

We have Russia's support: envoy

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, DEC. 27. Russia has extended full support to India on the issue of cross-border terrorism and relations with Pakistan, the Indian envoy in Moscow, Mr. K. Raghunath, has said.

Recent political-level contacts showed that Russia "shares our perception" of the situation in South Asia. "Moscow's position on terrorism and Indo-Pak. relations is very close to ours. We have its full support as far as our understanding of the situation and action is concerned," the envoy told the Indian correspondents here.

Moscow's position was conveyed to the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, by the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, in their telephonic conversation on Monday, which the Indian envoy described as "very good". The Russian Foreign Ministry, the same day, expressed "strong condemnation" of the December 13 attack on Parliament and stressed the convergence of views on the issue between Moscow and Delhi.

Russia appreciated India's restraint in the wake of the Parliament attack, but there was also "complete understanding" between the countries that Pakistan could not be allowed to trade off its assistance to the anti-terrorist coalition in Afghanistan for a licence to engage in cross-border terrorism, Mr. Raghunath said.

In a year-end review of Indo-Russian relations, the Ambassador said the year 2001 had seen the Indo-Russian political and strategic dialogue "reinforced" and make "good progress". The two countries have engaged in "very serious, concrete cooperation" on a wide range of issues, including strategic stability, terrorism, and Afghanistan.

Calls for G-8 meet

Russia had called for an urgent meeting of the G-8 group to discuss the flare-up of tension between India and Pakistan, a news agency report said.

The Interfax quoted Italian sources in Moscow as saying that Russia had sent its proposals to Italy, current chairman in the Group of Eight, and the other G-8 countries, which include the U.S., Germany, the U.K., France, Canada and Japan.

Russia has urged the G-8 to register its concern over the situation shaping up in South Asia in the wake of the attack on Indian Parliament by Kashmiri separatists based in Pakistan, the Italian sources told Interfax. Moscow also wants the G-8 to call on India and Pakistan to resume political dialogue and joint efforts in combating terrorism, the sources said. However, there was no official confirmation of the report.

Meanwhile, a senior Russian parliamentarian said Moscow had urged Washington to ensure that Pakistan's nuclear arsenal does not fall into the hands of Islamic extremists.

"There is a danger that extremist forces might seize nuclear weapons in Pakistan," said Mr. Dmitry Rogozin, head of the Lower House Foreign Affairs Committee.

"We have discussed this problem with the Americans and have strongly impressed upon them that they bear full responsibility for the safety of the Pakistani nuclear arms."

The Russian MP said the anti-terror operation in Afghanistan "has spurred the activity of extremist forces in Pakistan."

Many people in Pakistan were unhappy with Gen. Pervez Musharraf's Government over its cooperation with the U.S. in Afghanistan, Mr. Rogozin said.

"The Pakistani military is trying to let the steam of wrath against Gen. Musharraf and the top brass. The best way to do it is to point a finger at the old-new enemy, India. The build up of tension helps Islamabad set all domestic opposition against India," the head of the Russian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee said.

THE HINDU

23 DEC 2001

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Putin, Vajpayee discuss Indo-Pak. crisis

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, DEC. 25. The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, called up the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, on Monday to discuss the latest crisis between India and Pakistan.

The Kremlin press service said the two leaders discussed among other things, "the development of the situation in South Asia". The terse statement amounted to a declaration of Moscow's support for New Delhi. *Indo Pak*

"The need was stressed for the further intensification of Russian-Indian interaction in combating international terrorism, any form of extremism and separatism," the Presidential press service said.

The conversation took place on December 24, the same day Mr. Putin sent greetings to Mr. Vajpayee on the eve of his birthday. How-

ever, the Kremlin's account of Mr. Putin's call to Delhi made no mention of the Prime Minister's birthday, which served to emphasise the serious nature of the telephone discussion.

Russia has refrained from issuing resounding statements on the flareup of tension between India and Pakistan, confining its reaction to the expression of "serious concern" and hopes for a resumption of dialogue between the two countries. At the same time Moscow has launched intense diplomatic efforts to defuse the crisis. Over the past few days the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Alexander Losyukov, met both the Pakistani and Indian envoys in Moscow, to discuss the situation.

The Foreign Ministry's official reports of the meetings left no doubt as to where Russia's sympathies lie. Whereas Pakistan's Ambassador to Russia, Mr. Ifthar Murshed, was told of

Moscow's "serious concern over growing tensions in relations between India and Pakistan" and urged to "join efforts" with India in the struggle against terrorism.

During his meeting with India's Ambassador, Mr. K. Raghunath, the Foreign Ministry official conveyed Russia's denunciation of the terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament and expressed his country's solidarity with India.

"The Russian side expressed strong condemnation of these terrorist actions and stressed that Russia and India share the same view (of the incident) and voice serious concern over the notable destabilisation of the situation in the region and its possible negative consequences for peace and security in South Asia," the Russian Foreign Office said in a communique.

THE HINDU

26 DEC 2001

Putin urges India to maintain restraint

By Vladimir Radyuhin

16/12 H10-1
MOSCOW, DEC. 15. Russia has joined Western nations in trying to keep India from attacking terrorist bases inside Pakistan, a media report said.

The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, in a telephone call to the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, last week sought to discourage New Delhi from launching any retaliatory strikes at Pakistan in the wake of the terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament.

India - Kumar
A report in the *Novyie Izvestia* said Mr. Putin told Mr. Vajpayee that the attack could have been masterminded by Osama bin Laden to provoke an India-Pakistan conflict and facilitate his escape from the region. The daily cited unidentified experts as saying the attack was a "classic diversion

strike." In a similar scenario in West Asia, Palestinian attacks in Israel had provoked an Israeli backlash against Mr. Yasser Arafat and had helped ward off an immediate threat of a U.S. strike against Iraq.

The Kremlin press service said Mr. Putin had discussed with Mr. Vajpayee the U.S. withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and conveyed Moscow's condolences over the attack. Earlier, the Russian Foreign Ministry issued a statement condemning the attack as an "outrageous manifestation of terrorism."

Meet condemns attack

Meanwhile, an international conference on security in Central Asia "strongly condemned" the terrorist attack and conveyed its sympathy to the Government of India.

[Faint stamp]

15 DEC 2001

Putin, Vajpayee discuss stand after ABM

15/12
India -
Russia

Moscow, December 14

HT-10

RUSSIAN PRESIDENT Vladimir Putin called up Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Chinese President Jiang Zemin to discuss the situation emerging out of the withdrawal of the US from the 1972 ABM treaty and evolving a common stand on future security architecture.

Vajpayee said that at the Moscow summit in November, India and Russia had noted the importance of anti-ballistic missile treaty as the cornerstone of strategic stability in the world and New Delhi's stand remains unchanged, Kremlin press service said late on Thursday night.

Putin said the US decision to withdraw from 30-year-old treaty to build national missile defence system did not come as a surprise to him and would not have any security implications for Russia.

"Unlike other nuclear powers of the world, Russia has the capability to pierce a national missile shield," Putin said. "We had urged the US to preserve this treaty to enhance strategic stability and non-proliferation."

According to Kremlin sources, Putin has reached an understanding with Zemin. Responding to US plans to scrap the ABM treaty, Jiang urged President Bush to preserve the international arms-control system, state media said today. Beijing worries that Bush's plans to develop a missile defence system will undercut the deterrent value of its small nuclear arsenal. Chinese officials have warned that their Government might respond by building more nuclear missiles or trying to

make it existing missiles more accurate.

Meanwhile, Powell has said the decision would not affect the relationship between two countries. "In my conversations with President Putin, it became clear that they understand the nature of our missile defence programme, that they have made an analysis of their own security requirements and needs and believe that what we are doing is not a threat to their national security," Powell said yesterday.

Nato said it welcomed the US promise to work out a new programme of cooperation with Russia, after Washington's decision to pull out of the ABM treaty. "Nato welcomes the pledge by the united states to develop a new framework of cooperation with Russia to enhance stability and re-inforce cooperation on the security issue, including a substantial reduction in strategic nuclear weapons," said Nato secretary general Lord Roberston yesterday.

France acknowledges the US decision to pull out of the ABM treaty, which has been an essential component of strategic stability in recent years," said a foreign ministry statement. "Going beyond bilateral Russian-US relations, the necessity of ensuring strategic stability in the new world order remains an important issue for US."

Bush today announced that the US was pulling out of the ABM treaty, saying he had concluded that it "hinders our Government's ability to develop ways to protect our people from future terrorists or rogue state missile attacks."

AFP

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

15 DEC 2001

MOSCOW PROSPECT

The enduring stability of Indo-Russian relations has once again been demonstrated during the visit of India's prime minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to Russia. Not only did Vladimir Putin, the president of Russia, and Mr Vajpayee, as was expected, sign a joint declaration on terrorism, but they also displayed a remarkable convergence of views on several key issues. Given the common threat that both Russia and India face from terrorism, and the growing global consensus, after September 11, against groups and states that sponsor terrorism, the Moscow Declaration comes as no surprise. The declaration calls for the "completion of negotiations under United Nations' auspices on the draft Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism and the Convention for the suppression of acts of Nuclear Terrorism", which India helped draft and sponsor. There is a clear recognition that an early adoption of these conventions will help in strengthening the international legal basis for effectively combating the global menace of terrorism. This is not the first time that India and Russia have put forward a common stand on terrorism. It may be recalled that during Mr Putin's visit to India, both countries had agreed to co-ordinate their strategies to deal with the new form of religious terrorism that is seeking to subvert secular, multi-ethnic, pluralistic countries, of which India and Russia are among the largest. But Mr Vajpayee's visit to Russia acquires significance not just for the common stand adopted against international terrorism. Both countries share an interest in a truly multi-polar world order, and this was reflected in a joint statement. The statement called for the creation of "a new co-operative security order" that could become the basis for such a world order.

New Delhi will be happy with the gains made on several other significant issues as well. Most important, Russia has recognized that India must be involved in a resolution of the Afghanistan crisis, even while maintaining the importance of the UN-sponsored "six-plus-two mechanism" consisting of Afghanistan's six neighbours together with the United States of America and Russia. No less significantly, the progress made on the issue of cooperation in the field of nuclear energy has begun to yield tangible results. India and Russia signed a memorandum for constructing two atomic power plants of 1,000 megawatt capacity each in Kudankulam in Tamil Nadu at an estimated cost of Rs 14,000 crore. Construction of the reactors is expected to begin by May next year and while India will finance 46 per cent of the construction cost of about \$ 3 billion, the rest is to be raised on credit from Russia. Recall that the first agreement offer for the construction of the 2x1000 mw nuclear power stations was signed between Rajiv Gandhi and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev in November 1988. A contract for the preparation of a detailed project report was signed in Moscow on July 20, 1998. While the progress has been slow, it is heartening that despite international pressure Moscow has stuck to its commitments.

Apprehensions that New Delhi's growing proximity to Washington may weaken its relationship with Moscow were clearly misplaced. Despite the changes in bilateral ties after the end of the Cold War, there is a continued convergence of bilateral interests that makes it profitable for both India and Russia to maintain close ties. A Russian foreign office spokesman, quite appropriately defined the relationship as "problem free", "self-sufficient", "intransient" and not dependent on either Moscow or New Delhi's relations with third countries.

THE TELEGRAPH

6 NOV 2001

Putin helps Atal fend off Bush pressure

FROM K.P. NAVAR

Washington, Nov. 8: As Atal Bihari Vajpayee embarked on his three-nation trip, the Americans put together a plan to bring him under severe pressure and extract a commitment that India will not act against Pakistan or do anything Washington may view as destabilising the US-led coalition against terrorism.

Before Vajpayee landed in Moscow, the Bush administration had urged Russian Presi-

dent Vladimir Putin to impress upon the Indian Prime Minister the need for restraint in dealing with Pakistan.

Had Putin fallen in line, President George W. Bush would have added his weight to the pressure on India at his meeting with Vajpayee here tomorrow.

British Prime Minister Tony Blair would then have followed suit at his talks with Vajpayee at 10 Downing Street on Monday.

Vajpayee would have stood up to the pressure just as he has rejected suggestions that talks with

President Pervez Musharraf should be held in New York for the sake of talks.

Had he given in, the tour would have become Pakistan-centric. It would have been robbed of any bilateral successes or its global and anti-terrorist dimensions.

Putin nipped the American plan even before Vajpayee began the first leg of his travel. The Russian President told Washington he would definitely propose restraint, but no more.

He told the Americans that if there was another terrorist attack

on India, similar to the one on the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly last month, India would have to respond.

Vajpayee began a full day of discussions on Capitol Hill today, carrying that message. He told American leaders India would not tamely accept terrorist acts against it from across the border.

"We are conscious of the need not to threaten in any way the prospects of our coalition in Afghanistan, but at the same time we need to be assured that our own security will not be affected."

The Kremlin had reasoned with the White House that any failure by India to respond would be viewed by terrorists as a sign of weakness. Pakistan and its agents of hate would then assume they can do anything they please.

It is not clear if Putin told Washington it should use its influence on Islamabad to avoid further terrorist actions against India.

Even if he did not, the message has gone to the White House that if Bush wants stability in South Asia as the US takes on Osama bin Laden, Musharraf has to be

reined in.

Vajpayee today said: "We have no desire to overload the agenda of the international coalition against terrorism. But we need to ensure that we do not tamely accept terrorist acts against us from across the borders."

As Vajpayee arrived in Washington, his aides were confident that the warmth and substance of the old Indo-Soviet ties had been revived. The knowledge that India has a firm ally in Russia will embolden Vajpayee to do some plain-

speaking here and in London.

Vajpayee will take up the question of India's association with the UN-sponsored six-plus-two process of the US, Russia and Afghanistan's neighbours seeking a solution to the crisis there.

Washington has already conveyed to South Block its determination to pursue a long-term relationship with India, encompassing ideas thrashed out in meetings this year with the White House, as well as those in the "Vision statement" signed between Vajpayee and President Bill Clinton last year.

THE TELEGRAPH

9 NOV 2001

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 2001

INDO-RUSSIAN SECURITY RELATIONS

QUITE CLEARLY, THE Prime Minister's visit to Russia went far beyond the generalities of the Moscow Declaration on international terrorism and the joint statement on globally relevant strategic issues. There was a hard economic underbelly to the visit — embodied largely in the military-industrial sphere — which appears poised to take the two countries towards new levels of cooperation and partnership. The overt signs of this were represented by the inking of the Koodankulam nuclear power plant deal and the announcements on the growing partnership on the oil exploration front. The not fully spelt out but arguably more beguiling signals were contained in the oblique hints that "significant decisions" had been taken which would considerably enhance Indo-Russian military and technical cooperation.

It is believed that these decisions, among other things, relate to the purchase of the Russian aircraft carrier Admiral Gorshkov (which has been delayed because of rising cost estimates and problems connected to the refit) and the joint development of a fifth-generation strike aircraft which will eventually phase out the MiG-29 and Sukhoi-30 jets. Although no deals were formally concluded during Mr. Vajpayee's Moscow visit, it is quite apparent that security relations, principally in terms of arms sales, are poised to grow even further with more acquisitions on the cards of sophisticated weaponry such as Smerch multi-barrel rocket systems and airborne AWACS systems. It was only early this year that a massive deal for the purchase of 310 T-90s was formally signed. The first batch of these third generation main battle tanks, which are expected to form the fighting nucleus of India's armoured regiments and form an effective counter to the Ukrainian T-80s acquired by Pakistan, are expected to arrive in India later this month.

Indian purchases of \$10 billion worth of military hardware from Russia over the past four years has considerably helped Russia's limping military-industrial establishment, which is plagued by the lack of orders after the end of the Cold War. As defence ties have expanded, the nuclear cooperation between the two countries has culminated — in the face of strong objections from other Western nuclear powers, principally the United States — in the agreement to construct the Koodankulam atomic power plant involving two 1000 MW atomic reactors of the VVER-type in southern Tamil Nadu.

The project has had a long and chequered past, having been signed way back in 1988 and almost shelved because of the collapse of the Soviet Union before being revived by means of a supplementary agreement almost a decade later. The success of the Koodankulam plant will be crucial if India's stated mid-term strategy of doubling its installed nuclear power capability over the next seven years is to be achieved. Although the technology employed is modern and safety features have received special consideration, the shadow of the Chernobyl disaster and general environmental concerns have created a measure of scepticism. India needs to meet its burgeoning energy requirements in a manner which is both environmentally sustainable and economically viable. Whether relying heavily on nuclear power is the appropriate approach to achieve this complex end is something that is bound to be both debated and questioned. As things stand, however, nuclear power accounts for only around two per cent of the country's electricity supply. But with the difficulties of using polluting domestic coal or relying on imported oil and gas likely to continue, the country seems slated to bank more heavily on nuclear power to find a way out of its chronic power problem.

THE HINDU

9 NOV 2001

PM RULES OUT TALKS WITH MUSHARRAF

India seeks high-profile role in Afghanistan

By P.S. Suryanarayana and Vladimir Radyuhin

India Russia 11-1

MOSCOW, NOV. 7. The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, today sought a high-profile role for India in regard to Afghanistan and ruled out a meeting with the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, during his visit to New York later this week.

Mr. Vajpayee said the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, had indicated that the existing six-plus-two mechanism on Afghanistan should be expanded and India included. He would raise the question of the U.N.-sponsored mechanism during his talks with the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, in Washington later this week.

Mr. Vajpayee told presspersons before his departure for Washington that the ongoing U.S. bombings of Afghanistan could only form the "basis" for intensifying the battle against international terrorism.

Answering almost all questions in Hindi, he seemed to hint that ground troops might have to be inducted for further action against terrorist networks and the Taliban. Yet, he also appeared to imply that the political process of settling the Afghan crisis could also be hastened in view of the perception that the bombings alone might not do the trick.

Decisions on security issues

Summing up the outcome of his summit with Mr. Putin at the Kremlin here on Tuesday, he said

they had made certain decisions concerning sensitive "security" issues. There was no hint that the new understanding on security matters might have something to do with the escalating international tension in the context of the U.S. action in Afghanistan. Yet, in reply to diverse questions on Afghanistan, Mr. Vajpayee said the U.S. had not so far availed itself fully of India's offer of logistical cooperation.

On the snowballing freeze in

the India-Pakistan relationship, he reiterated his view about the "pointlessness" of another meeting with Gen. Musharraf in the present "environment." There should be no question of holding a dialogue for dialogue sake. Nor should it be an exercise in public relations.

Asked whether Mr. Putin had at all supported India on the issue of cross-border terrorism, Mr. Vajpayee said the Russian leader had

agreed with the Indian perception. The states that call for a resumption of the India-Pakistan dialogue were no less aware of India's concerns about cross-border terrorism.

