsfeld's office which had mistakenly suspended American military ties with China.

A Pentagon spokesman said the order, signed two days ago by a Rumsfeld deputy and announced late on Wednesday, had "misinterpreted" Mr Rumsfeld's intention to subject modest bilateral ties such as ship visits and military personnel exchanges with Beijing to a case-by-case review.

The mistake was admitted as chill relations continued between the two countries over the mid-air collision between a US navy EP-3E spy plane with a chasing Chinese jet fighter over the South China Sea on 1 April.

"The memo called for a suspension of the military-to-military program until further notice. That is not his (Rumsfeld's) intention," Navy Rear Admiral Craig Quigley, a Pentagon spokesman said two hours after the "suspension" order was announced.

"The secretary's intention is to bring all proposed interaction of the China military-to-military (relations) to the department of the secretary of defence staff level for individual, case-by-case review and approval," the embarrassed admiral said.

Another Pentagon spokesman, reading from the mistaken memo based on Mr Rumsfeld's orders, had earlier said modest military ties between the two

countries had been suspended.

The order was signed on Monday and issued to the military services by Mr Christopher Williams, special assistant to the secretary for policy matters. But Mr Quigley said it had simply misrepresented Mr Rumsfeld's intention to be more careful about such ties.

The US military services were told of the order on Monday. But no formal notification was ever sent to China, defence officials said.

Defence officials said while military-to-military programs between Washington and Beijing were very modest, the memo signed on Monday had in effect briefly suspended ties which normally range from military ship visits to exchanges of visits by military officers. The USA and China are still negotiating over a proposed meeting of their bilateral Military Maritime Consultative Commission to discuss return of the aircraft. The USA has proposed several tentative dates for the meeting.

The Pentagon said on Tuesday the "Made in China" label would be removed from the black berets in the US army outfits. It said the Army's top general has determined that US troops would not wear berets made in China or berets made with Chinese content.

The Army said it was recalling previously distributed berets, received from China this year.

The announcement came after the Congress criticised the defence department's decision to let contracts totaling \$27 million go to companies in China and elsewhere to make the black caps, instead of to American firms.

THE STRAITS

4 MAY 2001



# Pak not too hot to live with for Osama-wary US

S Rajagopalan  
Washington, May 2

IF THERE was any doubt that the US is pussyfooting the issue of dealing with Pakistan on terrorism, it has been laid bare by its official comment not long after releasing its report on global terrorism.

After saying far too many things in the report about Islamabad's complicity in propping up terrorism, a State Department official was at pains to explain why the US could not possibly declare Pakistan a state sponsor of terrorism. Or even "designate" the Lashkar-e-Tayyeba terrorist organisation.

The US has its own list of state sponsors of terrorism, but a critical reference point here is that such terrorism should be directed at the US or US citizens if the country in question has to qualify for the designation.

"Well, a number of Americans were killed in Pakistan three or four years ago whose murderers, I don't think, have been brought to justice," insisted a persistent American journalist, wanting a cogent explanation from Edmund J Hull, the US' Acting Coordinator of Counter-terrorism.

Some others have anyway been trying to hold out the logic that Pakistan could indeed be proceeded against in view of its "continuing support" to the Taliban, which in turn has been harbouring the US' most wanted man, Osama bin Laden.

After some initial dodging,

## BUSH EMISSARY FOR DELHI

US PRESIDENT George Bush is sending deputy secretary of State Richard Armitage to India next week to discuss "a new framework for security and stability that reflect the world today." - National Security adviser Condoleezza Rice told External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh today.

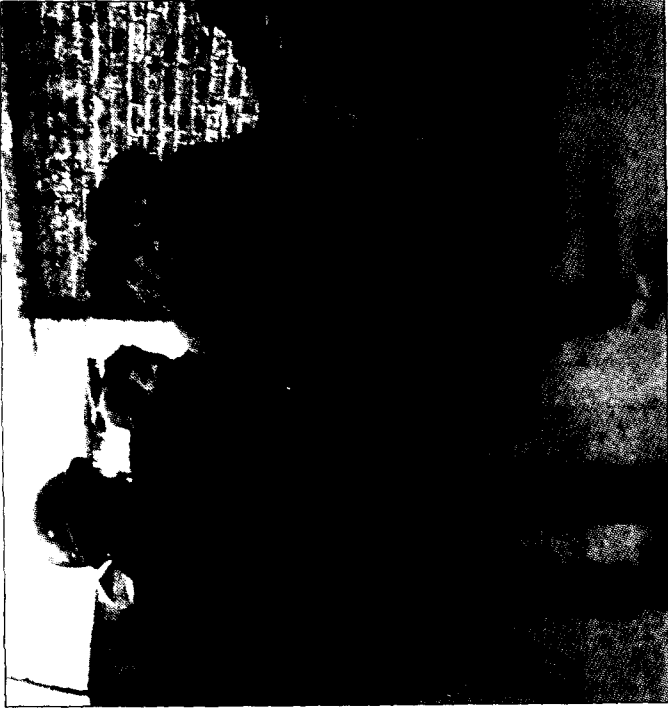
In a telephonic conversation with Singh, Rice said Armitage would reach Delhi on May 10.

PTI, New Delhi

Hull came up with his explanation: "As regards state sponsorship, though, we designate a country as a state sponsor based on the totality of its actions in the area of counter-terrorism."

And Pakistan, according to him, is in many ways "a challenging case for us". This is because the Pakistanis "do provide significant assistance in the area of counter-terrorism". They have reportedly been instrumental in some of the legal prosecutions and renditions for crimes against Americans. And they "also provide a considerable amount of security for our embassies and other presence in Pakistan. That is all to the good".

However, having said that, Hull acknowledged that from what has been brought out in the "Patterns of Global Terrorism 2000", the US has "problems with Pakistan's position" in a number



A file photo of Lashkar militants being arrested in Srinagar.

of areas. Washington, indeed, is said to be "watching" Islamabad's support for groups engaged in terrorism in Kashmir.

Eventually, Hull came round to saying: "I think probably the most significant in terms of US terrorism problems is the Pakistanis' traditional support for the Taliban and the result that this has in Afghanistan."

The report has put two Pakistan-based terrorist outfits, Lashkar-e-Tayyeba and Jaish-e-Mohammed, in the "other ter-

rorist groups" category, but not on the "designated" list.

Hull again came up with an explanation: "We designate foreign terrorist groups according to a law. It is a very, very rigorous process. It requires a legal basis, because it can be challenged in court."

In the circumstances, India is bound to dismiss the State Department's latest position on Pakistan and the likes of Lashkar as "another bark". But as barks go,

it is a louder one.

## Why Pakistan escaped US blacklist again

Pramit Pal Chaudhuri  
New Delhi, May 2

THE PAGES of this year's Patterns of Global Terrorism report by the US State Department rapped Pakistan on the knuckles for supporting insurgents in Kashmir and hosting the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen and Jaish-e-Mohammed. Many in New Delhi had hoped for more: Pakistan listed a State sponsor of terrorism, the Lashkar-e-Tayyeba tarred as a full-fledged terrorist organisation. Lower those expectations. Washington will not, cannot, go further.

New Delhi had high hopes. Pakistan had briefly made it to the sponsors' list in 1993. Pakistan had been declared a nation of "concern" last year. The British Government had blacklisted and banned the Lashkar earlier this year. The signs seemed all right.

But there are two reasons the US is unlikely to go much further.

The first is legal. The basis of the terrorism report, and who or what makes it to the lists, is carefully outlined in Title 22 of

the US Code, Section 2656f(a). The important criterion to be understood is that the report is about terrorism targeted against US assets, citizens and property. One reason Lashkar won't make the grade is that it doesn't go after US targets. So its actions don't fit the legal definition laid down by the US Congress.

The second is strategic. The law is strict, but there is some wiggle room. There was some fudge when the LTTE was put on the list three years ago. A State Department official said, "The LTTE got on to the list last year because it bombed some targets in Colombo where US citizens were present." n Mind you, the Tigers did take Foggy Bottom to court over the matter. But Lashkar and Pakistan could, at a stretch, be said to have similarly threatened some American somewhere.

But Washington is not eager to slam Pakistan too hard. Pakistan is considered politically and economically fragile. Washington feels the only alternative to the present nastiness is an even nastier Islamic regime.

The Bush administration has been careful to say it wishes to continue to engage Islamabad. In any case, as State Department officials point out, Pakistan already has so many sanctions heaped on it; being labelled a terrorist sponsor would have almost no tangible meaning.

This raises a question: Why did Pakistan make it to the blacklist in 1993? B Raman, a retired Indian intelligence officer, has written that a CIA officer trying to buy back Stinger anti-aircraft missiles from the Afghan mujahideen after the Soviet defeat, found her path blocked by the then ISI Director General, Lieutenant General Javed Nasir. The CIA officer told the White House to arm-twist Islamabad by listing Pakistan as a suspected State-sponsor of terrorism. Islamabad backed down, Nasir was given the boot and, he writes, "Pakistan was removed from the list in July 1993."

India can take some comfort from this: the CIA officer in question was Christina Rocca, recently nominated to be the next US Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia.

# Bush trashes ABM treaty, works on missile shield

BY ASHISH KUMAR SEN

**San Francisco, May 2:** Delegations headed by senior officials in the Bush administration will be shortly leaving for "allied capitals" in Europe, Asia, Australia and Canada next week to discuss a "common responsibility to create a new framework for security and stability that reflects the world of today," United States President George W. Bush said in a televised appearance at the National Defence University in Washington on Tuesday.

He said the United States and its allies must find new ways to keep the peace in today's world, in which the major threats come from rogue nations where "terror and blackmail are a way of life." One such way, Mr Bush said, was "a new framework" to include missile

defence, developed in consultation with the US' friends and allies.

The delegations, which will begin leaving between May 6 and May 12, will be headed by Richard Armitage, deputy secretary of state; Paul Wolfowitz, deputy secretary of defence, and Steve Hadley, deputy national security advisor.

Mr Bush described this mission as "real consultations" - part of an ongoing process to involve his Cabinet secretaries and others. "We are not presenting our allies with unilateral decisions already made. We look forward to hearing their views... and to take them into account," he said.

Mr Bush said he would "reach out to other interested states, including China and Russia," and he hoped that Russia and the United States would work together to

develop a new foundation for world peace in the 21st Century.

Pledging the US' commitment to achieving a "credible deterrent" with the lowest possible number of nuclear weapons consistent with its national security needs, "including our obligations to our allies", Mr Bush said he would "move quickly" to reduce nuclear forces and the US would lead by example to achieve its interests for peace in the world.

Saying today's world needed "a new policy, a broad strategy of active nonproliferation, counter proliferation and defences," Mr Bush added, what was needed was a new framework "that allows us to build missile defences to counter the different threats of today's world."

However, to do so, he said the world needed to move beyond the

constraints of the 30-year-old Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

"This treaty does not recognise the present, or point us to the future. It enshrines the past. No treaty that prevents us from addressing today's threats, that prohibits us from pursuing promising technology to defend ourselves, our friends and our allies in our interests or in the interests of world peace," he said.

The President suggested a new framework that would encourage still further cuts in nuclear weapons.

Admitting that nuclear weapons continued to have a vital role to play in "our security and that of our allies", Mr Bush said the size, composition and character of nuclear forces would be changed in a way that "reflects the reality that the Cold War is over."

He warned that today's most urgent threat stemmed not from thousands of ballistic missiles in the Soviet hands, but from a small number of missiles in the hands of states for which "terror and blackmail are a way of life."

"They seek weapons of mass destruction to intimidate their neighbours, and to keep the United States and other responsible nations from helping allies and friends in strategic parts of the world," he said, adding, "Like Saddam Hussein, some of today's tyrants are gripped by an implacable hatred of the United States of America. They hate our friends, they hate our values, they hate democracy and freedom and individual liberty. Many care little for the lives of their own people. In such a world, Cold War deterrence is no longer enough."

# World reacts cautiously to Bush's missile shield move

BY BETH GARDINER

**London, May 2:** World governments responded nervously to President Bush's decision to build a shield against missile attack, but some supported his pledge to consult with Nato allies and Russia.

Allies Britain and Canada issued statements on Tuesday that stopped short of endorsing the plan, while Sweden, Germany and New Zealand expressed deeper concern.

But Australia's government said it would allow the United States to use joint military bases in Australia for the planned missile shield.

"This would simply be the continuation of a ballistic missile early warning partnership we have shared with the US over 30 years, a partnership which makes a significant contribution to global strategic stability," said a spokeswoman for foreign minister Alexander Downer, who commented on condition of anonymity.

Much of the apprehension focused on Mr Bush's declaration that a 1972 arms-control treaty was outdated. United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan said the missile plan would "inevitably impact upon global security and strategic stability."

He emphasised the need to "consolidate and build upon existing disarmament and non-proliferation agreements, specifically to prevent a new arms race and to maintain the non-weapons status of outer space," UN spokesman Fred Eckhardt said.

Mr Annan appealed to all countries to avoid a new arms race and start negotiating irreversible disarmament agreements.

Many of the United States' European allies have been a bit sceptical of Mr Bush's missile defence ideas since his election as the President, fearing that such a system could trigger off a renewed arms race by prompting both Russia and China to increase their arsenals. (AP)

# FBI chief to retire, hunt on for new head

BY KAREN GULLO

**Washington, May 2:** The White House is searching for a new FBI director following Mr Louis Freeh's decision to retire next month. His successor will inherit a bureau recently beset by allegations that one of its own spied for Moscow and under scrutiny for its own security practices.

During Mr Freeh's eight years on the job he bolstered the bureau's ranks and enhanced its influence worldwide. But he also was bedevilled by a string of controversies, including the recent arrest of Robert Hanssen, a senior FBI counterintelligence agent alleged to have passed US secrets to Moscow for 15 years.

Mr Freeh met with President Bush late Monday afternoon to tell him the news. Though Mr Freeh previously had indicated that he might leave before his 10-year term ended, Mr Bush said, "it did catch me by surprise, and I'm disappointed."

The President said he thought Mr Freeh had done a very good job and that he had hoped the 51-year-old director would stay on. But Mr Freeh said he was ready for "new challenges" and also wanted to spend time this summer with his family.

Otherwise, he announced no future plans.

White House officials said Mr Bush wasn't close to naming a successor. (AP)



**VISION STATEMENT:** US President George W. Bush arrives to spell out his vision for national security in a speech on Tuesday at the National Defence University in Washington. (AP)

# 'US remark proves Lashkar's terrorist links'

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 1. - India today said the US indictment of the Lashkar-e-Taiyyaba (LeT) for being actively involved in terrorist activities in Jammu and Kashmir has left no one in doubt that the Pakistan-based militant group had established "terrorist credentials."

Responding to questions on the annual report of the US state department on global terrorism, the ministry of external affairs spokesman said: "We are hopeful that tangible evidence about the LeT actions and the statements of its leaders besides actions of some nations against the organisation clearly points to the terrorist credentials of the Lashkar-e-Taiyyaba."

The spokesman said that the report was mandated by internal US laws and was based on their assessment. Formulations of the report spoke for themselves.

Though the report took note of the

LeT's attack on the Indian garrison the outfit has not been included in the list of the designated terrorist organisations.

The Jaish-e-Mohammed and the LeT are included in the list of "other terrorist organisations" which are kept under the watch list, the spokesman said, adding that India and USA shared concerns about cross-border terrorism.

The assets of groups listed as "foreign terrorist organisations" are frozen by Washington and their members cannot obtain US visas while against terrorist groups designated as "other terrorist organisations" USA does not impose any legal sanctions.

Inclusion in the list of "other terrorist organisations" explains that the organisation is indulging in terrorist activities.

The spokesman said the two countries had set up a Joint Working Group to combat international terrorism and both acknowledged that

## MEA'S REACTION TO US INDICTMENT

Pakistan and Afghanistan had emerged as "a focal point of international terrorism that affects a large number of countries."

"We have an institutional framework with the US that underscores the determination of both countries to combat international terrorism. Under the framework regular meetings are held to discuss the issue."

About India-Pakistan talks, the spokesman said: "We have said time and again that a conducive atmosphere has to be created by Pakistan which includes cessation of cross-border terrorism."

**USA on Pak govt-backed insurgency:** Pakistan's military government last year continued the previous governments' support of the Kashmir insurgency, and Kashmiri militant groups continued to operate in Pakistan, raising funds and recruiting new cadre, the US state de-

partment said in a report on Monday, adds SNS from Washington.

The Harakat-ul-Mujahidin, which has been designated a "foreign terrorist organisation" by the US government, "continues to be active in Pakistan without discouragement by the government of Pakistan," the state department's annual report on global terrorism released yesterday said.

"Security problems associated with various insurgencies, particularly in Kashmir, persisted through 2000 in India," the report said, and added that the Indian government "continued cooperative efforts" with the United States to fight terrorism. In this connection it mentions that during 2000, the US-India Joint Counterterrorism Working Group—founded in November 1999—met twice and agreed to increased cooperation on mutual counter-terrorism interests.

Releasing the report, secretary of state Mr Colin Powell said the message of the report was that "international cooperation against terrorism is increasing and it is paying off."

Listing the countries and regions Washington is cooperating with in the area of terrorism, he said, "We continue to work closely with India."

The report also said Washington "remains concerned" about reports of continued Pakistani support for the Taliban's military operations in Afghanistan.

"Credible reporting indicates that Pakistan is providing the Taliban with materiel, fuel, funding, technical assistance, and military advisers. Pakistan has not prevented large numbers of Pakistani nationals from moving into Afghanistan to fight for the Taliban. Islamabad also failed to take effective steps to curb the activities of certain madrasahs, or religious schools, that serve as recruiting grounds for terrorism," the report said.



Mr Colin Powell

THE STATESMAN

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# U.S. rewriting nuclear mantra

By C. Raja Mohan

HD-13  
MS  
**NEW DELHI, MAY 1.** The United States President, Mr. George W. Bush, is all set to change the rules of the nuclear game. In a landmark speech tonight in Washington, the American leader is unveiling a package of ideas that would stand traditional nuclear thinking on its head.

Whether the world agrees with President Bush or not, there is no question that his speech will go down as an important milestone in the evolution of nuclear doctrine and military strategy.

In pressing ahead with the plans to build missile defences, rejecting arms control treaties, and calling for radical reduction of nuclear arsenals, Mr. Bush's shocking set of proposals will cut through the familiar nuclear divide among liberals and conservatives in the U.S. and elsewhere.

Liberals in the U.S. as well as nations like India have opposed space weapons but have called for abolition of nuclear weapons.

But here is Mr. Bush offering more radical cuts in American nuclear forces than any of his predecessors, and insisting on building space weapons. Should we say no to deep reductions in nuclear arsenals, because it might involve the deployment of non-nuclear weapons in outer space?

Mr. Bush and his followers are determined to overthrow conventional wisdom on nuclear

weapons. One of the old nuclear mantras is that deterrence and peace will be maintained through "balance of terror" — with both adversaries relying on offensive nuclear weapons.

The "principle" that offensive weapons were "good" and defensive technologies "bad" was codified in the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 signed by the U.S. and Russia. It was considered such an eternal truth, that Washington and Moscow agreed that the treaty would be in force for an unlimited duration.

Mr. Bush is now saying the ABM treaty is a "relic" of the Cold War, and it has no relevance in the changed world order. He is proposing that the old ways of maintaining peace through massive nuclear retaliation should yield to introduction of new defensive technologies.

American liberals say the defensive technologies will not work. The conservatives led by Mr. Bush want to throw some money and resources at the problem, and hope technological solutions will emerge to at least deal with limited nuclear attacks.

And if the ABM treaty comes in the way of developing new defensive technologies, the outdated agreement should be junked, Mr. Bush says. For those who believe the ABM treaty is the cornerstone of strategic arms control, the U.S. President is a heretic.

Equally heretic is Mr. Bush's notion of deep

cuts in the existing nuclear arsenals. Arms controllers have long argued that smaller nuclear arsenals among great powers will generate instability.

But now, Mr. Bush might suggest the U.S. is ready to go below the level of 2,000 strategic warheads. Even more unconventional is Mr. Bush's idea of doing these cuts unilaterally, rather than through negotiations. In the past, talks on nuclear reductions took years of squabbling over numbers and verification mechanisms.

Accused of unilateralism on the American rejection of the Kyoto Protocol, the President this time has initiated wide range of consultations with his allies. Even as he delivers the speech tonight, a team of senior officials is travelling to Europe and Asia to explain the logic behind the missile defence initiative.

The key to the success of Mr. Bush's proposals may lie in his ability to convince both friends and adversaries that in promoting missile defence, the U.S. is not seeking global hegemony. If Mr. Bush signals that the U.S. wants to retain the edge in nuclear weapons as well as develop space weapons, his programme will run into great opposition.

But if he suggests a framework to eliminate nuclear weapons and promises international cooperation in developing defensive technologies, Mr. Bush may indeed succeed in selling the idea of missile defences to the rest of the world.

THE HINDU

# India, EU, Japan put on US Super 301 watchlist

HT Correspondent  
Washington, May 1

HT-13 215  
THE US has placed India, European Union, Japan and 10 other countries on the "watchlist" of Super 301 and Special 301 provisions of its trade law for imposing "unfair" trade barriers on American products or for violation of intellectual property rights.

The action, which is part of an annual review by the US Trade Representative, puts the different countries on notice that they could face trade sanctions unless they fell in line by removing trade barriers of the kind.

It has, however, been stated that the Bush administration

has not initiated any new investigations that might lead to actions against countries responsible for the barriers.

While Special 301 seeks to identify countries not providing adequate protection to copyrights, patents and other intellectual property, Super 301 deals with identification of other unfair trade barriers.

India has been placed on both the watchlists. The others placed likewise include the 14-nation European Union, Brazil, Mexico, Japan, South Korea, Canada, Australia, Taiwan, the Philippines, Israel and Malaysia.

In respect of India, the USTR's report identifies barriers

to investment in India's automobile sector.

American firms like Ford have reportedly objected to India's requirement of indigenisation of components within a time period.

The report on Special 301 identifies "significant concerns" with the level of protection offered in 51 countries, inclusive of all the countries placed on the Super 301 watchlist.

USTR Robert B. Zoellick commented that together, these reports underscored the Bush administration's "strong commitment to ensuring that Americans reap the benefits of the trade agreements that we negotiate".

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

21 MAY 2001

# Bush plans to link missile shield to nuke arsenal cut

BY ANDREA SHALAL-ESA

Washington, May 1: President George W. Bush will make a strong pitch on Tuesday for a defence missile shield to protect the United States and allies from rogue attacks, linking its deployment with cuts in the US nuclear arsenal.

In a speech at the Pentagon's National Defense University, Mr Bush will argue for moving past the limitations in the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty and building a missile defence system in consultation with allies and Russia, a senior US official said on Monday.

Top Bush aide Karen Hughes said the President would call for a new approach that moved beyond the "nuclear balance of terror" of the Cold War era to take account of multiple threats now posed by many so-called rogue states.

"The world is much different from that today. We face a lot of different threats from ... many rogue states that are bent on developing weapons of mass destruction. So the President believes that we ought to look at better ways to defend ourselves and our friends and allies throughout the world," she told CNN on the eve of Mr Bush's speech.

Mr Bush's speech will revisit a major theme of his campaign for the US presidency. Mr Bush announced almost a year ago that he would develop and deploy a missile defense to guard against rogue nuclear launches and other attacks, and that he would share the technology with US allies such as Israel. Officials said Mr Bush would reiterate his willingness to make unilateral reductions in the US nuclear arsenal as a way to mollify Russian concerns, but would not cite specific numbers.

During the campaign, Mr Bush promised to reduce US nuclear weapons to "the lowest possible number consistent with our national security" and vowed to urge Russia to do the same.

The President began making the argument for the defence shield in a series of telephone calls on Monday to key European allies who are wary of the plan, laying the groundwork for high-level talks on missile defense next week.

His message to German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, French President Jacques Chirac, British Prime Minister Tony Blair, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien and Nato secretary-general George Robertson was that it was time to think "conceptually different," the senior official said. (Reuters)

THE ASIAN AGE

India under  
'Special 301'  
watchlist

WASHINGTON, MAY 1. India, along with the European Union and 14 other countries, has been brought under the 'Special 301' priority watchlist of the United States Trade Representative (USTR) for violation of the intellectual property rights.

The official announcement made today said the 'Special 301' aims to identify countries not providing adequate protection to copyrights, patents and other intellectual property rights and would bring them under higher scrutiny by the U.S. authorities.

The Super 301 report has also identified barriers to investment in India in the auto sector. Foreign automobile firms like Ford have questioned the Indian Government's conditionality to indigenise their production within a particular time frame. The case has been going on under the auspices of the WTO in Geneva for quite some time, according to an Indian Embassy official. — UNI

THE HINDU

2001

# George Bush woos right wing of GOP

By Jal Taraporevala

MUMBAI: Some changes in policy and style of functioning have been discernible in the first 100 days of the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush. Mr Bush has adopted a less hands-on approach and maintained a lower public profile compared to his immediate predecessor, Bill Clinton.



George W. Bush

The proposal to cut taxes, the decision to abandon the Kyoto Protocol on climate change and the move to stop funding family

planning groups which support abortion clearly indicate a substantive policy shift to the right. This change in direction must be interpreted in terms of Mr Bush's ideological predilections, a sign of reassurance to the conservative sections in the Republican Party and a desire to move ahead on some of the more emotive aspects of his agenda well before the next Congressional elections in November 2002.

The main concern for Mr Bush has been the significant slowdown in the rate of growth of the economy, especially that in the high-tech sector. Mr Bush has, however, benefited as a result of the substantial cuts in interest rates effected by the Federal Reserve Board. Besides, the economic slowdown has made it easier for him to put forward his programme of reducing taxes.

Given the delicate balance of power on Capitol Hill and the controversy surrounding his election as President, Mr Bush has laid emphasis on the goal of maintaining close contacts with key Democratic Party leaders. Even so,

## NEWS ANALYSIS

the measure of success that he is able to achieve in advancing his legislative programme will hinge, among other things, on the health of the economy, the state of public opinion and the equation between the so-called liberal Republicans and conservative Democrats on such crucial issues as tax cuts, changes in medicare and educational reforms.

Mr Bush has accorded less attention than Mr Clinton to international affairs. This is a reflection of his relative lack of experience in the field, his preoccupation with domestic affairs and the unlikely possibility of the U.S. facing any sustained crisis in the foreseeable future. The emphasis on building a stronger military and developing the National Missile Defence system is an obvious move to appeal to the right wing of the GOP.

Otherwise, the broad thrust of U.S. foreign policy, which is basically bipartisan in nature, will remain unchanged. For instance, the recent row between the U.S. and China notwithstanding, Washington's policy of constructive engagement towards Beijing will essentially remain intact on account of economic and politico-strategic factors.

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THE TIMES OF INDIA

30 APR 2001



# US plans nuke overhaul

Washington, April 29

THE UNITED States is considering major changes in America's nuclear posture, such as slashing the number of strategic warheads, taking most B-52 and B-2 bombers out of the nuclear force and shifting some targets from Russia to China. *The Washington Post* reports.

The *Post*, quoting administration officials and independent experts, said the proposed changes grew out of an inter-agency review of nuclear strategy and weaponry ordered by Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. It said the Pentagon is ready to cut the number of strategic warheads from about 7,500 to below 2,500 if President Bush changes the formal guidance on what nuclear forces are needed to meet the declining threat from Russia, the smaller but growing chal-

## CHINA ALLOWS US ACCESS TO STRANDED SPY PLANE

China will give the US access to its spy plane stranded on Hainan Island after a collision with a Chinese fighter on April 1, the official Xinhua news agency reported Sunday.

During recent talks in Beijing, the US had agreed to consider making payments to China. "The two sides will conduct another round of negotiations on the amount of the US payment and the items to be covered."

Reuters, Beijing

lenge from China, and the limited danger posed by nations such as Iraq, North Korea and Iran.

On Friday, a White House official said Bush would begin consulting sceptical US allies next week on his controversial plans for a missile defence system. He

plans to announce on Tuesday the deployment of a defence shield for the United States and its allies and link it with reductions in the US nuclear arsenal.

During his campaign, Bush promised to develop and deploy a missile defence to guard against rogue nuclear launches and other attacks, as well as reducing US nuclear weapons to "the lowest possible number consistent with our national security."

The *Post* said the Air Force may absorb major changes, such as switching most B-2 and B-52 bombers to conventional missions. This was proposed in 1997, when the Clinton administration discussed reducing to 2,500 warheads. In addition, the Air Force may lower the readiness of its 50 MX "Peacekeeper" intercontinental ballistic missiles, each carrying 10 warheads.

Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

30 APR 2001

# Former top US official advises Bush to change policy on Kashmir

■ Continued from Page 1  
about her report, which she said was intended for private circulation and not for the media.

However, sources who have read the report quoted extensively from the document in which Ms Schaffer observed that while India would like to start talks with the Kashmiris, persuade them to participate in state elections, and then deal with Pakistan, it had "no strategy to make this happen."

"The Kashmiris are divided. Pakistan is eager for talks with India but not willing to abandon support for the militancy."

The Clinton administration, after initially flip-flopping over the Kashmir issue, especially during Ms Robin Raphel's tenure as assistant secretary of state for South Asian affairs, had asserted that for the Kashmir dispute to be

resolved there needed to be restraint, respect for the Line of Control, renunciation of violence, and renewal of dialogue.

This has been Washington's official line on Kashmir since then, and the Bush administration has, so far, not publicised a different line of thought.

At a press conference prior to his visit to India last March, former President Bill Clinton said unless specifically asked by both India and Pakistan to help settle the Kashmir dispute the US could not get involved. "I think we might be in a position to make a constructive contribution. But if they don't want us, it won't be doing any good; we'd just be out there talking into the air," Mr Clinton had said at the time.

Ms Schaffer said Pakistan had made a significant adjustment in its formal approach to Kashmir.

"They are making a conscious effort to develop a line that will lead to a dialogue with India, but they are clearly not yet prepared to squelch the insurgency," she said.

"If one wants a stable situation in Kashmir all the players — the Indians, the Pakistanis and the Kashmiris — need to be involved to get a serious process going," she added.

She was concerned that the "window of opportunity" created by Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's Kashmir ceasefire last December was running out of steam and, as a consequence, India-Pakistan relations were slipping back into their usual unproductive rut.

However, she hoped Mr K.C. Pant, picked by Mr Vajpayee to mediate a dialogue with the Kashmiris, would be able to reactivate some of the goodwill.

"Among the most hawkish elements, there is apparently one school of thought that India's position in Kashmir is about to crumble, but this is not the prevailing view," she said in her report, according to sources. In Pakistan, Ms Schaffer noted, the military government's honeymoon was "long gone."

Sources said Ms Schaffer had underscored Gen. Pervez Musharraf's unwillingness to confront militant organisations in his 18 months in office, corroborating this opinion with similar views from observers that Pakistan's Chief Executive simply cannot crack the whip, even if he wanted to because the militants represent the popular Kashmiri cause.

"But it appears that Gen. Musharraf has consciously or unconsciously made an implicit bargain with them (the militants): because their activities in

Afghanistan and Kashmir are vital to Pakistan's strategic goals, they will be allowed considerable domestic freedom of action," the sources quoted the report as saying.

In Ms Schaffer's view, the militants represent a "significant challenge" to state authority and are likely to push Pakistan toward greater instability, both internally and in the region.

Ms Schaffer said in India, every statement from the Bush administration is scrutinised for signs of emerging administration attitudes towards India.

"Some see an administration determined to put in place NMD and TMD, opposed to CTBT, apparently willing to move away from the ABM treaty, and apparently sceptical of universal regimes and open-ended commitments on arms control or non-proliferation."

Besides India-Pakistan relations, India's Budget was another area she focused on during her trip. Describing the Budget as "a very forward looking one," she hastened to add that her big concern was its implementation. "The Teheika tapes controversy, which broke soon after I left India, has become a big distraction."

In her report, sources said, Ms Schaffer noted that the government's fortunes depend heavily on Mr Vajpayee's leadership — "steadier now that his health is better, but still uneven" — and on his ability to keep the BJP's "right-wing relatives a board without being derailed by their stidency."

The Congress party, she observed, was in a far worse shape at the national level than had been apparent last year. "Somia Gandhi has been an ineffective head and an even worse parliamentary leader."

THE ASIAN AGE

28 APR 2001

28 APR 2001

# Bush takes veil off protect-Taiwan plan

FROM ANDREW BROWNE

Beijing, April 25 (Reuters): In an apparent toughening of the US position on Taiwan, President George W. Bush abandoned long-standing ambiguity and declared the United States would defend the island if it was attacked by China.

But after approving the biggest arms package to Taiwan in a decade, Bush also tossed a few olive branches to Beijing, telling the *Washington Post* he did not view China as an "enemy" and announcing an end to annual reviews of arms sales to Taiwan.

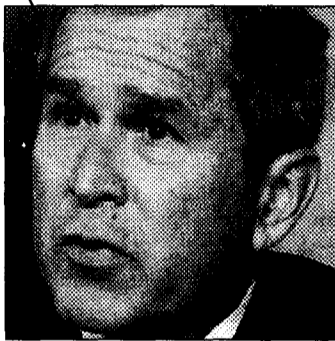
China maintained its measured response to the arms package — and had no immediate comment on Bush's pledge to defend Taiwan — indicating both sides were anxious to limit the damage to their relationship.

In an interview taped for ABC's *Good Morning America*, Bush said Washington would do "whatever it took" to defend Taiwan. Asked whether Washington had an obligation to defend Taiwan from Chinese attack, Bush said: "Yes, we do and the Chinese must understand that."

"Yes, I would," he added.

Previous US administrations have stopped just short of promising to send forces to Taiwan's aid in the event of war with China, although they they have sent strong signals that they would intervene.

In 1996, the US sent two battle



George Bush

carrier groups steaming towards Taiwan after China conducted missile tests to intimidate the island ahead of presidential elections.

## No enemy

Under the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act, the US administration is obliged to provide Taiwan with weapons needed to defend itself. But Bush told the *Washington Post* a near 20-year policy of annual reviews for providing such arms would be scrapped. Such reviews put US administrations in an awkward position by having to publicly approve or reject items in a long shopping list of arms presented by Taiwan, which has powerful support in Congress.

"We have made it clear to the Taiwanese that we will not have this co-called annual review — that we will meet on an as needed basis," Bush told the newspaper

in an interview. Bush said he expected his state visit to China would go ahead as planned in October. "And I do not view China as an enemy," Bush said.

"I view China as a partner on some issues and a competitor on others," he said. Competition "does not necessarily mean distrust, anger, you know, furore", he added.

Bush's comments on defending Taiwan were certain to alarm China, which fears the United States is drifting towards a de facto military alliance with an island Beijing regards as a wayward province to be reunified by force if necessary. Washington has always been reluctant to give an explicit commitment that would antagonise Beijing, encourage pro-independence forces on Taiwan and remove an incentive for Taipei to resolve its differences with the Chinese mainland peacefully.

One Beijing-based Western diplomat said Bush's comments represented a clear change, although it was possible Bush had spoken out of turn and there could be some rowing back. "This is certainly much stronger than comments to date," he said. "The Chinese put great store on the words of the President," the diplomat said. "In the way the words work, the President's words are not as loose as in the West and they are considered to have the weight of biblical authority."

THE TELEGRAPH

26 APR 2001

# Pentagon to cut Cold War arms

Washington, April 23 (Reuters): A Pentagon panel has advised scrapping the army's new mobile artillery system and the navy's planned DD-21 destroyer to end the US military's reliance on Cold War arms, an administration official said today.

The official, who asked not to be identified, said the advisory panel recommended cancelling the heavy, tracked "Crusader" artillery system and to make other rollbacks in a weekend briefing for defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld. The *New York Times*, which first reported the preliminary recommendations, said the group also advised halting plans to upgrade the Army's ageing M-1A1 tanks, armoured Bradley fighting vehicles and the Air Force's swing-wing B-1 bomber.

The bold steps would test promises by President George W. Bush to revamp the military for the 21st century, even leap-frogging planned arms to take advantage of future advances in technology. No decisions have been made, the official said, but there was a preliminary recommendation to bypass the planned Crusader and the DD-21 "because of feelings that they didn't represent a really new generation of capability." More than a dozen study groups have been reviewing US military strategy and weapons for Rumsfeld, including the Army's plan to build 480 self-propelled 155mm "Crusader" howitzers at a cost of \$11 billion.

The tracked, rapid-fire howitzer, which weighs up to 80 tons with its resupply vehicle, would be built by privately-owned United Defence L.P., based in Arlington, Virginia. The *Times* said the advisory panel believed the Crusader did not fit with a new military strategy to project mobile military power over long distances with a focus on Asia instead of a war with the former Soviet Union on the European plains.

The DD-21 is the Navy's planned next generation destroyer. It would be propelled by both electricity and steam and would have the ability to fire shells long distances from offshore and also launch cruise missiles at land targets.

THE TELEGRAPH

24 APR 2001

# U.S. move to step up pressure on Iraq may fail

By Jai Taraporevala

MUMBAI: U.S. President George Bush has restated his administration's intention to step up the pressure on the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq. The White House is seeking to advance this objective through the approach of patrolling the air exclusion zones in northern and southern Iraq more actively, specifically targeting the sanctions against the leadership in Baghdad and setting up a new UN weapons machinery for Iraq.

Such a strategy is unlikely to succeed since it is not very different from that which has failed to yield substantial dividends over the past decade. For instance, the enforcement of the no-fly zones has come under mounting international criticism since it has not been sanctioned by the UN and because there have been no significant Iraqi ground attacks against the Kurds of the north or the Shiites of the south in the past few years.

More important, the aggressive American stand has unwittingly played into the hands of Mr Hussein. After all, it is no coincidence that the Saddam regime virtually halted its negotiations with

secures tangible concessions on an explicit time-table for the lifting of sanctions and an assurance that the verification machinery will not be controlled by the U.S. as was the case during the days of UNSCOM.

anti-American sentiment among grass-roots sections in some parts of the Arab world.

For its part, the U.S. can scarcely be expected to soften its stand on weapons inspections, not least because some of the senior figures in the current administration occupied key official posts when Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990.

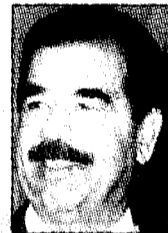
Besides, the fact that such permanent members of the Security Council as China, France and Russia are opposed to any increase in pressure on Iraq means that it will be almost impossible for the U.S. to get its way on making the embargo against Baghdad more specific. In any case, there is no adequate UN mechanism to monitor the implementation of the sanctions.

The growing leakages in the embargo, especially through Jordan and Turkey, are increasingly rendering the sanctions ineffective.



George W. Bush

**Iraq has been emboldened to toughen its negotiating stance as a result of the widening cracks between the members of the Security Council on how to proceed with Baghdad**



Saddam Hussein

## NEWS ANALYSIS

the UN on the establishment of a new international weapons monitoring authority for Iraq soon after Washington conducted missile strikes near Baghdad last February. It is only a remote possibility that Iraq will resume serious discussions on this issue unless it

Iraq has been emboldened to toughen its negotiating stance as a result of the widening cracks between the members of the Security Council on how to proceed with Baghdad and the continuing impasse in the West Asia peace process which has created

THE TIMES OF INDIA

24 APR 2001

# Peru downs plane; missionary, baby die

BY SIMON GARDNER

Lima (Peru), April 21: The Peruvian Air Force shot down a plane carrying American missionaries in the Amazon jungle on Friday, killing a mother and her baby, saying it opened fire after the pilot ignored warnings to land.

The evangelist's husband and son escaped the crash unhurt when the seaplane ditched in the Amazon River, the pilot's wife, Bobbi Donaldson, told Reuters. Her husband, Kevin, also survived the crash but his

leg was fractured by a bullet. The Association of Baptists for World Evangelism, based in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, identified the dead as Roni Bowers, 35, and her infant daughter, Charity, born last fall. It said Bowers' husband, Jim, and their son, Cory, were uninjured. The Bowers, from Muskegon, Michigan, had been serving in Peru since July 1997.

"After carrying out international identification and interception procedure... which the pilot ignored... the Peruvian Air Force plane opened fire as a last

resort," the ministry of defence said in a communiqué. "The Peruvian Air Force... deeply regrets the loss of human life." It said its actions were part of its anti-drug operations procedures. A spokesman had earlier denied Peru's Air Force had intercepted the Cessna 185 "floatplane", instead saying it had been intercepted by the US Drug Enforcement Agency and crashed because of a poor manoeuvre by the pilot. US embassy personnel were rushing to the scene to provide assistance. "We deeply regret this

tragedy and we'll be looking into exactly what happened," a US embassy spokesman said. The pilot's wife, Bobbi, said she had spoken with the dead missionary's husband.

"The plane was really shot up and was on fire when it hit the water and rolled over," Ms Donaldson said, adding Bowers' husband believed his wife and seven-month-old daughter had been killed by the same bullet. She said Bowers had reported to air traffic authorities by radio and told her an American plane was within sight at the time.

"We tried to talk to the police, but were turned away. We fear a cover up. A mistake we can handle, but not that," Ms Donaldson added, saying her husband was in a stable condition, at a clinic at a small town called Pebas, some 200 km from Iquitos. She had not been able to contact him personally.

The plane had been on a trip to secure a visa for the seven-month old child. Ms Donaldson said her husband had bled profusely floating in the Amazon after the bullet went through his calf. (Reuters)

## U.S. spy plane crew undergo debriefing

PEARL HARBOR: Shortly after arriving here on Thursday following their 11-day detention in China, the 24 crew members of a U.S. spy plane began two days of intense debriefings about the circumstances of their aircraft's collision with a Chinese fighter jet.

The 21 men and three women, who were greeted by cheering spectators and a brass band, were being interviewed one at a time about the April 1 accident, which occurred roughly 100 km from Hainan Island over the South China Sea and touched off a major diplomatic row.

"Individual crew members will be called into a room with two or three members from various interested agencies, said Navy spokesman Lieutenant Commander Conrad Chun. "They'll share some snacks, they'll share information. It will be very casual."

Topping the list of concerns will be how much classified data and equipment was destroyed during the crippled plane's harrowing descent to a Hainan island airstrip after the collision, Navy sources said.

"We need to know exactly what was learned by the Chinese," a Navy source said. The EP-3 plane, which is packed with state-of-the-art military equipment — some of it highly classified — is still being held by China.

The crew members are tentatively scheduled to leave Hawaii early Saturday after a news conference for a five-hour trip to their home base on Washington's Whidbey Island, for a planned gala celebration with their families.

Meanwhile, Rear Admiral Michael Holmes, who oversees the Pacific Fleet's EP-3 surveillance planes, called the plane's pilot, Lieutenant Shane Osborn, a "hero" for bring the plane down safely.

Late Thursday, U.S. television networks cited secondhand accounts of the circumstances surrounding the crash, and of the crew's period as detainees, gleaned from Continental Airlines flight attendants and pilots who had chatted with Osborn on board the chartered plane that brought the crew from Hainan Island to Guam. (AFP)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

14 APR 2001

# Second round of talks on spy plane productive: US

REUTERS  
BEIJING, APRIL 19

**S**INO-American negotiations on the April 1 spy plane incident turned "very productive" on Thursday, a senior US official said, after the talks resumed following a disastrous first day.

"We covered all the items on the agenda and I found today's session to be very productive," Acting Defence Undersecretary for Policy Peter Verga told reporters after 2-3 hours at the Chinese Foreign Ministry.

There was no immediate comment from China and no immediate word on whether another round of talks would be held.

A breakdown in negotiations would have dealt a potentially serious blow to delicate China-US relations.

After the first day of talks on Wednesday, US officials said no progress had been made and there was no point continuing unless China agreed to discuss the return of the EP-3 spy plane crippled in a

mid-air collision with a Chinese F-8 fighter.

The crippled EP-3 is stranded on Hainan Island where it made an emergency landing after the mid-air collision which resulted in the death of Chinese fighter Pilot Wang Wei.

US Ambassador Joseph Prueher made a successful visit to the Foreign Ministry on Thursday morning to salvage the talks, extracting a promise that a plan for the return of the EP-3 would be discussed, Verga said earlier.

China insists US spy plane flights along its coast be halted and that Washington admit responsibility for the mid-air collision.

Prueher said the first day of talks consisted of each side presenting their positions. These had been known ahead of the talks and neither side had shown any sign of backing down. There was little comment from China, but senior US officials continued on the tough line they have adopted since China freed the 24 crew members of the EP-3 last week after holding

them for 11 days on Hainan in a tense standoff.

President George W Bush's National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice said on an MSNBC programme the American plane was in international air space when it was "rammed" by the Chinese jet and forced to make an emergency landing.

China insists the opposite is true - that the spy plane rammed the Chinese fighter, whose Pilot bailed out over the South China Sea and is now lauded as a "revolutionary martyr" and a "protector of the sea and sky". The delicate talks in Beijing about how to move forward from the tense diplomatic impasse created by the incident are expected to set the tone of future Sino-US relations under the new Republican administration.

The dispute threatens to spill over into a host of other sensitive issues, including US arms sales to Taiwan, China's trade privileges with the United States and even Beijing's bid for the 2008 Olympic Games.

INDIAN EXPRESS

INDIAN EXPRESS

20 APR 2001

20 APR 2001



# Power Projections

## US Defence Policy to Contain China

By K SUBRAHMANYAM

REPORTS in the US media speak of defence secretary Donald H Rumsfeld unveiling a new defence policy intended to implement the Republican party's campaign platform. The new policy emphasises that the Pacific Ocean is the most likely theatre of major military operations for the US as China becomes more powerful and Russia less so. This would require a reorientation of a defence policy that has been geared since the end of World War II to keep the peace in Europe and deterring the Soviet Union. Operating in the Pacific will require an additional emphasis on long-range power projection which means greater attention to air-lift capability and other ways of sending troops and firepower across thousands of miles. The new doctrine is said to argue that the proliferation of missiles and other weapons of mass destruction could cause US allies to limit access to overseas bases requiring the US military to be able to sustain itself while operating at long distances. Missile proliferation in the third world also means that the US military should place greater emphasis on acquiring planes, ships and vehicles that have "stealth" or radar-evading capabilities. To achieve these goals, the armed services should cut spending on older weapon systems.

According to this policy, China will be treated as a strategic competitor and not as a strategic partner as used to be characterised by the Clinton administration. The new perspective implies that China's nuclear and missile proliferation is intended to wean away US allies from their commitments and may lead to allies denying the US access to their bases. It is quite obvious that one such ally who has been seduced away is Pakistan which is situated in a strategic location adjacent to an area of vital interest to the US — West Asia.

The present Bush administration is not likely to have forgotten that in 1990, the Pakistani army chief having obtained nuclear and missile technology from China, supported the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein in his strategic defiance. Vice President Richard Cheney was then defence secretary, General Colin Powell was the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff and Ms Condoleezza Rice was on the staff of the National Security Council. At that stage, India provided transit facilities for the US aircraft

flying to the Gulf theatre.

Though the Reagan administration looked away from the China-Pakistan proliferation relationship in the 1980s since it gave higher priority to securing Pakistani support to Afghan mujahideen operations against the Soviet forces, it now appears to be dawning on the US administration that China's support to Pakistan on nuclear and missile technologies has a very strong anti-US element. It is intended to create more problems for the US in the Gulf area. The Chinese also sold around 60 CSS-2 intermediate range missiles to Saudi Arabia, yet another close ally of the US. China is likely to use its proliferation policy as a bargaining leverage to apply pressure on the US in regard to supply of sophisticated arms to Taiwan.

The US efforts to counter Chinese proliferation are concentrated in theatre and national missile de-

### IN BRIEF

- Rumsfeld's defence policy sees the Pacific Ocean as the new theatre for military operations
- China is to be treated as a strategic competitor, not a strategic partner
- Chinese proliferation and the US reaction to it are of grave security concern to India

fence since the US is utterly helpless in stopping Chinese proliferation. The new US administration presumably wants to retain the right to test new weapons. That may explain why the Republican Party platform called the CTBT an obsolete measure arising out of outdated strategic thinking. Since the focus of strategic interest for the US is shifting to Asia-Pacific and the likely primary rival of the US is China, Mr Rumsfeld highlighted the US need for missile defence in the Munich conference on security.

Chinese proliferation and the US reaction to it are of grave security concern to India. The widely advocated thesis that China's reaction to the national missile defence would result in an India-China arms race is a totally untenable one. India's minimum credible deterrent posture will not need revision whether China has 30 or 300 missiles capable of reaching the

US. What would cause worry to India is the possible Chinese proliferation of nuclear and missile technologies to more countries in West Asia. That, in fact, is America's worry when it talks of 'states of concern' acquiring missiles and weapons of mass destruction. But it is reluctant to say openly that such a threat might originate from China. An open admission to this effect would mean recognition that the NPT regime has collapsed. As of now, the US is not willing to face this reality publicly. But that is what is implied in the new defence policy.

The US-China confrontation is likely to be felt in two areas. It will be direct in Taiwan and indirect in West Asia. The US security establishment faces a dilemma. It cannot afford to alienate Pakistan and push it further into the arms of the Chinese. At the same time, it has to face the threats of extremism and terrorism arising out of Pakistan and the shadow of China-proliferated nuclear weapons and missiles to Pakistan over the Gulf area. The US policy towards Pakistan, therefore, continues to be ambivalent.

The Rumsfeld policy also envisages a rapid modernisation of US defence capability for long-term power projection. If China, declared a primary rival and competitor, were to take steps to counter the US missile defence and modernisation of conventional forces then it would have an adverse impact on its economic development. If it does not, then the US will assert its hegemony right up to Chinese territorial waters just as it has done when its surveillance aircraft collided with a Chinese jet and made a forced landing in Hainan.