Economic cooperation

Mr. Vajpayee recognised the need for greater government effort on both sides to promote Indo-Russian trade and economic cooperation. "Both sides agreed that some steps need to be taken to set up a monitoring mechanism to check on the implementation of the decisions taken," the Prime Minister said.

Bilateral trade stood at a minuscule \$1.4 billion in 2000-2001 and has taken a downturn in the current fiscal year though the two sides sign new agreements to boost two-way trade every year.

The Indian and Russian leaders discussed ways to develop new areas of bilateral cooperation, such as information technology, infrastructure development and diamonds, Mr. Vajpayee said. They also stressed the need to ensure that Russian imports of tea and tobacco, financed mainly from the repayment of old Soviet debts, did not suffer when rupee funds run out in another three years. Smooth transition to trade in international currency was discussed in this connection.

Referring to India's largest-yet investment-abroad in Sakhalin-1 oil and gas project in Russia, the Prime Minister said the two countries would institutionalise a dialogue on energy security.

Plan to build super-fighter

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, NOV. 7. India and Russia have agreed to jointly develop a fifth-generation strike aircraft, a senior Russian Government official announced here at the end of the four-day visit to Russia by the Prime Minister, Mr. Vajpayee.

The Russian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Ilya Klebanov, was quoted by the RIA Novosti news agency as saying that the two sides were preparing a presentation of the new project in India in the first quarter of 2002. It would be the most ambitious and sophisticated defence project undertaken by the two countries so far.

The decision to join forces in building the super-fighter was apparently taken at Mr. Vajpayee's meeting with the Russian Defence Minister, Mr. Sergei Ivanov, on Tuesday. No arms deals have been signed during the current visit, but the two sides are reported to have discussed the full range of military-technical cooperation.

The Russian designer of the fifth-generation fighter will be named in a tender, in which the Sukhoi and MiG aircraft corporations are likely to take part, Mr. Klebanov said. Earlier, Russian officials said the new plane should be ready by 2008 and would replace the SU-30 and MiG-29 fourth-generation jets. It would rival the Joint Strike Force fighter to be built in the U.S. by Lockheed-Martin.

Other defence deals in the making include the leasing from Russia of four TU-22M3 bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons, the refitting of the Russian aircraft carrier Admiral Gorshkov for India, acquisition of the Smerch multiple-barrel rocket launchers and the deployment of a national air-defence system in India.

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THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 2001

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RELOCATING INDO-RUSSIAN TIES

8/11

AS THE PRIME Minister concluded the Moscow leg of a marathon mission abroad and headed for Washington, it was clear that a treaty partner of Cold War vintage was in the process of readjusting and retuning its own world vision. As befitting a long-standing, time-tested relationship, there were, doubtless, points of convergence of ideas and interests between India and Russia on key areas of mutual concern. But there were also differing perceptions and different nuances as the Prime Minister and the Russian President discovered at their summit talks. The Moscow declaration and the separate joint statement that Mr. Vajpayee and Mr. Vladimir Putin initialled after the talks underlined the post-September 11 geopolitical reality that in this era of flux no bilateral relations will remain the same. One other reality stood out in the documents: the large shadow of the United States as the two countries strive to develop their own independent equations with the sole superpower. Eager to stress the areas of commonality of purpose — as with the clear emphasis on the primacy of the United Nations in the fight against global terrorism — both were equally anxious not to cause offence to Washington. A new ethos in Indo-Russian relations is emerging, qualitatively different from the one seen after Mr. Putin's breakthrough visit to India late last year.

Bilateralism, for a while, apparently took the backseat at the summit. Mr. Putin appeared disinclined to oblige his Indian guest on the issue of Kashmir, impliedly suggesting that New Delhi give up its obduracy and return to the negotiating table with Pakistan. Moscow would welcome the resumption of the direct dialogue, the Russian President said at his press conference, in effect endorsing Gen. Pervez Musharraf's suggestion for a meeting in New York and rejecting the hardline stand of

the Indian Government. The absence of a reference to the Indian conditions for a resumption of the talks did suggest that Moscow concurs with the line that the U.S. and the European Union have been taking on the India-Pakistan dispute. Moscow was perhaps the only capital on his present itinerary where Mr. Vajpayee would have hoped to receive an endorsement of his policy vis-a-vis Pakistan. He can now expect to come under even greater pressure from Washington and London to respond positively to Gen. Musharraf's invitation for talks.

With their shared experiences, India and Russia could speak with a common voice on terrorism, calling for the completion of negotiations under U.N. auspices on a draft convention that will provide a legal basis to combat the global menace. Itself a sponsor of an anti-terrorism draft, India apparently readily endorsed the Russian proposal that the fight should be launched by legally established mechanisms under the world body, respecting the Kremlin's fears of American unilateral action stemming from the experiences in the former Yugoslavia where a Moscow-friendly regime was targeted by the Western alliance without U.N. sanction. Mr. Vajpayee would also have understood Mr. Putin's anger at the "double standards" of the international community. The West and its media had strongly indicted the Putin regime for the manner in which it was tackling externally-sponsored terrorism in the province of Chechnya. Seen from Moscow and Delhi, the contrast with the response following the attacks of September 11 would have been striking and sharp. However, as with the call for "a new cooperative security order", where again Moscow's perceptions have changed dramatically, both countries carefully avoided stridency. That is the hallmark of post-September 11 diplomacy.

THE HINDU

8 NOV 2001

Resolve Kashmir issue bilaterally, says Ivanov

By Vladimir Radyuhin

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MOSCOW, NOV. 6. While supporting India on cross-border terrorism, Russia has urged restraint in Kashmir and called on Delhi and Islamabad to "peacefully" resolve their problems.

"We hope that India and Pakistan will find the strength to take further steps towards normalising bilateral relations and to revive a full-scale negotiating process on the basis of the Lahore accord, which will help settle outstanding issues," Russia's Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, said in an exclusive interview to *The Hindu*.

He reiterated Moscow's "unchanged" position on Kashmir, saying, "We believe this dispute should be resolved peacefully on a bilateral basis laid down in the Shimla agreement, without any foreign interference." The emphasis on "peaceful" settlement reflects Moscow's concerns that the current heightening of tension on the Line of Control could erupt into an armed conflict between India and Pakistan. In an effort to preserve the precarious equilibrium in South Asia, Moscow welcomed Pakistan's role in the U.S.-led war against terrorism. "Pakistan is a weighty element in the geopolitical equation in South Asia. Its influence extends to the southern borders of the CIS (the post-Soviet Commonwealth of Independent States) and the Islamic world as a whole." "Moscow has a positive view of the decisions taken by Pakistan's President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, in connection with the terrorist attacks in the United States and Washington's action in Afghanistan. It is to be hoped that this signifies a conscious and sincere turn towards real struggle against terrorism in all its forms and manifestations."

At the same time, Mr. Ivanov regretted Pakistan's failure, prior to the September 11 attacks, in opposing along with Russia the threats originating from Afghanistan of trans-border terrorism, Islamic extremism and drug-trafficking. "Pakistan has largely become a hostage to radical, extremist elements active on its territory and has found itself in a difficult situation." He reiterated Moscow's opposition to the Taliban playing any role in a post-war Afghanistan.

"The preservation of Taliban's political structures, even if in a truncated form, in our view would be fraught with a revival of a springboard of terrorism and drug-trafficking in Afghanistan. Therefore, we believe it inadmissible for the Taliban as a religious-political organisation to be present in future structures of power in that country." Mr. Ivanov stressed the role of the United Nations in the fight against terrorism. "Russia supports collective effort to combat terrorism on the understanding that this effort is undertaken within the framework of international law and in keeping with the U.N. Charter."

On the potential of cooperation between Russia, India and China, he noted the growing responsibility of the three nations in establishing a system of security and stability in Asia and the whole world. "Coordinated efforts of the three countries to bring their positions closer, to work out common approaches to regional and international problems in our view would promote the interests of stability in the Asia-Pacific region and elsewhere in the world."

"Taking a joint stand against international terrorism can also become an important aspect of interaction among Russia, India and China." He hailed the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee's current visit to Russia as "a milestone event" that should "consolidate the new level of strategic partnership attained in relations between Russia and India".

PM awarded doctorate

MOSCOW, NOV. 6. The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, today lashed out at the "controls" placed by some developed nations on the free flow of scientific and technological knowledge saying such barriers went against the spirit of science and goals of global development.

In his speech at the Lomonosov Moscow State University where he was awarded an honorary doctorate, Mr. Vajpayee expressed serious concern over the "present divide" between the developed and developing countries with regard to advances in science and technology. — PTI

HINDU

Vajpayee, Putin warn against double standards ■ Moscow stresses Delhi's role in post-Taliban govt

India, Russia forge anti-terror front

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

MOSCOW, Nov. 6. — India and Russia today said the conflict in Afghanistan should not be allowed to spill over its boundaries and called for "decisive measures" to target those who support or train terrorists.

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee and Mr Vladimir Putin signed the Moscow Declaration, forging a common front against terrorism. They signed the document at the Kremlin after one-to-one talks on issues related to terrorism and the situation in Afghanistan. There were delegation-level parleys between the two sides.

The declaration came down heavily on "terrorism" in Russia and India under the slogan of self-determination. In an obvious reference to Chechnya and Jammu and Kashmir, the declaration said the violence there "in reality" represented acts of terrorism and there could be no double standards in tackling this menace.

Terrorism, whether in Kashmir, Afghanistan or Chechnya, needed to be fought in an effective manner. "There cannot be good terrorists and bad terrorists, our terrorists and their terrorists," Mr Putin told reporters after signing the declaration. "Double standards could result in a split of the common international position, and given the seriousness of the situation, this is inadmissible."

All states, individuals and entities which render support, harbour, finance, instigate or train terrorists or promote terrorism should face "decisive measures" worked out under international law, the declaration said. Nations should try to block access of terrorist groups to financial resources.

Terrorism can be vanquished by a combined effort of all countries, the declaration said. Terrorist acts are unjustifiable whatever be its motive - political, ideological, philosophical, racial, ethnic and religious.

India and Russia agreed there was no place for the Taliban in a future Afghanistan government. Afghanistan needs a broad-based government with representation from all minority ethnic groups.



ONE-TO-ONE: Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee and Mr Vladimir Putin at the Kremlin on Tuesday. — AP/PTI

The UN should play a central role in the fight against terrorism. The two nations called for an early completion of negotiations under UN auspices on

The declaration said multi-ethnic and democratic societies are more vulnerable to acts of terrorism which attack the values and freedoms enshrined in such societies.

The two nations resolved to cooperate in the struggle against new challenges in international terrorism especially in the nuclear, chemical, biological, space, cybernetics spheres. The nexus between terrorism and illegal drugs and arms trade was also noted.

At a press conference after the one-to-one talks, Mr Putin said New Delhi should be involved in the Six-Plus-Two group of countries proposed by the UN for the solution of the Afghanistan problem.

What role will India play in post-Taliban Afghanistan? "We agreed that the six-plus two mechanism (involving the neighbours of Afghanistan, Russia and the USA) should be employed. But India should be involved in the mechanism," "India is not just an acceptable partner but a desirable partner."

On Kashmir, he said Russia favoured a dialogue between India

and Pakistan and hoped this could bring some positive results.

Joint statement

Mr Vajpayee and Mr Putin issued a joint statement cementing the strategic relationship between India and Russia. The two sides signed a series of agreements and agreed to establish new settlement procedures in trade and economic cooperation.

The joint statement said the Security Council should be expanded to make it more representative. Russia backed India's candidature for permanent membership of the Security Council. The two sides favoured adoption of urgent measures to resume Israel-Palestine dialogue. Mr Putin accepted Mr Vajpayee's invitation to visit India.

Fighter jets: India and Russia today decided to jointly develop the fifth-generation multi-role fighter aircraft. Mr Ilya Klebanov said an understanding has been reached "in principle" with India for the development of these jets.

7 NOV 2001

Terrorism is not 'ours' or 'theirs', declares Putin

By Dileep Padgaonkar
Times News Network

MOSCOW: India and Russia reached a comprehensive agreement on Tuesday on the nature of international terrorism, on ways and means to combat it and on the approach that needs to be adopted to resolve the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan satisfactorily.

In a declaration on international terrorism, signed by Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and President Vladimir Putin in the ornate Red Room at the Kremlin following their one-on-one meeting (and a meeting of the full delegations), in their remarks at a press conference shortly afterwards, and in the joint statements issued at the end of Mr Vajpayee's visit, both sides asserted that international terrorism could not be fought by double standards.

Mr Putin told the press conference that no distinction should be made between good terrorists and bad terrorists, between our terrorists and their terrorists. This point was highlighted in the declaration, 'Whatever be the motive of their perpetration—political, ideological, philosophical, racial, ethnic, religious or any other—terrorist acts are unjustifiable.' The declaration went on to add, 'In multi-ethnic and democratic countries such as India and the Russian Federation, violent actions being perpetrated under the slogan of self-determination in reality represent acts of terrorism which, in most cases, have strong international links.'

The reference to Russia's current troubles in Chechnya and India's troubles in Kashmir could not have been more explicit.

To leave no one in doubt on this score, the declaration—after stating the resolve to develop cooperation in this struggle against new challenges in international terrorism, including in the nuclear, chemical, biological, space, cybernetics and other spheres—said both sides had noted the mixes between terrorism and illegal trafficking in

narcotics, trade in arms and organised crime.

On Afghanistan, Mr Putin told the press that India would be more actively involved in the 6+2 mechanism that had been devised to put in place a broadly representative government in Kabul. Both sides agreed that there could be no place for elements of the Taliban in any future Afghan government. The declaration, meanwhile, warned against the situation in and around Afghanistan from spilling beyond the borders of the region.

Mr Putin's call to India and Pakistan to resume a dialogue on a permanent basis may have irked Indian officials here, considering that the Russian President did not make a specific reference to an end to cross-border terrorism. Likewise, they would have been all smiles had Mr Putin agreed to India's formal inclusion in the 6+2 mechanism concerning Afghanistan.

At the end of the day, however, India has every reason to believe that Mr Vajpayee's trip to Russia has served to widen and deepen the Indo-Russian relationship. This much appeared obvious from another joint statement on strategic issues issued by the two sides on Tuesday. Mr Vajpayee, in his remarks at the press conference, said India wanted not only to buy arms from Russia but also to engage in joint research and development of armaments.

At the Kremlin ceremony, India and Russia signed three other documents—a memorandum on the setting up and operation of two 1,000-megawatt nuclear power plants in Kudankulam in Tamil Nadu, a protocol of cooperation between the Astrakhan region of the Russian Federation and Gujarat and a memorandum of intentions to exchange information and experiences in emergency prevention, monitoring and response.

Mr Vajpayee, who was conferred an honorary doctorate by Moscow University, will leave for the U.S. on Wednesday.

STRATEGIC ALLIES



Russian President Vladimir Putin welcomes Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in Moscow on Tuesday.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

THE TIMES OF INDIA

9 Nov 2001
S/11

Vajpayee, Putin to deliberate on terrorism

By P. S. Suryanarayana

SAINT PETERSBURG, NOV. 4 The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, arrived in this historic Russian city today to begin a three-nation diplomatic voyage for a new strategic vision that might harmonise India's foreign policy with the changing dynamics of the ongoing international 'campaign' against terrorism.

The chill Arctic winds that greeted the Prime Minister as he alighted at the picturesque airport at twilight matched the sombre mood of the Indian effort. But the warmth with which he was received by the local dignitaries exuded the spirit of the "strategic partnership" that India and Russia had agreed to fashion when the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, visited India over a year ago.

Mr. Vajpayee will leave for Moscow tomorrow for talks with Mr. Putin there the following day. The Prime Minister's other destinations during the current visit are the U.S. and the U.K. Diplomats continue to discount the possibility of even a 'chance meeting' between Mr. Vajpayee and Pakistan's President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, during their almost concurrent presence in New York in the next few days.

While in Russia, Mr. Vajpayee's primary objective is to draw upon the spirit of "strategic partnership" to begin the apparent quest for a new strategic vision in India's foreign policy at this juncture. On the record, though, the official word about Mr. Vajpayee's agenda in Russia is that a major joint statement on international terrorism is expected to be outlined. In the current global context, Mr. Vajpayee and Mr. Putin may turn the spotlight on the importance of developing a comprehensive international convention against terrorism as also a con-

vention to suppress nuclear terrorism.

The regional and international issues in focus will centre on the current American military operations in Afghanistan and the role and relevance of Pakistan as also the Central Asian republics in the fast-changing circumstances. At another strategic echelon, the emerging nuances in Russia's perceptions of the U.S.'s plans for

a missile defence system, too, might figure. The other agreements that India and Russia are trying to sketch out during this visit will cover a wide spectrum ranging from atomic energy and commerce to communications and academic contacts. Energy security, in addition to political-strategic issues will be the centrepieces of other joint statements.

See also Page 13

Accord on specific deals unlikely

By Sandeep Dikshit

NEW DELHI, NOV. 4. Although a review of various ongoing defence deals with Russia will form an integral part of the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee's visit to Moscow, senior Defence Ministry officials said no agreements or memoranda of understanding (MoU) are expected to be signed for specific deals.

India is attaching considerable importance to examining the status of military purchases planned from Moscow. This is evident from the fact that the Defence Secretary, Mr. Yogendra Narain, is part of Mr. Vajpayee's entourage for the Moscow leg of the tour. However, "the deals are not ripe enough" for agreements to be signed, highly placed Defence Ministry officials said.

As a result the defence component of the Prime Minister's tour would be largely explorative and informative in nature, they added. New Delhi will be closely examining the metamorphosis of the State-owned armaments exporting company, RVZ, into a private entity. The organisation in its private avatar has completed one year and India would be keen to know its effectiveness in honoring defence contracts, specially those meant for spares.

The Government would like to be very sure about the competence of this company in meeting the demand for spares before concluding contracts for armaments, observed sources. Although Russia has gone out of its way to help the Indian armed forces in times of distress, New Delhi has been exasperated with the unpunctual supply of spares which at times has affected defence preparedness.

Sources said the possibility of purchasing the berthed aircraft carrier, Admiral Gorshkov, as also other military hardware will be discussed by Mr. Narain with his counterparts. "Certain other defence commitments might also crop up," said sources. The two sides are also expected to discuss defence items mentioned in the inter-Governmental agreement and some other general defence items.

THE HINDU

NOV 2001

Russia to provide India with arms to fight ultras

Moscow, November 3

HT-9
A/H

RUSSIA IS likely to offer India state-of-the-art weapon systems for combating terrorism during Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's three-day visit to Moscow beginning tomorrow, a top Russian defence exporter said here.