India will have to monitor these developments carefully in the interest of its own national security. The US-Soviet cold war impinged on India directly since Pakistan became a US ally. In the likely new confrontation, fortunately that kind of risk is not there. India does not have any direct conflict of interests with the US. No doubt China's proliferation policies towards Pakistan hurt India's security. However, that is now water under the bridge. If the Chinese continue to persist in that policy, it would call for a careful review of India's security interests. It is to be hoped that China realises that antagonising India at this stage is not in its interests.

# Bush talks tough with crew safe at home

HP 11  
14/4

Beijing, April 13

THE MID-AIR collision that sparked a tense US-China standoff occurred when a Chinese fighter pilot lost control and clipped an American spy plane during a close approach, a senior US diplomat said on Friday.

China had blamed the American crew for the collision.

The diplomat, speaking on condition of anonymity, also faulted Beijing's "confrontational" handling of the incident, which the United States believed resulted from pilot error and not China's intentional ramming of the US EP-3 spy plane.

"Our assessment is this wasn't a deliberate act in any way of coming out to try to ram the EP-3, it was a rendezvous that was not accomplished very well," the diplomat told reporters after the 24-member U.S. crew returned to the United States after 11 days in captivity on China's Hainan island.

The official said that by detaining the crew and demanding an American apology based on China's account blaming the U.S. plane for the April 1 collision, "the Chinese missed an opportunity to resolve it well and thereby

perhaps take something that was bad and strengthen the relationship."

The envoy added, however, that it was unclear to the United States whether "the Chinese leadership had accurate facts presented to them when they made their initial decision. There's a possibility they were not presented with accurate information."

President Bush took a firm line in the aftermath of the Sino-American spy plane standoff, pledging stout defence of US interests, tempered with respect for China following the return of the plane's crew.

"The US and China must make a determined choice to have a productive relationship that will contribute to a more secure, more prosperous and more peaceful world," Bush told reporters Thursday in the White House Rose Garden.

As the spy plane crew returned home, Chinese President Jiang Zemin arrived in nearby Cuba with a message of solidarity for fellow communist President Fidel Castro and his Government's decades-old dispute with Washington.

Although at times conciliatory

toward Beijing, Bush said he would tell US officials to ask "tough questions" when the two sides meet Wednesday to discuss a mid-air collision between the spy plane and a Chinese F-8 fighter that led to the standoff.

He also suggested he would continue surveillance flights off the coast of China, despite Chinese objections. "The kind of incident we have just been through does not advance a constructive relationship between our two countries," Bush said.

"Reconnaissance flights are a part of a comprehensive national security strategy that helps maintain peace and stability in our world," he added.

A senior White House official later said Bush wanted to send a clear message to Beijing. "(The comments were) designed to send a signal China has to choose to work with us to have a productive relationship," the official said. "This is an important relationship and we need to get it right."

Chinese negotiators plan to press for an end to US surveillance flights near China's coast, state-run media said, citing Foreign Ministry officials.

Agencies

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

14 APR 2001

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# US troops killed in Vietnam crash

REUTERS  
HANOI, APRIL 8

SIXTEEN people, including seven US troops searching for the remains of servicemen missing from the Vietnam War, were killed when a Russian-made helicopter crashed into a mountain in central Vietnam on Saturday, a US Embassy spokesman said.

"The embassy has been informed by Vietnamese authorities that a helicopter went down in Quang Binh province this afternoon with seven Americans and nine Vietnamese aboard, including crew," the spokesman said.

The Hawaii-based US Pacific Command, citing Vietnamese officials, said: "Reportedly there are no survivors." It identified the helicopter as a Russian-made Mi-17.

The US Defense Department confirmed that seven US Military personnel and nine Vietnamese were killed in the crash.

President George W Bush said in a written statement he was deeply saddened by the crash and called it a terrible loss for the United States.

"The families of the service personnel lost in today's tragic accident know better than most the contribution their loved ones made in bringing closure to scores of families across America," Bush said.

The US Pacific Command, which is operationally responsible for the hunt for Americans still listed as missing from the Vietnam war, said the helicopter had been en route to recover suspected remains of Americans lost during the war that ended in 1975 with a Communist victory.

"Today's loss is a terrible one for our nation. Although not lost in a hostile act, like those for whom they search, they too have lived lives of great consequence, answering a calling of service to their fellow citizens," Bush said.

"It's an unfortunate accident," said Navy Lt Cmdr Terry Sutherland, a Pentagon spokesman, adding the names of the Americans would be released only after next-of-kin had been notified. He said that notification was underway.

A Vietnamese soldier at Quang Binh province's military command center told Reuters the helicopter crashed into the mountainside in Thanh Tranh commune of Bo Trach district, about 700 metres (765 yards) from Vietnam's main North-South road artery, Highway One.

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INDIAN EXPRESS

APR 2001

# US diplomats to meet spy plane crew

Beijing, April 6

US DIPLOMATS will get a second meeting with the crew of an American spy plane that collided with a Chinese fighter jet, US officials said Friday.

The meeting with the 24 crew members was planned on Friday afternoon, officials at the US Embassy in Beijing told reporters. China has held the spy plane's crew since they made an emergency landing on Hainan island in the South China Sea on Sunday after colliding with the Chinese fighter jet. Despite repeated US requests, China has so far allowed only one meeting between the crew and US officials. The second meeting was expected to take place in Haikou, Hainan's capital, where seven US diplomats have been waiting.

China has held the spy plane's crew since they made an emergency landing on Hainan island

in the South China Sea on Sunday after colliding with the Chinese fighter jet.

Despite repeated US requests, China has so far allowed only one meeting between the crew and US officials. The second meeting was expected to take place in Haikou, Hainan's capital, where seven US diplomats have been waiting.

In Chile on Thursday, Chinese President Jiang Zemin again called for the United States to apologise. "I have visited many countries and I see that when people have an accident, both the two groups involved say excuse me," Jiang said after arriving in Santiago, the first stop of a 12-day Latin American tour.

The United States has declined to apologise for the mishap, but on Thursday President Bush expressed "regret" — qualified language that has been used by other American officials.

China said Thursday it will

hold the crew of the plane for questioning and insisted on a "cooperative attitude" from Washington before they are allowed to meet again with American diplomats. Jiang also said both sides should try to seek a resolution. "I want to say with emphasis that the leaders of China and the United States must manage this issue to the maximum interests" of their relations, he said.

He said Chinese officials were exasperated by continued US surveillance flights. "American planes come to the edge of our country and they don't say excuse me. This sort of conduct is not acceptable in any country," he said. He said the airplane's 24-member crew was "healthy," and expressed regret about the missing Chinese flyer involved in the crash. "During my flight to Chile, I was thinking about our pilot, and we don't know where he is,

and our plane is at the bottom of the ocean," said Jiang, whose comments were translated into Spanish by Jiang's interpreter.

China has given no sign that the 24 American men and women would be released soon, despite warnings from Bush that China risks undermining relations by continuing to hold them.

China says the US crew violated international law and that an investigation into the crash was still going on. Though it has repeatedly demanded an apology and pressed the United States to take blame, China welcomed the latest US statements on the issue.

"The regret expressed by the US is a step in the right direction to solving this question," said Foreign Ministry spokesman Sun Yuxi earlier on Thursday, responding to Secretary of State Colin Powell's first public expression of regret a day earlier.

USA Today

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

7 APR 2001

## U.S. wrapping up Osama <sup>HO-17</sup> aides case

**NEW YORK, APRIL 4.** The clothing of a follower of Saudi dissident, Osama bin Laden, carried the residue of explosives after the 1998 bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, an FBI chemist said as the Government began wrapping up its case that the blast was part of a conspiracy to kill Americans. Testimony this week has focused on Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, a 36-year-old Jordanian who left Kenya on the day of the bombing, allegedly carrying a fake Yemeni passport.

He allegedly fled Nairobi on a Pakistani Airways flight that landed in Karachi four hours before the explosion. He was arrested there when an immigration official noticed that he did not look like the photo on his passport. Odeh used to register at Nairobi's Hilltop Hotel for the previous four nights. Prosecutors alleged that several suspected Kenya embassy bombers had been staying in the hotel before the attack. The FBI agents identified the Nike travel bag he was carrying at the time of his arrest and its contents, including a pair of drawstring pants and a red T-shirt.

Ms. Kelly Mount, an FBI forensic chemist who analyzed the bag's contents, testified that the clothing carried the residue of explosives. She said the clothing, along with what looked like a bedsheet that had been found in the bag, tested positive for either TNT or PETN. These explosives were used in the making of the bomb meant for the Nairobi attack.

The Federal prosecutors are expected to rest their case today, after which the trial would recess until April 16. Defense lawyers would begin presenting their case when the trial resumes. Testimony against four defendants with ties to Osama began on February 5 amid tight security.

The prosecutors summoned more than 80 witnesses since the start of the trial, far fewer than they had initially planned. By reducing the number of witnesses, prosecutors sharply cut the length of the proceedings, which could have continued through the summer and possibly into the fall. Odeh is one of four men on trial. They are among 22 defendants named in an indictment containing more than 300 counts of alleged participation in a conspiracy, beginning in 1989, to kill U.S. military personnel and civilians. The plot allegedly included the August 1998 bombings of the embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi.

Osama is among 13 fugitives listed in the indictment. The wealthy Saudi exile, who is believed to be living in Afghanistan, allegedly masterminded the twin embassy blasts, which killed 224 people, including 12 Americans, and injured thousands.

Among the defendants in the trial is Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-Owhali, allegedly a passenger in the truck used in the Nairobi bombing. He and defendant Khalfan Khamis Mohamed, a Tanzanian who allegedly took part in the Dar es Salaam bombing, could both face the death penalty if convicted.

The other defendants, Wadiah El-Hage, a naturalized U.S. citizen born in Lebanon, and Odeh, could face life imprisonment if convicted. — Reuters

SEARCHED

APR 20

# US aid to Yugoslavia will continue

Washington, April 3

THE STATE Department said on Monday that US assistance to Yugoslavia will continue following the arrest of former President Slobodan Milosevic.

In a statement released on Sunday, President George W Bush made no direct reference to the aid issue, but said the Yugoslav Government and people "can count on the friendship of the United States as they continue down the path of democratic and economic reform."

His arrest represents an important step in bringing to a close the tragic era of his brutal dictatorship, Bush said.

Secretary of State Colin Powell, however, ruled that unless Yugoslavia continues to cooperate with the UN War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague, the United States will withhold support for an International donors' conference to help the shattered Yugoslav economy.

For the time being, however, a \$ 50 million US assistance program for Yugoslavia will continue.

In addition, the administra-

tion will continue to support Yugoslav requests for loans from the World Bank and other international lending institutions.

The announcement by State Department spokesman Richard Boucher came a day after Yugoslav security forces arrested former President Milosevic, who is wanted by the Hague tribunal to face charges of committing war crimes.

Asked whether Milosevic would have to be extradited to the United States to support a donors' conference, Boucher said the US assessment of Yugoslav cooperation with the UN tribunal "will not be based on a single step." Yugoslav authorities, however, felt it is not possible to extradite Milosevic before legislators change the Yugoslav Constitution.

The International Tribunal is viewed in Yugoslavia as biased against the Serbs, but Senator Mitch McConnell, R-Ky, said on "Fox News Sunday" that he doubted the Government had the 'infrastructure' to put up a free and fair trial, and that "aid should be cut off

until Milosevic is handed over."

Congress insisted the Serb leader, who led his country into disastrous wars in Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo, cooperate with the Hague tribunal as a condition for receiving additional US aid.

Congress had set a Saturday deadline for Powell to make a certification decision but he chose to withhold an announcement until Monday.

A US official, asking not to be identified, said the Government of President Vojislav Kostunica is taking steps to improve human rights in Yugoslavia and is collecting evidence of war crimes for the tribunal's use.

This, he said, showed a "significant degree" of compliance with Congress' demand — but not enough for the administration to fully support the convening of donor nations.

At the same time, the administration does not want to undercut the pro-Western democracy that has taken hold in Yugoslavia after more than a decade of Milosevic's rule.

AP

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

4 APR 2001

**NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION** ✓

HR 9 31/3

# *US study urges carrot & stick policy for India, Pakistan*

**S Rajagopalan**  
*Washington, March 30*

A NEW study on South Asian nuclear proliferation has asked the Bush Administration to adopt a carrot-and-stick approach towards India and Pakistan. "Promise of incentives" should be combined with "threat of sanctions" to cap the weapons programmes of the two countries, it says.

Jointly published by Harvard University's 'Managing the Atom Project', the Fourth Freedom Forum and the Joan B Krock Institute for International Peace Studies, the study asserts that "US intervention may be necessary" to prevent the deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery systems in South Asia.

At a time when the new administration has ordered a review of the post-Pokhran II sanctions against India and Pakistan, the study argues that it would be a mistake for Washington to abandon all sanctions policies in favour of unconditional engagement with New Delhi and Islamabad.

Samina Ahmed and David Cortright, who have authored the study, say the Bush administration's interim goal should be to cap India's and Pakistan's nuclear weapons programmes below the deployment threshold. At the same time, the US should "persuade and pressure" the two to roll back and eventually eliminate their programmes.

According to them, an arms control strategy aimed at mere reduction and nuclear restraint won't do.

For, as long as the two neighbours possess nuclear weapons, the threshold for unauthorised, accidental or intentional use will remain dangerously low.

While diplomatic engagement and other incentives can play a major role in convincing India and Pakistan to curb their nuclear weapons programmes, these inducements will fail "unless they are accompanied by sanctions".

In the circumstances, the study feels the best bet is the adoption of a multilateral carrot-and-stick approach instead of

the one pursued unilaterally by Washington.

For this, it wants the United States to "build an international coalition in support of its non-proliferation goals in South Asia".

Ahmed and Cortright disagreed with analysts and think-tanks who believe "the best policy for the US is to learn to live with the reality of nuclear weapons in South Asia and to grant India and Pakistan the nuclear status they desire".

The United States must indeed engage with the two countries to promote its national interests, but it would be undermining these very national interests "if it abandons non-proliferation goals and tacitly accepts India's and Pakistan's nuclear weapons status".

Curiously enough, the study wants the Bush regime (which is totally opposed to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty) to support concessional multilateral lending to India and Pakistan if they sign the CTBT to demonstrate their nuclear restraint.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

31 MAR 2001

10-16

# Schroeder raises NMD with Bush 3/1/01

**WASHINGTON, MARCH 30.** The German Chancellor, Mr. Gerhard Schroeder, raised questions on Thursday about the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush's plans for a missile defense system and his opposition to a global-warming treaty. But Mr. Bush said he was heartened by their first meeting, declaring Mr. Schroeder "at least interested in our point of view".

The two leaders met for more than two hours, discussing a range of ticklish issues, several of which they disagree on. But Mr. Bush said, "We can disagree and still be friends." Mr. Schroeder described the session as 'frank.' "We agreed on practically everything except obviously one thing, and that was, no surprise, the Kyoto protocol," he said referring to the global-warming pact that the U.S. has rejected.

"We have different opinions and we are happy to admit to you that we hold different opinions," Mr. Schroeder said. "We were also happy to admit to one another that we have different positions." Mr. Bush gave no indication his view of global warming or the Kyoto agreement changed after their session. The President said he explained to Mr. Schroeder that a domestic 'energy crisis' made capping carbon dioxide emissions from power plants — thought to be a contributor to global warming — unfeasible. Mr. Bush had promised during his campaign to limit such emissions. Mr. Schroeder said he raised several questions about Mr. Bush's plan for a missile defense shield, including who would be covered by it and what the repercussions would be for nuclear disarmament.

Mr. Bush told reporters he made his case for the system, saying it was meant to protect against 'extremists' who might want to attack the U.S. or Germany. — AP

THE HINDU

31 MAR 2001



# US vetoes UN observers for West Bank

**United Nations, March 28:** The United States used its veto power late on Tuesday to kill a UN Security Council resolution that would have urged creation of an international observer force to protect civilians in the West Bank and Gaza. The vote was 9-1 with four abstentions and Ukraine not voting. In favour were Bangladesh, Colombia, Jamaica, Mali, Mauritius, Singapore, Tunisia, Russia and China.

Abstaining were Britain, France, Ireland and Norway. Supporters of the Palestinians, to the dismay of the West, said they pushed for a vote before an Arab summit ended in Amman, Jordan, on Wednesday. They said a delay until Wednesday morning as requested by the United States on a compromise European text was not acceptable after five days of marathon talks.

At issue was a repeat appeal by Palestinians for the Security Council, at a minimum, to state its willingness to send unarmed UN observers to the West Bank and Gaza, even if Israel refused to allow them into the territories.

The United States, Israel's ally, had been negotiating intensely on the European draft that would not commit the council to any specific action without the agreement of Israel and the Palestinians.

More than 400 people, most of them Palestinians, have been killed in six months of violence between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers. Earlier, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan was pressing Palestinians to avoid a US veto on a Security Council resolution. Speaking to Mr Yasser Arafat on Monday, the Secretary-General said it was not in anyone's interest to push for a vote. (Reuters)



**FIRE IN THE AIR:** A Palestinian burns a US flag during the funeral of 11-year-old Mahmoud Ismail Daraweesh in the West Bank town of Hebron on Wednesday. (Reuters)

## Israel relaxes blockade despite blasts

**Jerusalem, March 28:** Israel opens on Wednesday doors to hundreds of Palestinian workers despite the relentless tempo of attacks in the West Bank and Gaza and in Israel itself.

Tensions were heightened on Tuesday by two Jerusalem bombings that injured at least 33 Israelis and by the killing of an 11-year-old Palestinian boy by Israeli troops, one day after a Palestinian gunman shot dead the 10-month-old daughter of a West Bank settler.

But a spokesman for Israel's civil administration in the occupied West Bank and Gaza said Israel would allow several hundred Palestinians to enter Israel for fruit-picking work.

The move represented a slight relaxation of a blockade on the movement of people and goods. (Reuters)

## A nanny's 13-year march is still unending

BY MOHAMMED ASSADI

Ramallah (West Bank), March 28: Ms Kafa al-Aqra' has not missed a rally against the Israeli occupation for 13 years.

In late 1987, when the first Palestinian popular uprising or *Intifada* flared, the 62-year-old woman, better known as Ms Umm Mazen, joined demonstrations to press for the release of her three sons from Israeli prisons.

When that was achieved under Palestinian-Israeli interim peace deals, Aqra' decided

to take part in the Palestinian revolt for independence which flared in late September after peacemaking hit an impasse.

"This (Israeli) occupation is unendurable. I cannot live any more under their control," said the Palestinian grandmother, wearing a *keffiyeh*, the traditional Palestinian head covering, as she marched in a rally in the West Bank city of Ramallah to protest against an Israeli closure.

Israel has blockaded Palestinian areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to varying degrees since the *Intifada* flared. It says the

measure helps prevent militant attacks but Palestinians and United Nations brand the move collective punishment.

"I will never miss any rally as long as I am breathing," said Ms Umm Mazen, one of some 8,000 inhabitants of the Am'ari refugee camp near Ramallah.

Fellow marchers shout greetings at her as she walks, clutching to her chest a stick flying a Palestinian flag.

Ms Aqra' said she has been suffering from Israeli rule for more than three decades. (Reuters)

THE ASIAN AG

29 MAR 2001

# USA: Albanians in Macedonia anti-democratic

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

WASHINGTON, March 24. - The USA has condemned the extremist forces trying to scuttle the democratic process and the rule of law in Macedonia.

"The USA joins its allies and the UN in condemning the violence perpetrated by a small extremist group determined to destabilise the democratic, multi-ethnic government of Macedonia," President Mr George W Bush said.

He said USA was working with its allies in the region to assist the Macedonian government in countering the ethnic Albanian rebels while supporting Nato's efforts to assess the region's immediate security needs.

Mr Bush encouraged the government of the former Yugoslav republic to "act with restraint" and work with the elected Albanian representatives. "We are already providing surveillance information to the Macedonian government and our defence department is dispatching unmanned aerial vehicles to assist in this effort. Patrols have been increased along Kosovo's border with

Macedonia to improve border security," he said.

The US secretary of state, Gen Colin Powell at a press conference yesterday reiterated his government's stand on the issue, saying "We will stand with the Macedonian government... "We have made it clear that we will support the territorial integrity of Macedonia...."

## Bush backs Annan

President Bush has endorsed UN Secretary General Mr Kofi Annan's candidature for a second term in office, adds AFP. "My administration thinks he is doing an excellent job... and, therefore, we heartily endorse his second term...I appreciate your willingness to serve a second term..." Mr Bush told Mr Annan at a meeting at the Oval Office yesterday.

"I'm looking forward to working not only to make sure that you serve a second term, but once that is done, work closely with you to keep the peace and to make the world more prosperous," a White House statement quoting Mr Bush said.

THE STATESMAN

25 MAR 2001

# Bush backs Annan for second term

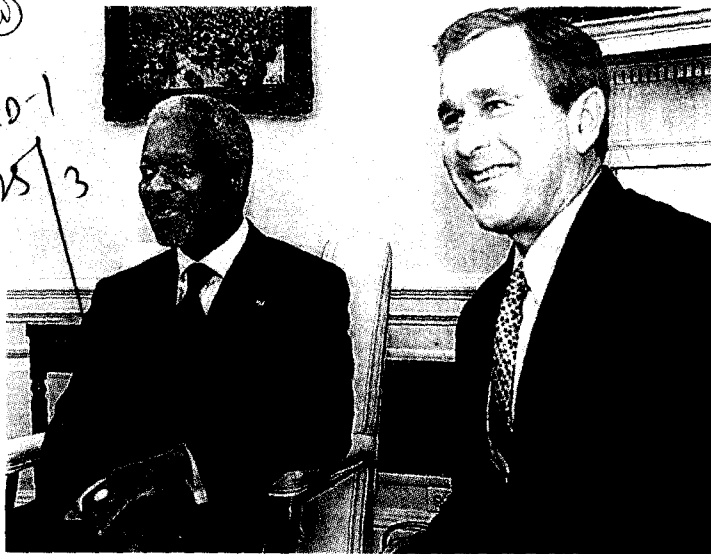
By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, MARCH 24. The United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, received a major boost for his second five-year term on Friday when the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, endorsed his candidacy. Mr. Annan was here for a meeting with the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, and his first meeting with the President at the White House.

"We endorse his second term as Secretary-General," Mr. Bush told reporters. The support of the U.S. is crucial for a U.N. Secretary-General. The Clinton administration had refused to endorse Mr. Boutros Boutros Ghali for a second term. Mr. Annan's candidacy needs the approval of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Mr. Bush and Mr. Annan discussed a wide range of subjects including Macedonia, global poverty, AIDS, West Asia and Iraq. After the meeting, a White House spokesperson said Mr. Bush would work with Congress to approve Washington's dues of about \$600 millions owed to the U.N.

"We were both satisfied that we have put behind us the difficult budgetary issue that has made



The United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, with the U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, at the Oval Office, White House, in Washington on Friday. — AP

our relationship difficult and promised to work very closely together," Mr. Annan said.

The problem of U.S. payments remains as the issue is hanging in the House of Representatives, and any tinkering with what has already been approved in the Senate will further delay the payment.

The only problem in the unanimous endorsement of Mr. Annan for a second term would come from Asia.

So far, no one from the Asian bloc has come up with a candidate, but there seems to be a perception in some quarters that this is perhaps "Asia's turn" to head the world body.

THE HINDU

THE HINDU

25 MAR 2001

49-12  
22/3

## THE BIG POWER EQUATIONS

THE STRATEGIC PRIORITIES of the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, seem to be taking a definitive shape in the present context of his administration's desire to test the strength of Russia's political will to oppose the proposed American missile defence network. Relevant to this gameplan is the U.S.-Japan dialogue on strategic issues. The joint statement on the latest talks between Mr. Bush and the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Yoshiro Mori, is notable on two counts. It not only re-endorses Washington's strategic footprint across East Asia but also advocates "close consultations on missile defence among allies and with other interested parties". Indeed, Mr. Mori does not appear to have been effusive about supporting the evolving American strategic agenda. But the statement conspicuously records that the U.S. and Japan are "already conducting cooperative research on ballistic missile defence technologies". Now, Mr. Mori's position as a beleaguered political leader may not have really heightened the diplomatic lustre of a summit that has been held between two key allies in the present climate of a strategic flux on the global scene. However, the two have arguably gone beyond the ritualistic refrain of conventional strategic wisdom, although they merely asserted the well-known factors — the "U.S.-Japan alliance is the foundation of peace and stability in the Asia Pacific region" and the "U.S. (military) presence" in the area concerned "remains vital to regional security". The salient point really is that these virtual strategic realities, which have remained constant during the past half-century, are being reaffirmed at this sensitive juncture. Obviously, Washington and Tokyo intend to redefine these basics over time and against the unfolding circumstances of an anticipated tussle between the U.S. and the other major powers on the missile defence issue.