"We have accumulated a rich arsenal of anti-terrorism weapons, including electronic warfare, mini-submarines, and are ready to share with our Indian partners," director-general of the State Corporation Rosobornexport Andrei Belyaninov said.

But Belyaninov declined to give details on when the much-awaited deal on "Admiral Gorchkov" aircraft carrier and other defence contracts could be signed.

"All the stories are in the media, and I am glad that most of them are wrong," Belyaninov said. "India is our strategic partner, with which we have a fruitful

MOSCOW BOOSTS N-POWER PROJECT

RUSSIA WILL extend soft credit worth Rs 6,416 crore to India to part-finance the Kudamkulam 2000 MW nuclear power project in Tamil Nadu. The project, pending for over a decade, will be implemented with an overall investment of Rs 1,317 crore.

An agreement outlining the Russian soft credit for the project is expected to be signed during AB Vajpayee's visit to Russia. He is scheduled to leave for Russia on Sunday. The Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs, which met on Saturday, gave the final go-ahead for the project. While Nuclear Power Corporation will be the nodal agency for India, the Russian nuclear establishment will be involved in the project. Russian assistance for the project will be against supply of crucial equipment.

HTC, New Delhi

cooperation in air, land and naval weaponry, and we deal in an atmosphere of confidentiality." He said there would be no competition even if the US sanctions on New Delhi were lifted.

"We've to be in good form. But the Americans will have to fight hard. Our workers get 2,000 to 3,000 roubles every month while American workers get 30 times

more. They can slash prices to an extent, but not by half," he said.

On the poor quality and unavailability of spare parts from Russia alleged in the tehelka expose, Belyaninov said the Indian Armed Forces bought only 8-12 per cent of the spares from his organisation and the rest from agents and middlemen.

PTI

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

4 NOV 2001

Moscow Declaration to be signed today

PM for war on 'twin menace'

6/11
9:20
Russia
5/1
UNITED NEWS OF INDIA

\$950-M AID FOR PAK

MOSCOW, Nov. 5. — Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee today warned the world against the twin menace of terrorism and religious extremism and asked intellectuals to lead the fight against these evils.

The Prime Minister was addressing scholars and Indologists in St Petersburg. Mr Vajpayee said both India, in Jammu and Kashmir, and Russia, in the Caucasus, had been fighting terror for over two decades.

India and Russia will sign the Moscow Declaration tomorrow, stressing on the need to tackle terrorism as a global phenomenon. The agreement will include in its ambit condemnation of countries harbouring terrorists and fomenting cross-border insurgency.

Mr Vajpayee will hold one-to-one talks with Russian President Mr Vladimir Putin at the Kremlin. The meeting will be followed by delegation-level parleys. He will discuss terrorism and the situation in Afghanistan with Mr Putin, and focus on ways to strengthen the strategic relationship between the two countries.

The two sides will sign an MoU on the construction of a 1,000MW nuclear power plant at Koodankulam in Tamil Nadu. A few defence agreements, one of them possibly a contract for leasing four Tu-22M3 long-range nuclear-capable bombers, are also due.

Mr Vajpayee arrived here this evening from St Petersburg. The two sides signed six agreements aimed at strengthening bilateral relations in banking, culture and science and technology. Four MoUs were signed in St Petersburg for the development of Indian studies in Russian institutes.

ISLAMABAD, Nov. 5. — The Asian Development Bank today increased its aid to Pakistan this year to \$950 million, adding to international efforts to reward Pakistan's support for the anti-terrorism war, ADB president Mr Tadao Chino said.

Mr Chino said aid will be increased to \$950 million from the \$626 million originally planned before the September attacks. — AFP

Mr Vajpayee is slated to meet Mr Gennady Seleznyov, the Duma chairman, tonight.

In St. Petersburg, Mr Vajpayee said: "The new century has witnessed emergence of terrorism as the main danger to peace, stability and civilised world order. When terrorism feeds on religious extremism, its destructive power increases manifold".

The terrorist attacks on 11 September had highlighted the evil face of this menace to all peace-loving people around the world. "Intellectuals and artistes have an important responsibility in the fight against terrorism and religious extremism. It is a historical truth that the world is ruled by ideas," Mr Vajpayee said.

Russian Deputy Prime Minister Mr Ilya Klebanov said the USA and the rest of the world had realised the true dimensions of terrorism rather late.

A break from the past: Mr Vajpayee becomes the first Indian Prime Minister not to stay in the Kremlin apartments, PTI reports. He has been accommodated in the presidential suite of Balchug-Kempinsky Hotel opposite the Kremlin.

■ Photograph on page 8

THE STATESMAN

6 NOV 2002

Russia ends India's nuclear isolation

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, NOV. 5. Russia is all set to breach the long-standing global nuclear blockade against India. In finalising the parameters for the construction of two power reactors at Koodankulam in Tamil Nadu, Russia has helped end nearly three decades of Indian nuclear isolation.

After India's first nuclear test in May 1974, much of the Western nuclear cooperation with India was suspended, and no nation has been willing since to transfer nuclear plants to India or engage in significant atomic cooperation.

The final agreement on the Koodankulam power project, to be signed tomorrow during Mr. Vajpayee's visit to Moscow, was originally inked when President Mikhail Gorbachev came to India in 1988.

Its successful culmination this week, after 13 years of political uncertainty that included the collapse of the Soviet Union, underlines the unflinching Russian commitment to cooperate with India in areas considered taboo by the rest of the world.

Russia has been under considerable international pressure in

the last few years to suspend the Koodankulam project as well as other nuclear cooperation with India.

Russia is a member of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), that includes all the advanced industrial nations of the world. Many nations were remonstrating with Russia that its nuclear cooperation with India is a violation of the NSG guidelines on technology transfers.

These guidelines require the recipient country to accept complete international control over its nuclear programme. India, of course, would never allow such controls on its programme which has a significant nuclear weapons component.

India was ready to accept international safeguards on facilities built with international cooperation but not on those built indigenously. The reactors built with Russian assistance will be under international control.

Few countries were willing to find a way around these rules to enter the Indian nuclear power programme. France was sympathetic to India's nuclear energy requirements but wanted non-proliferation gestures from New

Delhi in return.

France hoped that an Indian signature on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty might create the diplomatic space to push for a revision of the NSG rules against India. With the American Senate's rejection of the CTBT, the prospects for an Indian signature on the treaty diminished.

In the past India was opposed to international collaboration in building nuclear power plants. But with the slowdown of the programme, India decided a few years ago to augment its nuclear power generation by importing nuclear power plants.

India will hope that the Russian decision will lead to a much-needed rethinking in the international community about civilian nuclear cooperation with India.

The global rules against nuclear cooperation with India were designed to prevent New Delhi from acquiring nuclear weapons. India has crossed that bridge and the old rules serve no purpose.

The Russian nuclear cooperation with India comes at a time when there is a realisation of the importance of nuclear power and its potential contribution to reducing global warming.

India is also encouraged by the fact that the Bush Administration has come out in support of nuclear power generation world wide. France is a strong supporter of nuclear energy.

When Mr. Vajpayee goes to Washington from Moscow later this week, he will hope that President Bush would agree to review the current American policy of non-cooperation with India in the civilian nuclear energy sector.

The Russian decision to enlarge nuclear cooperation with India is in tune with the initiative of President Vladimir Putin at the United Nations last year calling for an overhaul of the global non-proliferation regime.

President Putin had called for greater emphasis on civilian nuclear power under international control and better disposition of the plutonium generated from these nuclear programmes.

When he came to India last year, Mr. Putin reaffirmed the Russian commitment to nuclear cooperation with India and visited the heart of the Indian atomic energy establishment at Trombay, just outside Mumbai.

THE HINDU

6 NOV 2002

Russia helping India build air-defence shield

grd revision

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE AND AGENCIES

NEW DELHI, Nov. 11. — Russia is helping India to build an air-defence shield, with the help of two weapons systems the Defence Research and Development Organisation is developing: the Rajendra radar and the Aakash long-range anti-aircraft missile.

The Aakash is long under development and in the Ninth Defence Plan that began in 1997, the Army was allotted Rs 2,364 crore for acquiring the missile. Almost all the money was to have been spent in the later years of the plan, now in its last year. So far, the missile is yet to reach the Army though it is close to the

user-trial stage. Plans to upgrade the Aakash have been in the pipeline since the late nineties. The issue first came up when the Russians offered the S-300V, an anti-aircraft and anti-missile theatre defence system about five years ago. There were suggestions of a high-level joint study be conducted at the highest levels about the threat of ballistic missiles. In the interim period, it was held that DRDO should evaluate the advanced technologies of the S-300V in consultation with the Army and Air headquarters for possible incorporation in the Mark II version of the Aakash to provide it with anti-ballistic missile capability. Of course, the Aakash is

SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILE TEST FIRED

BALASORE, Nov. 11. — The Russian-made surface-to-air missile, OSA, was test fired today from the Interim Test Range at Chandipur and hit its target successfully, defence sources said.

The missile has a 15 km range and is equipped with an onboard computer. It was fired to hit its target which had been attached to the Lakshya, the indigenously built pilotless target aircraft, the sources said. — PTI

yet to be ready and the short-range level terrain-hugging cruise missile, ballistic missile — the Trishul — for fighter and bombers as well as surface which the Army allotted Rs 1,021 crore in the Ninth Plan, is even further behind.

The Russians have continued to offer the S-300 PMU-1, which they said can destroy anything from ultra low-

tently is not known. It is seen to be better than the US Patriot, offering more air-defence protection and greater hit probability and can be used to protect the capital and other "strategic assets". They have offered other elements to build the "shield". The defence ministry is also looking at a similar and newer Israeli system — the Arrow. Negotiations are already taking place.

The Russians have also offered new radars. They include the mobile anti-Stealth 2-D ILLIS-3 and the 3-D 5576-3 radars for detecting air-targets despite intensive counter measures. It may be capable of detecting Stealth aircraft. The Russians have also offered India the mobile solid state

Castor 2EI radar, capable of detecting targets at low altitudes. India and Russia are also talking about the joint development of super-fighters and smart weapons as well as joint R&D and production of new high-tech weaponry. The joint work on the Brahmos cruise missile, a fifth-generation strike aircraft as good as the US Joint Strike Fighter, is known. The usual deals on the aircraft carrier and 40-odd aircraft, the TU-22 bomber, the IL-76 platform for the AWACS and the missile launchers are in the pipeline. Three frigates are being purchased and Indian purchases from Russian over the next few years may total \$10 billion.

THE STATESMAN

12 NOV 2001

India's relations with the new Russia are on an altogether new basis

Russian renaissance

CHANDRASHEKHAR DASGUPTA

Most Indians see our close ties with Russia as a simple extension of our "traditional" relations with the former Soviet Union. Yet the new Russian Federation is very different from the old Soviet Union, and our relations with the new Russia have had to be re-fashioned on an altogether different basis. It is important to understand the change that has taken place in order to appreciate the strengths and limitations of our relations with Russia.

The Russian Federation differs from the former Soviet Union in its territorial boundaries, political structure, economic system and power potential — in short, in all the features which shape a country's foreign policy. As a result of the implosion of the Soviet Union, Russia lost much of its territory in Europe and in its Caucasian fringe, as well as its vast central Asian borderlands. The new Russia is dedicated to the values of a liberal democracy and market economy, modelling itself on the Western opponents of the former Soviet Union. The transition has not been a smooth one, having precipitated an economic collapse from which the country has yet to recover. Economic chaos and political instability have greatly weakened the once formidable defence forces. Russia is no longer a superpower and will not again be one for several years.

Our relations with the former Soviet Union were based on the fact that it was a superpower which could play the role of a balancing, or countervailing, force against the other superpower, the United States of America. Our ties with Moscow gave us considerable leverage with the Western powers during the Cold War years. Indo-Soviet cooperation helped promote our interests in all fields — political, military and economic.

In the political field, the pro-Pakistan tilt of the Western alliance during the Cold War period was balanced by Soviet support for India. In the United Nations security council, Moscow was prepared to cast its veto against pro-Pakistan resolutions on Kashmir. The Soviet Union gave us invaluable diplomatic support on this vital issue.

The zenith of Indo-Soviet political cooperation was reached during the 1971 war. The Bangladesh liberation struggle broke out at a time when Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger were engaged in forging a new strategic relationship with China. Yahya Khan of Pakistan was the secret channel of communication between the American and Chinese leaders and was duly rewarded for his efforts by the creation of a Washington-Beijing-Islamabad axis aimed against India and Bangladesh. Incredible though it seems today, in December 1971, Kissinger went to the extent of hinting to Beijing that it should consid-

The author is former ambassador to China and the US

er military intervention in favour of Pakistan.

India's response to the new Washington-Beijing-Islamabad axis was to sign the Indo-Soviet treaty of peace and friendship. Moscow used its veto in the UN to thwart attempts at imposing a ceasefire before the Pakistani army in the east could be defeated by the Indo-Bangladesh forces. When Washington sent the *USS Enterprise*

force and navy. India's indigenous defence industry benefited greatly from access to Soviet technology.

Unlike the former Soviet Union, the Russian Federation today is not a superpower. It has yet to recover from the economic collapse resulting from its initial ill-considered attempt to make an overnight transition from socialism to capitalism. The new Russia is yet to achieve political stability. The



into the Bay of Bengal in a demonstration of support to Pakistan, Moscow responded by despatching a submarine to the same area. Never before or after was the countervailing power of the Soviet Union employed to greater advantage in India's favour.

In the economic field, too, India was able to obtain leverage from its Soviet ties. Thus, when the US declined on ideological grounds to assist India to set up a public sector steel plant, India turned to Russia for help. The result was Bhilai, India's first public sector steel plant. Once it was clear that India had a Soviet option, it became easier to obtain Western cooperation in setting up new plants in Durgapur and Rourkela. In the heavy machinery and petroleum sectors as well, the Soviet option gave India invaluable leverage in its dealings with Western companies.

From the Sixties, after failing to obtain modern Western fighter aircraft and submarines, India turned to Moscow for sophisticated military equipment and technology. Though India was careful to avoid over-dependence, Russia became the major foreign source of equipment for the Indian air

Both India and Russia accord topmost priority to strengthening their ties with Washington

once-mighty armed forces have been run down for want of financial resources. The day is still far off when Russia will once again take its place as a superpower.

The foreign policy of the new Russia inevitably reflects the current power realities. Moscow is in no position to play its earlier role of a countervailing power against the Western alliance. Indeed, at present, Russia itself is economically dependent on the West. The new Russia is torn between its desire to be co-opted as a member of the dominant Western alliance and an urge to once again play the role of an independent power-centre.

Even though Russia no longer plays the role of a balancing factor at the global level, both New Delhi and Moscow attach great importance to their bilateral cooperation, as is

evident from the fact that Indo-Russian summits have become an annual feature.

The new Indo-Russian relationship rests primarily on four pillars. First, India and Russia face a common threat from trans-border terrorism. International terrorism has shown its hand in Kashmir as well as in Chechnya. The Moscow declaration on international terrorism, signed by Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Vladimir Putin last month, calls attention to the fact that "in multi-ethnic countries such as India and the Russian Federation, violent actions being perpetrated under the slogan of self-determination, in reality, represent acts of terrorism which in most cases have strong international links". The declaration calls for "decisive measures against all states, individuals and entities which render support, harbour, finance, instigate or train terrorists or promote terrorism."

Second, the shared concern over terrorism leads to a considerable convergence of interests in central Asia and Afghanistan. New Delhi and Moscow have similar approaches on regional issues in this area. Both view terrorism and religious extremism as threats to peace and security in central Asia. For this reason, they oppose the inclusion of Taliban elements in a future Afghan government. Third, Russia remains our principal overseas source of military hardware and technology. Indo-Russian defence cooperation has acquired a new dimension, covering not only arms sales and manufacture under licence but also joint research and development of new hardware.

Indeed, the defence relationship now has a symbiotic character. Russia no longer has a captive market for its weaponry in eastern and central Europe, while domestic demand has shrunk greatly on account of Russia's economic dislocation. The Russian armaments industry has come to depend on its principal overseas markets — India and China — for its survival. Finally, there is an impalpable but nevertheless vitally important element of Indo-Russian ties — a tradition of mutual trust and understanding.

This is reflected in our belief that a renaissance Russia will play a positive role in a future multi-polar world and a corresponding Russian conviction that an emergent India is a positive force in international relations. Hence Moscow's support for India's aspirations to a permanent seat in the UN security council. The US is currently the sole superpower. In the prevailing situation, both India and Russia accord topmost priority to strengthening their ties with Washington.

In a sense, Indo-Russian relations have inevitably shown a certain relative decline, in comparison with the ties between either of these two countries and the US. But in an absolute sense, Indo-Russian cooperation continues to be highly important for both countries.

Scripted to Bush's dictation?

The problems of ambiguity and inconsistency will show quickly enough, writes HARI VASUDEVAN. And India and Russia, as much as the US alliance, must confront them.

18/11
GIVEN the gravity of the situation in Afghanistan, and the uncertain future of the US global anti-terrorist campaign, Atal Behari Vajpayee's Moscow visit has been singularly uneventful. With minor exceptions, the Prime Minister's exchanges with the Russian President followed a script which may have been put together on a White House PC to President George W Bush's dictation.

While India and Russia acknowledged their time-tested friendship, they spoke of global terrorism as their prime concern, whether in Afghanistan, Chechnya or Kashmir. They promised to cooperate in dealing with the Al Qaida, the Islamic revolutionary movement and outfits present in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. Like the Presidents of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, they underwrote the US and British initiative in Afghanistan, and, more generally the super-power-led campaign against global terrorism.

History and consistency is irrelevant here, that is, that all states (including the USA) owe their existence to "terrorism" in some form; or that buccaneers and bank robbers are hallowed members of the secular pantheon universally. There was nothing indicative in the Vajpayee-Putin meeting of a sense that "collateral damage" has been a norm of humanity's past of revolutionary wars against oppressive states; that just as it is impossible to control terrorism without violence, it is meaningless to tackle it without reference to its social origins. Or its specificity.

True, on the evidence, Osama bin Laden and his gang are deserving of the most severe retribution. But neither Vladimir Putin, nor Mr Vajpayee looked back from this and the tragedy of 11 September to question their moral authority, along with the USA, to launch a grand "crusade" against terrorism as a world phenomenon. Neither questioned the feasibility of the venture. While they acknowledged that almost everyone had their own definition of terrorism, they did not acknowledge that this weakened the Euro-American alliance's grand initiative.

The problems of ambiguity and inconsistency, though, will show quickly enough. And India and Russia, as much as the US alliance, must confront them.

517
Whatever the outcome of the negotiations about the future government of Afghanistan, the problem will be evident even as that government is formed. For surely those who wish to govern in Kabul will have to prove their non-terrorist credentials.