Russia is the power most directly concerned with Mr. Bush's new strategic wish-list. While Chi-

na and some members of the European Union are also closely monitoring his mood and methods in this field, Russia's higher stakes are rooted in the 'spirit' of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which Moscow and Washington had signed in 1972 to outlaw the creation of defence shields aimed at neutralising the deterrent effect of the systems that could deliver nuclear warheads. The ban was seen then as the critical aspect of a barometer of international strategic stability. However, Moscow is now furious over certain reported remarks of the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld. The new U.S.-Russia row is energised by his allegations about Moscow's perceived recklessness in encouraging or enabling countries such as North Korea and Iran to acquire nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. This new accusation and Mr. Rumsfeld's earlier denunciation of the ABM Treaty as an ancient relic determine the diplomatic logic of Washington's plans for a missile defence trust. Moscow's counter-point is that a Cold War mentality is still the bane of Washington's strategic impulses and that the Bush administration has not woken up to the non-confrontational ethos of the present phase in big power politics.

The ongoing research-oriented cooperation between the U.S. and Japan in the realm of missile defence knowhow is bound to ruffle China's feathers, given the inherent geopolitical message. However, two imponderables of international politics render it difficult at this stage to foresee the elements of a new worldwide strategic environment. Mr. Bush is keen on engineering afresh a global security architecture, whose cornerstone will be his missile defence initiative. Yet, Russia and China are still largely clueless about how to thwart the U.S. or force it to accommodate their interests. The other uncertainty is whether the U.S. can engage the big and emerging strategic powers in a constructive manner without waiting for them to confront it.

# Robert Blackwill named US envoy to India

S. Rajagopalan  
Washington, March 22

ROBERT D. BLACKWILL, a career diplomat and currently the Belfer lecturer on international security with Harvard University, will be USA's next Ambassador to India.

Announcing the nomination, President George W. Bush said, "Bob Blackwill understands the important place India holds in my foreign policy agenda, and he will be an outstanding American

Ambassador to India. He will bring a wealth of expertise to the position."

A senior foreign policy adviser to Mr Bush during his presidential campaign, Mr Blackwill has done a stint as special assistant to George Bush Sr. for European and Soviet affairs. An arms control expert, he is believed to be a close associate of National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice.

For one regarded by some hardcore Republicans as being soft towards China, Mr Blackwill is

credited with playing a significant part in advocating a larger India focus when Mr Bush's campaign platform was drafted last year.

The platform (manifesto) said: "India is emerging as one of the great democracies of the 21st century. Soon it will be the world's most populous state. India is now redefining its identity and future strategy. The United States should engage India, respecting its great multicultural achievements and encouraging Indian choices for a more open world."

The document, while taking note of the "longstanding relationship with Pakistan", said the US would accord priority to "the secure, stable development of this volatile region where adversaries now face each other with nuclear arsenals."

Mr Blackwill is the author of many books on international security with a special focus on arms controls issues. His latest book, America's Asian Alliances, co-edited with Paul Dibb, was published last year. Earlier on, he had

co-edited another book, New Nuclear Nations. During the Republican convention in Philadelphia last year, Blackwill incurred the wrath of conservatives who objected to his reported bid to "delete" offensive references to China in the party document. The conservatives, however, had their way.

During his diplomatic career, Blackwill was US ambassador and chief negotiator at the talks with the former Warsaw Pact countries.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

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23 MAR 2001

# U.S. to expel 50 Russian diplomats; Russia vows tit-for-tat

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, MARCH 22. The U.S. and Russia may just be getting ready for a major diplomatic tussle following reports that the Bush Administration has already asked or is on the verge of asking some 50 Russian diplomats to leave the country.

On Wednesday, the U.S. had declared six Russian officials as *persona non grata* and asked them to leave the country.

This is said to be in retaliation to the recent arrest of the top FBI counter-intelligence agent, Mr. Robert Hansen, who has been accused of working for the Russians in exchange for \$1.4 million in cash and diamonds over 15 years. Neither the State Department nor the CIA would comment on the media reports on the expulsions but unnamed senior officials of the administration say the government has been asking Moscow to cut down its intelligence staff for quite some time and that the requests have been ignored.

The latest move is being viewed against the backdrop of

the arrest of Mr. Hansen.

Mr. Hansen not only compromised highly classified secrets but is also believed to have led the Russians on to a tunnel dug under the Russian embassy complex here for eavesdropping.

The Russians, in the aftermath of the reports surfacing in the media on the tunnel, protested to the U.S. which instantly brushed off the charges.

One of the unofficial replies was that the American Embassy in Moscow was recently rebuilt after the Russians had extensively bugged it.

The last time the U.S. and Russia — or the then Soviet Union — were at loggerheads over expulsions was in 1986 when the President, Mr. Ronald Reagan, ordered some 80 Soviet diplomats out of the country in what was known as Operation Famish.

The Cold War may have ended, but both the U.S. and Russia are believed to continue their extensive spying operations and occasionally resort to expulsions.

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, MARCH 22. Russia may expel "hundreds" of American diplomats from Moscow if the U.S. goes ahead with its threat to throw out 50 Russian diplomats.

Relations between the two countries suddenly took a dip towards a cold war on Thursday as Moscow made it clear it was prepared to go very far in retaliating the expulsion of its embassy personnel.

A senior Russian security service source was quoted as saying that "hundreds" of U.S. embassy official might now be expelled.

"To respond adequately, Russia would have to expel hundreds of employees from the U.S. embassy to match the proportionate Russian losses in the United States," the security source told the RIA news agency. Russia has 190 people at its missions in the U.S. while the U.S. Embassy has 1,100 of its citizens in Russia.

The U.S. has so far expelled six Russian diplomats accused of being linked to Mr. Robert Hansen, a senior FBI agent accused of spying for Russia for 15 years. Mos-



The U.S. Ambassador, Mr. James Collins, leaving Russia's Foreign Ministry building in Moscow on Thursday. — Reuters

cow has not yet retaliated, apparently waiting for confirmation of media reports. If reports prove correct, it would be the biggest expulsion of Russian personnel from the U.S. since 1986 when then President, Mr. Ronald Reagan, ordered some 80 Soviet diplomats out of the country.

Russian officials have already brushed aside the spy scandal as the reason for expulsions. "This is an exclusively political step to show Russia its place in the new world order," RIA *Novosti* quoted the security official.

The U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, Mr. James Collins, was called in for explanations to the Russian Foreign Ministry. Ministry sources said he had been told that Russian reaction to threatened expulsions would be "prompt".

The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin's foreign policy aide angrily denounced Washington for getting engaged in "spy mania." "Any campaign of spy mania and searching for enemies brings deep regret, and this is a fallback to the Cold War epoch," said Mr. Sergei Prikhodko, deputy chief of the Kremlin staff.

# USA will not 'force peace' in West Asia

REUTERS

WASHINGTON, March 21. — US President Mr George W Bush, on his first real foray into the West Asia conflict, discussed the issues with Israeli Prime Minister Mr Ariel Sharon yesterday and said the United States "will not try to force peace" in the region.

Mr Bush, and Mr Sharon held Oval office talks a decade after Mr Sharon was snubbed by Washington as an obstacle to West Asia peace.

"I told him that our nation will not try to force peace, that we will facilitate peace and we will work with those responsible for peace," Mr Bush told reporters. His statement appeared to reinforce a sharp departure from the US approach under his predecessor, characterised by Mr Bill Clinton's deep personal involvement in trying to broker peace deals between Israel and Palestine.

Security was unusually tight within a two-block radius of the White House. Police armed with metal detectors checked pedestrians for weapons in Lafayette Park, across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House, and near Blair House, Mr Sharon's guest residence.

USA took advantage of the visit to slam tentative Israeli

plans to expand a Jewish settlement at the edge of Arab East Jerusalem by 3,000 more homes. Palestinians view as a provocation the Har Homa settlement on a hill known as Jabal Abu Ghneim.

"We don't think that continued construction activity like this contributes to peace or stability. So we have urged both sides to refrain from unilateral actions," said state department spokesman Mr Richard Boucher.

Aides to Mr Sharon said that in his first talks with Mr Bush since they both took office, the Israeli leader hoped to head off any visit to Washington by Palestinian President Mr Yasser Arafat, whom he accuses of fomenting the violence.

"I haven't made up my plans on who I am going to meet with yet," said Mr Bush when asked if Mr Arafat would be his guest. Sharon told Israeli journalists after his meeting that he had told Mr Bush that to invite Mr Arafat would send a signal that "terrorism pays."

Israeli delegation sources told reporters later that Mr Bush had told Mr Sharon, "I'm 100 per cent with you" that there should be no negotiations under the pressure of "terror."

A senior US official insisted Mr Sharon made no request

that Mr Bush hold off on inviting Mr Arafat. He said Mr Arafat had been called on to reduce the violence, but this was not a condition for an invitation.

He said Israel also had to restore normal economic activity in Palestinian areas where it had imposed measures blocking the free passage of people and goods.

Mr Hassan Abdel-Rahman, the Palestinian ambassador in Washington, said there were no plans for a Bush-Arafat meeting. "We did not request a meeting and there is no invitation," he said.

Mr Bush plans to meet the leaders of Egypt and Jordan, Arab states at peace with Israel but whose embassies in Tel Aviv have been without ambassadors because of the unrest — a situation secretary of state Mr Colin Powell has called "most unfortunate."

Mr Sharon said he was convinced that Mr Bush agreed with Israel's conditioning of any resumption of peace talks although Mr Bush himself did not say so during the Oval office. Asked if he thought Mr Arafat was a danger to regional stability, Mr Sharon said: "I don't think that I have to add about a fact that everyone knows."

Israelis have voiced concern

## NO DISCUSSION ON TAIWAN ARMS PACKAGE

WASHINGTON, March 21. — The USA has said it would not consult or negotiate Taiwan's arms requests with Beijing.

Mr Qian, China's vice-premier, will meet the secretary of state, Mr Colin Powell, today and President Mr George W Bush tomorrow in a bid to convince Washington of the folly of selling hi-tech battle management systems to Taiwan.

Successive US administrations had voiced support for Beijing's "one China policy" and for its goal of peaceful reunification with Taiwan, Mr Qian said in New York yesterday.

"If it really means what it says, I am sure it can play a significant role," he said.

State department spokesman, Mr Richard Boucher, said that the scope of the arms package was not up for debate.

"We don't consult with China on our arms sales to Taiwan. We will sell to Taiwan what we think is appropriate and necessary to meet their legitimate defensive needs," Mr Boucher said.

US officials have often stressed that arms packages are not negotiable. But they often hint that China could influence Taiwan's defence needs by moderating the perceived threat to the nationalist island.

"China's military posture shares Taiwan's perception of the military threat it faces," Mr Boucher said.

China has already said any decision to provide Taiwan with sophisticated destroyers equipped with the aegis battle management system would seriously inflame tensions.

— AFP

that despite their close alliance with the USA bolstered by about \$ 3 billion a year in US aid, the new administration will take an even-handed approach with Israelis and Palestinians.

Israel withdrew its troops from south Lebanon last May, ending a 22-year occupation.



Mr George W Bush

## US-Taliban talks end in deadlock

WASHINGTON, March 20. - The talks between the US state department and the Taliban foreign ministry ended in a deadlock today with Washington maintaining that the Kabul regime failed to give specific proposals on ending terrorism in the region.

The letter which the Taliban foreign ministry official, Syed Rahmatullah Hashemi, forwarded to Mr George W Bush during his meeting with the state department officials pressed for improved relations and continued dialogue. However, no specific proposal was stated in the letter. — UNI

THE STATESMAN

21 MAR 2001



# Sharon heads for first meeting with Bush

By Danielle Haas  
Jerusalem, March 18

ISRAELI PRIME Minister Ariel Sharon leaves behind a volatile domestic security situation on Sunday to meet President George W Bush in Washington for the first time since both took office.

Sharon is also due to meet senior defense officials, US Jewish and congressional leaders and visit the United Nations as Palestinians' feelings run high over Israeli restrictions on their movement after almost six months of an uprising.

Shin Bet security chief Avi Dichter met Palestinian intelligence chief Amin al-Hindi late on Saturday at Gaza's Erez crossing with Israel to discuss trying to reduce the level of violence, sources close to the meeting said.

They said it was the second time the two had held talks since Sharon defeated Ehud Barak in February's prime ministerial election. But Palestinian Public Security chief Major General Abdel-Razek al-Majaydeh said no meeting had taken place.

There was no Israeli confirmation that the talks had happened, although Israel Radio reported that Sharon had given the green light to Israeli officials to hold talks with Palestinian counterparts on reducing tensions.

At least 347 Palestinians, 65 Israelis and 13 Israeli Arabs have been killed since the uprising

against Israeli occupation erupted in September.

Thousands of Palestinians took to the streets of the West Bank and Gaza on Saturday to demand an end to Israeli blockades of Palestinian areas, scornful of Israeli promises to relax controls the Jewish state says are necessary for its security.

Palestinian hospital officials said that Israeli troops shot and wounded two Palestinians in separate incidents in the Gaza Strip.

Witnesses reported heavy late-night exchanges of gunfire between Israeli soldiers and Palestinians to the north of the West Bank town of Hebron, close to the West Bank settlement of Tapuach and near Neve Dekalim and Gush Katif in the Gaza Strip.

Sharon, Arafat seek support  
The hardline Sharon, cold-shouldered by the United States as an obstacle to peace less than a decade ago, wants support for his demand that peace talks with Palestinians will only resume if there is an end to the uprising that broke out in September.

Palestinian President Yasser Arafat, on his own drive to drum up support ahead of an Arab summit in Amman later this month, held talks with his Egyptian counterpart Hosni Mubarak on Saturday.

A senior Palestinian official said Arafat would visit Syria this month for talks with President Bashar al-Assad that aim to end

## MORI OFF TO WASHINGTON

PRIME MINISTER Yoshiro Mori departed Sunday for a summit with President Bush amid political turmoil in Japan that has dimmed hopes of a substantial meeting. Mori is widely expected to step down next month over gaffes and scandals that have sent his popularity plunging to less than 10 percent. Nevertheless, the agenda for the meeting, scheduled for Monday in Washington, is a full one. The summit in Washington and another one scheduled for March 25 with Russian President Vladimir Putin have so far been noteworthy primarily for their impact on Japan's domestic politics.

AP, Tokyo

## Fresh violence claims eight in Indonesia

Jakarta, March 18

FRESH FIGHTING has killed at least eight people in Indonesia's restive Aceh province, police and human rights workers said on Sunday.

Local police chief Said Huseini said officers shot three separatist rebels to death on Saturday on the outskirts of the provincial capital of Banda Aceh, but he would give no further details. A civilian was killed by crossfire in a separate gunfight nearby, police said.

Human rights workers said the bodies of four villagers were found on Saturday in southern Aceh, about 1,100 miles north-west of Jakarta. The victims appeared to have been killed by gunshots, they said.

Indonesia's government said Saturday it has deployed three battalions of troops to Aceh to protect Exxon Mobil Corp.'s natural gas fields after the company suspended operations last week because of rebel attacks.

**Nuke reactor deal:** North Korea's state-run media on Sunday warned President Bush he risks drastically worsening relations if the US reconsiders a Clinton-era deal to help build nuclear reactors. Such a move would lead North Korea to "take up an extreme hardline stance," the broadcast on Radio Pyongyang said.

A.P

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

19 MAR 2001

# Bush to visit Beijing during Asian tour

(11) 12 By Sridhar Krishnaswami 1815

WASHINGTON, MARCH 17. The U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, is making plans to visit Beijing prior to heading to Shanghai for the meeting of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum this October. The White House made this announcement a day after China formally said that Mr. Bush would be in Beijing.

The announcement of Mr. Bush's travel plans to Beijing comes at a time when the new Republican administration is fine-tuning its East Asian policy making it known quite clearly in the process that Washington will be paying more attention to traditional allies and friends in the region, notably Japan. The Bush administration has also made it plain that it does not view China as a "strategic partner". The other parts of Mr. Bush's travel to Asia later this year have not been fully finalised; and the expectation is that he will be adding at least one other major destination in course of time. In 1998, the former President, Mr. Bill Clinton, was criticised for skipping Asian capitals such as Tokyo and Seoul largely out of a deference to the wishes of the Chinese.

Even before the fuller aspects of the travel plans to China are put in place, Washington and Beijing are getting ready for some heady times in their bilateral relationship. The Republican administration has started confidentially briefing Congress on the Taiwan Arms shopping list and there are reports that this administration has finalised the package. The formal decision is normally taken around mid-April.

For the third year in a row, Taiwan is seeking four Aegis-equipped missile destroyers armed with Tomahawk cruise missiles valued at US \$1 billion per piece. And there is increased pressure on the administration from conservative Republicans to let Taiwan what it needs on account of a growing threat perception from China. And Beijing's chief worry is that the Aegis systems gives Taiwan the ballistic missile defence capability. In spite of the growing pressure from Capitol Hill and other conservative quarters, Mr. Bush is expected to follow the footsteps of his predecessor and not grant the Aegis sale which is generally seen as one of the most sensitive issues in bilateral ties. The impression is that the new Bush administration despite all of its anti-China rhetoric will see the larger picture of national interests.

The pressure on the administration on granting Taiwan's main request which will be brought formally by a top Naval official next week also comes at a time when there have been reports of China having completed a second missile base just 135 miles off Taiwan. The Pentagon is worried of the Chinese M-9 missile buildup across the Taiwan Straits. Mr. Bush is expected to raise the new missile base and a number of other issues with the visiting Chinese Vice-Premier, Mr. Qian Qichen, during a scheduled meeting next week. Mr. Qian, a respected expert in international affairs, and Mr. Bush will be discussing the full range of subjects, the White House has said.

THE HINDU

18 MAR 2001

110-12

## DEFINING A U.S. 'DEFENCE' PLAN 1613

A 'FRESH' THINKING has been promised by the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, in regard to the daunting task of visualising as also developing and deploying a state-of-the-art missile defence system. For a starter, he has expressed political misgivings about describing the proposed plan as a national missile defence system (NMD). According to him, "national" and "theatre" are "words that aren't useful" in reference to the specific missile defence plans of the U.S. The original proposal for a "national missile defence" system is often seen in the global diplomatic arena as a possible scheme aimed at protecting only the U.S. and its assets as also interests that span the entire world. The ideas about the related "theatre" defence networks relate to the U.S.-led effort to carve out geopolitical sanctuaries of safety from ballistic missile attacks. The notion of "theatre" defence will, by a commonsensical definition, apply to a collection of states with strategic links to the U.S. However, the U.S. has not so far delineated these concepts with much precision. It is in this context that Mr. Rumsfeld has now argued that "what's 'national'... and what's 'theatre' depends on where you live". However, he is keen that the current "fresh" thinking should go beyond the political significance of any change in the nomenclature. The term NMD came dramatically into vogue in the final phase of the previous Clinton presidency, and Mr. Rumsfeld himself had played a pivotal role during that period in formulating an expert opinion about the imperative of a missile defence shield. The genesis of the NMD could be traced to the perception that the U.S. and its worldwide interests are threatened by the proliferation of ballistic missiles in the hands of diverse states and non-state players, including those seen to be inherently inimical to Washington.

In seeking to insulate the U.S. missile defence plans from the ambiguities of terminology, the Defence Secretary may have also complicat-

ed the prevalent perceptions about them. These plans, in his view, will be designed to meet an obvious aspect of "the so-called 'asymmetrical' threats" emanating from "terrorism and cruise missiles, as well as ballistic missiles, information warfare". The argument runs deep to the effect that "a rational way" of conceiving and fabricating a missile defence will be to avoid the usage of terms that "could create significant differentials in vulnerabilities". The present bottomline in the U.S. strategic plans, as outlined by Mr. Rumsfeld at a media briefing, is to prevent such "vulnerabilities" so that not only the U.S. and its forward-deployed forces outside its shores but also its "allies" could "feel equally secure to the extent that is possible". Now, this is perhaps indicative of a move by the Bush administration to extend the scope of a missile defence system to include the U.S.' allies from the beginning.

Diverse but definitive has been the opposition from Russia as also China and some European countries to the original American plans in this regard. The U.S.' allies in Europe may feel inclined to consider some of Mr. Rumsfeld's new priorities as good news. Russia and China, besides the European Union in its entirety, may nonetheless want credible assurances that they can live with. Their concerns, which Washington has yet to address fully, relate to the perception that any U.S. move, based on its unilateral initiatives that might even receive the friendly assent of its allies, could still destabilise the existing global strategic dispensation. Russia's additional worries may have nothing much to do with a desire for a post-Cold War parity with the U.S. But Moscow will not like Washington to seek an undue advantage, with or without reference to their Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972, while China is eager to safeguard its strategic flanks somehow. It will, therefore, be a good idea for Washington to engage several existing and emerging strategic powers, including India, on the missile defence issue.

THE HINDU

## Define defensive weapon, U.S. tells Russia

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, MARCH 13. The Bush Administration has expressed concern at Russia's increased trade in "defensive" weapons and nuclear cooperation with Iran. The State Department has taken the position that sale of advanced conventional weapons or sensitive technologies are of particular concern to the U.S.

"It is particularly counter-productive for the Russians to sell things in their neighbourhood, in areas that affect us as well as that might threaten us all," said the State Department spokesman, Mr. Richard Boucher. Washington, in the meantime, is saying that it is up to Moscow and Teheran to define what is meant by defensive weapons.

The Russian sale of weapons to Iran and cooperation in sensitive technologies has been a matter of concern to the U.S. in the last several years including during the eight years of the Clinton administration. "The issue of Russian proliferation activities is a top priority issue for the administration.

It's one that the United States has raised frequently with the Russians in the past and one that we will continue to raise into the future," said Mr. Boucher.

In the present context, the issue gets into sharper focus given the Bush Administration's seemingly tough posturings on such issues as the National Missile Defence System which is vehemently opposed by Russia.

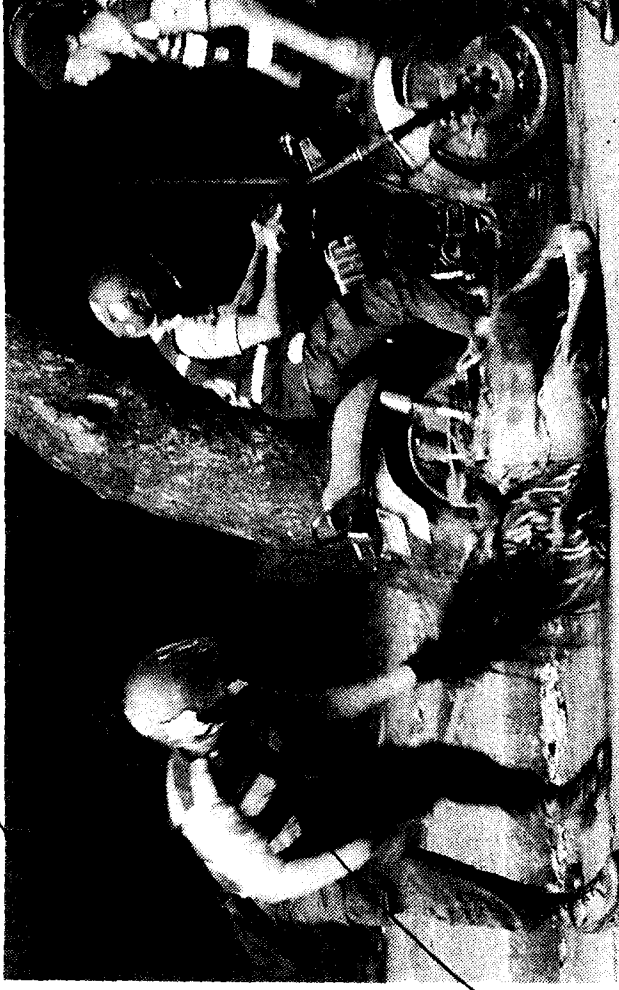
The U.S. has also said the issue will be raised when Mr. Sergei Ivanov, Secretary of the Russian President's Security Council, meets the National Security Advisor, Ms. Condoleezza Rice, and the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, on Wednesday. "... he is not coming to talk to us about this. But obviously we may end up talking about this to him."

The U.S. is also expected to extend the six year trade and investment ban on Iran which will expire on Thursday if the President, Mr. George W. Bush, does not renew it. The Republican administration has made it known that it has little stomach for sanctions, but for

obvious political reasons punitive measures will be sought and maintained on some countries.

Gen. Powell has said on more than one occasion that Washington will seek to improve relations with Iran which has been in the deep freeze since the 1979 Islamic Revolution. At the same time no substantive changes in American policy can be expected for the next several months, including on the sanctions front. Aside from concerns on the nuclear and missile technology fronts, the U.S. accuses Iran of sponsoring terrorism and impeding the West Asia peace process.

The first major test for the administration will come in August when the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act expires. This focuses on penalising foreign energy firms doing business with the two countries. Several major firms in Europe and the Asia Pacific have consistently and blatantly flouted this law and the Bush Administration will have the "choice" of doing away with the law or reinforcing it in a meaningful fashion.



An Indonesian protester is dragged by his hair by police during clashes in front of the Golkar Party office in Jakarta on Tuesday. Police fired teargas and used batons when rock-throwing students attacked the office of a former ruling party during a day of demonstrations by supporters and opponents of Indonesia's embattled head of state, Mr. Abdurrahman Wahid. — AP

# Six soldiers die in US military exercise

Andrea Stone/Dave Moniz  
Kuwait, March 13

FIVE US MILITARY personnel and a New Zealand Army officer were killed on Monday when a Navy F/A-18 Hornet dropped a bomb on them by mistake during a night training exercise in north-west Kuwait, Pentagon officials said. The accident occurred between 7 and 8 p.m. local time at the Udairi training range near the Iraqi border. U.S., New Zealand and Kuwaiti forces were practicing a "close air support" drill in which ground troops direct airstrikes against enemy targets nearby. The live bomb was dropped by a Hornet flying from the aircraft carrier Harry S. Truman.

Officials from U.S. Central Command said two of the dead were Army soldiers and two were members of the Air Force. Information on the fifth U.S. casualty was not available. The New Zealander was identified as Army Maj. John McNutt.

Five Americans injured in the bombing were hospitalized. Other military personnel, including Americans and Kuwaitis, were treated for minor injuries.

An investigation board appointed by the head of Central Command, Army Gen. Tommy Franks, will be sent to Kuwait this week.

The accident comes at a bad time for the Navy, which has suffered embarrassing publicity over the sinking of a Japanese fishing vessel when the submarine USS Greeneville rammed it last month. Nine Japanese died in the collision off Hawaii coast, and the Navy is conducting a rare court of inquiry into the mishap.

The Kuwait bombing was part of a multinational exercise conducted four times a year since the 1991 Gulf War, when a U.S.-led coalition expelled Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

President Bush said in Florida on Monday, "I'm reminded today of how dangerous service can be." He called for "a moment of silence for those soldiers and their families."

Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said, "We will work hard to take care of the families involved, and to find out how such an accident could occur."

New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark expressed shock "that a training exercise could go so terribly wrong." She called for an

"urgent explanation."

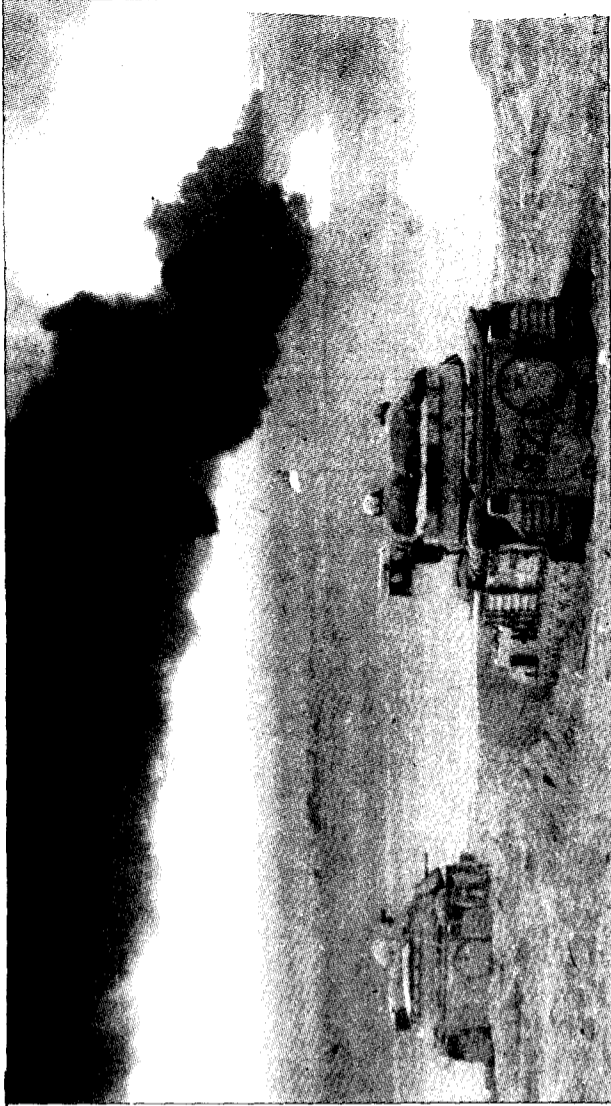
The last time a carrier-based aircraft killed someone on the ground during an exercise was in 1989. A Marine jet dropped a 500-pound bomb that killed a civilian on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. Although fatal accidents on bombing practice ranges are rare, dropping explosives over the desert is risky, experienced military pilots say. They suggest several scenarios.

The pilot might have erred in calculating the proper moment to release the "dumb" bomb, which glides to its target without the benefit of a guidance system.

The troops hit by the bomb might have strayed from designated areas and could have been mistaken for a target or gotten too close to the exploding bomb.

There might have been a software glitch in the jet's onboard computer that caused the bomb to drop too soon. Or the weapon might have dropped too late because it hung up on the brackets holding it under the wing.

The pilot might have mistaken the victims for a target, especially if they were near the strike zone. That possibility increases at night and in desert terrain with few nat-



AP PHO  
Flames erupt from targets during joint live fire exercises by US and Kuwaiti military at Udairi Range in Kuwait, 30 km from the Iraq border

ural landmarks.

The ground controllers directing the strike might have given the pilot the wrong coordinates. Col.

Jet Jernigan, a Gulf War veteran said "tactical" bombing ranges such as Udairi can create special hazards because tactical ranges

often include target vehicles, simulated surface-to-air missile sites or enemy buildings, all difficult to identify. (USA TODAY)

# North Korea calls off talks,<sup>HFH</sup> awaits US policy

Seoul, March 13 <sup>W.S.M.</sup>

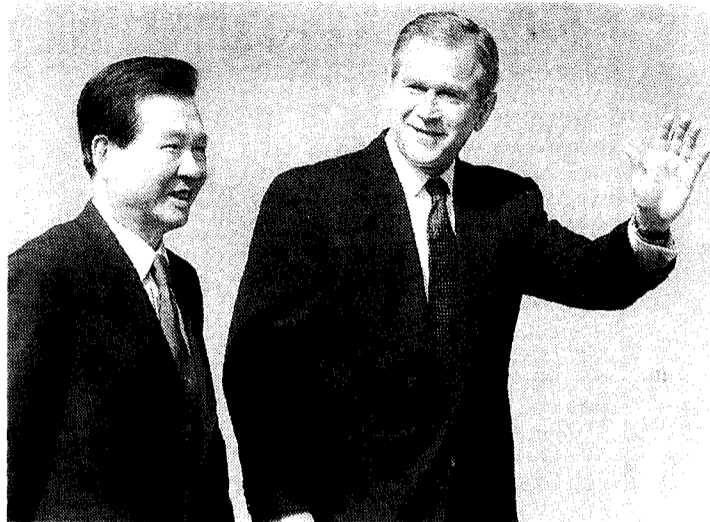
NORTH KOREA called off cabinet-level talks with South Korea hours before they were to begin on Tuesday, prompting speculation that the North was upset by tougher talk from the new US administration. The abrupt cancellation came as a blow to warming relations on the divided Korean peninsula and a reminder that the North remains a highly unpredictable negotiating partner despite its overtures to the world since last year.

It also heightened a perception in South Korea that President Bush's decision to review the North Korean policy of the former Clinton administration was slowing the fitful process of reconciliation. At a meeting in Washington last week, Bush told South Korean President Kim Dae-Jung that he was skeptical of North Korea and would not immediately resume negotiations on the North's missile programme.

Kim Sung-Han, a North Korea expert at Institute of Foreign Affairs speculated that the North's decision to cancel the talks in Seoul was "an indirect protest of the results" of the Bush-Kim meeting. North Korean chief delegate Jon Kum Jin did not give a reason for the cancellation. "Considering various circumstances, we cannot participate in today's meeting," the South Korean Government quoted Jon as saying. **AP**

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14 MAR 2001



The U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, waves as he walks with his South Korean counterpart, Mr. Kim Dae-jung, outside the Oval Office at the White House on Wednesday. — AP

## Bush takes tough line on N. Korea

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, MARCH 8. The U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, has expectedly taken a tough line against North Korea and has said that Washington had no immediate plans to resume negotiations on ending Pyongyang's missile programme. Among other things, Mr. Bush expressed his doubts whether the reclusive communist nation would honour any accord on missiles.

Mr. Bush made these observations during the course of a joint press appearance with the South Korean President, Mr. Kim Dae Jung, after talks at the White House on Wednesday. Mr. Kim, who is on a six-day visit to the U.S., was hoping that the Bush administration would throw its weight behind its "sunshine policy". In the course of his visit Mr. Kim is expected to meet senior economic and national security officials of the Bush administration and Congressional leaders.

Mr. Kim said Mr. Bush "clearly expressed his strong support for our efforts to further the dialogue with North Korea". Mr. Kim, who is meeting Mr. Bush for the first time, said his country would keep American interests in mind and would consult Washington "every step of the way" in dealing with North Korea.

A joint statement issued by the two sides spoke of the importance of continued close cooperation among the two countries and Japan on the North Korean policy. But Mr. Bush and senior administration officials have left little doubt that the policy pursued by the Clinton administration was not going to be continued.

According to the Secretary of

State, Gen. Colin Powell, the President told Mr. Kim that his administration was not going to be "fooled" by the nature of the regime in Pyongyang and that Washington would view it in a "very realistic way". According to Gen. Powell, Mr. Bush forcefully made the argument to Mr. Kim that North Korea is a threat.

"Part of the problem with North Korea is that there is not much transparency... When you make an agreement with a country that is secretive, how are you aware as to whether or not they are keeping the terms of the agreement", Mr. Bush remarked. He, however, did not totally reject the idea of resumed negotiations but made the point that any dialogue or negotiation "... would require complete verification".

Placed in the category of a "rogue" state, North Korea is a constant suspect in the peddling of weapons or technologies of mass destruction, including to such countries as Pakistan. This apart, the Bush administration has been talking of threats from North Korean missiles to the U.S. and its allies; and it is chiefly on account of Pyongyang that the Republican administration is pushing for the National Missile Defence system.

Mr. Kim did not specifically refer to the NMD or South Korea's perception to the ongoing debate. But there seemed to be support for the plan. "The two leaders shared the view that countering these threats requires a broad strategy involving a variety of measures including active non-proliferation diplomacy, defensive systems and other pertinent measures", the joint statement said.

THE HINDU

9 MAR 2001

# US takes fresh look at North Korean policy

Washington, March 7

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. Bush and his South Korean counterpart Kim Dae-jung met on Wednesday amid signs that US policy toward North Korea is still in a state of flux under the new Republican administration.

Bush officials have sent mixed signals on whether they would

pick up where former President Bill Clinton left off in his bid to end North Korea's missile programme and if Washington would continue to back the "sunshine" policy of engagement which helped Kim win the Nobel Peace Prize last year.

Secretary of State Colin Powell saw "promising elements" in Clinton's efforts and said the United States planned to engage with North Korea to examine those elements.

But another senior administration official, briefing reporters on condition of anonymity, struck a more negative and cautionary note, saying Bush had not yet decided whether to restart the missile discussions.

"We are examining our policies toward North Korea. ... We made clear to the Clinton administration that it was their decision to go forward and that we would then come back and take a fresh look at the entire policy," the official said. "We don't have a policy yet on whether we want to restart those discussions."

In the final months of his term, Clinton made some

progress toward an agreement under which North Korea would have abandoned its long-range missile programs in return for foreign help with launching North Korean satellites. But it ran out of time to clinch a deal.

Since Bush took office on Jan. 20, neither he nor his aides have announced how they will deal with North Korea.



George W Bush

sile tests was unhelpful and "counterproductive."

She was responding to North Korean complaints that Bush was taking a hard line on the reclusive Stalinist state and had not fulfilled commitments under the Agreed Framework of 1994, in which Pyongyang gave up its nuclear programs in exchange for \$5 billion in nuclear power reactors and alternative energy.

"We're not walking away from the Agreed Framework," the official who briefed reporters said, but stressed that "implementation of the framework has run into some difficulties so we have to take a look at whether we think it can be implemented, how to move it forward."

Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

8 MAR 2001



# U.S. and the Gulf: imperial overreach?

By C. Raja Mohan

*There is no question that the Bush Administration will be unable to continue with the old policies in the Gulf.*

THE VICTOR belongs to the spoils. Exactly a decade after the liberation of Kuwait from the occupation of Iraq, America remains trapped in the Gulf with no clear direction and increasingly isolated from the international coalition it had so successfully built to defeat the Iraqi leader, Mr. Saddam Hussein. The two major policies that a victorious America unveiled after the Gulf War — the promotion of a peace process between Israel and the Arabs and the dual containment of Iraq and Iran in the Gulf — now lie in tatters. And the U.S. is badly divided on how best to move forward in achieving its long-term objectives in the Middle East.

Remember the "New World Order" that was proclaimed by the then U.S. President, Mr. George Bush Sr., after he drove Mr. Saddam Hussein's forces out of Kuwait? The dazzling military victory against Iraq in February 1991 was followed by an even bigger gain for the U.S. — the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of that year. The U.S. was duly proclaimed the "sole superpower". In a well-publicised article, an American columnist declared that a "unipolar moment" in world affairs was at hand.

That American triumphalism in the early 1990s cannot be of much use to the present President, Mr. George W. Bush, inheritor of his father's legacy in the Middle East. For, the great lesson in the 1990s has been that tangible American hegemony over the Middle East and its dominance over international institutions was not enough to manage the many contradictions in the region. Few great powers have enjoyed as much of a free hand in one region as did the U.S. in the Middle East in the closing years of the 20th century. And few Governments devoted as much diplomatic energy in the region as the Clinton Administration did in the Middle East. Yet, at the end of a decade, the limitations of power, as traditionally conceived, have never been exposed as badly in the Middle East as they have been over the last decade.

Immediately after the Gulf War, President Bush Sr., shifted focus to the Arab-Israeli dispute. The defeat of the radical

Arab states and the marginalisation of Russia and other powers in the Middle East, it was believed, gave a unique opportunity for the U.S. to reshape the politics of the region and redefine the nature of relations between Israel and the moderate Arab states and between Israel and Palestinians away from confrontation to a lasting accommodation. No doubt, huge progress was made on all the tracks. Yet,

the prospects for peace have been shattered by unending violence between Israelis and Palestinians.

In the Gulf, the U.S. strategy of containing what Washington called the "backlash states" — Iraq and Iran — lies in ruins. Despite the huge structure of United Nations sanctions, restrictions on Iraq's strategic programmes, and the U.S. no-fly zones imposed on Iraq, Mr. Saddam Hussein appears stronger than ever. The hope that there will be an internal revolt against him has faded. Meanwhile, the U.S. has lost the propaganda war with Iraq on sanctions. Few in the world are willing to buy the U.S. argument that the sanctions are aimed at the regime and not the civilian population.

The sanctions regime has begun to fray at the edges, as France, Russia and China look for ways of doing business with Iraq. Many of Iraq's neighbours have long exploited the loopholes in the sanctions regime. And the U.N. itself has found it difficult to sustain a permanent confrontation with Iraq over inspections of Mr. Saddam Hussein's programmes to build weapons of mass destruction. Similarly, few in the world agree with Washington's attempts to isolate Teheran, and the U.S. has itself begun a tentative engagement with the leaders of the Islamic Republic.

The Bush Administration has had the instinctive sense that talking about the U.S. as an "indispensable power" in the world has played badly. Mr. George W.

Bush has emphasised the importance of greater "humility" in the articulation of U.S. foreign objectives and the delineation of its role in the world. But in the Middle East, power is exercised in its rawest forms and the Bush Administration opened its account in the region with a hugely unpopular bombing of Iraq. There

## WORLD VIEW

is no question that the Administration will be unable to continue with the old policies in the Gulf. The just-concluded visit by the U.S. Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, to the region gives some hints of where America is headed in the Middle East as a whole and the Gulf in particular.

First, the U.S. will stay engaged in the region. While there are some voices in America that suggest Washington could adopt a posture of less direct involvement, there may be no real option to either walk away from the Middle East or stop being the principal guarantor of security in the Gulf. Within that broad framework, it is inevitable that there will be changes under the Bush Administration in the U.S. policy towards the region. It is also not likely that Mr. Bush will devote the kind of personal energy that his predecessor, Mr. Bill Clinton, brought to bear on the peace process. The immediate discernible change under Mr. Bush is a greater focus on issues relating to the Gulf.

Second, in what appears to be a pre-emptive move, the U.S. and Great Britain are moving towards a tinkering with the unpopular sanctions regime. The new buzz word is "smart sanctions", and the Bush Administration hopes to offer a relaxation of sanctions that affect civilian trade in return for stronger limitations on Iraq's programmes on developing weapons of mass destruction and its military freedoms. Negotiations at the U.N. have already begun to reshape the sanctions regime against Iraq. But it is not entirely clear, at this stage, how successful the at-

tempt will be. Any modification of the sanctions regime is only likely to further erode the declining credibility of the whole process.

Third, with the political limitations of the sanctions regime fully exposed, the U.S. is debating the possibility of engineering a "regime change" in Iraq. The earlier efforts by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency to promote internal dissent to overthrow Mr. Saddam Hussein have failed miserably. But in the Bush Administration there are strong voices calling for a sustained policy to bring about a political change in Iraq. Reports from Washington indicate that the Administration has stepped up disbursement of funding for the Iraqi National Congress, a conglomeration of opposition forces, to resume its activities inside Iraq. While few are willing to bet on the ability of the INC to undertake anything substantive, it appears that the option of regime change in Iraq will get greater emphasis in Washington in the coming years.

Fourth, although there have been no hints from the Bush Administration so far, a change of tack with Iran may be at the top of U.S. policy choices in the Gulf. While the Clinton Administration had begun to reach out to Teheran in the last couple of years, it was half-hearted. It remains to be seen whether the U.S., in its search for a better balance in the region, can initiate a more purposeful diplomacy towards Iran, which remains the strategic prize in the Gulf.

Where does all this leave India? New Delhi's interests and engagement in the Gulf have expanded in recent years. As the U.S. policy towards the region begins to undergo significant changes, and the intra-regional dynamics within the Gulf acquire a momentum of their own, the next decade in this extended neighbourhood of India will not be like the last. New Delhi's preparations for the incipient changes there must include more intensive discussion of long-term security challenges with the key Gulf states as well as the great powers, including the U.S., and a willingness to share the burden of Gulf security.

THE HINDU

1 MAR 2001

# ✓ Powell hints at shift in Kosovo policy

By Batuk Gathani

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**BRUSSELS, FEB. 28.** On his first visit to the NATO headquarters here, the new U.S. Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, has made a favourable impression among European officials with his conciliatory comments on a NATO response to the four-month-old upsurge of violence in the Balkans.

Many Europeans acknowledge that Gen. Powell is the most acclaimed Secretary of State since Gen. George C. Marshall at the beginning of the Cold War. Under the "Marshall plan", the General was assigned to restructure the shattered economic and military establishments of post-War Europe. Gen. Powell's mission is to consolidate and add new dimensions to Euro-American trade, political and security ties.

NATO officials and Gen. Powell also signalled a shift in the Kosovo policy, based on closer working relations with Yugoslavia. Gen. Powell also dispelled scepticism about the future of trans-Atlantic relations and sought to clear lingering European anxieties over the Bush administration's plans for abandoning the peace-keeping mission in the Balkans, as suggested during the U.S. presidential campaign. Gen. Powell said: "We went in together and we will come out together" but added that the U.S. may want to reassess the size of Balkan peace-keeping troops. Senior NATO officials agree that a great deal about this may depend on the unfolding political and military scenario in the Balkans, in the background of NATO's fast improving relations with Yugoslavia and the twists and turns of the Albanian insurgency, widely suspected to be master-minded by secessionist extremists and Islamic fundamen-

talists who have called for the creation of a greater Islamic Albania.

The latest NATO policy shift in Kosovo is based on a closer working relationship with the post-Milosevic Yugoslavia, which many Europeans see both as a potential member of the E.U. and NATO. The European perception is that the current territorial integrity of Yugoslavia and other Balkan states may not be disturbed by Albanian secessionists.

At a press conference, NATO officials and Gen. Powell advocated caution. The NATO Secretary General, Lord Robertson, said the problem should be resolved without making Serb forces "belligerent" and thus creating "a more difficult situation than we have now."

The European quest to create an independent Rapid Reaction Force of some 60,000 soldiers has drawn criticism from the U.S. However, Gen. Powell sought to put a more positive accent on the American perception by commenting that the European move may, in fact, "strengthen the (NATO) alliance and the E.U."

Today, after some 14 Euro-American summits, the trans-Atlantic perceptions and relations have vastly changed with growing emphasis on enlargement of trade and investments. There is also a commonality of Euro-American options in defence and foreign policy matters.

The current Euro-American talks under the auspices of NATO during Gen. Powell's visit here also highlighted the breadth and depth of their relations. The tenor of the talks has changed with the emergence of the E.U. as a global economic power, which is in the process of consolidating its traditional relationship with the Bush administration in the U.S.

THE HINDU

1 MAR 2001

# US seeks consensus on modified Iraq deal

Brussels, February 27

THE US aims to rebuild consensus around a modified package of UN sanctions against Iraq in time for an Arab summit on March 27, Secretary of State Colin Powell said on Tuesday.

Powell said the US was still working on the specifics of the package, but a senior official said the idea was to ease restrictions on Iraqi imports of civilian goods while tightening the restrictions on military equipment. "We're going to have to concentrate the controls on weapons of mass destruction items, on military goods, and release the controls on largely civilian goods," the official said.

Powell, speaking to reporters on his plane from Damascus to Brussels at the end of a three-day tour in West Asia, said the idea was to get Arab states and permanent members of the United Nations Security Council to agree on the package. "We get agreement and we make a judgement, and frankly we also get the support of the Arab League in a few weeks' time," he added.

The senior official said the target was to make progress in time for the Arab summit in Amman, only three weeks away.

He also said that in conjunction with the package the United States could lift some of the 1,600 holds it has placed on contracts which Iraq has submitted to the

UN sanctions committee in New York. Most of the holds are for "dual-use" items—goods which could have either civilian or military uses, and Powell said that the US was the strictest country.

But after three days hearing Arab leaders complain that the sanctions are hurting the Iraqi people, or at least that ordinary Arabs have the impression that they hurt the Iraqi people, Powell indicated he was in the mood to be realistic. The US says that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein has deliberately failed to take full advantage of the UN oil-for-food program because he gains politically from publicizing shortages of food and medicine in Iraq.

become particularly troubling in Washington since Palestinians rose in revolt against Israeli occupation and Israeli-Palestinian peace talks collapsed.

"The message I have consistently heard is that overdoing it with sanctions gives him (Saddam) a tool that he is using against us and that really is not weakening him," Powell said, referring to his talks with Arab leaders in Cairo, Amman, Kuwait, Riyadh and Damascus.

"We've got to understand the nature of the world and not expect that you can stop every single thing that someone has the money to go out and look for," he added.

Reuters

# US rolls back Balkan pullout

FROM JONATHAN WRIGHT

**Brussels, Feb. 27** (Reuters): The Bush administration gave its firmest commitment yet today to keeping US peacekeeping forces in the Balkans as long as Nato needs them.

"We went in together, we will come out together," secretary of state Colin Powell told a news conference at Nato headquarters with the organisation's secretary-general George Robertson.

In previous statements on the subject, the US has said it would not withdraw its troops from Nato-led peacekeeping forces in Bosnia and Kosovo precipitously or without consultation with its Nato allies. Members of the Bush election campaign dismayed Europeans last year by saying Washington might withdraw the troops from the Balkans unilaterally and leave the job to Europeans.

One of President George W. Bush's campaign themes was that the US military was overstretched abroad and that it had spent too

much on high combat missions such as "nation building" in the 1990s in countries like Bosnia, Haiti and Somalia.

But Powell said: "The US is committed to the success of peacekeeping forces in the Balkans. With our Nato allies, we will review carefully on a regular basis the right types and levels of our forces, we are determined to meet our commitments to stability in the region, and we will avoid any steps that would jeopardise the alliance's success so far."

We are committed to ensuring that as we review our force posture in the Balkans, we do so in full consultation with our Nato allies. The simple proposition is that we went in together, we will

come out together," he added.

Powell also sought to reassure Washington's European allies on US plans to build a missile defence system to protect the United States and its friends against ballistic missiles from countries they perceive as unpredictable such as North Korea and Iran.

Many Europeans worry that the missile system would antagonise Russia and revive the arms race as the Russians and Chinese build more missiles to keep their deterrent alive.

"We are committed to close allied consultations to address these issues together prior to deciding on specific technologies or architecture," Powell said. "We will also consult with other govern-



Powell in Brussels. (AFP)

ments, including Russia and China," Powell, a former chairman of the US joint chiefs of staff, said the US supported the European Union's plans to create its own rapid reaction force to deal with crises that Nato does not want to handle.

He said the European Security and Defence Initiative would fit easily into the Nato framework and would enhance the capabilities of the alliance. Analysts have speculated that the initiative could be the beginning of the end for Nato as Europe and the US, no longer united by the Cold War threat, drift apart. France urged the new US administration to discard outworn suspicions about the EU's military aspirations and see them instead as imperative to the alliance's long-term survival.