Or else, in failing to prove those credentials, they will give the lie to the campaign against terrorism. The spectacle will be a great source of amusement to Afghan watchers, for almost all those who will aspire to govern will have a record of terrorist activity in the past (possibly with the exception of Zahir Shah).

So subtle distinctions will have to be made. We will face the circus of arguments that "terrorists" do not include those who fought the Soviet Union using terrorist tactics, however obnoxious and horrendous their behaviour.

Or, when Burhanuddin Rabbani is in the ruling coalition, his past supporters will have to be absolved of "terrorism", only to have charges invoked should he leave the coalition. Again, someone will have to pass judgment on the future support of "legitimised" terrorists of the ruling Afghan government to the Uzbek or Tajik organisations in Central Asia which are pushed by circumstance into violent actions: actions which are regarded as "terrorism" by President Karimov or President Rahmonov, while they are considered legitimate action by another US ally — Saudi Arabia.

The prospect opens up a Pandora's box of conflicting claims, especially if political ulceration and chaos spread further in Pakistan, throwing up one terrorist outfit after another looking for a place for action.

Will the USA countenance Russia's Caucasus wars as "anti-terrorist" if Chechen rebels receive a new lease of life once Al Qaida groups move out of Afghanistan? Will the USA accept Indian "hot pursuit" against PoK organisations which benefit from Islamabad's impotence? Hot pursuit which may risk the possibility of nuclear war, even if it constitutes "legitimate" anti-terrorist action?

Today, such questions have an edge that is only likely to grow. For the grand US tribunal that will judge on these issues will not operate from the distant Beltway of the District of Columbia or a



Vladimir Putin and Atal Behari Vajpayee in Moscow, on Tuesday. — AP/PTI

forward base in the Indian Ocean, where, arguably, it could be ignored. It will operate from Tashkent or Kabul, where its tangible presence is gathering vigorously for the first time after the US withdrawal from the region in 1990 (the time of the main Soviet retreat from Afghanistan).

Such a position will be consolidated by the presence of Europe in the Caspian, in the form of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (which embraces all the former Soviet Union republics) and the Council of Europe (of which the Caucasus states are members).

Even today, US presence is reinforced by the activities of Shell, Chevron and BP on the Caspian shelf, each demanding that the US military "stay" in some form. And it is given an indigenous tint by the requirements of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan that a rich "Uncle" (other than Russia) should act as protector against drug lords and Islamic fundamentalists. What the institutional framework of this US presence will take in future is unclear. It will undoubtedly be post-Cold War and post-colonial, that is, it will be Nato-oriented but underinstitutionalised, propped up locally with a minimum of "imperial", "colonial" or "nationalist" sensibility. The menace of its power is being demonstrated adequately in the mountains of Afghanistan at present.

It is in Russia's response and India's reaction, when faced with the quarrels of the new dispensation, that the worth of Indo-Russian partnership will show itself. And there was no indication at the Moscow meetings of what such responses will be, if the rhetoric of statesmen is set aside. Certainly, after a brief collapse in the early 1990s (when Andrei Kozyrev looked after Russia's Ministry of External Affairs), Indo-Russian relations have improved considerably. Mutual respect has been buoyed by a wholesale lack of disputes associated with

migration and borders (which constantly jeopardise Russian relations with the Chinese).

Business has been on the up, as Indian firms, led by the Sun Group and Menon Impex, have established a powerful presence in the Russian market. Indian networks operating in Russia have been responsible for a lively commerce between the Commonwealth of Independent States and India. Elsewhere, the aviation company MIG-MAPO (producer of MiG aircraft) has maintained its long-term associations with India, while New Delhi has also formed a close link with Sukhoi, which has been supplying Su30s for some years.

There is every likelihood that Russia will partly underwrite the Indian nuclear programme in future. Problems will arise when the US commands an alternative loyalty in cases which hardly affect India (like National Missile Defence) or are distant (like Kosovo). Looking beyond terrorism, if Russia demands India's support in its Caucasus disputes, when Washington is placed in a strategic position regarding Afghanistan and Pakistan, how would India react? Could Russia, as a signatory to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty and a debtor to the Western bloc, seriously disagree with the USA over strategies to pressure India to cap its nuclear capacity, if Nato was positioned in Tashkent?

Finally, if the USA decides to define "terrorism" in its own manner, irrespective of Indian or Russian views, would either side choose to do something in tandem in the current circumstances to control the US initiative?

Much of the answer to these questions depends on the specificity of the problem, which can hardly be anticipated. Relationships such as an Indo-Russian partnership will exercise limited authority in such circumstances.

(The author teaches at the Department of History, Calcutta University.)

'India, Russia think alike on global terrorism'

By P.S. Suryanarayana

MOSCOW, NOV. 5. India and Russia are poised to make common cause in the ongoing fight against international terrorism but they will do so without forming an anti-terror caucus or sub-alliance that might prompt America to raise its eyebrows.

The 'joint expectations' of Russia and India will be outlined in an joint anti-terror declaration at the conclusion of talks between the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, here tomorrow.

The 'common language' of the declaration would fully reflect the Indo-Russian 'friendship', according to the Russian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Ilya Klebanov. Answering questions aboard Mr. Vajpayee's special aircraft on his way from St. Petersburg to Moscow, Mr. Klebanov said the 'absolutely identical' positions of the two countries against global terror would be reflected in the document.

In more specific terms of immediate relevance to the current international situation, it might underscore the importance of a "settlement" of the Afghan question so that the country would "no longer" be "a centre or hot spot for spreading terrorism". The spotlight might also be on the prospects of a "post-Taliban" set-up in Afghanistan, he indicated.

According to other diplomatic sources, the document would not unfold any action plan to contain the scourge of international terrorism, including nuclear arms-related terror.

Mr. Klebanov stressed that Russia's expectations about the course of an international fight



The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, inspecting a guard of honour on his arrival at Moscow's Vnukovo II airport on Monday. — Reuters

against terror were no different from those of India's. Both had for long been victims of extra-territorial terror but only now the global community had recognised that the "identical warnings" they had raised were substantive with "a very serious foundation".

India and Russia would also discuss the ongoing conflagration in Afghanistan in the context of America's military strikes there. On this, Mr. Klebanov said the U.S. would have by now drawn the right conclusions by studying the old Soviet Union's military action within Afghanistan. While the Soviet troops had not turned their firepower on innocent Af-

ghan "citizens" then, the present American bombing campaign was of a "decisive" nature with "no" element of "mercy", he noted.

The latest Indo-Russian efforts to piece together a gilt-edged document of principles against international terrorism has already shifted the prime focus of the Prime Minister's visit here away from the more tradition-bound bilateral interests and concerns. These more intrinsically bilateral issues formed the original canvas of the Prime Minister's visit which has now been undertaken as a prelude to his talks in Washington with the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, at his initiative.

6 NOV 2002

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Russia favours role for India

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, OCT. 19. Russia today said that India "must" play a role in post-Taliban Afghanistan, and advocated a new U.N.-sponsored initiative which will bring about an economic and political transition in the war-torn state.

Addressing a press conference after concluding a meeting of the Indo-Russian Joint Working Group on terrorism, the head of the Russian delegation, Mr. Vyacheslav I. Trubnikov, said the existing U.N. initiative of "six plus two" countries had become outdated. The U.N. is now only interacting with Afghanistan's "neighbouring countries" — Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Iran, China along with the U.S. and Russia to bring peace to the land. But Mr. Trubnikov said India had all the credentials of a neighbouring country and therefore entitled for inclusion in any future U.N. initiative. "We disagree that India is a 'next door neighbour'. It is a neighbour," Mr. Trubnikov stressed.

The Russian views, which echoed India's position on Afghanistan, were included in a joint statement issued this evening.

India's participation in a U.N. arrangement, will fulfil New Del-

hi's core political objective of becoming, once again, a player in that country. Analysts here point out that Indian influence had waned after Pakistan had pushed the Taliban into Kabul in the mid-nineties.

India, however, sees an opportunity to reassert its influence once more. The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, said India will open a Rs. 500-crore credit line, equivalent of over \$100 million, for the rehabilitation of the country.

He reiterated after a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) that India will give one million tonnes of wheat, valued at around \$100 million.

The joint statement made two additional points. India and Russia were committed to the unity and territorial integrity of Afghanistan, under a broad-based Government in which the country's ethnic communities were represented in an "equitable" manner, it said.

The Taliban should have no role to play in the future set-up. In response to a question at the press conference, Mr. Trubnikov rejected the view that "moderate Taliban" can play a role in a future political arrangement.

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OCT 2001

India, Russia hold talks on Afghanistan

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, OCT. 18. India and Russia today began discussions on the developments in Afghanistan. Highly-placed sources here pointed out that during the meeting of the Indo-Russian Joint Working Group, representatives of the two countries shared their assessment on the developments on the battlefield, deployment of forces and disposition of external powers.

The Indian side was headed by the Foreign Secretary, Ms. Chokila Iyer, while the Russian delega-

tion was led by its first Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. V. Trubnikov. This working group was formed after the visit to India last October by the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin.

Today's meeting was preceded by a telephone call by the Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, to the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh. According to the spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs, both leaders exchanged views on Afghanistan.

Mr. Trubnikov will meet the External Affairs Minister, the Home Minister, Mr. L.K. Advani and the

Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. Brajesh Mishra, on Friday.

Russia, India and Iran, as key supporters of the Northern Alliance, which is battling the Taliban, are working closely together. In fact, the three countries, along with Tajikistan, for the first time met in Dushanbe last month to jointly determine ways to steer the Northern Alliance after the assassination of the Afghan Commander, Ahmad Shah Masood. Significantly, India and Iran discussed Afghanistan on Tuesday as part of their "strategic dialogue."

THE HINDU

19 OCT 2001

India to acquire Russian aircraft

By Sandeep Dikshit

9 Nov. Russia

NEW DELHI, OCT. 16. India and Russia expect to forge closer ties in military cooperation in the coming months. This indication was given by the visiting Russian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Ilya Klebanov, and the Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, during separate briefings here today.

Mr. Klebanov said both the countries will seal a deal for leasing four supersonic reconnaissance aircraft under a contract that may be signed next month. India may also sign a Rs. 6,000-crore package deal for the aircraft carrier Admiral Gorchkov and about 40 MiG-29K aircraft. While the contract for the four TU-22M aircraft may be signed during the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee's, visit to Moscow next month, indications are that despite the hope expressed by Mr. Klebanov, the processing of the aircraft deal may take more time.

Later in the day, Mr. Fernandes said India and Russia had decided to jointly produce an advanced multi-role combat aircraft and a troop carrier plane. Significantly, the two countries had jointly developed and tested the 'Bramos' cruise missile which set the stage for the joint development and production of two types of aircraft. Discussions in this regard were held between Mr. Fernandes and Mr. Klebanov today and yesterday. "We did discuss some ongoing projects including joint designing, development and production of two types of multi-role aircraft as well as the purchase of Admiral Gorchkov," he said.

Mr. Fernandes, however, expressed reservations about the tardy supplies of spares for the military hardware purchased from the former Soviet Union. "When the Kargil operations began, our forces were not adequately prepared because the forces did not have the equipment they had asked for. At that time, the Russians gave us weap-



The Deputy Prime Minister of Russia, Mr. Ilya Klebanov, with the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, in New Delhi on Tuesday. — Photo: V. Sudershan

ons, some of them after withdrawing them from their armed forces which most countries do not do," he said and added that India's concerns about the supply of spares were conveyed to Mr. Klebanov.

Though officials maintained that the TU-22 aircraft would be utilised by the Navy for maritime reconnaissance, its basic design is that of a bomber and one of its variants can be used as a nuclear delivery platform as well as fire cruise missiles.

The Navy sorely feels the need for a second aircraft carrier but opinion within the defence establishment is divided on the acquisition of Admiral Gorchkov. A high-level Navy team led by Vice-Admiral Arun Prakash, Commander-in-Chief, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, had done a thorough technical evaluation of the aircraft carrier and indicated that it could be purchased after exten-

sive refurbishment since it was partially scarred by a fire in 1987.

Mr. Klebanov said both the countries were poised to sign important economic agreements as well during Mr. Vajpayee's Moscow visit. Among the strategic areas identified for closer cooperation are oil and natural gas, power — nuclear and fossil-based, diamonds, steel, computer software and civil aviation. Russian companies are exploring for oil in the Bay of Bengal while ONGC Videsh has planned a multi-million dollar foray in Sakhalin.

Speaking on the Afghanistan situation, Mr. Klebanov said India and Russia had identical views for the past several decades. It was only after the September 11 attacks that several Western countries began supporting the long-standing position taken by Moscow and New Delhi towards the Northern Alliance, he added.

THE HINDU

17 OCT 2001

India, Russia share common approach to Afghanistan

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

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NEW DELHI, Oct. 16. - India and Russia appear to be sharing a similar approach on the situation in Afghanistan; their views on the post Taliban crisis are also common.

The Prime Minister is scheduled to undertake a visit to Moscow from 4-7 November, the only visit which has not been called off since the 11 September attacks. During the meeting, Mr Vajpayee and the Russian President, Mr Vladimir Putin, will discuss the Afghanistan situation and other security related international and regional issues and bilateral matters.

Both countries haven't extended any military assistance to the USA; instead they have shared a large amount of Intelligence information. The commonality also lies in the understanding to provide assistance in the form of relief material and medical aid.

As victims of terror, both nations are voicing concern over terrorism and its consequences. If Chechnya has been a constant tension for Russia, India has been facing terrorism in J&K for decades. The West had been turning

a blind eye to the appeals until Black Tuesday.

India and Russia have been great supporters of the Northern Alliance and both countries are considering ways for a "broad-based, multi-ethnic establishment" in the war-torn country which represents the aspirations of all ethnic groups.

Mr Klebanov met Mr Vajpayee today and held extensive talks with him on the future set-up in Afghanistan and the current situation in that country and Pakistan.

Senior officials of the two countries concluded talks on the lease of these strategic aircraft recently. The Russian deputy prime minister held two rounds of talks with the defence minister, Mr George Fernandes, during which the entire gamut of defence and political cooperation came up for extensive discussion.

On economic cooperation, Mr Klebanov told reporters that a number of agreements will be signed during Mr Vajpayee's visit to Moscow. There will be enhanced cooperation in nuclear, thermal and hydro-power sectors, besides communication and oil and natural gas, he added.

THE STATESMAN

17 OCT 2001

Terror Unites Delhi, Moscow

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Don't take USA at face value?

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Oct. 15. — The evolving security situation in Afghanistan and an agreement to cooperate in combating international terrorism dominated the talks between India and Russia today.

These were discussed during the visiting deputy Prime Minister of Russia, Mr Ilya Klebanov's meetings with the foreign minister, Mr Jaswant Singh, the defence minister, Mr George Fernandes, and the national security adviser, Mr Brajesh Mishra. The discussions also focused on Mr AB Vajpayee's scheduled visit to Russia in the first week of November. Mr Klebanov held a 45-minute meeting with Mr Mishra.

After the meeting, Mr Klebanov said: "The combat against global terrorism is not an overnight operation. It's a long process."

While Russia hasn't joined the military action against Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan yet,



Mr George Fernandes (left) shakes hands with the Russian deputy prime minister, Mr Ilya Klebanov in New Delhi on Monday. — APP/PTI

he said: "It's very much engaged in other aspects, including the humanitarian assistance. In this regard, we have had the closest contact with India."

Mr Mishra said his discussions with Mr Klebanov mainly covered cooperation in the fields of defence, space and peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Oct. 15. — India will have to avoid the smallest error of miscalculation over US moves on terrorism in J&K.

The USA's acceptance that terrorists are active in Kashmir its message to Pakistan not to heighten tension in the region may be a temporary gesture. But that may make way for the USA to get more involved in India-Pakistan relations.

A former diplomat says much will depend on how much firmness India demonstrates in resisting US pressure for third party mediation in Kashmir.

So far India has been adamant that the problem is bilateral, hence there's no need for another party to intervene. India has to make the USA realise that its support to the war against terror does not

mean Washington's direct involvement in solving the Kashmir problem, the former diplomat said.

As it is, there appear to be some contradictions in Indian diplomacy. On one hand, India has been repeatedly trying to convince the world that it wouldn't allow any third party negotiation. On the other, the Prime Minister shot off a letter to President Bush after the fiftieth attack at the J&K Assembly on 1 October, saying India is running out of patience and Pakistan should realise there is a limit to everything.

Interpreting the motive behind the letter, many feel that writing directly to Mr George Bush instead of giving a dressing-down to the Pakistan ambassador to make the USA know of India's "resistance" was intended to cater to a domestic audience.

But the foreign ministry has a different theory. It focused on the growing India-USA ties and said there were differences of opinion with Washington on certain issues but "differences don't define relationships".

Though India's stand is direct talks with Pakistan, it may inadvertently involve the USA, observers feel.

The US secretary of state, Mr Colin Powell, will reach here tomorrow. During his Islamabad visit today, he avoided any confrontation, because Pakistan is a geographically frontline state in the US bid to find Osama bin Laden. He may ask the neighbours to solve their problems through talks. But India does not seem interested in holding talks with Pakistan in the near future. Instead, it wants the USA to exert pressure on Pakistan to stop terrorism in J&K

Russia expresses keen desire for Vajpayee-Putin summit

Times News Network
NEW DELHI: India and Russia may have summit-level parleys early next month on the fast-moving developments in the Asian region if Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's proposed visit to Moscow comes about. On its part, Russia on Wednesday expressed a keen desire for the "annual summit", in response to President Vladimir Putin's visit last October.

Russian envoy Alexander Kadakin called on home minister L K Advani to discuss the visit at a time when foreign visits of many an international dignitary have undergone swift changes.

Deputy prime minister Ilya Klebanov, whose visit here was called off last week due to preoccupation with domestic affairs, is now scheduled to visit here on Sunday.

The Vajpayee-Putin meeting is to cover the entire gamut of issues from the international developments to bilateral issues like trade and

economic ties and defence supplies are being billed for the visit. Also proposed is greater cooperation between the home ministries of the two countries, Mr Kadakin said after the meeting.



“We are together with India in seeking a comprehensive and all-round fight, and not a selective one, against terrorism.”

He conveyed to Mr Advani the views of his government, in agreement with the Indian position, that the campaign begun last Sunday was “not a war against Islam but a war against ter-

rorism. It is democracy versus barbarism.”

“It was precisely one year ago that President Putin said in the Indian Parliament that a ‘terrorist international’ was in the offing. Both India and Russia were ringing the alarm bell together,” Mr Kadakin told *The Times of India*.

He said the current anti-terror campaign called for a swift review of the situation in Afghanistan. An “extraordinary” meeting of the Indo-Russian joint working group on Afghanistan will take place on November 19. Mr Alexander Trubninov will head the Russian side and his Indian counterpart will be foreign secretary Chokila Iyer.

Mr Kadakin said both India and Russia were fighting terrorism in their respective lands — Kashmir and Chechenya. “We are in the same boat, unfortunately.” He emphasised: “We are together with India in seeking a comprehensive and all-round fight, and not a selective one, against terrorism.”

THE TIMES OF INDIA

12 JUL 2001

India exchanges notes with Russia

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, OCT. 8. India today took stock of the developments in Afghanistan and Pakistan following Sunday's attacks by the United States and exchanged notes with Russia on the unfolding situation in the region.

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Asked to comment on the developments in Pakistan, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, soon after an unscheduled meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security this evening, said India "expected and hoped that law and order (in Pakistan) will be restored".

Earlier, Mr. Singh spoke to his Russian coun-

terpart Mr. Igor Ivanov, on the evolving situation in Afghanistan and its fallout. Later, the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, spoke to the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, over telephone.

Mr. Singh said India was in touch with the Northern Alliance. This alliance of Afghanistan's ethnic minorities would play a significant role now and in the future.

Russia, India and Iran were among the key supporters of the Northern Alliance which was positioning itself for an assault on the Taliban on the ground.

Briefing the media earlier, a representative of the Defence Ministry, Maj. Gen. Richard Khare, said the U.S. strikes on Taliban strongholds were likely to "energise" the Northern Alliance.

The CCS also discussed the internal security situation. Mr. Singh said all preparations were being made to ensure that U.S. attacks on Afghanistan did not generate any communal overtones in India. A meeting was also held in the Home Ministry to discuss the same subject.

In a related development, the U.S. Ambassador to India, Mr. Robert Blackwill, met the Union Home Minister, Mr. L.K. Advani, and briefed him on U.S. attacks.

The Defence Ministry acknowledged that its forces had been placed on a high state of preparedness, while naval forces, especially those belonging to the western fleet, had been deployed in the Arabian Sea.

'We can fight our battles'

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, OCT. 8. India today described the attacks by the U.S.-led coalition on Afghanistan as pinpointed at the Al-Qaeda terrorist training camps run by the Taliban.

"As expected, the targeting has been selective, minimising the impact of the operation on the civil population," a statement by the Ministry of External Affairs said. The Ministry expressed its appreciation that these strikes did not target Afghanistan's civilian population and humanitarian assistance for the people was part of the operational plan. India was working out the nitty-gritty of sending humanitarian relief to Afghanistan on its own.

India was looking for a new government in Afghanistan where the Taliban was replaced by a new arrangement in which all the ele-

ments of the Afghan society were represented democratically.

The Government made two additional points in the backdrop of the ongoing operations launched by the U.S. last night. First, it sought to dispel the view that India was seeking U.S. assistance to resolve its problems of terrorism. New Delhi was fully capable of tackling cross-border terrorism on its own. "We have never asked anybody to pull out our chestnuts from the fire," an MEA spokesman said.

But India had galvanised its diplomatic efforts to sensitise the world about its concerns on terrorism.

Second, terrorist activity in Kashmir, after a brief lull soon after U.S. attacks, continued to rage. There was no let-up either in infiltrations, mine blasts and standoff attacks.

THE HINDU

9 OCT 2001

Atal-Putin talks to focus on strategic partnerships

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HT Correspondent
Moscow, October 2

THE VAJPAYEE-PUTIN meeting in Moscow in November comes against a rapidly changing backdrop wrought by economic liberalisation and the ongoing Afghanistan crisis that could influence the politics, economies and security environment of both countries. Kremlin admits it with its officials stressing that the destinies of the two countries are interlinked.

The Afghan issue will inevitably come up in the discussions between Vajpayee and Putin, with the Russians making no secret of their concern about a possible US attempt to move into their backyard in the name of fighting terrorism.

India's overtures to America are also expected to crop up in the discussions. Though they were guarded in commenting on it, foreign ministry officials saw it as a "purely bilateral" matter

but could not help taking note of the "rise" in Indo-US relations.

Analysts may not see this "rise" affecting India's relations with Russia, particularly when the two countries have a Declaration on Strategic Partnership in place. But there are certain glitches that need to be smoothed.

Notable among these is that the economies of both countries are in a transitional phase and need to find their level in the new context. The fact that the two nations are bound by a series of trade, economic and other agreements could help. But the market driven economy has its own difficulties. For instance, India's emphasis on open tenders is beginning to create problems for Russian companies, claim Moscow's foreign ministry officials.

Indeed, some of them maintain that instead of increasing the \$1.5 billion bilateral trade — which is "not big" — could dip further. This is, as the Russians have pointed out earlier, essen-

tially because this trade is linked to the Indian rupee debt, even though India has been regular in repaying it.

Officials here see "hope" in shifting the focus of trade from agriculture to industrial goods. The Indo-Russian joint commission would discuss the issue, including measures to stimulate trade and raise credit.

The Russians are keen to explore the possibility of working in strategically important areas like hydroelectric and nuclear energy sectors, telecommunications, civil aviation and science and technology.

Already India has made its biggest-ever foreign investment in Russia's Sakhalin-I project. During his recent visit to Moscow, IT Minister Pramod Mahajan exchanged draft agreements on cooperation in the telecom sector that will be signed when Vajpayee goes to Russia. Vajpayee is also expected to inaugurate the Indo-Russian energy forum.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

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Play active role, Russia urges India

By Atul Aneja

MOSCOW, SEPT.30 After openly declaring its material support to the anti-Taliban opposition in Afghanistan, Russia is urging India to play an active role in the Northern Alliance.

According to the Russian Foreign Ministry officials who met the visiting Indian journalists, New Delhi, Moscow and Teheran have special role in shoring up the Northern Alliance which is battling the Taliban mainly in Northern Afghanistan.

The Alliance essentially represents Afghanistans ethnic minorities comprising the Tajiks, Harzaras, Uzbeks and Shias. Mos-

cow's objective in Afghanistan is clear. It is opposed to any external infringement in the Central Asian republics including Afghanistan.

Russia views this area as its backyard since the Tsarist expansionism nearly reached the gates of Afghanistan in the late 19th century. Russia is now wants the Northern Alliance to control at least 35 per cent of the Afghan territory. Such an accomplishment will come in handy as bargaining chip in any future negotiation for a stable Afghanistan after the assault on terrorism there gathers steam.

Asked whether Russia would accept the Taliban in a future political arrangement in Afghanis-

tan, officials here said that Moscow would not be uncomfortable if the Taliban was accommodated without its extremist elements. A 'benign Taliban may be essential in a future Afghan Government as it represents ethnic Pushtuns that comprise nearly 40 per cent of the country's population. Russian officials rejected the possible accommodation of Gulbudin Hekmatyar, a former Pushtun heavy weight who is currently in exile in Iran.

Iran, according to the Russian officials is playing a highly constructive role in Afghanistan after the attacks in New York. It has crucial role to play on account of its cut on the Hazaras and Shias

who reside in the Hazarajat region of Afghanistan. In response to questions, the Russian officials say that Iran can not only shore up Commander Ismail Khan, a supporter of the Northern Alliance in western Afghanistan, but also the Sayaf faction in the country.

Like Russia, Iran however would like to openly join the anti-terrorism campaign after the U.N. has given its nod for military operations as one of the options to counter extremism.

Russian officials were non-committal when asked whether General Rashid Dostum would continue as the leader of ethnic Uzbeks in the Northern Alliance.

THE HINDU

1 OCT 2001

India & Russia for terrorism crackdown

Moscow, September 18

INDIA AND Russia are keeping tab on developments on the US-Taliban front. Both countries agree that the war against terrorism should not be limited to Osama bin Laden.

"We are for combating terrorism in a global framework which would include Chechnya and Kashmir," national security advisor Brajesh Mishra said at the end of his three-day visit to Russia.

He discussed the current security scenario with his Russian counterpart Gen Vladimir Rusalilo, Defence Minister Sergei Ivanov and Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov.

"We have an eye on the effect of a US military action against Taliban on India and Russia," Mishra said before leaving for Washington.

"The Russians are genuinely concerned about the Afghan refugees pouring into central Asia destabilising the balance in the region. We are concerned as to how it would affect south Asia," Mishra said.

He, however, added that India and Russia would decide the concrete steps of cooperation in tackling the consequences depending on the scale and type of US retribution strikes.

"Innocent people should not suffer," Mishra said.

There was no consensus among the countries on the need for UN Security Council nod for the US global strikes at terrorist

NO DEAL BETWEEN PAK AND US, SAYS JASWANT

INDIA CONSIDERS as untenable Pakistan's stand on treating the proposed fight against international terrorism as an "Islamic affair".

Foreign and Defence Minister Jaswant Singh, who briefed the Union Cabinet in New Delhi on Tuesday on the post-terrorist strikes scenario, reportedly said such a stand would mean exclusion of several other nations — like the Nato alliance partners, including the US and India — from contributing their bit in the campaign against international terrorism.

Chaired by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the Cabinet discussed the emerging situation for nearly two hours after clearing the listed agenda.

Sources said Singh referred to the lack of clarity on the US's part in putting together a multi-national fighting machine against international terrorism, whose spread was beyond Afghanistan.

He also said the US has not struck any underhand deal with Islamabad

as a quid pro quo for its support.

Several ministers who spoke after Singh's detailed briefing, generally endorsed the Government's stand while suggesting greater attention on explaining the position to the people. "The explaining is important as the campaign may last for a considerable time," they are understood to have said.

Sources said the Cabinet consensus revolved around three factors — long-term US objectives in fighting terrorists, articulation of India's stand both within and outside the country and firming up the nation's resolve to fight terrorism in concert with a democratic international alliance and even without it.

The Cabinet went along with Singh's enunciation that US has not fully spelt out its long-term objectives except for seeking Osama "dead or alive".

"The battle would not end with the realisation of this single point agenda," said several ministers.

HTC, New Delhi

hideouts, Mishra said.

The National Security Adviser called on Deputy Prime Minister Ilya Klebanov to discuss Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's November visit to Russia.

Some concrete projects and joint ventures were discussed

during the meeting, Mishra said.

During Vajpayee's visit, India and Russia are expected to sign a document setting guidelines for bilateral cooperation in trade and economy in the 21st century, Russian foreign ministry said.

PTI

India, Russia for joint fight against terrorism

FD-12
18/9

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, SEPT. 17. India and Russia have vowed to take joint steps to counter the threat of terrorism and religious extremism. This was stated in a telephone conversation on Sunday between the External and Defence Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, and Russia's Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, as well as in talks India's National Security Adviser, Mr. Brajesh Mishra, is holding in Moscow.

"Russia and India have reaffirmed readiness to closely coordinate, in the spirit of strategic partnership, joint efforts aimed at curbing the threat of terrorism and religious extremism," the Russian Foreign Ministry said in a communique on the conversation between the Foreign Ministers of the two countries.

For his part, Mr. Mishra was quoted by the *RIA Novosti* news agency as saying after the talks with his Russian counterpart, Mr. Vladimir Rushailo, that India and Russia favoured the world community

taking concerted action to combat international terrorism.

Mr. Mishra refuted a *Washington Post* report that India had thrown open its facilities for an expected U.S. attack on terrorist bases in Afghanistan. He said the U.S. had not made any such request to India, *RIA Novosti* reported.

The Russian Security Council Secretary, Mr. Rushailo, recognised the right of the U.S. to retaliation to the attack on New York and Washington, saying that terrorist attacks could not go unpunished. At the same time, he warned that any repressive strikes should be "pinpointed", should not harm civilians and should be in line with international law.

"We must not fight just some or other terrorist groups and bin Laden, but pool the efforts of the international community for the struggle against all terrorist groups, whenever they are active, be in Russia, India, the U.S. or any other country," Mr. Rushailo said after talks with Mr. Mishra.

SECRET

India, Russia for greater U.N. role against terrorism

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, SEPT. 15. The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington are dominating a series of Indo-Russian political consultations under way in Moscow.

A day after the two countries discussed the United Nations' role in combating international terrorism, the National Security Adviser, Mr. Brajesh Mishra, is arriving in Moscow for further discussions of joint anti-terrorist measures.

Both visits had been planned in advance but gained special urgency in the light of the tragic developments in the United States. Two days earlier, senior diplomats from India and Russia, as well as Iran and some Central Asian states met in Dushanbe, capital of Tajikistan, to discuss assistance to anti-Taliban forces in the wake of the death of the North Alliance commander, Mr. Ahmad Shah Masood.

India and Russia emphasised the need for stepping up U.N. efforts in opposing international terrorism, the Russian Foreign Ministry said at the end of one-day consultations between the Foreign Secretary, Mr. T.C.A. Rangachari, and the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Sergei Ordzhonikidze, on Friday.

Diplomatic sources said both countries would back what was

described as an "important resolution" on terrorism expected to be tabled at the current session of the U.N. General Assembly. Russia also reaffirmed its support for India's draft of a comprehensive convention on combating terrorism tabled in the U.N.

The consultations confirmed "close proximity" of views on international terrorism shared by the two countries, the sources said. Security issues and "joint steps to combat international terrorism, religious extremism and illegal drug trafficking" will also top the agenda of Mr. Mishra's talks in Moscow between September 16 and 18, the press service of the Russian Security Council said today.

Mr. Mishra, who is coming at the invitation of the Security Council Secretary, Mr. Vladimir Rushailo, will hold two rounds of talks at the Security Council and meet senior Russian officials at the Foreign Ministry, the Defence Ministry and other Government agencies. The talks are part of preparations for the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee's visit to Russia in November.

During the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin's visit last year to India joint working groups on Afghanistan, terrorism and global and regional security were set up.

THE HINDU

10 SEP 2001

Brajesh on combat mission to Moscow

15/9
9 Nov. 2001
FROM OUR SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Sept. 14: National security adviser Brajesh Mishra, who leaves for Moscow on Sunday, is expected to focus on the terror attacks in New York and chalk out ways of combating terrorism in his talks with the Russian leadership.

During his two-day scheduled visit, Mishra will meet his Russian counterpart Vladimir Rushailo and some other senior leaders.

Officials described Mishra's proposed visit as a prelude to Atal Bihari Vajpayee's summit with Vladimir Putin in November. The two sides have agreed to hold summits every year, with the venue alternating between New Delhi and Moscow. Putin came to India last October.

New Delhi feels there's a common link in the terrorist attacks on India and Russia. India believes the terrorists sneaking into the country from across the border have been trained in Afghanistan, like those responsible for violence in Russia.

Both India and Moscow have cooperated with each other to support and strengthen the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan. Ahmed Shah Masood, the high-profile commander of the Alliance, has been fighting a losing battle against the Taliban.

Over the past few years, both the countries along with Iran, have been trying to supply military hardware and other essential supplies to Masood and his fighters in their resistance against the Taliban.

For both India and Russia, the presence of the Northern Alliance is important. It not only helps the two countries to maintain at least a toehold in Afghanistan, but also helps them keep the Taliban engaged in a fight to establish their control over the entire country.

THE TELEGRAPH

15 SEP 2001

HPD-13
29/9

Vajpayee to inaugurate energy forum in Russia

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, SEPT. 2. The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee will inaugurate an Indo-Russian energy forum which will prospect for oil and gas across the globe during his visit to Moscow later this year.

The groundwork for this forum, which will become a component for India's search for energy security, began during the visit of the External Affairs and Defence Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, to Moscow. Highly-placed sources in the Government pointed out that Mr. Singh made this proposal when he went there to preside over a meeting of the Indo-Russian Military Technical Group, the apex organisation which gives policy directions to the defence relationship between the two sides. The proposed energy forum will look at possibilities of new investments and joint explorations in each other's countries as well as in third countries.

As for other countries, both sides are looking at moving together into Central Asia, especially Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan in the area straddling the Caspian Sea. India and Russia attach considerable urgency to implement this idea, as they are well behind the industrialised countries, which have already moved into these zones. The Chinese involvement in oil and gas exploration projects in Central Asia is also hastening India's bid to find a niche for itself in this area.

Sources pointed out that the Chinese and the Russians have already signed a similar agreement on oil imports and exploration during the visit of the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, to Moscow. Russians, on their part, have, so far, sounded India out that it could join this forum and add a trilateral dimension to it. The sources, however, are of the view that such an arrange-

ment is unlikely in the absence of political trust between New Delhi and Beijing.

But a direct tie-up between India and Russia is promising as both sides have considerable experience in working together in the oil and gas field. India, for instance, has recently made a commitment of \$ 1.7 billion to tap oil and gas in Russia's inhospitable Sakhalin region. While the external wing of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) will have a stake of 20 per cent in this venture, Russia is pitching in with 25 per cent of the equity.

The Americans and the Chinese are the other dominant players in developing these fields. India hopes to procure four million tonnes of crude from this area after five years, and gas between five to eight million cubic meters per day. These hydrocarbons could be shipped to India from the Chinese or South Korean ports.

Given the focus on energy security, the External Affairs Ministry has also agreed to set up a new territorial division on energy and environment in South Block. Headed by a Joint Secretary, this division will function under the overall supervision of Secretary, Economic Relations (ER), Mr. Shashank.

An in-house think-tank, in which the economic wing of the MEA, the Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) and the Tata Energy Research Institute (TERI) will have representations, will advise on policy matters. Others on this panel include India's former ambassador to the U.S., Mr. Naresh Chandra, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, former Indian envoy to Pakistan, and Mr. Rajiv Sikri who had earlier served as ambassador to the resource-rich Central Asian Republic of Kazakhstan.

THE HINDU

PM's visit to Russia will be a milestone, says Putin ^{HD-12}

By Vladimir Radyuhin ^{VR}

MOSCOW, AUG. 27. The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, said the coming visit of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, to Russia must become a milestone in bilateral relations. "We are due not only to check on progress in executing the agreements reached in October 2000 (during Mr. Putin's visit to India), but also look for new long-term fields of further developing the Russian-Indian strategic partnership," the RIA-Novosti news agency quoted the Russian President as saying after accepting credentials from India's new Ambassador to Russia, Mr. Krishnan Raghunath, in the Kremlin on Monday.

In what is seen as a token of special respect for India, the Kremlin arranged for Delhi's new Ambassador to present his credentials on his first working day in Moscow. Mr. Raghunath arrived on Saturday. By comparison, the U.S. Ambassador, who arrived over a month ago, is yet to

present his credentials. Envoys from China, Colombia, Uruguay, Denmark, Brunei, Slovenia and Iceland also presented their credentials today. ^{Govt Bureau}

In a one-to-one conversation after the presentation ceremony, Mr. Putin told Mr. Raghunath that the Russian Government was keenly looking forward to Mr. Vajpayee's visit and that there was quite an agenda to be fulfilled by the two leaders. Mr. Raghunath conveyed best wishes to Mr. Putin from the Prime Minister and the President of India. Both sides reaffirmed the importance they attached to bilateral ties.