Mutual confidence, consultation and cooperation across the Atlantic can assure Nato of a vibrant future, foreign minister Hubert Vedrine told the first session of the 19-member alliance that Powell has attended.

# Bush's 'meddle east' policy?

**O**FFICIALS OF the previous U.S. administration, notably the former Secretary of State, Ms. Madeleine Albright, had often expressed puzzlement at the adverse reaction to their policy on Iraq. Surely the Arabs realised that they would be the primary victims of a revitalised and re-armed Saddam Hussein, these officials would say. Such statements merely expose how U.S. policy has failed to take into adequate consideration the Arab perspective on the whole affair in the ten years since Iraq and its President, Mr. Saddam Hussein, were taught a terrible lesson.

Whether a re-armed Saddam will once again march against his neighbours is one question that the Arab world does not think it needs to consider in a hurry. A more pressing problem for it is the manner in which an external power, the U.S., has imposed a perhaps benign but still firm grip on the region. With a massive armada in station in and about the waters of the Persian Gulf, ground troops conducting exercises at various times in parts of the peninsula and a big array of second-echelon troops ready to be committed to the theatre at short notice, the U.S. is the immediate, most predominant military force in the region. In the Gulf area, the might of the superpower is not something distant, not something to be considered only in abstract analysis. For all the instructions to its personnel to keep a low profile, the U.S. still has an "in you face presence" in the Gulf region.

If the imprint of this new imperialism is not as heavy-handed as the one that existed 50 years ago, it is nevertheless a discomforting reminder. What is more, there is enough reason for the Arabs to believe that the true essence of imperialism, economic exploitation, manifests in different forms. Most regional Governments have faced a tight fiscal situation for the past decade; per capita incomes have decreased and unemployment has shot up. At a time when Government attention and funds should have been devoted to the public welfare, a great part of it has been expended on the purchase of arms and the major

**It is difficult for the Arabs to swallow the U.S. line that Saddam Hussein is the bogey-man. For, he is not killing any Arabs now, but America's closest ally, Israel, is.**  
**KESAVA MENON reports.**

beneficiary has once again been the U.S.

Iraq's oil exports have been tightly controlled, or so we are told. But throughout the decade, Iraq has been able to get some oil on to the market clandestinely either by violating the export ban of the early years or by bypassing the current arrangements for oil sales under U.N. supervision. Jordan, Turkey and now Syria have been criticised by the U.S. for allowing "illegal" Iraqi oil to be conveyed through their countries. But this oil actually reaches the

major markets aboard tankers that sail seas patrolled by two powerful U.S. fleets. It is impossible for even the world's most powerful navy to detect and interdict every single tanker, but if the U.S. was so interested in ensuring that Iraq cannot sell its oil

how is it that 9 per cent of U.S. oil imports consists of Iraqi oil.

The Iraqi valve has now become a very convenient tool. Every time the OPEC sets production quotas, attention shifts immediately to the likely Iraqi response. The volatility introduced into the markets by uncertainty over the availability of Iraqi oil makes the OPEC's production decisions a chancy affair. On the Arab street, this whole process has created the belief that their capacity to sell their main produce is controlled by someone else. This basic pattern of the relationship between the U.S. and the Arabs tends to create in the latter the belief that they are the victims of a new colonialism. On top of that, various U.S. officials take it upon

themselves to tour the region handing out patronising lectures on how the locals should perceive their own interests.

In the current context especially, it is even more difficult for the Arabs to swallow the U.S. line that Mr. Saddam Hussein is the bogey-man. He will be an unknown quantity once he re-arms himself, but for the moment he is not killing any Arabs. Opponents of his regime have a convenient habit of disappearing and there are lurid tales of how they were made to disappear but that is another matter; there are no mass shootings and killings on the streets of Baghdad. On the other hand, Arabs are being killed every day, almost 400 in the last five months, by the U.S.'s closest ally in the region Israel. Why should they castigate Mr. Saddam Hussein, the Arabs wonder, when the only regional force with known weapons of mass destruction capability kills Arabs at random while the U.S. cries that the security of Israel is its foremost consideration.

The February 16 airstrikes on Baghdad by the U.S. and British were after all not the first they have made and the Arabs have long been disgusted with the self-serving randomness of the process. The Arab masses might not have erupted in protest this time — even the demonstrations in Palestine, Syria and Lebanon were somewhat milder than in 1998 — but their Governments know that anger at the U.S. runs at very high levels. Small wonder that all Arab Governments, with the singular exception of Kuwait, have expressed their disenchantment with U.S. policy on Iraq.

**Russia, China and France have expressed outrage at the bombing of Baghdad... The U.S. could get itself into serious problems if this snowballs, says F. J. KHERGAMVALA.**

**R**USSIA, CHINA and France joined the Arab world in expressing outrage over the U.S. President-in-training, Mr. George W. Bush's bombing of targets in Iraq. This clearly reflects the divisions in the U.N. Security Council.

China's reaction, now influenced even more by America's so-called "mistaken" bombing of its Chinese Embassy in Belgrade in May 1999, emphasised that such actions require U.N. Security Council approval. "We condemn the air attacks launched by the U.S. and Britain against Iraq and express deep regret over the death of civilians resulting from the action," it said.

In his initial and official reaction, Beijing's spokesman did not mention what was subsequently reported in the U.S. media. Based on official briefings, but totally bereft of any attempt at verification by American correspondents already on the spot in Iraq, the U.S. media wrote, and the public as usual swallowed the line, that Chinese companies were working to help Baghdad lay the fibre-optic cables to link and upgrade Iraq's air defence network. Later, the

# They've got their backs up

Chinese spokesman was more cautious in his denial. He said he had no knowledge of Chinese military or civilians working on the project. Reports from the U.S. said a protest would be made against China.

No proof was provided of Chinese advisers or construction crew being involved, but the orchestrated U.S. media reports said the bombings were done on the Islamic holiday of Friday so as to minimise chances of casualties among Chinese workers (apparently, Iraqi lives do not count for much).

The U.S. could get itself into very serious problems if this snowballs and the Bush Administration plays its Taiwan weapons supply card. Beijing has also used its ability to supply missiles to countries from Pakistan to Iran and weapons to Iraq, as a card. All said, Beijing's reaction "of appeal to the U.S. and Britain to stop" seemed moderate and calibrated not to cause too much angst in Washington on the eve of U.S. policy formulation on human rights, weapons to Taiwan etc.

Russia joined China in criticising the strikes and said "unilateral actions" would not be helpful in breaking a deadlock in the Security Council. The Foreign Ministry, however, poured cold water on a move by the Chairman of the State's Duma committee on international affairs to unilaterally abandon the sanctions regime.

France too made common cause with China and Russia but only because it was "counterproductive for the political settlement of the situation in Iraq". Until 1998, France was very much part of the U.S.-led scheme to use the no-fly zone not to patrol it for human rights violations but to update targeting data for future strikes.

# Out on a limb

**If Washington believes it can put in place another grand alliance against Iraq, it is living in a world of its own, writes SRIDHAR KRISHNASWAMI.**

U.S. and Britain are talking about "smart sanctions" — punitive measures that hurt the regime but not the people.

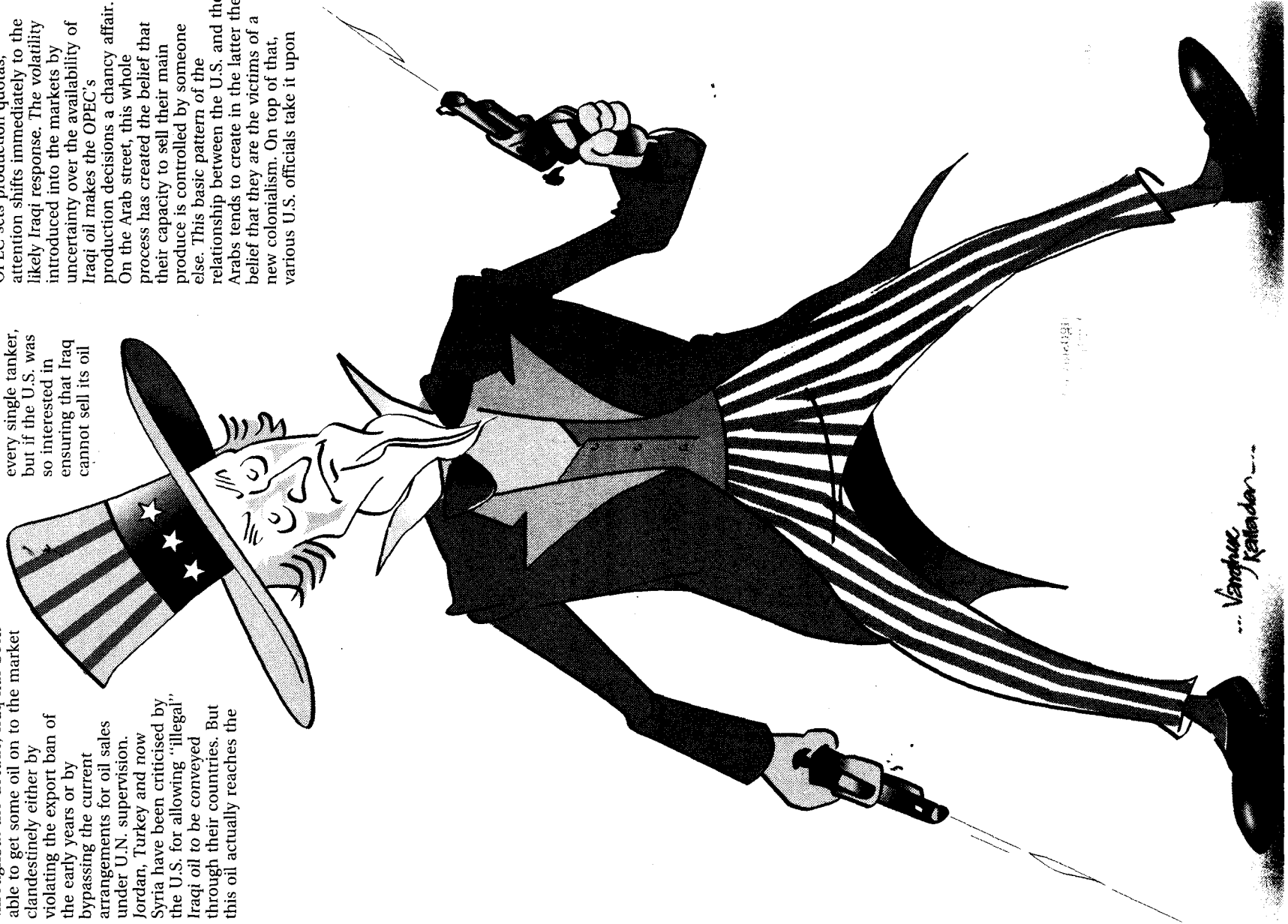
In the last ten years even as Mr. Saddam Hussein has weathered the storm, the worst hit by the sanctions have been the people — the children especially — of Iraq.

And that has changed the attitude of even the diehards in the interna-

**I**F THE Bush administration had thought that Mr. Saddam Hussein would get down on his knees at the first sign of American and British planes hitting radar sites in and around Baghdad, it had better take a close look at what has happened over the last ten years.

And if Washington believes it can put in place another grand alliance, it is living in a world of its own. If the United States is lucky, the present United Nations sanctions regime will just about hang together. But all indications are that it will require major work to survive even barely.

But the U.S. is going to get tough with Mr. Saddam Hussein if only because it is politically fashionable. But neither in West Asia where Gen. Colin Powell, Secretary of State, is heading out for a trip, nor at the U.N. is there any appetite for further hurting the regime in Baghdad. Which is why the



# Powell begins W Asia tour

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

CAIRO, Feb. 24. - The US secretary of state, Mr Colin Powell, arrived in Cairo today on the first leg of a West Asia tour, unrepentant about air strikes on Iraq despite heavy Arab criticism, upbeat about relations with Russia and confident that Israel and the Palestinians would resume peace talks.

Mr Powell will cut a broad swath through the region, cramming his tour into three days, in an attempt to drum up support for containing the Iraqi President, Mr Saddam Hussein, and assess prospects for Israeli-Palestinian peace. Mr Powell will also meet the Russian foreign minister, Mr Igor Ivanov. They will talk about US plans for a missile defence system, strongly opposed by the Russians, US officials said.

Mr Powell will then head to

Brussels for talks with NATO foreign ministers, sure to dwell on the alliance's deployments in the Balkans, controversial US plans for a national missile shield and a European proposal for an enhanced security component.

Mr Powell arrived in Cairo, saying he was determined to build a regional consensus on re-energising United Nations sanctions against Baghdad and finding a "better way" to contain Iraq.

Mr Powell said he intended to listen to Arab concerns about US and UN policy toward Iraq, particularly as it relates to improving the sanctions regime, but would not be distracted by any protest of last week's attacks on Baghdad.

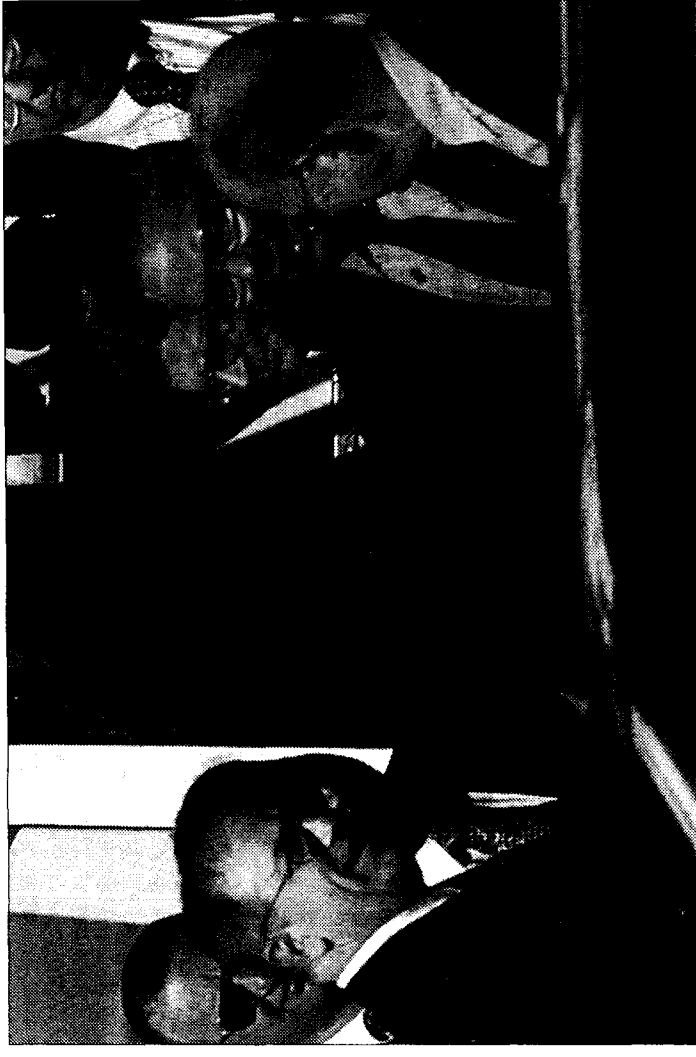
He told reporters that USA would continue to hold open the option of military force against Mr Saddam Hussein even while discussing an easing of sanctions.

## Gulf War chiefs

Former US President Mr George Bush and some of his military commanders were to arrive in Kuwait today to lead celebrations marking the 10th anniversary of Iraq's defeat in the Gulf War.

Mr Bush is being flown in with Mr John Major, and some 35 other prominent guests aboard the aircraft of Kuwait's ruler, Emir Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmad al-Sabah. Mrs Margaret Thatcher is arriving separately and US General Norman Schwarzkopf, the commander of the allied forces in the campaign, is also due to attend.

On 23 February 1991, a 100-hour ground offensive by a US-led multinational force from 30 countries was launched against Iraqi troops, who swiftly withdrew from Kuwait, bringing an end to the six-week Gulf War.



The US secretary of state, Mr Colin Powell (2nd from right), at Cairo airport on Saturday. - AP/PTI

# Air patrols will continue: Powell

ASSOCIATED PRESS  
WASHINGTON, FEB 21

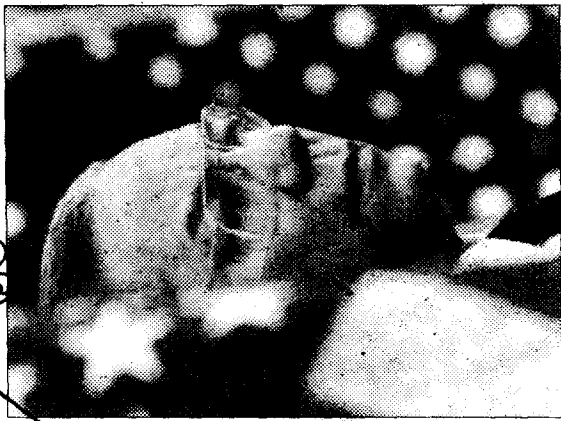
SECRETARY of State Colin Powell has defended the U.S. policy of patrolling Iraq's air space and said it would continue "as long as we believe that mission is necessary" to contain Iraq's military ambition.

In renewed defiance of the joint U.S.-British patrols in "no fly" zones over southern and northern Iraq, Iraqi air defenses fired surface-to-air missiles and anti-aircraft artillery at allied planes in the southern zone on Saturday and Sunday, Pentagon officials said on Tuesday. No planes were hit.

In comments to reporters at the State Department, Powell also defended Friday's air strikes against Iraqi air defense installations and said they were required to reduce the threat to allied pilots.

Pentagon spokesman Rear Adm. Craig Quigley said the strikes had achieved their purpose of "disrupting and degrading" Iraq's air defenses, but he said there would be no detailed public assessment of the effectiveness of the attack. To do so could help Iraq prepare for any future attacks, he said.

Quigley would not say how many or which type of US bombs were dropped. Powell discussed Iraq and other subjects with German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, who expressed his government's "understanding"—but not support—for Friday's U.S.-British airstrikes.



Colin Powell... Strikes will go on

While acknowledging that Iraq has been pursuing weapons mass destruction in violation of U N Security Council requirements Powell nonetheless defended the policy of containment—a reference to the 10-year effort led by the US and UK to reduce Iraq's ability to threaten its neighbors.

"Containment has been a successful policy, and I think we should make sure that we continue it until such time as Saddam Hussein comes into compliance with the agreements he made at the end of the war," Powell said. "But we have to find ways to do it, to not hurt the Iraqi people,"

## Iraq's Sahaf flies to US

BAGHDAD: Iraq's Foreign Minister Mohammed Saeed al-Sahaf headed to New York on Wednesday to attend UN talks next week on decade-old Gulf War sanctions. "I will start my travel today to New York to attend the dialogue scheduled with (UN) Secretary General (Kofi Annan)," Sahaf said.

The high-level UN session is scheduled for February 26-27. Sahaf, speaking to reporters shortly before leaving, said he would attend the talks despite last Friday's air raid by US and British warplanes on sites near Baghdad. Baghdad said the attack killed two civilians and wounded more than 20.

"Despite the secretary general's silence toward the American-British aggression and has not condemned it... we are attending the comprehensive dialogue," he said.

said.

Quigley said Friday's attack was in response to indications that Iraq was integrating its air defenses in a way that would give them a better chance of shooting down an allied plane. The bombs were aimed at radars and command and control "nodes" that are part of the air defense network.

"We think we had an impact on that," he said. "Was it permanent? No." Later, he said the Pentagon was pleased with the results, even if the bombs were not 100 percent effective. "It isn't perfect. It never is."

Meanwhile, the US airstrike against Iraqi radar and command facilities near Baghdad last week was precipitated in part by Chinese construction of an underground fiber optic network that would have strengthened Iraq's ability to target US aircraft, a Pentagon official has said.

Among the targets struck in Friday's raid - the biggest in two years - were command and control nodes that used fiber optic cables installed by Chinese personnel, the official told AFP, speaking on condition of anonymity.

"It doesn't matter who would have been installing it," the official said. "It matters that it would have significantly enhanced their command and control ability to move surveillance data into fire control locations. It's certainly one of the reasons we struck the facilities we did." Despite the strike, US aircraft patrolling the no-flyzone over southern Iraq came under renewed surface-to-air missile and anti-aircraft artillery fire over the weekend, Pentagon said.

he added.

Powell stressed that the Bush administration is reviewing its Iraq policy, and that he intends to discuss the matter this weekend during visits to several Arab countries and to Israel and Belgium, where he will meet with NATO foreign ministers.

He said the purpose of enforcing "no fly" zones over Iraqs to "keep Iraq from being the aggressor against its own citizens," a reference to minority Kurds in the North and rebellious Shiites in.

"As we believe that mission is necessary, then we're going to protect our pilots," he



# Bush & Blair: Bombing breaks the ice

SUSAN CORNWELL  
LONDON, FEB 18

US President George W. Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair have never met. But they have already launched air strikes against Iraq together in a joint military action that should help break the ice when they finally shake hands in Washington this week.

The US-British attack on radar stations near Baghdad on Friday speaks volumes about the long-term "special relationship" linking Washington and London, even when their leaders are strangers and come from opposite sides of the ideological fence.

Blair, leader of the left-of-centre Labour party, is a close friend of former president Bill Clinton, a Democrat, and some of Clinton's pollsters have also advised Blair's party.

Apart from the English language, the British prime minister would not seem to have much in common with the new Republican president, the former governor of Texas.

But the air strikes show that he considers personal differences to be secondary to the strategic US-British tie. "Even though the two governments may not be as close, the relationship of the US and Britain is very clearly affirmed by this action in Iraq," said John Curtice, professor of politics at Strathclyde University.

When Bush and Blair meet in Washington on Friday, "Bush ought to be thankful," Curtice said. "Britain is closer to US foreign policy than anyone in Europe." Blair will be the first European leader Bush has met since taking office.

Blair is facing criticism at home for his willingness to go along with Bush. The raids on Iraq infuriated some Labour Party members who had already been asking why sanctions against Iraq continued.

Veteran Labour left-winger Tony Benn called the attacks "international terrorism by two governments" and the chairman of the parliamentary Labour party, Clive Soley, warned against



**Blair is facing criticism at home for his willingness to go along with Bush. Some Labour members had already asked why sanctions against Iraq should continue**

supporting US Policy "if Bush pushes the parameters too far."

*The Independent* newspaper said "President Bush has astutely taken advantage of Tony Blair's desire to preserve something of the special relationship he enjoyed with Bill Clinton". Blair's willingness to go along with Bush could put him in an awkward position as he prepares to call an election, expected this spring.

France has also questioned the air strikes, presenting Blair with the familiar conundrum of trying to be at the heart of Europe while pursuing what war-time leader Winston Churchill dubbed London's "special relationship" with Washington.

One British politician Bush met before becoming president was William Hague, the leader of the Tories, who echoes Bush's "compassionate conservatism" creed and has openly supported the US missile defence plan.

Blair by contrast has denounced the "forces

of conservatism" as if they were uniquely evil. But he is credited with pushing his left-wing party closer to the centre of British politics, a move that helped him win by a landslide in 1997.

When Blair and Bush meet, "certainly there will be a bit of suspicion on both sides," said Paul Whiteley, professor of government at Essex University. "But you never know. They may hit it off. Blair is not a stuffed shirt, he is friendly. It will be interesting," he said.

Blair, whose trip to Washington includes a night at the Camp David presidential retreat, had already seemed set on minimising differences between the US and Europe on another military matter — Bush's plan for a missile defence programme.

Many leaders in Europe and in Blair's own Labour party reject the idea of building a "shield" to shoot down missiles, saying it invites nuclear proliferation and threatens arms treaties.

If the plan dubbed "son of Star Wars" goes ahead, it is expected to require the upgrading of a radar station in Britain. The US may also ask Britain to build missile bases for the system costing billions of pounds, says the British American Security Information Council in London.

So far Blair's government has avoided taking a clear stand on the matter. But Blair said in a magazine interview last week that he thought he could help find a "way through" that meets both Washington's objectives and the concerns of allies.

The Americans have promised to consult allies on the plan. In turn, they want to be consulted on a European plan that makes them edgy — a military rapid reaction force to deal with crises where Washington does not want to be involved.

Some US officials worry this could threaten NATO cohesion. But Blair, a co-founder of the rapid reaction force along with France, is trying to mediate here too. He wants to reassure the Americans that the force is intended to help, not hurt NATO. (Reuters)

INDIAN EXPRESS

20 FEB 2001



# President Bush, ground the space war fascination

The top officials of the Bush administration are saying as often and loudly as they can that "we are committed" to missile defence. European leaders keep saying clearly and specifically that they are building a rapid reaction force to act independently. Since each side objects to the other's plans, the assumption is now taking hold that there will be a trade-off, and both projects will be carried out.

That is a weird, wasteful and provocative idea. It is theoretically about US national security but in fact is about politics and abstract notions of sovereignty and status.

The technological program for a missile defence that would provide a shield in space against a small number of weapons aimed at the United States has not been proven and cannot be assumed.

There are better chances for being able to construct an effective defence in boost phase,

while missiles are being launched and before warheads separate. But such a system would have to be based relatively close to the launch points, far from the United States, and would require a lot more international cooperation.