Talking to correspondents Mr. Raghunath said the tempo of Indo-Russian cooperation had accelerated after the two countries signed a Declaration on Strategic Partnership last October. In particular, trade and economic ties, which used to evoke a sense of dissatisfaction, had expanded and diversified. The Ambassador made special mention of India's biggest ever foreign investment in

Russia's Sakhalin-1 project as well as the growing cooperation in atomic energy, space and defence. Also, in the framework of their strategic partnership, Moscow and Delhi had opened a professional-level strategic dialogue on a range of issues, including terrorism and global security.

Mr. Raghunath said his top priorities in Moscow would include tapping the vast potential for economic and scientific-technical cooperation between India and Russia. In the run-up to Mr. Vajpayee's visit to Moscow there will be high-level interactions between the two countries in telecommunications and information technology, as well as political consultations.

Mr. Raghunath, a career diplomat, had served as India's Ambassador in the Philippines, Nigeria, and Bangladesh. He was Secretary (East) in the Ministry of External Affairs in 1995-97 and Foreign Secretary in 1997-99. In Moscow, he succeeds Mr. S. Lambah, who retired last month.

Russia blames 'stingy' India for MiG crashes

Zhukovsky (Russia), August 21

RUSSIA HAS blamed India for the frequent MiG crashes of the Indian Air Force (IAF), attributing them to the "low quality" of spares bought for the planes.

"India buys low quality spare parts from Ukraine and East European countries. At times, it even buys spare parts that have outlived their utility, thus creating conditions for frequent crashes," Vladimir Barkovsky, deputy general designer of MiG Corporation, said on the sidelines of the MAKS-2001 International Airshow here.

From the MiG family, the IAF operates MiG-21 strike aircraft, MiG-23 and MiG-29 fighters, MiG-27 bombers and MiG-25P spy aircraft. The first batch of MiG aircraft joined the IAF in the mid-1960s. As many as 93 IAF aircraft have crashed, killing 34 pilots in the last five years. Most accidents have been attributed to technical failures and many to pilot error. While most crashes



A FILE PICTURE OF A MiG-21

have involved ageing MiG-21 aircraft, the mainstay of the fleet, nine MiG-23s have also met with accidents in the last two years.

A total of 125 MiG-21s are being modernised with the help of MiG Corporation. "These spare parts may cost a little less, but ultimately you pay a much higher price when pilots lose their lives as a result of the crashes. This also delivers a heavy blow to

MiG's reputation around the world," Barkovsky said.

Accusing the IAF of not providing full details of the crashes, he said this has prevented corrective measures from being worked out. "We are better placed to ascertain the reason of these crashes. We are keen to help India preventing the crashes. But unfortunately we do not get sufficient information about

MPs worried

LEADERS FROM both Houses of Parliament on Tuesday submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister requesting him to look personally into the MiG-21 crashes. "Over 100 MiG-21 aircraft have crashed in the last 5 years and over 50 pilots have been killed. Inquiries have concluded that lack of training in Advanced Jet Trainer is the factor resulting in the crashes."

HTC, New Delhi

these crashes," Barkovsky said. The IAF has a fleet of 66 MiG-27 and 100 MiG-29 aircraft that need to be upgraded.

Expressing concern over reports that India is negotiating with Israel to upgrade its MiG-27 and MiG-29 aircraft, he said that to keep Russia out of the exercise gave it a "dangerous dimension" and would have "serious consequences" for the IAF.

"Russia has doubts that suc-

cessful upgrading of the MiG-27 and MiG-29 can be achieved without its participation," Barkovsky said. "We have offered an upgrade programme for these aircraft to India. Our programme is not only technically better and economically more cost-effective, but would also enhance the combat potential of these aircraft," he said.

"Only Russia possesses the technology for prolonging the operational capabilities of these aircraft. Neither Israel nor any other country has this technology, and Russia will not part with it to another country," Barkovsky said.

On the Russian air force chief's remark that the MiG-AT advanced jet trainer was not suitable for the IAF because of its "obsolete" engine, Barkovsky said a presentation on the aircraft had recently been made in New Delhi and that there had been an "understanding" response from India.

AINS

DEFENCE COOPERATION

India-Russia Military Equipment Relationship

H EADLINE-GRABBING reports of a \$10 billion long-term defence cooperation agreement between India and Russia during External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh's June 2001 visit to Moscow once again brought to the fore the extent to which the India-Russia defence cooperation relationship has recently developed. Though India had remained steadfastly non-aligned during the Cold War, it had been dubbed an ally of the erstwhile Soviet Union by most Western governments, analysts and academics. In reality, except for the USSR's support for India's positions in various international fora, particularly on Kashmir, and India's quiet acquiescence in several Soviet interventions, India-USSR cooperation during the Cold War era did not go much beyond a patron-client arms supply relationship.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 had led to a period of lukewarm relations as Russia struggled to cope with the cataclysm that threatened its very survival as a viable nation-state. By this time over 70 percent of the weapons and equipment in service with India's armed forces were of Soviet origin and the sudden drying up of reliable sources of supply and spares made important military hardware unserviceable. India was forced to either deal with sundry intermediaries and pay exorbitant prices or look elsewhere. Efforts were also stepped up to manufacture crucial spare parts indigenously.

ATTITUDE

However, over the last few years there has been increasing realisation in Russia that India is an important trading partner and the Russians have made concerted efforts to streamline their erratic supply lines. Once again, India is now the largest purchaser of defence equipment from Russia and, in the years ahead, may become Russia's foremost partner in jointly developing future weapons systems.

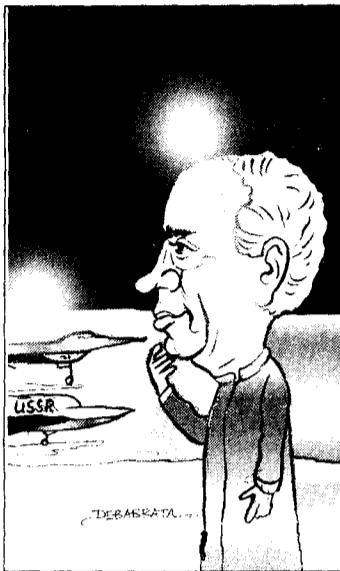
In October 2000, India and Russia signed a deal for the supply of SU-30 MK I fighter-bomber aircraft and their licensed manufacture in India. Reported to have been the largest single defence deal ever signed by India, it was soon followed by another major deal for the acquisition of T-90 S tanks. Negotiations for the acquisition of the Russian aircraft carrier Admiral Gorshkov have been going on for a few years. Russia has offered the de-commissioned aircraft carrier free but India has to pay for its re-fitment and for the fighter aircraft and helicopters to be stationed on board. Negotiations for the purchase or lease of several other major weapon platforms, including submarines and frigates, are being conducted. MiG-AT, the Russian advanced jet trainer (AJT) aircraft has also been in the reckoning for selection along with a few other West European AJTs.

The erstwhile Soviet Union had seldom agreed to sell new models of weapons systems to other countries. During the Cold War, like the US, the Soviets sold either used weapons or those that were new but had been in service for many years,

The author is a former Senior Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi.

By GURMEET KANWAL

even decades. In the buyers' market now prevailing and due to Russia's need to earn hard currency from exports, this has now changed. Russia is now willing to sell modern, hi-tech weapons systems and, in some cases at least, deliveries to foreign clients are being effected almost simultaneously with the introduction of new weapons systems in Russia's armed for-



ces. India's recent defence equipment deals with Russia have been mostly hard currency contracts and it is clear that Indian orders are a valuable source of foreign exchange for Russia.

India has for long been importing Russian military equipment either in fully assembled or SKD/CKD form. While some projects like the MiG series of aircraft, T-72 tanks and BMPs have involved local manufacture under license; there has rarely been any real transfer of technology. During Jaswant Singh's June 2001 visit to Moscow, special emphasis was laid not only on technology transfer but also on the joint development and production of future weapons systems. That this was a mutually acceptable position was confirmed by Russia's Deputy Prime Minister, Ilya Klebanov when he said, "Our co-operation has turned toward the joint development and joint production of weapons, which is very important in the relations of the two countries."

CONGRUENCE

Joint development would synergise the specialised capabilities of the two countries to the mutual benefit of both. Due to the burgeoning costs of the development of major weapon platforms, the trend the world over is to undertake joint or multilateral development in which costs as well as technology are shared in a transparent manner. Only a few months ago Russia and India had announced that the jointly developed cruise missile BrahMos had been successfully test flown.

The two countries have now agreed to work together to develop high-tech fighter jets, submarines and ships under the present defence cooperation agreement that is estimated to be worth a total of \$10 billion. The June 2001 deal was also reported to include a plan to create an air defence system, which would cover the whole of India's territory. However, what is more likely is that India may buy some squadrons of the S-300 or S-400 air defence and anti-missile defence system and integrate them into its existing surface-to-air defences against enemy aircraft and medium-range ballistic missiles

(MRBMs), while simultaneously undertaking indigenous development of the system.

Indian and Russian foreign policies have seldom been in direct conflict with each other. In the post-Cold War era there has been even greater congruence between the two. The export controls imposed by the US-led West, military technology denial regimes, weapons, equipment and spares supply agreements that are hostage to unilateral sanctions and the impact of non-proliferation policies, make Western companies unreliable suppliers of defence equipment to India. One example should suffice to highlight India's concerns. India has had problems obtaining spare parts for its British-origin Sea Hawk naval fighters since the post-Pokhran II sanctions of mid-1998 because US companies had supplied some of the sub-components to the British manufacturer.

Hence, it is logical for India to continue to rely on Russia for its major weapons platforms, even as it diversifies its sources of acquisition of weapons and further enhances its vigorous efforts to develop and manufacture maximum defence equipment indigenously. In addition to Russia, India is increasingly looking towards France, Germany, Israel and a few other countries for its weapons acquisitions. There is increasing realisation that no country can afford to plough a lonely furrow in developing military hardware. The future of defence equipment modernisation lies in joint development followed by joint manufacture.

PARTNERSHIP

Despite its seemingly insurmountable internal problems, Russia remains a great power with a first rank nuclear weapons capability and an immense strategic reach. Like Phoenix it has risen from the ashes before and it will doubtlessly do so again. It is in India's long-term interest to balance its long-standing friendship and cooperation with Russia with its newfound strategic partnership with the United States. Brahma Chellaney has expressed a similar view: "While building closer links with the United States, the world's pre-eminent power, India cannot neglect Russia. Despite Russia's present fragility, its strategic importance for India has not declined. Rather, the growing imbalance of power in Asia has only reinforced the value of a close Indo-Russian partnership for Asian stability."

At present, India enjoys warm relations with both Russia and the US; both appear to be eager for a strategic partnership with India, though the concepts underlying such a partnership and the aims and objectives may be different in either case. It is a scenario which "John Foster Dulles, the archetypal American Cold Warrior in the sixties, would have found difficult to understand." Being simultaneously wooed by two of the three major world powers of the early 21st century is recognition of a militarily self-confident India's gradual emergence as a future economic and industrial powerhouse. However, in the prevailing era of strategic uncertainty, it would be wise for India to hedge its bets and not lean on either the US or Russia too much. India must retain its strategic autonomy and create its own space in the emerging geo-strategic environment.

THE STATESMAN

20 AUG 2001

Indo-Russian military cooperation

By P. R. Chari

40-12

SENIOR MINISTRY of Defence (MoD) officials recently briefed a group of defence analysts on the Foreign and Defence Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh's visit to Russia earlier this month. Military cooperation between India and the erstwhile Soviet Union dates back to the late 1950s and its growth can be linked to the deterioration of Sino-Soviet relations. They gained momentum in the 1960s after the Sino-Indian border conflict; the exigencies of the crisis led India to undertake a massive increase and upgradation of its armed forces which was unreservedly supported by the Soviet Union.

The supplier-recipient relationship has consolidated due to the umbilical cord established by India's need for spares and ancillaries to maintain its weapons systems procured from the Soviets and the Soviet need for exploiting the large Indian arms market. Thus India's efforts to diversify its sources of arms supply in the past have not proceeded very far, since 70-80 per cent of its military equipment is of Eastern origin. The sanctions imposed by the United States and Western powers following Pokhran I and II have added to India's dependence on Eastern sources for military equipment. The end of the Cold War, followed by the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and independence gained by several former Soviet Republics from Russia, however, led to two major problems confronting this military cooperation relationship.

First, the Yeltsin/ Kozyrev era witnessed the Kremlin's domination by a West-oriented, Atlanticist group, which had an inherent anti-India bias. This was clear from their reluctance to supply the contracted cryogenic engines for India's GSLV (Geo-Synchronous Launch Vehicle) programme and the exacerbation of Indo-Russian disputes regarding debt scheduling and the rupee-rouble exchange rate. Following the elevation of Primakov as the Russian Prime Minister a greater balance came about between the Western and Orientalist factions in the Kremlin leading to an improvement in Indo-Russian relations. This manifested itself in a resolution of the cryogenic engines, debt scheduling and exchange rate issues, but also in Russia's decision

MSB

The intensification of Indo-Russian relations subsumes the larger question of strategic direction. Is India deliberately trying to balance its relations with Russia and the U.S.?

to proceed with the supply of two 1000 MW reactors for the Koodankulam Atomic Power Plant. Russia's recent decision to cooperate with India in all areas of energy security further demonstrates its desire to broaden bilateral cooperation.

Another reason for the sharp deterioration in military cooperation in the early 1990s was the chaos prevailing in the Russian and former Soviet Republics. This disrupted the pipeline for provision of arms, spares and ancillaries, since no central authority could be identified to ensure their regular supply. Russia has now agreed to coordinate supplies from the other ex-Soviet Republics. The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, has also issued a decree to expedite arms supplies. The recently held Indo-Russian meeting decided to establish a time-bound programme to mitigate delays, and the progress achieved is to be reviewed at regular half-yearly intervals.

Since 1996, this cooperation is being brought onto an even keel. Quite apart from the reality that India's military equipment is mostly of ex-Soviet origin, there is the ineluctable fact that this equipment suits the Indian military better. Western equipment may be more sophisticated and inter-generational improvements could be more radical. But Russia equipment is more rugged and the changes introduced between one generation and another are incremental. What this implies is fewer problems in inducting new weapon systems by way of training personnel, or integration into maintenance and logistical systems. Indubitably, Russia now charges market prices that are designated in dollar terms but, in comparison to Western prices, these are very competitive, since these exports are its major source of revenue. The Indian market is important to Russia because of its size, only comparable to China. India contracted for some \$10 billion worth of arms purchases from the Rus-

sian defence industry over the last four years.

Russian interests become clear from its willingness to supply the most sophisticated weapon systems to India; these were discussed in the recent parleys. They include the "Smerch" rocket launcher system, the "Admiral Gorshkov" aircraft carrier along with a complement of Russian aircraft, the Il-76 based AWACS-50 (Airborne Warning and Communications System) and mid-air refuellers to increase the range of long-range bombers. Interestingly, India has decided to evaluate the MiG-AT and Yak-130, which are the Russian versions of the (AJT) Advanced Jet Trainer. This suggests that price negotiations for the British Hawk AJT, which was the front-runner so far, are running into difficulties. Agreements have also been finalised in the recent past or are under negotiation for the supply of Su-30 bombers and Tu-22 strike aircraft; upgrading the MiG-21 fleet to extend its useful life; procuring the S-300 anti-ballistic missile system along with Pechora-II surface-to-air missiles for establishing a missile defence system against Pakistan; and T-90 tanks for the Army. The point here is that Russia is willing to supply India anything it requires, without linking its arms exports to non-proliferation concerns, which obsesses the U.S. and its Western allies.

There are several related directions in which Indo-Russian military cooperation would be extended that were discussed in the recent meeting. First, the joint development and production of hi-tech system such as fifth generation aircraft and a passenger-cum-cargo aircraft that would be undertaken on a 50-50 cost-sharing basis. Second, as a logical corollary, it was also decided to intensify lab-to-lab cooperation; this would support the joint development and production projects chosen for pursuit, besides extending military cooperation beyond its present confines

of a buyer-seller relationship. Third, the possibility of exports to Third World countries was also agreed to be explored on a case-by-case basis to cater for the strategic sensitivities of both countries. Fourth, the area of staff exercises (exercises without the use of troops) on a Service-to-Service basis is to be promoted. The Russian interest arises from the range of terrain available in India, ranging from high altitudes to desert to jungle areas which would be instructive for the Russian military to familiarise themselves with for future operations. Fifth, subscribing to training programmes for armed forces officers in both countries. Sixth, it was decided to evolve a common strategy to combat terrorism in Afghanistan, which threatens both countries.

The intensification of Indo-Russian relations subsumes the larger question of strategic direction. Is India deliberately trying to balance its relations with Russia and the U.S.? The immediate purpose might be to moderate its ardent, if somewhat hasty, approval of the Bush initiative on the NMD. Apparently, the question did come up during the recent discussions in Moscow. India's three-legged approach to the NMD was explained to include willingness to discuss new strategic ideas to replace the present concept of nuclear deterrence, support for verifiable reduction of nuclear arsenals, and opposition to abrogation of the ABM Treaty. Since the NMD cannot be established without abrogating the ABM Treaty, and the U.S. will not reduce its nuclear arsenals without the NMD being in place, India has clearly backedpedalled furiously away from its earlier enthusiasm for the NMD. Is India, then, forging a new type of multipolarity, building on the wreckage of its earlier policy of non-alignment? Whilst genuflecting towards multipolarity, is a new core relationship with either the U.S. or Russia under contemplation? These are the profound questions arising from India's efforts to intensify military cooperation relations with Russia whilst deepening its linkages with the U.S. They need more serious consideration by the Government and the strategic elite in the country.

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

India, Russia to jointly deal with Taliban menace

MOSCOW: Concerned over the growing threats of terrorism and extremism emanating from Afghanistan's Taliban-held areas, India and Russia on Tuesday agreed to step up cooperation to deal with the menace.

The two sides also denounced the militia's decision to have a separate dress code for Hindus and Sikhs, terming it as "cultural terrorism," a statement issued after the second meeting of the Indo-Russian joint working group (JWG) on Afghanistan said here.

Foreign secretary Chokila Iyer, who led the Indian side at the consultations, told reporters that the two countries wanted the Taliban regime to respect the demands of the international community and end its support to international terrorism and the drug trade and strictly observe fundamental human rights, including the rights of women and minorities. (PTI)

508 RUSSIAN ARMS ✓

A warmer embrace 2/16

THE satisfaction exuded by the defence ministry over the qualitative improvement in the supply line of military hardware from Russia is sure to be shared by all. For the arrangements firmed up during the first meeting of the upgraded commission on military-technology cooperation would appear to have removed traditional bottlenecks and sorted out problems over the procurement of spares. They also cleared the decks for elevating the relationship to provide for the joint development of weapons and systems. Even if the state of the Russian economy is responsible for changing the seller-buyer attitude, it is to be appreciated from the Indian viewpoint since the latter will now find it much easier to "do business" with producers who hitherto were far from commercial in their functioning. Another happy development is the decision on joint staff-exercises to help Indian forces gain from Russian experience to evolve better battle doctrines for optimal exploitation of their equipment.

What excites the MoD is the accent on joint development of weapons. A small beginning was made with SU-30 aircraft that will eventually have an IAF-specific version incorporating sub-systems which our DRDO had created for the LCA project. The Russian invitation to India to join hands in the development of a fifth generation combat aircraft accords greater recognition to India's defence scientists than is forthcoming domestically. There would, however, be need for caution against allowing the immediate gains of joint development to impinge upon the priorities and funds accorded to 100 per cent Indian efforts at developing state-of-the-art equipment. There can be no over-stressing the critical importance of domestic production.

THE STATESMAN

India, Russia oppose abrogation of ABM Treaty

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, JUNE 21. India and Russia have reaffirmed opposition to any unilateral moves to reshape the existing global security architecture in the course of bilateral consultations on strategic stability held here.

The first meeting of the Joint

Working Group on Strategic Stability was held here on June 20 under the co-chairmanship of the Additional Secretary, MEA, Mr. T.C.A. Rangachari, and the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Georgy Mamedov. It is also the first such consultations Russia had with any country after the Russian-American summit talks in Ljubljana,

Slovenia, last weekend. India thus became the first country to be briefed by Russia on the outcome of the Ljubljana talks.

Informed sources said the Indo-Russian consultations had been held in the atmosphere of "trust and confidence". The Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, called the External Affairs and De-

fence Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, on Wednesday to inform him of the Putin-Bush meeting and the recent Shanghai summit of Russia, China and four Central Asian states. "Mr. Ivanov noted with satisfaction the constructive character of the Russian-Indian consultations on strategic stability," the Russian Foreign Ministry said.

Indo-Russian meeting will draw up strategy on Afghanistan

By Seema Guha

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: Though preparations for the summit between Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and Pakistan's chief executive General Pervez Musharraf are expected to gather momentum after the dates are announced later this week, foreign secretary Chokila Iyer will take time off to visit Moscow. She will be there for a meeting of the Indo-Russian joint working group on Afghanistan slated for June 25-26.

Ironically, in any discussion on the Taliban, India has always made sure that Pakistan's role in nurturing and supporting the fundamentalist regime in Kabul comes in for severe criticism.

A major thrust of India's diplomacy since Kargil has been a crusade for concerted action against terrorism. The nexus between the Taliban and Pakistan in promoting Islamic terrorism had become a daily litany for the Vajpayee government both at home and abroad.

In fact, New Delhi's championing of anti-terrorism won it sympathy from the world community. India has a similar arrangement with the

U.S. to coordinate efforts on Afghanistan. During her recent visit to Washington, Ms Iyer had held talks with U.S. officials on the deteriorating situation in Taliban-controlled areas of Afghanistan.

The annual exchanges on Afghanistan between India and Russia, and the U.S. have become necessary since the Taliban threat affects the interests of all the three. India fears the spread of jihadi culture emanating from the Taliban ideology and its effect on Kashmir. Russia is similarly worried about Islamic separatists in Chechnya who are supported by the Taliban. Dagestan is another problem region for Russia. The U.S. fears Islamic fundamentalism which targets American interests worldwide, and wants Osama bin Laden out of Afghanistan. Concern about terrorism has got India, Russia, and the U.S. to take a keen interest in the situation in Afghanistan.

The Taliban edict against Hindu and Sikh religious minorities and the destruction of Buddhist relics will be discussed in detail by both sides. However, India, Russia, and the U.S. cannot do much to change the Taliban regime, which is im-

mune to international pressure. The people of Afghanistan are the main sufferers and additional sanctions coupled with a prolonged drought have made life hell for the average Afghan.

In the joint statement issued after the group's meeting in New Delhi last year, India and Russia noted that "direct foreign intervention in the Afghan affairs has exacerbated the civil conflict and is preventing the return to peace", and called upon those states "which give the Taliban all kinds of assistance, including military, to cease their interference in Afghan affairs". This was an obvious reference to the role of Pakistan.

It will be interesting to watch what kind of statement will be issued after this meeting of the Indo-Russian joint working group on Afghanistan. Will there be similar indirect references to Pakistan?

Some hardline sections in India, including many within the Sangh parivar, feel New Delhi will lose the momentum it has gained in its campaign against terrorism by entertaining Gen. Musharraf, since Pakistan is the staunchest supporter of the Taliban.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

10.01.2001

Indo-Russian ties: beginning of a new era

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 14. - Upbeat after the first meeting of the ministerial-level commission for Indo-Russian military-technology cooperation, the defence ministry says a qualitative change has been effected in the traditional relationships.

From a buyer-seller arrangement, the ties have been upgraded to plans for joint development projects, greater interaction by defence research and development agencies, and export of jointly manufactured products to other countries.

Specific gains were also made at the meeting, which include

India acquiring AWAC capability through the Israeli Phalcon system mounted on an IL-76 fitted with upgunned engines. A deal to procure airborne tankers for mid-flight fuelling is in progress.

A decision on buying the aircraft carrier, Admiral Gorshkov, will be taken by the end of the year. Indian experts are examining a detailed project report submitted by the Russians, the price will be settled after India finalises what aircraft, weapons and systems it wants fitted to the carrier.

With the government having cleared a long-term construction programme for submar-

ines, the Russians have offered their Amour boats for licensed production and India will examine the proposal, senior defence officials said today.

The possibility of leasing another Russian nuclear-propelled submarine is being examined. The Navy needs it to keep alive the skills acquired through a similar-lease arrangement a decade ago.

Those skills have to be preserved in anticipation of the domestic ATV project coming good.

During their Moscow trip, the Indian delegation visited the SU-30 production centre and were assured that the first

bath of LAF-specific multirole fighters would be delivered next year.

Work will commence on joint-development of transport aircraft that could carry 100 troops, and a parallel cargo version. Russia has also asked India to be involved in the development of a "fifth generation" fighter.

At the meeting, several traditional irritants in the arms supply system - 80% of India's military hardware is of Russian/Soviet origin - have been rectified. India is obviously satisfied with the outcome.

Russia has undertaken to procure and transfer spares pro-

duced in all of the CIS states. It has now permitted India to interact directly with the original manufacturers to sort out residual difficulties such as transfer of documentation and so on.

Units may also be established in India in collaboration with Russian firms to manufacture spares.

Exports to third countries of all items produced in India under Russian licence would be considered on a case-to-case basis.

Formulating contract agreements had always been problematic. Now a "model" format will be finalised in a few

months, and Russia has agreed to provide detailed catalogues of all the spares it can supply, and the prices.

The meetings also decided to conduct joint "staff exercises". India has the range of terrain and climate to offer, Russia has the experience in the development of doctrines that would optimise the efficacy of the equipment it has sold to India.

During the deliberations the two sides decided to enhance joint action against terrorism and insurgency in Afghanistan and Central Asia, and set up a common forum on energy security.

India, Russia test-fire supersonic cruise missile

By Rajat Pandit and Manoj Joshi
The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: In a significant development, Indian and Russian defence scientists successfully flight-tested a supersonic cruise missile with a range of 280 km from the Chandipur Interim Test Range on Tuesday morning.

The missile, about 6.9 metres long, was launched vertically from a container which can be carried aboard a ship or a submarine and, with some modifications, also on an aircraft. Possessing stealth characteristics, and having a 'fire and forget' guidance system, it can cruise at more than twice the speed of sound and is considered invincible at present. Almost all other contemporary anti-ship missiles fly at subsonic speeds.

Based on the existing Russian Yakhont or Onyx system, the missile has been substantially re-designed by an Indo-Russian joint venture company called Brahmos (acronym

for Brahmaputra-Moscow), which was set up in 1995 but got going only in 1998. India is represented in Brahmos by the DRDO, and Russia by the designer, NPO Mashinostroyenia.

Among those who witnessed the successful launch on Tuesday were defence minister Jaswant Singh, his scientific adviser V.K. Aatre, IAF chief, air chief marshal Y.P. Tipnis, as also some Russian scientists.

Ministry officials said the missile project, code-named PJ-10, was an "outstanding example" of the Indo-Russian joint endeavour in the defence sector. "The original missile has been modified and the inertial guidance system and the seeker as well as the all-important software is Indian," said one official. The missile's guidance and control system performed "very well". The missile's seeker was not fitted for the test-launch and will be tested in subsequent trials.

WE HAVE INFLATED THE NUMBERS OF DEATHS

Joint arms production marks new high in Indo-Russian ties

By Manoj Joshi

NEW DELHI: In less than a year, following President Putin's October 2000 visit to New Delhi, India and Russia have dramatically turned around their sagging relationship. Speaking at the end of the meeting, a Joint Commission on Military Cooperation in Moscow on Wednesday, defence and external affairs minister Jaswant Singh said that "this was the most productive and result-oriented encounter we have ever had."

Even discounting for diplomatic hyperbole, this is an apt pointer to the new type of ties being forged by the two countries. Till now, the Indo-Russian relationship was characterised by Russia's political support for India on issues like Kashmir, and India's purchases of weapons from Russia. Now, even as political ties tend to fray occasionally, both countries are boosting their arms transfer links which will be characterised by the joint development and joint production of weapons systems. This is a result of Russia's awareness that India is no longer interested in off-the-shelf purchases as well as Russia's need to have Indian orders to keep its own arms industry functional.

The Russian offer of partnership to the Indians for the development of the fifth generation fighter is a major step in this direction. This comes with unspecified agreements to work together in other projects relating to submarines and surface

combatants as well. In addition, the Russians have offered to participate in a major upgrade of the Indian air defence network. In addition to all this, there is a significant secret component relating to Russian assistance for the Indian strategic weapons programmes.

Details of the next generation Russian fighter project are on the Internet. The leading contender, the S-37 (Berkut) from the Sukhoi bureau features a revolutionary reverse sweep airframe and stealth features. The aircraft has been flying since 1997 and there has already been an indirect Indian input in the form of money and technology that has gone into the Sukhoi-30MKI, which will join the IAF from next year onwards. For India, access to Russia's still formidable aerospace technology is a major gain.

The Russian commitment on the air defence system would be another major advantage for India. Despite years of efforts, India has not been able to make its own surface-to-air missiles. Russian S-300s and whatever Indian missiles that become available, can be integrated into a nation-wide air defence network. The system will also contain a limited ballistic missile defence system which will use the Israeli Green Pine radar system to detect incoming missiles. The radar system is based on technology similar to the Phalcon airborne radar system which, in another major project, India hopes to fit on to the Russian A-50 airborne early warning aircraft.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

10-11

ABM Treaty: 'Russia needs to be consulted'

96 By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, JUNE 8. India is opposed to any unilateral abrogation of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, the Defence and External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, said in an interview published today.

Mr. Singh told *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star), the Russian Defence Ministry daily, that India's position on the missile defence issue had been "misinterpreted".

"India has welcomed proposals to strengthen global security," Mr. Singh was quoted by the daily. "But we have also made it clear that there must be no violation or abrogation of the 1972 ABM Treaty, which is a bilateral accord between Russia and America... In our dialogue with the United States, we are emphasising the need to consult Russia in moving towards the development of new anti-missile systems."

Mr. Singh reiterated Delhi's support for a multi-polar world. "India stands completely for multi-polarity, for the world cannot have the situation when it is dominated by one superpower," he told the daily.

THE HINDU

5.10.80



FRIDAY, JUNE 8, 2001

FOR A NEW SPIRIT IN OLD TIES

INDIA AND RUSSIA have indicated that they recognise the need to reinvent their strategic partnership, which has been blueprinted only last year, if only to meet the current challenge of the U.S.' plans for a missile defence shield. This reality seems to have overarched the dialogue on bilateral military cooperation during the latest visit to Moscow by the External Affairs and Defence Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh. Yet, there can be no doubt that the real crux of the India-Russia ties is the matrix of conventional cooperation. Sought to be enhanced at present are the deep and diverse linkages in the defence sector. It is strange indeed that New Delhi and Moscow should now find themselves redefining an equation which was itself remodelled hardly six months ago during a visit to India by the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin. Surely, the reason can be traced to the recent decision by the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, to try and transform America into a potentially invulnerable state. The basis of this move was an expectation of global consensus as unilaterally envisioned by Washington itself. Yet, with the Vajpayee administration exuding remarkably uncritical exuberance in embracing the Bush plan, Moscow suddenly felt out of sync with New Delhi in a context in which the India-Russia strategic partnership seemed to have lost its lustre.

The partnership charter, which was outlined during Mr. Putin's visit to India last year, had committed the two parties to an effort at creating a multipolar global order as distinct from a U.S.-dominant unipolar dispensation. In a sense, the India-Russia partnership was crafted against a backdrop of an improved relationship between New Delhi and Washington under the previous Clinton presidency. A different but active engagement between Moscow and Washington, too, served as the context for last year's India-Russia communique. Above all, the updated Russo-Indian accord was formulated only after Mr.

Putin's Russia had begun to make common cause with China to oppose the tentative U.S.' moves of the time to build a missile defence shield. So, when the Vajpayee administration later hailed Mr. Bush's missile defence plan, New Delhi's previously known preference for creating a multipolar system of world politics came under a new question mark. Now, it is debatable whether Russia has indeed managed to nudge New Delhi back towards its old position. Yet, the latest Russian initiative to engage India on issues of global strategic stability, explicitly so within the framework of a new bilateral working group, has found favour with Mr. Singh. Outwardly, this aspect of the reinvention of Indo-Russian strategic ties reflects a shift in New Delhi's stand. New Delhi now appears to see the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 as a document that promotes global stability and not just a Russo-American strategic balance. More importantly, Mr. Singh may have now signalled New Delhi's willingness to gravitate away from its recent endorsement of the American missile defence agenda. However, New Delhi will still be judged by how far it may be seeking merely to humour Moscow.

The Vajpayee administration does, of course, have a strong reason to befriend an old India-ally like Russia, which did take a few years to rediscover New Delhi's value in the present post-Soviet era. China is also trying to cosy up with Russia now. Yet, India's Russian connection remains remarkably strong in the bilateral mode. This is amply demonstrated by the dramatic range of new defence deals between the two. It is a trifle too early to evaluate their cumulative significance. A qualitative breakthrough is implicit in the accord to move away from a mere buyer-seller equation to that of a partnership in designing and producing new generation weapon systems. An intricate web of commercial and strategic interests will now need to be managed carefully by both sides.

Russia 'sways' India on ABM Treaty

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, JUNE 6. Russia appears to have swayed India back to its view on strategic stability and the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty.

"Russia and India share identical or converging views on the issues of international security and strategic stability," Russia's Defence Minister, Mr. Sergei Ivanov, said after talks with the visiting Defence and External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh.

Mr. Ivanov said that the two countries "are in complete agreement the ABM Treaty is the cornerstone of a ramified structure of global strategic stability."

Mr. Jaswant Singh confirmed India's opposition to unilateral abrogation of the ABM Treaty mooted by the United States.

"If this treaty is unilaterally abrogated, abridged or adjusted, this will lead to greater uncertainty instead of promoting a new more cooperative security framework," Mr. Singh told reporters on Wednesday at the end of his three days of talks in Moscow. "That is why we are recommending to the United States that any step in that direction must be made with Russia and in consultation with Russia."

The stand articulated by Mr. Singh in Moscow effectively waters down India's support for the U.S.-proposed global security set-up based on the renunciation of the ABM Treaty and the construction of a national missile defence. Moscow is strongly opposed to the U.S. plans and wants to preserve the ABM Treaty.

India continues to believe that the ABM Treaty is a bilateral matter between Russia and the U.S., but Moscow insists it is now a problem for all countries and has moved to engage India in discussions on the issue. An Indo-Russian working group on strategic stability is to meet in Moscow after a Russian-American summit later this month.

"The global strategic stability formed around the ABM Treaty includes multilateral agreements aimed at neutralising other military threats," Mr. Sergei Ivanov said today. "This requires that all countries involved in building the strategic stability framework take part in discussions on this issue."

Strategic partnership

Talking to newsmen at the end of his three-day visit, Mr. Jaswant Singh said his talks in Russia would have added a new dimension to strategic partnership the two countries established last year.

The first session of the Indo-Russian Inter-governmental Commission on Military-Technical Cooperation, achieved "strategic transformation of what was



The Russian Defence Minister, Mr. Sergei Ivanov, welcoming the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, prior to their talks in Moscow, on Wednesday. — AP

earlier the buyer-seller relationship to true partnership in research and development," Mr. Singh said. "It is a partnership which addresses itself with great responsibility, maturity and commitment to the emerging challenges in the military and technical field."

Mr. Singh said the defence talks were "the most productive and result-oriented encounter we have ever had." India announced

plans to step up defence purchases in Russia and the two countries are to undertake joint development of new arms for the air force, navy and the army.

Apart from defence Mr. Singh's talks in Moscow covered the full gamut of bilateral, regional and international issues, as he met "entire spectrum of national security and defence-related Russian leaders" in the first substantive bilateral engagement since

Mr. Putin's visit to India last year. **Stand on Taliban**

A joint summit on international terrorism was on the agenda of Mr. Singh's talks in Moscow, coming up in each of his meetings with Russian leaders. "I have no doubt where Russia stands on the Taliban," Mr. Singh said, reminding that Russia, together with India and other countries co-sponsored U.N. Security Council Resolution 1333 censuring the Taliban. "The question of Russia recognising the Taliban as the legitimate government of Afghanistan simply does not arise. My colleague, Mr. Sergei Ivanov, today very candidly and clearly spoke of the dangers that this kind of fundamentalism and terrorism poses to the entire region."

Asked if Russia's fast-developing defence ties with China could affect Indo-Russian relations Mr. Singh said that India's relations with Russia "is not a reflection, reaction to or as bouncing against another relationship; it stands on its own."

"We understand Russia's military relationship with the People's Republic of China, we address ourselves to that question in a responsible manner."

Russian AJT for India?

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, JUNE 6. Russia will help India set up an integrated air-defence system, build a new workshop for the IAF, launch the manufacture of new submarines and will probably sell its Advanced Jet Trainer (AJT) to India.