The rapid reaction force, which significantly is not called a European army, is definitely being created, but American fears that it will undermine or rival NATO are quite unrealistic.

Debate about how much independent planning the European force should have provoke concern in Washington that it would duplicate the NATO establishment and therefore exclude the United States from its leading role in the alliance. That is not going to happen, if only because of the vast amount of money it would cost the Europeans for necessary equipment, plus the fact that most of them want to keep close Atlantic

ties.

There is a flat contradiction in current US arguments that American forces should not be sent abroad except when there is real fighting to be done, involving direct national interest, and US opposition to European missions without the United States.

Washington suggests that peacekeeping should be left to Europeans, but it still wants the right to influence when, what and where. The concrete need for certain American capabilities — communications, transport, space based intelligence — guarantees an American input at the decision stage.

The Europeans need the concrete ability to react to crises so as to develop the security and foreign policy identity that are an essential part of their long term effort for integration. The United States has always supported this policy, for the good reason

that a strong, stable Europe is very much in America's interest. So there is no real trade off for Europe.

On the other hand, suppressing political noises against American missile defence would be convenient for Washington — but it won't help if missile defence doesn't work, and it won't last if US plans are expanded, as is now being urged.

The new secretary of defence, Donald Rumsfeld, headed a special congressionally mandated commission on space which concluded a report last month. The report is full of warnings about the military vulnerability that reliance on space assets is creating for the United States, and therefore sees an urgent need "to control countries (China) may not passively accept a US regional stabilising role" and so may try to "thwart US control of

space."

References to the increasing military importance of space are reminiscent of the Reagan era Star Wars campaign, but now they are being translated into real plans. Last month the US Air Force conducted its first space war exercises. The Rumsfeld space report recommends that unless the Air Force makes a considerably greater effort to manage military affairs in space, a new, independent space command should be established alongside the four existing services. It says there is a need to hold "live fire" exercises in the future, not only to learn how to manage this new form of hostilities but also to demonstrate American abilities as a deterrent.

That report makes no direct link to a 1998 report by a previous Rumsfeld commission on missile threats from "rogue states," which is being used to justify the missile defence plan. But together the two reports reflect a growing, intense

pressure to include the possibility of space war in the big review for a "new architecture" of the US military that President George W. Bush has ordered. The 1998 report answered only the question of whether it was possible that the United States might be threatened by some "rogue state" missiles in the next five years, not whether it was likely, whether other threats were much likelier or what to do about it. That report is being deliberately misinterpreted as a call for missile defence.

There is something airy-fairy, other worldly about all these arguments, and yet they are talking about the life and death of many millions of people, and about the spending of many billions of dollars. It is essential to force the debate away from hypothetical trade-offs and back down to hard security issues. This isn't a game.

By arrangement with the International Herald Tribune

BY FLORA LEWIS



'We've been tricked - this tastes nothing like sheep'

19/2  
19/2  
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 2001

## INSENSITIVE BRAVADO

THE VACUOUS BALLYHOO triggered by Washington to justify its latest airstrikes against Baghdad cannot fool the larger international community. With the exception, of course, of those who remain fixated on a time-warp about the perceived malevolence and mass-destructive designs of Iraq's President, Mr. Saddam Hussein. The new U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, has manifestly shown himself to be short on creative diplomacy at this moment by opting for sterile militarism, indeed ridiculous adventurism, as his first major foreign policy exercise. He has exposed himself to the inexorable criticism that he is perhaps more inclined than might be wise to complete the unfinished anti-Hussein agenda of his father. As the President who savoured the final magical moments of a gradual 'victory' in the Cold War, the senior Mr. Bush virtually institutionalised a modern-day Manichaeon perception in America's foreign policy. Mr. Hussein is seen by the U.S. as the world's quintessential evil genius nurtured by the primordial uncertainties of the evolving post-Cold War era. Not relevant, though, to a harsh judgment about the latest U.S. action under the younger Mr. Bush is the incompleteness of the ongoing international debate over the degree of Mr. Hussein's continued acceptability to the Iraqis themselves. There is also no credible shred of updated evidence now to indicate that Mr. Hussein's regime might have already ceased to pose a challenge to Washington's diplomatic ingenuity as it seeks to disarm him. Yet, the mood of the new Bushites as the President authorised last week's airstrike smacks of a diplomacy of utter disdain. Disregarded is not only Mr. Hussein but also the 'legacy' of the just-retired American President, Mr. Bill Clinton, who in the end seemed to consider giving diplomacy a chance in dealing with the Iraqi dictator.

Mr. Bush has argued that the air raid was determined entirely by the compulsions of the

U.S.-led multilateral "coalition", such as it exists, to safeguard its warplanes engaged in the ongoing enforcement of a "no-fly zone" just south of Baghdad. Aside from the debatable legality of the two "no-fly zones" over Iraq with no time-and-space constraints thereof, Mr. Bush's singular defence is that nothing sinister should be read into what he views as a "routine mission". He may have only a marginal point in his favour. The civilian casualties were not of horrific proportions in the new assault on Iraqi "military" targets, with initial reports indicating that at least one person was slain while several others were wounded critically or otherwise. However, Mr. Bush seems to have tossed Iraq straight on to the international centre-stage without having completed a "review" of this issue. The U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Colin Powell, said only a few days ago that the "review" was still under way in respect of Iraq's suspected development of weapons of mass destruction and the related U.N. sanctions on Baghdad.

An important aspect of the 'Powell doctrine' pertains to the notion of smart or streamlined sanctions so that the prolonged embargo will not harm the Iraqi people. Mr. Bush's knee-jerk policy defining the new airstrike flies in the face of the very idea of smart sanctions with its intrinsic emphasis on humanitarian ethos. This can only denote that an adventurist policy in regard to Iraq is in tune with the present Bush administration's cavalier spirit as reflected by its 'sci-fi' pursuit of a missile defence system. Unfashionable it may be for any new President, but Mr. Bush need not regard as dangerously infectious Mr. Clinton's more evolved and nuanced foreign policy instincts. Towards the end of his presidency, Mr. Clinton explored a working dialogue with Iran on specific issues and seemed to cast his diplomatic net wider to deal with problems in West Asia including the Iraq imbroglio.

THE HINDU

19 FEB 2001

# Baghdad bombed, Saddam vows revenge

One killed in US-British air strike • Bush terms bombing as routine, self-defence mission

S. Rajagopalan

Washington, February 17 **AP** — IN THE biggest air-strike against Iraq in two years, two dozen American and British warplanes pounded five "military targets" around Baghdad with guided missiles on Friday. The first major military action by the Bush administration was officially described as a "routine, self-defence" mission.

Reports from Baghdad said one person was killed and at least nine others were injured, some of them critically. A statement, issued after a meeting chaired by Mr Saddam Hussein, proclaimed: "We will fight them in the air, on land and sea and their aggression will achieve nothing but failure."

President George W. Bush, who had just begun a one-day visit to Mexico, called the raid a routine operation, but sought to hand out a stern message in the same breath. "Saddam Hussein has got to understand we expect him to conform to the agreement that he signed after Operation Desert Storm," Mr Bush said.

Here, at a Pentagon briefing, US military commanders contended that the raid was in response to Iraq's recent anti-aircraft offensive against American and British aircraft that have been patrolling the "no-fly zones". This offensive had grown in frequency and sophistication, they said.

Marine Lt. Gen. Gregory Newbold, Director of Operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told newsmen that the operation had been brought about by Iraq's stepped-up activity against patrolling aircraft. Another official said Iraqi forces had fired 13 surface-to-air missiles against US aircraft since January 1, compared to the average of firing one missile in a month previously.

While some 50 US aircraft took



An Iraqi boy in a hospital after being injured in the British-US air strike around Baghdad. Photo: AFP

off from the aircraft-carrier USS Harry S. Truman in the Persian Gulf and from bases in Kuwait and Bahrain, the bombing operation was conducted by two dozen aircraft. They began to drop bombs or launch missiles on the targets around Baghdad at 11 pm IST.

The injured included women, children and old people, some are critical cases," Health Minister Umaid Mehdad Mubarak said on Iraqi youth television, run by Saddam's eldest son Uday.

Footage shown from Al-Yarmuk hospital showed children, women and men bleeding from leg and stomach wounds.

A Pentagon official described them as "long shots". Given their long range, the aircraft could stay outside the "threat rings". All the aircraft, which included four British Tomado jets, returned safely to their bases about 70 minutes later, it was said.

There are no plans for further strikes of the type, it was said. As Lt. Gen. Newbold put it: "We don't anticipate strikes like this soon. We think we've accomplished what we were looking for."

The northern no-fly zone was created in spring 1991 and the southern one in August 1992. The former was meant to protect the Kurdish minority in northern Iraq, while the latter was set up after Iraqi forces reportedly attacked Shia rebels, who had revolted against Hussein.

Mr Bush said in Mexico that the US was keeping a close watch on Iraq. "We're going to watch very carefully as to whether or not he (Saddam Hussein) develops weapons of mass destruction." The US would continue to enforce no-fly zones, he said. Mr Bush's National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice said the new administration was continuing the Clinton administration's policy of striking at Iraqi air defences.

## Russia, China condemn bombing

Moscow, February 17

A SENIOR foreign policy advisor to Russian President Vladimir Putin condemned the bombing of Baghdad by US and British warplanes. Russia always "strongly objects to US use of force, if it bypasses UN Security Council resolutions," deputy presidential chief of staff Sergei Prikhodko said.

Earlier, Russian foreign ministry spokesman Alexander Yakovenko expressed concern at the raids, urging the need to observe UN resolutions on Iraq.

Meanwhile, a Chinese delegation to the United Nations condemned the bombing and demanded that such actions be sanctioned by the Security Council. Spokesman for the delegation, Meng Li said that Beijing condemned the bombing of Iraqi air defence installations, the China News Service said.

"China opposes the armed intervention by any UN member state under any circumstance against any other nation without the express consent of the Security Council," Meng said.

However, on Saturday defended its part in aerial attacks on Iraq saying the bombing was in accordance with international law and its pilots were defending themselves.

"We are confident that in international law our pilots have the right to defend themselves when they come under attack," British defence secretary Geoff Hoon said.

The warplanes "have the right to be in the no-fly zones for humanitarian reasons in order to protect people on the ground and in those circumstances what they do is legally justified," Hoon said. (AFP)

## Canada, France were kept in dark

Paris, February 17

FRANCE WAS not told in advance of US and British plans to launch air attacks on Iraqi radar and command posts north of the 33 rd parallel, a French foreign ministry spokesman said.

"We were neither told nor consulted on these raids," the spokesman said. Washington and London confirmed their warplanes had hit targets north of the 33 rd parallel, which marks the edge of the no-fly zone in southern Iraq, for the first time in more than two years, targeting air defence systems.

Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien also said that Canada was not given prior warning of the decision by allied British and US to launch air strikes on Iraq. Speaking to newsmen on the last leg of Team Canada's visit to Beijing, Shanghai and Hong

Kong, Chretien reiterated that Canada had not been forewarned of the decision by US and Britain to launch strikes on Iraqi targets.

Meanwhile, air attacks against Iraq have come in for criticism from some experts. "It's absolutely unconscionable," a spokesman for the American Anti-discrimination Committee Hussein Ibish told a television network. "The US has imposed horrible sanctions that have resulted in hundreds and thousands of deaths and the only thing this administration has done is compounded our problems," he said.

Another expert dismissed the argument that the raids were in self-defence. "Self-defence? that depends if you're talking about a sovereign nation protecting itself against planes from another nation flying over its country," said Erik Gustafson, a former soldier in the Gulf War. (AFP)

# Powell visit to clear air on ties with NATO

By Batuk Gathani

**BRUSSELS, FEB. 17.** Much European strategic interest is focused on the U.S. Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell's tour of West Asian capitals and his scheduled visit to NATO headquarters here at the end of the month.

The advent of the Bush administration in the U.S. is highlighted by revelations about its foreign and strategic policy priorities like the proposed launch of the defence shield against a possible missile attack. There is trans-Atlantic concern about a widening division between Arabs and Israelis in the background of Mr. Ariel Sharon's recent victory. The U.S. quest for a military 'pull out' from the Balkans has raised many eyebrows and question marks in major European NATO capitals.

The U.S. sees the E.U. adopting a more independent stance from NATO, with proposed deployment of an independent European military force of some 60,000 personnel. Germany is seen fur-

ther consolidating its relations with Russia. Hence, today it is argued that an evolving independent Europe, with Russia as a factor, has raised U.S.-NATO anxiety with a sea change in trans-Atlantic relationship.

NATO has preserved Europe's stability and advanced American interests in Europe for over 50 years, and not for the first time there are differing perceptions about its role and strategic importance on both sides of the Atlantic. Mr. Powell's visit here could reassure U.S.'s European allies that American presence in Europe may not be abandoned but could be re-evaluated or modified. Then there are fresh but faint echoes of an impending war in the Balkans on the border of southern Serbia, where violence has escalated between ethnic Albanians and Serbian military.

The other day, the first Serb soldier was killed and hundreds of villagers fled with mounting concern about another ethnic conflict in the offing between Muslim

Albanians and Orthodox Christian Serbs. The Serbian government in the has displayed moderation in dealing with ethnic Albanians, but danger signals of a major military conflict in the offing are there.

More than a decade after the collapse of the Soviet Union and end of cold war in 1989, the U.S. and West Europeans remain concerned about the relationship between Europe and the U.S. with growing chinks in the troubled partnership.

At the same time, nobody is suggesting the collapse of the NATO alliance or Atlantic partnership and much has been done in practical terms to ensure that transatlantic partnership is neither undermined nor underestimated. For example, NATO and the E.U. officials are going to meet here at ambassadorial level six times a year and at ministerial level at least once a year.

The U.S. will want to know exactly what the proposed independent European military force

wants to do which cannot be done by NATO forces. The U.S. wants its European partners to step up defence spending as currently Germany, a major European power, spends only 1.4 per cent of its GDP on defence compared to the U.S. which spends 3.5 per cent.

NATO was conceived and structured in the aftermath of the Second World War, essentially to contain the Soviet expansionist challenge in Europe. Minus the Gulf War, NATO alliance as such has never gone to war. It is also argued that it has never had enough divisions in Central Europe to fight the Soviets, if the Soviets really came, but NATO always had awesome nuclear capability. NATO's political and strategic goals have waxed and waned according to the political climate in Europe.

Gen. Powell's meeting with NATO officials may clear much air and pave way for common trans-Atlantic defence and strategic perceptions.

THE HINDU

18 FEB 2001

# BUSH IRAQ POLICY STARTS WITH AIRSTRIKES

BY JONATHAN WRIGHT

Washington, Feb. 17: President George W. Bush, with air strikes near Baghdad on Friday, showed that he plans to get tough with Iraq and that the military component will be prominent in a new policy toward Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, his father's old foe, analysts said.

Mr Bush and the Pentagon said the attack on Iraqi air defences near the capital was a routine response to an increase in Iraq's attempts to shoot down Western planes enforcing the ban on Iraqi flights south of the 33rd parallel.

But Mr Bush did personally approve the mission, and the analysts said they doubted that

former US President Bill Clinton would have reacted in the same way. "The Bush administration clearly intends to be much tougher on Iraq, whether through economic sanctions or military actions. This suggests that we will respond to targets of our choosing, targets close to the regime," said Mr Peter Rodman, director of national security programmes at the Nixon Centre. "The Bush administration has sent signals that it will not be as restrained as the Clinton administration has been for the last two years," added Mr Jon Alterman, a West Asia expert at the US Institute of Peace in Washington. "This helps show that the United

States is serious about Iraq. It could be the inception of a concerted US campaign against Iraq," he added.

Former US secretary of state Lawrence Eagleburger, asked on CNN if the attack was a tough message from Mr Bush, said: "Oh yes, very much so and I would say it's more than about

## AIR RAIDS ON BAGHDAD

time I hope they keep it up." US secretary of state Colin Powell has ordered a review of policy toward Iraq, with the emphasis on depriving the government of military supplies, especially for weapons of mass decimation, and simultaneously allaying Arab concerns that food and medicine are not reaching the Iraqi people.

The other component of the new Iraq policy, apparently still under discussion within Mr Bush administration, is helping the Iraqi Opposition in the campaign to oust Mr Saddam. Mr Ahmad Chalabi, a member of the six-man leadership of the Opposition Iraqi National Congress, was at the US state department on Friday at about the time of the air strikes.

"I think the raids tocsin a serious development because Mr Saddam must now be on guard. The Iraqi people (are) going to get him and the United States is helping them achieve liberation and freedom," he told reporters. "They understand that Mr Saddam is a serious threat and they are moving quickly to deal with him," he added. (Reuters)



NEXT COURSE? Iraq President Saddam Hussein chairs a joint meeting of Iraq's ruling Revolutionary Command Council and the leadership of the Arab Baath party after Baghdad came under US and British airstrikes on Friday. (Reuters)

THE ASIAN AGE

18 FEB 2001

# BUSH ADOPTS REAGAN SECURITY STRATEGY

By WILLIAM FRANKEL in WASHINGTON 5/16

**E**ARLIER this month, the nation celebrated the 90th birthday of former Republican President Ronald Reagan who is suffering from an advanced stage of Alzheimer's disease. He is, therefore, unlikely to have been aware of it, but a glowing tribute was paid to him in Congress. The (Republican) Speaker of the House declared that "Ronald Reagan will go down in history as one of our greatest presidents".

One who would enthusiastically endorse the Speaker's assessment is his political heir, President George W Bush who has adopted two features of the Reagan legacy, tax cuts and the Strategic Defence Initiative, commonly known as "Star Wars". Alarmed by the burgeoning destructive capacity of ballistic missiles, Reagan spent millions advancing his concept of an umbrella shield to protect the United States from this threat to its security.

But by the time Mr Reagan left the White House in 1989, his missile shield was still little more than an aspiration. His successor, Bush the elder, paid lip service to the idea but there had been little practical advance by the time his single term ended. Ex-President Clinton, who followed, was markedly less keen but nonetheless permitted continuing research on some variations of the original concept.

The main Clinton plan for missile defence was a limited one. It aimed at establishing devices in the northern American state of Alaska to intercept a limited number of missiles fired by a rogue state. At the present time, the administration includes under this category North Korea, Iraq and Iran.

But, to the embarrassment of its sponsors, even this restricted objective could not be achieved. Two tests were made of the most advanced interception system by then developed, a land-based rocket designed to hit an enemy missile — and both failed. After the second attempt, a further test of even more superior technology was scheduled for last July. It has still not taken place and the latest information is that it may happen this coming June.

## AMBITIOUS

Whatever the result, it is likely to be of academic interest only, for the Bush plan is much more ambitious. The President has not presented it in any detail but his recent speeches on defence have all emphasised his commitment to a larger and much more complex shield than the Clinton administration ever contemplated. Only this week he assured a military audience that, at the earliest possible date, the United States will have a multi-layered defence against missile attack.

Mr Bush has also forcefully assured the world that his missile defence shield would protect not only this country but also "our friends and allies and deployed forces overseas". The new Secretary of State, Mr Colin Powell, expanded on this theme in a speech last week. "There are nations on earth", he said, "who are developing these weapons that can threaten their neighbours and can

threaten us and it would be irresponsible of us not to move forward ... to stop these kinds of weapons."

Critics of both the Clinton and Bush plans base their objections on several grounds. One is that long range missiles are no longer the major threat. Their argument was summarised last year at a Congressional hearing by Mr Robert Walpole, the official responsible for strategic and nuclear programmes at the Central Intelligence Agency. He told legislators that those who target America with weapons of mass destruction were less likely to use intercontinental missiles than small devices smuggled in suitcases, cars and the like. These alternatives, he pronounced, "are less costly and more reliable and accurate."

## MORAL DEFENCE

Other objectors to the proposed missile shield claim that the whole idea is just pie in the sky. Experts say that the Bush vision of a missile defence system with world-wide coverage would take more than a decade to develop and, even then, there would be no guarantee of its effectiveness. Then there is the question of cost, above \$100 billion say some.

Despite assurances that an American national missile shield would also protect friends and allies, the creation of such a system would certainly be a violation of the 1972 Antiballistic Missile Treaty (ABMT). The Bush administration claims that, in the light of the transformed international situation since the demise of the cold war, the treaty as it stands is no longer relevant and should be amended. But Russia insists that the American plan will lead to an arms race and that this treaty is the "cornerstone of strategic stability".

Some supporters of the Bush plan (now often referred to as "Son of Star Wars") put in on a moral basis. The present system under the ABMT relies on deterrence to prevent a nuclear missile attack. But, says former Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, do we want to kill thousands of innocent people in a "rogue" state whose leader has decided to launch a missile? Is it not better to have a defence shield which will abort the attack?

Nothing is likely to happen quickly. President Bush has promised extensive consultations with European allies and with Russia before making any decision to withdraw from the 1972 treaty. Moreover, whatever plan emerges will call for huge additional spending and that will have to wait for a report by the Defence Secretary, Mr Donald Rumsfeld. He has been requested by the President to undertake a "top to bottom" review of United States security strategy and no one knows how long that will take. But the advocates of missile defence are undeterred by these difficulties. The chairman of the American Conservative Union was gung-ho on the subject. "We built the bomb. We went to the moon. And if we want to knock those missiles down, we'll figure how to do it."

## U.S. Congress clubs India with Israel, Palestine

WASHINGTON, FEB. 11. India has to compete with the high-profile West Asia for attention in the U.S. House of Representatives as South Asia has been clubbed with Israel and Palestine in the newly-constituted 107th Congress. HO 13

What was known as the Asia-Pacific subcommittee in the House of Representatives has now been vivisected into East Asia and South Asia by its operational international affairs committee and the latter has been tagged on to the most contentious region in the world.

Congressional sources said India, perceived as a long-standing democracy providing abundant opportunity for the U.S. business houses after it opened up its economy, was receiving undivided attention of the House for the last few years. Citing an instance, the sources pointed out within a week of the Gujarat earthquake, the House adopted a near unanimous resolution urging the Bush administration to act and provide long-term assistance to victims. Since West Asia is a major source of crude for the international market and the presence of Iran and Iraq as adversaries of the U.S., the lawmakers are bound to concentrate more on that area compared to affairs of South Asia. — UNI

THE HINDU

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12 FEB 2001

# Study: US should be a 'diplomatic balancer' in S. Asia

S. Rajagopalan  
Washington, February 19

A WIDE-RANGING study, commissioned by the US's Asia Foundation, wants Washington to play the role of a "balancer" in South Asia and help ease Indo-Pak tensions. The American effort, however, should be strictly diplomatic, eschewing any military or security dimension.

Virtually overlooking New Delhi's rejection of any third party involvement, the study says, "the

US should seek a more active role in encouraging the two nations to reduce cross-border tensions and to find a long-term solution to this (Kashmir) dispute".

"It can best do so by playing the role of balancer, by helping to ensure that existing lines of command and control are respected as

well as by urging the two sides to increase dialogue on Kashmir and on the issues that radiate from this conflict."

The report, drafted by a high-ranking group of policy-makers and scholars, is in the nature of a broad policy guideline for the new Bush administration.

The section on South Asia is part of a comprehensive study that covers the whole of Asia in strategic, political and economic terms.

Curiously enough, neither the report's overview nor its section on recommendations focuses on India's rejection of any third party involvement.

The report would appear to be a little ambivalent on the precise role it has in mind for Washington on the Kashmir issue.

At one point, the report talks of the "growing sentiment in South

Asia" for the US to play a more active role in bringing the two sides together, given the "intractable nature of the conflict and America's unique role as a global superpower".

While playing the role of a "balancer", the report says the US must make it clear that its role will be strictly diplomatic and that it will not play "a direct role in providing security in this situation, for either or both sides".

Washington, it says, should resist any suggestion either by New

Delhi or Islamabad that their acquisition of nuclear weapons has strengthened their bargaining position vis-a-vis the other.

Interestingly, the policy-makers and scholars want the US to adopt the CTBT at an early date in order to "underscore its commitment to nuclear non-proliferation

and encourage countries (like India and Pakistan) to move towards compliance with non-proliferation regimes".

Notwithstanding the Republicans' defeat of CTBT in the Senate two years ago, the report seeks to make it clear that the US's ability to promote non-proliferation in South Asia and elsewhere will be strengthened only by its own accession to the treaty.

The report calls upon US policy-makers to view security in South Asia in a social as well as a strategic dimension and craft new policies to respond to the new threats of a transnational and subnational nature. Here, it talks of environmental security (of food, water and land), ethnic and religious violence, narcotics trafficking and small arms flows.

The report is in the nature of a broad policy guideline for the new Bush administration.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

20 FEB 2001



# World policeman to civilian?

**T**HE first month of the Bush administration has been military in its discipline and preoccupations. President George W. Bush, giving three speeches this week at military bases, has declared his commitment to spending more on new arms, not least some form of missile defence.

But this week's chatter in Washington is that the Cabinet, chosen for its array of defence expertise, is divided on defence and foreign policy. On one side are the Vice-President Dick Cheney and the Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, who are keen on asserting America's rights as Mr Rumsfeld has just told ministers in Europe.

On the other are Secretary of State Colin Powell and National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, who are reluctant to engage unless national interests are at stake.

Or so the chatter goes. But talk of a rift is nonsense.

For all the alarm that January's tough talk has created among US's allies, never mind potential enemies, it is likely to be resolved by the USA retreating. Far from worrying about the USA throwing its weight around, Washington's allies, particularly in Europe, ought to be fretting over how to keep it involved. Mr Rumsfeld's lecture to the European leaders this week provoked ritual alarm.

He said some form of missile defence, a "star wars" shield against incoming missiles was going to happen.

They could debate, if they wanted, whether this would be confined to the US "national missile defence" or extended to the allies. But the message was clear: accept it and deal with it.

They will. Or they should. It's hardly worth their while worrying about NMD. It is not that it has so far failed in tests; the versions discussed a simpler

**For all the alarm that January's tough talk has created among US allies, never mind potential enemies, it is likely to be resolved by the USA retreating, says BRONWEN MADDOX**

and cheaper than those bandied about a decade ago, and may, with enough money, perform well. It is, after all, a tool in search of a policy.

"We'll shoot down anything hostile aimed at us," is all that it says. Politically, it has played well in the first month of the administration. But as the Cabinet knows most of the threats facing the USA would not

be beaten by NMD.

The CIA argues that the USA is likely to face constant low-level attacks from terrorist groups rather than states on American interests around the world, rather than within the country.

The greatest recent military loss of life, after all, was the assault on the in Yemen from a dinghy.

As for North Korea and Russia, often cited as countries most likely to lob missiles at the USA, what they most want is that the USA should throw them armfuls of money.

This is not likely to happen under a Bush administration, but it is still rash to assume that they will convert that frustration into attack. NMD has often been portrayed by its critics as a barometer of rising belligerence. It is more the opposite.

It reflects, for a start, the lack of tolerance for losing military lives. That intolerance, inflamed by Vietnam, fanned by Somalia,

also has subtler roots such as the modernisation of the south, diluting the region's deep military tradition.

But the fact that NMD is the most prominent part of the new administration's foreign policy also reflects the country's sense of wellbeing, the belief that it is not under great external threat

## PERSONAL

(Continued from page 6 col. 1)

**N**otice: The Preparatory Convention slated from February 18 to 20, 2001 at Ramchandrapur Ashram, Purulia for celebration of Birth Centenary of Swami Asimananda Saraswati is postponed for unforeseen reasons sine die. — Nanda Dulal Chakraborty, General Secretary, Sri Sri Bijoykrishna Ashram Relief Society. (00462)

## PERSONAL TRADE

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**S**anskriti (Jaipur) brings from Rajasthan, its summer collection of salwar kurtas at Identity (Mezz.), 22, B.P. Road, February 16, 17, 2001. New in Kolkata. (8028213)

**2**001 — Spring collection of designer handbags on display at Trend, 7/1B, Short Street. (8028217)

THE STARJOURNAL

16 FEB 2001

# Bush outlines lethal defence plans

BEN MACINTYRE  
THE TIMES, LONDON

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15. - Mr George W Bush has laid out the blueprint of "a new architecture for the defence of America and our allies", based on light, high-tech weaponry and a missile shield that may one day render tanks and aircraft carriers obsolete.

Mr Bush addressed European concerns over US plans to construct a national missile defence in what was the most sweeping outline of his military vision to date. "We'll consult early and candidly with our Nato allies ... In diplomacy and technology and missile defence, in fighting wars and above all in preventing wars, we must work as one," he told US troops at Norfolk naval base, Nato's Atlantic headquarters, in Virginia.

In a shot across the bows of Pentagon traditionalists, he left little doubt that he wants to focus on creating new weapons rather than trying to make "marginal improvements". He hinted that not all US weapons programmes planned or in production would survive. "There're going to be some tough choices, but that is why you get elected."

The US President has already rattled the defence establishment by preparing orders for Mr Donald Rumsfeld,

## JAPAN SNUB

TOKYO, Feb. 15. - A town Assembly in Southern Japan sought the withdrawal of all US Marines today after a controversial e-mail by an US military chief. In a resolution, the Assembly in Chatan North asked Lt Gen Earl Hailston to resign for describing senior Japanese officials in Okinawa as "nuts and wimps" in an internal message. - Reuters

defence secretary, to conduct a comprehensive review of the structure and strategy of the US military. The futuristic "lean and mean" image of American defences that he outlined this week will further perturb many Pentagon bureaucrats.

"We know the direction we must begin to travel," he said. "On land our heavy forces must be lighter. Our light forces will be more lethal ... In the air, we'll be able to strike across the world with pinpoint accuracy, using both aircraft and unmanned systems."

Acknowledging the entrenched political, business and defence interests that might stand in his way, Mr Bush said: "Change will not come easy for America's military and for our allies, but we must know our direction, and make our turn."

Mr Bush's references to the need for full Nato co-operation mark the start of an all-out effort to reassure and convince European allies of the importance of building a missile defence shield.

"The dangers ahead confront us all; the defences we build must protect us all," Mr Bush said as he promised "to challenge the status quo as we design a new architecture for the defence of America and our allies."

The emphasis on creating new weapons rather than updating old ones reflects a fundamental evolution in US military thinking. Small terrorist groups are considered as important threats along with hostile states, and satellite-guided, pilotless weapons could be used to destroy targets at long range.

"With advanced technology we must confront the threats that come on a missile," Mr Bush said. "With shared intelligence and enforcement, we must confront the threats that come in a shipping container or in a suitcase."

Britain has so far offered only veiled encouragement to America's national missile defence project, insisting that the precise shape of the missile shield needs to be established before London can take a formal position.

The Tories, by contrast, have heartily endorsed the plan.

THE STATESMAN

16 FEB 2001

# USA asks Iraq to allow UN inspectors

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

UNHQ, Feb. 15. - United States has asked Iraq to allow UN inspectors into the country to ensure that all its weapons of mass destruction have been eliminated.

"United States is bound by the Security Council resolutions, and is not trying to modify them. Iraq has to eliminate its weapons of mass destruction

that it had been developing, well, said. "I hope that the Iraqi representative comes with new information that will show their willingness and desire to comply with the UN resolutions, and become a progressive member of the world community," he added.

The UN Secretary General, Mr Kofi Annan, will meet Iraqi foreign minister, Mr Moham-

Saeed Al-sahhaf, and press that Baghdad allows UN weapons inspectors.

This statement came as a surprise since President Mr George W Bush had indicated, during his election campaign, that his administration would take a tough line against Iraq.

UN inspectors were withdrawn from Iraq in December 1998 ahead of bombing raids carried out by the US and Brit-

ain, following a report by the then chief weapons inspector Mr Richard Butler of Australia, that Iraq was not cooperating with them. Iraq did not allow the UN inspection team back into the country.

The Security Council later dismantled the special commission which Mr Butler had headed, and formed another mechanism with a less intrusive mandate, but Iraq rejected that too.

THE STATESMAN

16 FEB 2003

# Security-dominant U.S. administration

HD-12  
19/2  
By V. R. Raghavan

*The Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, will provide the restraining influence on an otherwise aggressively-focussed security policy.*

IT IS difficult to recall a time where security was served with such emphasis as is witnessed in the composition of the Bush administration. The Vice-President, Mr. Dick Cheney, is a former Secretary of Defence as is the current Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld. The Secretary of State is the retired General Colin Powell. This set of *dramatis personae* brought together by the President, Mr. George W. Bush, who is clearly inexperienced in foreign and security policy. It would be interesting to speculate on the policy prospects that can be expected from this security-focussed team.

Mr. Cheney and Mr. Rumsfeld bear quite remarkably similar career profiles. They were both former Ivy League football players. They served in Congress. They were both White House Chiefs of Staff and later became Secretaries of Defence. They both had profitable innings at the top rungs of the corporate world and have once again come back in Government. Mr. Rumsfeld is the former boss of both Mr. Cheney and Gen. Powell. Mr. Cheney was brought into the Nixon administration by Mr. Rumsfeld. Recently, Mr. Cheney referred to Mr. Rumsfeld as his role model.

Gen. Powell was a Lieutenant Colonel when Mr. Rumsfeld became Defence Secretary. Mr. Powell went on to be a protege of another Defence Secretary, Mr. Frank Carlucci, who in his turn was an assistant to Mr. Rumsfeld. Gen. Powell is rated strong in Washington and his persona and public adulation leaves many completely awed. Mr. Rumsfeld is expected to balance out Gen. Powell's high profile and weight of solid credentials.

Mr. Rumsfeld was only 43 when first appointed Defence Secretary. None other than the legendary General George Marshall had attained that honour. Mr. Rumsfeld was captain of both the football and wrestling teams at Princeton University. He has been at the head of security thinking as a Trustee of the Rand Corporation, which does a great deal of work for the U.S. military. His approach to the job of Defence Secretary will be marked by the same aggressive and thrusting attitude. This was clearly apparent in his talk

at the recent Munich Conference on Security Policy. The typical Rumsfeld approach of taking the battle into enemy camp was seen when he blasted the European leaders and their continued support to the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty as Cold War thinking. No one dared tell Mr. Rumsfeld that the National Missile Defence plan amounted to taking things further back into the Cold War period.

Gen. Powell wrote in his autobiography, "I had gone off to Vietnam in 1962 standing on bed rock of principles and convictions, and I had watched the foundation eroded by euphemism, lies and self deception". Gen. Powell had two tenures in Vietnam. He was wounded on each, once by a "panji" in his foot and later in a helicopter accident. It is said that while in Vietnam he rushed to assist a soldier, who died in Gen. Powell's arms, which made a deep impact. No wonder Gen. Powell wrote, "War should be the politics of last resort". Gen. Powell had spoken passionately about how U.S. military power should be used. In what later came to be called the Powell doctrine, his views centered on the U.S. risking the lives of its troops, only if national interests were endangered. He questioned the administration on how long it intended to keep its troops in operations, on what the political objectives were, and if the administration could build and sustain a national consensus on such military operations. He advised that once it is decided to apply force, it is best to use it in overwhelming capacity to finish the job quickly and cheaply. No soldier would disagree with that soldier's wise counsel.

Gen. Powell's prescription however raised a considerable debate in the U.S. on the validity of the military raising such questions. The journals and magazines were full of weighty writings on the state of civil-military relations in the U.S. There were questions on the military's claims to seek answers to such political

questions. Gen. Powell had spoken in relation to U.S. involvement in former Yugoslavia and in the aftermath of the Somalia incident. Casualties there had impacted strongly on American public mind. The General's views had received wide public support at the time.

Gen. Powell's memorable phrase about getting involved in "half-hearted warfare for half-baked reasons" became a catch phrase in many policy circles. He was clearly unsure in the beginning of the utility of the military option after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. There is enough evidence to indicate that he needed considerable convincing before he came on the side of military action. It must also be said that as Chairman Joint Chiefs, he would have had no help in identifying the operational outline of allies, logistics, manpower and hardware needs of that operations. The question of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction would have weighed heavy on him. In the event his conviction to go slow and steady on Desert Storm ensured that the operations went off with the necessary efficiency. His unwillingness to rush with a military solution to all kinds of problems however earned for Gen. Powell, quite unfairly, the sobriquet of 'the reluctant warrior'.

After Vietnam, Gen. Powell worked as White House Fellow in the Nixon administration. He worked under Defence Secretary Weinberger and developed the necessary contacts. When Frank Carlucci became the Defence Secretary, Gen. Powell headed the National Security Council in the Reagan administration. When he was appointed Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff by the senior President Bush, he was junior to 15 other four star generals. As a central player in the Gulf War, he inevitably had problems with the then Secretary of Defence, Mr. Cheney. Yet in the arms control arena he did a lot in reducing U.S. and Soviet nuclear forces. When Mr. Bill Clinton came in as

President and announced his intention to permit 'gay' rights in the military, Gen. Powell made no secret of his distaste on grounds of discipline and morale. It was Gen. Powell's stature which made Mr. Clinton let the matter rest on the basis of a "don't ask, don't tell" policy.

There is, however, another view about the U.S. using military power as the sole superpower for peace and stability. This alternate view posits that wars of the Vietnam and Desert Storm kind are very unlikely to occur, even as there are greater chances of Somalia and Balkans kind of conflicts taking place. The U.S. cannot back away from its responsibilities as a superpower which needs to maintain stability around the globe. This view believes even more in the value of a calibrated threat of use of military force, as an instrument of policy. One need hardly stress that a threat can turn into reality for a variety of reasons.

There is a contrast in convictions and beliefs on fundamental security questions in Gen. Powell and Mr. Rumsfeld. The use or the threat to use military force as an instrument of foreign policy would be one potential area of contention. How Gen. Powell would apply diplomacy in the light of growing limits to use of force in the current times remains to be seen. If the Rumsfeld-Cheney duo is to bring its anticipated outlook of aggressive security policy as seen in the National Missile Defence policy and in dealing with Russia and China, General Powell's inclinations may well be in dissonance with policy. As a military man he would naturally bring his talent in team work to make things work. At present, his stature is greater than his President's. Time will tell if he will emulate General George Marshall or be tied down like General Alexander Haig. It is clear, however, that Gen. Powell will provide the restraining influence on an otherwise aggressively-focussed security policy. He would not allow the U.S. to militarily stampede into situations without coolly assessing the costs and benefits. In that lies the hope for a sane and safe U.S. security policy from the Republican administration.

THE HINDU

14 FEB 2001

## Republican senator calls for lifting of economic sanctions against India

WASHINGTON: A senior Republican senator has urged the Bush administration to lift all post-Pokhran economic sanctions against India, saying the two countries must draw closer to each other as they face a "common threat from China".

Speaking at Brookings Institution, a Washington-based think-tank, chairman of the Near East and South Asia sub-committee of the senate foreign relations committee, Sam Brownback, said, "India sees a threat from China, a nuclear nation with which it has fought wars and which has spread its influence on all of India's borders. Better relations with the U.S. are in India's interests. The U.S. also has problems with China and clearly a closer relationship with India will provide a strategic counterbalance in South Asia."

Mr Brownback said the U.S. must remove all the remaining economic sanctions on India, focus

seriously on trade issues, continue to work on non-proliferation differences, start evaluating the conditions under which to waive the military sanctions, step up Indo-U.S. defence and security cooperation and increase the growing technical cooperation between the two countries.

Maintaining that there were many facets to the U.S.' relationship with India, he said, "Most recently, we have been dealing with the terrible tragedy of the earthquake that struck Gujarat." Although the U.S. has pledged over \$10 million in aid and sent a team to the quake-hit areas, he remarked that the Bush administration should have done more in the immediate aftermath of the quake. "I think we can and should do still more as Gujarat enters the reconstruction phase. We should take this opportunity not only to waive all the sanctions on international financial institution (IFIs)

loans but also to waive economic sanctions on India altogether. By acting now to eliminate all the remaining unilateral sanctions against India, the U.S. will send a positive signal of American concern and support," he said.

Remarking that the U.S. must broaden its trade relationship with India, he made it clear that both sides had to work towards that end. "India's exports to the U.S. grew by 28 per cent last year alone, yet U.S. exports to India have barely grown by 10 per cent for the whole decade. Clearly, there is room for improvement."

According to him, although too much emphasis had been placed on Indo-U.S. differences on nuclear issues, it was an area that required attention. "We should continue our dialogue on nuclear restraint, but at the same time recognise India's security concerns just as India should recognise ours." (PTI)

# Bush to focus on foreign, defence policies

By Sridhar Krishnaswami  
WASHINGTON, FEB. 11. The U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, who focussed on education and economy in the first three weeks in office, is going to devote time to foreign and defence policies this week as outlined during his campaign.

"The relative peace of our nation enjoyed today is not inevitable. Peace is earned by strength, and strength begins with the men and women who wear the uniform. New weapons and technologies are important but they are only as effective as the people who use them," he said in his weekly radio address.

Mr. Bush will place emphasis on the military by making three one day trips at the beginning of the week to see active duty soldiers, reservists and review the next generation of weapons. On Thursday, he will visit the State Department for a symbolic meeting with his Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, and foreign service officers at the Foggy Bottom. The week is rounded off with a visit to Mexico on Friday and a meeting with its President, Mr. Vicente Fox.

Clearly, the next emphasis is on the military.

"Whenever America acts in the world, our principles must be certain, our intentions beyond doubt, our strength beyond challenge. This is how conflicts are avoided. This is how problems are dealt with before they become crises."

During the campaign, Mr. Bush placed emphasis on the troops — their morale, equipment and pay scales. He also accused the Clinton administration of not doing enough for the armed forces and promised to make significant improvements. "... as promised, I will announce meaningful increases in funding to improve the lives of our men and women in uniform," he said.

Mr. Bush did not give any numbers in his radio address but it is generally believed that the pay raises would come to around \$1.5 billion and another \$1 billion to keep highly skilled people stay in the military. A soldier is likely to get \$750 more in the first year.

And at a time when the Bush administration has been making sure that Pentagon will not be getting away with any budgetary requests, the President will keep a sufficient interest on weapons modernisation. "Battles will no longer be won by size alone. Stealth and

speed will matter more," he said.

Mr. Bush has already raised a few eyebrows in Congress when he has informed Conservative Republicans that the \$300 billion Pentagon budget too will face the same kind of scrutiny and cuts as warranted. There are political reasons for taking on the party hardliners, for Mr. Bush wants to send the message that his spending decisions are carefully thought out.

The Bush administration is yet to come out with any major initiatives in the realm of foreign policy and is unlikely to do so in the very near future. For instance, the administration has made it known to West Asian leaders that unlike the hands on approach of the Clinton administration, West Asia peace would have to have a regional emphasis; and that Washington cannot be in the business of setting deadlines.

Gen. Powell is travelling to the region to get a first hand impression of the developments and response of main actors. Likewise, Mr. Bush has instructed his Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, to do a "top-to-bottom" study of the military that includes modernisation priorities and the nuclear arsenal.

THE HINDU

12 FEB 2001

## Wahid hits back at opponents

Pasaruan (Indonesia), February 9

**PRESIDENT ABDURRAHMAN** Wahid today ordered his fanatical supporters to end days of violent protests over attempts to have him impeached for corruption and hit back at his accusers by threatening to prosecute 10 national figures for graft.

Speaking at a mosque in his home province of East Java, Wahid ruled out disbanding Parliament - which last week censured him as a first step toward impeachment - after earlier reports that he had urged the military to impose martial law. Wahid said that the government would intensify a crackdown on endemic corruption. Within three weeks, "we will catch at least 10 people and these people will be big fish," he said. (AP)

## Bush signals end to Clinton approach in Middle East

S. Rajagopalan  
Washington, February 9

IN A clean break from Bill Clinton's hands-on approach, the Bush Administration has signalled its intention to leave much of the initiative for resolution of the Middle East conflict to the Israelis and Palestinians themselves.

That the US would be careful in playing the role of a mediator has been emphasised by Mr Bush's National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice. As she put it in an interview to The New York Times: "We shouldn't think of American involvement for the sake of American involvement."

While suggesting that the Bush Administration would step in only when such an involvement appears to make sense, she came up with the significant remark that Washington should not consider it "a slap at the United States or a disengaged American policy if the parties can progress on their

own". The approach outlined by Ms Rice is bound to reinforce the view of many that the Bush Administration would settle for a low-profile, and possibly an isolationist role on foreign policy issues where American interests are not directly threatened.

Ms Rice has also let it be known that the peace formula mooted by Mr Clinton in his final days was his own.

In all fairness, Mr Clinton himself had said in one of his key public utterances that the successor administration would not be bound by his proposal, which in any case failed to make headway.

In an oblique criticism of Mr Clinton's activist zeal on Middle East and his endorsement of Ehud Barak ahead of the election, Ms Rice commented: "It was extremely important that we (Bush Administration) send a signal--which I think we did--that the Israeli election was the business of the Israeli people and not the business of the American people or the president of the

United States."

The remarks of Ms Rice and State Department spokesman Richard Boucher, in the nature of saying goodbye to Mr Clinton's Middle East initiatives, came on a day when Mr Bush otherwise had a telephonic conversation with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. He had earlier spoken to the newly-elected Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon.

Secretary of State Colin Powell, just before the Israeli election results were out, had stated that the US would not follow a stand-off stance on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict but would at the same time ensure that the search for peace was seen in a regional context.

The US efforts at this point, according to Mr Boucher, are primarily aimed at seeing what can be done to restrain the violence. "We take this period calmly, to make sure that we all look at what is going to be done and judge by what is done, rather than by

assumptions." At his briefing, Mr Boucher explicitly stated that the Clinton formula no longer constituted a US proposal. "The ideas and parameters that were discussed in the last few months were President Clinton's parameters, and when he left office, they were no longer a US proposal or a presidential proposal," he said. Mr Boucher, incidentally, was the State Department spokesman under the Clinton regime as well.

The spokesman said the US, while wanting to remain in touch with both sides, had no specific starting point to offer for talks. "It's not necessarily up to us to prescribe the starting point. It's up to the parties to agree," he said.

One postulate of the Clinton formula that has been rejected outright by the new Israeli Prime Minister is the division of Jerusalem. Mr Sharon, during a visit to Jerusalem on Wednesday, said the holy city would remain a single unit under Israel.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

10 FEB 2001

# Powell slams US sanctions

London, February 9

WHEN THE US disapproves of a foreign government's actions, policies or ideology, it usually pursues one of three options. It bombs, it punishes, or it persuades. Sometimes it does all three together. Concerted American armed action of the kind seen in Iraq and Serbia is relatively rare and is usually embarked upon as a last resort. If persuasion fails and coercion of a foreign power or dictator is required, the much more usual, preferred tool is punishment by economic and diplomatic means - in other words, sanctions.

Both the US presidency and the US Congress have given themselves sweeping powers to impose sanctions on foreigners who offend America's ideas of what is proper. These measures range from unilateral bans on selected exports or restrictions on entry into the US of "undesirable" individuals to full-scale trade, travel, investment and diplomatic embargoes.

In such latter cases, the US will

10/2  
routinely ask the UN Security Council to endorse its actions, ensuring that other UN members follow its lead. Thanks to its enormous clout and its veto power, it usually gets its way.

Iraq is the most notorious victim of all-out US-led punitive sanctions (even though the measures have been softened in recent years). Although most countries in the UN General Assembly no longer support the sanctions regime as applied to Baghdad, it remains in place regardless.

In the post-Cold War period the US to throw its weight around to a greater degree than ever before.

The figures on sanctions, provided by US business lobby groups, also form the context for one of the more unexpected initiatives of the new Bush administration. When Colin Powell visited the Senate last month for hearings on his nomination as secretary of state, one of the issues he raised was sanctions.

There were too many of them, he said, they often did not work, and what was more, they gave America

a bad name. The repeated use of sanctions as a foreign policy weapon "shows a degree of American hubris and arrogance that may not serve our interests all that well."

Does this presage a new dawn of enlightenment for governments of Havana, Delhi, Damascus, Tehran, Kabul, Beijing and elsewhere? That is far from clear.

Mr Powell has been explicit about two cases: Iraq and Libya. Here the sanctions would remain.

And there is another consideration that gives pause. Sanctions are not always bad and they do sometimes work: the example of South Africa during the apartheid era is often given. And it will be remembered that many big businesses, including some British banks, fervently opposed them.

The recently imposed UN curbs on the West African war-stoking trade in "blood diamonds" are another example of sanctions that are morally desirable and will, hopefully, work.

(Guardian News Service)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

10/2



## U.S. will work with Sharon for peace: Bush

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, FEB. 7. The Bush administration has congratulated the Prime Minister-elect of Israel, Mr. Ariel Sharon, calling the United States' relationship with the Jewish state "rock solid". A White House statement said that the President, Mr. George W. Bush, called Mr. Sharon soon after the incumbent Prime Minister, Mr. Ehud Barak, conceded defeat in the elections. *W.G. W. Bush*

"The President told Prime Minister-elect Sharon he looked forward to working with him, especially with regard to advancing peace and stability in the region", the White House statement said, making also the point that the U.S. deeply appreciated the friendship of Mr. Barak and his commitment to regional peace. ✓

The administration here is yet to unfold its strategy vis-a-vis West Asia but has been giving indications that there is bound to be a change in focus. "We want to make sure that the quest for peace is seen in a broad regional context so that the quest doesn't stand alone in and of itself", the Secretary of State, Mr. Colin Powell, remarked.

What the Bush administration is trying to do is to convince all Arab nations that a peace deal between the Israelis and the Palestinians will benefit all in the region. During the course of the political campaign, Mr. Bush had tried to make the point that the peace proposals cannot be imposed on an American schedule or deadlines.

Gen. Powell has said that he is travelling to the region, the Gulf and Europe later this month but that the final arrangements are yet to be worked out. One of the first things that Washington seems to be emphasising is on controlling violence.

"This is a time to be patient" so as to give the winner a chance to decide what kind of Government is going to be formed, Gen. Powell remarked. In particular, Washington is keen on not seeing the cycle of violence begin all over again. ✓

THE HINDU

- 8 FEB 2001