Russia would shortly compile on India's request a project report on a nation-wide integrated air-defence system, the Russian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Ilya Klebanov, said at the end of the first meeting of the Indo-Russian Inter-governmental Commission (IGC) for Military-Technical Cooperation, on Wednesday. Mr. Klebanov co-chaired the IGC session with the Defence and External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh.

A joint protocol signed by the two has augmented and defined in greater detail the long-term programme of defence cooperation till the year 2010, Mr. Klebanov said.

One of the highlights of the first IGC meeting was an agreement on the joint development and production of a new multi-role military transport plane on the basis of the Russian IL-204/214 passenger-cum-transport plane. The new aircraft will replace the Russian-built IL-32 transport planes in use with the IAF.

India and Russia are also planning to jointly develop and produce a fifth generation fighter plane. Mr. Klebanov said the IAF would shortly present its technical and operational requirements for the new fighter which would be integrated with the recently compiled Russian Air Force requirements. The new fighter may be inducted in the air forces of the two countries from 2008 to 2010, but the older SU-30s and MiG-29s would constitute the bulk of their hardware till around 2020.

Mr. Klebanov also revealed that Russia would sell India its new submarines and help set up their construction in India. Russian media reported that India might buy both diesel and nuclear submarines from Russia.

The IGC meeting decided to thrust joint R&D in high-tech areas of military technologies. Indian delegation sources said India was now interested not only in technology transfers, but also in jointly developing new defence technologies. A separate working group on R&D had been set up within the IGC on defence.

The Indian side has also secured Russia's agreement to streamline the supply of spareparts. Under a new dispensation Russia will be committed to life-long supply of spares or to setting up facilities for their production in India. The Russian side will also provide unified price lists for spares and components and give Indian specialists access to technical documentation of the hardware sold to India.

Russian delegation sources suggested India may ditch the British Hawk jet trainer in favour of the Russian MiG-AT. They said the Indian delegation had promised to review before the year-end the decision to buy the British-made AJT and again consider the Russian offer to sell the MiG-AT.

India is reportedly having second thoughts on the purchase of the Hawk, whose production in the U.K. is being phased out. The MiG manufacturers claim their AJT is the world's only fourth-generation fly-by-wire trainer which can be reprogrammed to simulate the flying characteristics of any modern jet fighter. However, Russia has so far built only two MiG-AT prototypes - one with French avionics, the other with all-Russian equipment. The next session of the IGC on defence will be held before the end of the year in India.

India, Russia sign defence

9.9.2019
SR accord

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA 7/6

MOSCOW, June 6. — India and Russia today signed a "ground breaking" accord on bilateral defence cooperation with Moscow offering New Delhi a blueprint of an advanced integrated air defence system and joint production of fifth generation fighter aircraft.

"Russia is to shortly provide the Indian government a blueprint of advanced integrated air defence system," Russian Vice-Premier Mr Ilya Klebanov told reporters after signing the pact with Mr Jaswant Singh here.

The advanced air defence system is expected to integrate Indian-developed Akash missiles and Rajendra radars with the elements of "Non-Strategic Missile Shield" offered by Russia to Europe and allies as an alternative to the space-based US NMD missile shield.

THE STATESMAN

Russia gets India on board for NMD debate

By Vladimir Radyuhin *NY*

MOSCOW, JUNE 5. In line with Moscow's new policy of engaging India in the ongoing debate on the controversial U.S. missile defence programme, an Indo-Russian working group on strategic stability will meet in Moscow later this month.

The decision was reached today at a working lunch hosted by the Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, for the visiting External Affairs and Defence Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, Indian delegation sources said.

Mr. Singh is in Moscow for a meeting of the Indo-Russian In-

ter-governmental Commission on Military-Technical cooperation in his capacity as Defence Minister, but his talks with the Russian Foreign Minister gained special importance in the context of the preparations for the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee's visit to Russia in November and in the light of New Delhi's recent support for the U.S. missile shield, strongly opposed by Russia.

The newly-established working group on strategic stability will meet for the first time in Moscow at the deputy foreign minister level within a week after the mid-June Russian-American summit in Slovenia which will be dom-

inated by the U.S. plan to build a national missile defence. Moscow hopes that once pinned down to detailed discussions of the destructive impact of the U.S. plan on global stability, New Delhi will find it hard to continue supporting the American initiative.

Continuing his balancing act on the missile defence controversy, Mr. Jaswant Singh today reiterated India's opposition to any unilateral abrogation of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. This stand is clearly at variance with India's earlier support to Washington's vision of global security based on renunciation of the ABM Treaty in favour of missile

defences. However, Indian delegation sources denied any differences in the Russian and Indian stands on the issue.

The sources said Mr. Singh's talks with his Russian counterpart had brought out the "commonality of views" on strategic stability. India was said to have backed a continued Russian-American dialogue on the issue and Moscow's proposal to set up two Russian-American working groups — one on the threat perception and the other on offensive and defensive weapons.

Breakthrough in defence ties: Page 13

India, Russia to set up defence price body

BY ARUN MOHANTY

Moscow, June 4: India and Russia will set up a body to deal with irregularities in Moscow's pricing policy for military hardware and spare parts, a major concern for India's armed forces, official sources said.

The two sides also moved closer to finalising lucrative deals for the purchase and production of Russian military hardware at a high-level defence meet currently being held here, visiting Indian defence secretary Yogendra Narain said.

Mr Narain said the two sides would set up a joint pricing committee to help in resolving problems arising from varying prices quoted by Russian firms for the same equipment. The top brass of the Indian Navy recently complained that they were forced to buy spares for Russian equipment at exorbitant rates as Moscow had not drawn up a clear pricing policy for hardware produced by its state-owned defence enterprises.

A high-level Indian delegation headed by defence and external affairs minister Jaswant Singh is at pre-



OFFICIAL VISIT: External affairs and defence minister Jaswant Singh meets Russian foreign minister Igor Ivanov prior to talks in Moscow on Monday. (AP)

sent in Moscow for the first meeting of the Indo-Russian joint commission on defence cooperation, established last year to speed up decision-making in defence ties.

India, which purchased Russian hardware worth \$10 billion over the past four years, is planning to increase the acquisition of weapon systems from Moscow, Mr Narain said. "But the thrust henceforth in defence cooperation will be licensed production and joint research and development," he said. The Indian team discussed the purchase of Russian airborne warning and control systems, the sophisticated Smerch artillery system, construction of Project 17 stealth frigates and the possibility of leasing nuclear-capable Tu-22M3 strategic bombers. A military-technical cooperation programme valid till 2010 currently governs defence ties between the two countries. The joint commission is co-chaired by Mr Singh and Russian deputy prime minister Ilya Kiebanov. Both sides are working on a model contract document to speed up the finalisation of defence contracts, Mr Narain said. (IANS)

THE INDIAN AGE

5 JUN 2000

518 US missile policy to figure in India-Russia talks

H BULA DEVI
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 1. - The Bush administration's new national security policy is likely to figure during Mr Jaswant Singh's visit to Moscow. Heading for Russia tomorrow, the minister will attend the Inter-Governmental Military-Technical Cooperation programme.

India, Russia and China have expressed their firm stands on National Missile Defence. While New Delhi has made clear, through its statements, that the new policy was welcome, Moscow argued that creation of such a system could destroy the existing system of strategic stability in the world.

While emphasising that missile defence will be only one component of the New Strategic Framework of USA, Mr Singh had gone on record saying if the spirit of dialogue, consultation and cooperation continued it would be good for the nation.

India welcomed the moving away from the hair-trigger alerts associated with the prevailing nuclear orthodoxies. It also believed there was a strategic and technological inevitability in stepping away from a world held hostage by the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction to a cooperative, defensive transition, underpinned by further cuts and a de-alert of nuclear forces.

Russia doesn't think on these lines. According to the First Deputy Chief of the General Staff, Mr Valery Manilov, the national anti-missile shield has three serious shortcomings.

First, it is costly and its construction will take huge means and resources. Second, it's exceptionally complex mechanism which makes it hard to guarantee 100-per cent protection from missile attacks. Third, the decision on creating a national missile shield would trigger a new outbreak of the arms race, as the existing parity between the offensive and the defensive weapons would be broken.

THE STATESMAN

2 JUN 2001

New defence deals with Russia in the pipeline

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, JUNE 1. New defence deals were in the pipeline between Russia and India in naval, land and air armaments, the Russian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Ilya Klebanov, said. Mr. Klebanov would co-chair the first session of the Indo-Russian Commission on Military-Technical Cooperation with the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, on Monday and Tuesday. The Russian Deputy Premier was quoted by the RIA Novosti news agency as saying that the two co-chairmen would sign a protocol outlining promising areas of military-technical cooperation.

5 dead, 150 missing after ferry sinks

DHAKA, JUNE 1. An overloaded ferry sank off the southeastern Bangladesh coast leaving at least 5 people dead and some 150 missing, the official BSS news agency reported today. The ferry carrying some 200 passengers was caught in bad weather. The BSS said that some of the passengers managed to swim to safety. — AFP

JUN 2 1991

India signs MoU with Russian regions on S&T

HD-19 2005

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, MAY 22. In a new effort to tap the scientific and technological potential of Russia's regions, the Department of Science and Technology has established direct ties with the scientific and industrial centres of Siberia and Bashkortastan.

The visiting Minister of State for Science and Technology, Mr. B.S. Rawat, this week signed memoranda of understanding (MoU) on bilateral cooperation in Novosibirsk, seat of the Siberian branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and Bashkortastan, a leading oil and gas producing region. Mr. Rawat became the first Indian Minister to visit the two regions. Even though India and Russia have a long history of wide-ranging and highly successful cooperation in science and technology under the Integrated Long-Term Programme (ILTP), India feels the need to reach out to Russia's regions sprawling across 11 time zones.

The MoUs will provide additional mechanisms for cooperation with Russian scientists in Siberia and Bashkortastan, with the emphasis placed on commercialisation of Russian high technologies, Mr. Rawat told *The Hindu*. Under the protocol signed in Novosibirsk, the two countries will thrust industrial applications in ongoing areas of cooperation with Siberian scientists - laser technology, catalysts, high-

purity materials, accelerators and heat physics. In Bashkortastan, the Indian delegation discussed expanding cooperation in hydrocarbons, aviation and composite material technologies. "In all places we traveled, we met with extremely friendly and enthusiastic response," Mr. Rawat said.

In the first spinoff of the visit, India may soon get cheap power generators, ecology-friendly buses and high-tech room heaters. In Bashkortastan, which apart from oil and gas is famous for its helicopter and aircraft engine plants, the Indian delegation reached agreement to set up a joint venture to convert jet engines for power production.

The technology will enable India to use both new and hundreds of old plane engines to provide electricity to remote localities. One such engine can produce 10 mw per hour, which can be increased to 18 mw/h if the heat released by jet engines is put through a reverse cycle to generate more electricity at a cost of just Rs. 3 per kw, or less than half the price charged by thermal stations.

The power plant can be modified to use whatever fuel is available locally - natural gas, kerosene or diesel fuel. Two pilot units are to be set up immediately under the Department of Science.

THE HINDU

23 MAY 2001

Russia, India sign MoU on scientific cooperation

MOSCOW: Russia and India have signed an MoU on scientific and technological cooperation to boost their management and planning, the Indian embassy here said.

The MoU was signed by V A Tolokonsky, governor of Novosibirsk region, known for its world-class defence, space and dual-purpose technologies and visiting Indian minister of state for science and technology B.S. Rawat on Monday.

"The MoU is to promote cooperation in the sphere of management and planning by means of exchange of information and experience of work, joint scientific research and industrial use of the research, exchange of technologies and cooperation in social and educational spheres," embassy sources said adding a joint working group is to be created for its implementation.

"During the meeting both sides discussed the importance of scientific relations and explored the prospects of commercialisation of technologies," they said.

The use of scientific capability for economic advancement was also discussed along with the progress of Integrated Long Term Programme (ILTP). (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

MAY 1991

More sensitive cargo in second Russian plane

Soumyajit Pattnaik
Bhubaneswar, May 12

ANOTHER RUSSIAN aircraft landed here at 11.45 a.m. on Saturday, the second in two days, with more "sensitive" cargo and a few scientists.

According to airport officials, the first plane, which landed on Friday, left for Russia on Saturday morning. The second transport aircraft (RA 76389, Dobronet) touched down at the old terminal area of the Bhubaneswar airport before noon. Vehicles of Defence Research and Development Organisation were spotted in the area.

A DRDO official said on condition of anonymity that 10 Russian scientists reached Chandipur nearly a week ago. Four more, who arrived today, will join them. The official said the second aircraft was carrying "missile components" and other "research equipment". The purpose of the second cargo, according to the official, was "joint experiments in missile testing".

Russian technological expertise will be used for testing a new

missile, the official said. Besides, the Russian experience in modernising missile test range facilities will also be discussed.

According to the official, while Prithvi, Nag and Akash missiles are being tested at Chandipur, Agni II in the last two cases is being tested from Wheelers Islands. There is a move to make Chandipur one of the state-of-the-art testing ranges, which can handle intermediate range and intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Nearly 20 more Russian scientists are expected to join their colleagues in Chandipur. Access to such sensitive Defence installations to the Russians, according to the officials, is part of a reciprocal arrangement.

But why use a civilian airport for such sensitive operations? The official said that the DRDO uses the airbase at Charbatia, 40 km from here, manned by Research and Analysis Wing for cargo shipment to Chandipur. But Charbatia Aviation Research Centre may not have the infrastructure to handle a big aircraft.

After the first Russian plane arrived on Friday, huge crates

were loaded on to waiting trucks that set off in the evening for Chandipur.

The Hindustan Times has learnt that the cargo included Russian-made OSA-AK surface-to-air missiles, to be tested at Chandipur on sea. This is the first time that India has let out any of its test range facilities to a foreign country.

"The Russians are taking advantage of the facility to test-fire the OSAs in Indian conditions," a senior Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) official confirmed. The DRDO manages the Chandipur test firing range.

The OSA-AK is a 15-km range anti-aircraft missile that has already been deployed in the IAF. It was showcased in the ongoing war exercises in the Thar desert.

"We are not involved in the tests, all we are doing is providing the facility," said a Ministry of Defence source. He added that the "special arrangement" has to be seen in the backdrop of India's "extremely close" Defence ties with Russia.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

13 MAY 2001

55-9 18/5 Mr Ivanov comes calling

WIDE ANGLE

SALMAN HAIDAR

THE visit of Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov was overshadowed by the rapid fire developments following President George W Bush's announcement of major changes in American nuclear policy.

The global import of the new US policy and the varied responses from different sides dominated public discussion, so much so that the bilateral aspects of the minister's visit rated relatively little mention.

However, Mr Ivanov's visit had plenty of significance in its own right, and the global nuclear doctrine was only one of the many issues that it brought into focus. Billed as preparatory to Prime Minister Vajpayee's November visit to Russia, it was an important occasion in itself and gave an opportunity to test and keep in good order the Indo-Russian relationship.

These two countries have declared a strategic partnership between themselves, and Mr Ivanov may well have sought to know how this was being affected by the blossoming Indo-US ties.

Divergences on nuclear matters between India and Russia were obvious enough before Mr Ivanov's arrival. Mr Bush's speech on his new policy received a welcome in India that brought gratified surprise to America and quizzical wonderment elsewhere.

We seemed to be out of step with the general response among America's allies and friends, including our strategic partner Russia, and this could have opened a serious breach between India and Russia.

Russia sees the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty of 1972 as the cornerstone of the global nuclear architecture, and it is sensitive to the many recent suggestions in America that this treaty was now not relevant and could be set aside.

At stake for Russia is not its nuclear security alone but also its right to be part of the consultative procedure on global nuclear issues.

Its military and nuclear capacity may have been reduced but it is still massive and has to be taken into proper account.

The suggestion of unilateralism in the new American presentation, as opposed to the consultative processes established over decades of hard bilateral

bargaining, thus looks like a setback to Moscow.

Still, Russia has reacted with restraint, accepting the essential thrust of the new policy and awaiting further details before coming out with a full response. In India, Mr Ivanov's discussions have

partnership concept would entail. The recent drawing closer of Russia and China merits attention in this context.

There may be some potential for these two and India to take a common stand on issues where they see eye to eye and have a different view from Washington.



Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov answers questions with his Indian counterpart Jaswant Singh during a press conference in New Delhi last Friday.
— API/PTI

had the effect of affirming the common ground between the two on this important issue.

What looked at one stage like a considerable divergence between them has been successfully bridged. It remains to the Indian establishment to persuade its own public about what many regard as its hasty and premature reaction to the US announcement.

This still leaves one to wonder about the nature of the strategic partnership between the two countries. There does not seem to be anything like the communication and discussion between them on crucial issues that the

This has nothing to do with an aspiration to revive any sort of group or bloc politics, yet it does not preclude their making common cause where their interests so dictate.

However, there is no current sign of a lessening of the distance between two of the three, India and China. For one thing, while relations between India and America are flourishing, those between America and China are in recession.

Looking at their past experience, some Chinese observers feel that the first six months with a new US administration are always tricky for them! Maybe this time, too, matters will improve before

long, but whether they do or not, India still has to grapple with its old dilemma of how to deal with China.

The two can be partners in many fields, to their mutual benefit. A trouble-free relationship between them, which would only become possible if they can sort out their border and other problems, would have a profound impact on the whole of Asia.

The way to strengthened tripartite understanding would be opened, and something to this effect may well have figured in Mr Ivanov's discussions.

Beyond that, he would, of course, have spoken of our common anxieties about the Taliban regime of Afghanistan and the need for coordinated international effort to handle its adverse consequences. This is an important and necessary matter for a joint approach by the two countries.

The military ties between the two do not seem to have come under review during the Ivanov visit. Here, all seems to be proceeding as planned.

Russia is India's chief armourer and is likely to remain so, even though diversification of arms supplies is being undertaken. And, of course, India is a very important market for Russian arms.

Similarly, cooperation in space and in peaceful uses of nuclear energy, both subjects with security overtones, proceeds apace.

The Kudankolam atomic power project is especially notable as Russia has gone ahead with it despite pressures from Western countries to impose sanctions on nuclear technology transfer to India.

The reports following Mr Ivanov's visit indicate that the structure of the bilateral relationship remains strong. It is also to be seen that the bandwagon is at present rolling strongly towards the USA.

While nothing is directed against our traditional association with Russia, it could well be affected by the current developments.

Both sides, therefore, have work to do to keep their relationship in good repair.

(The author is a former Foreign Secretary.)

THE STATESMAN

13 MAY 2001

Russian missiles on hush-hush flight to Chandipur

Soumyajit Pattnaik & Vishal Thapar
Bhubaneswar/New Delhi, May 11

AT 1:30 this afternoon, a Russian Air Force Il-76 aircraft lumbered into the old terminal bay of Bhubaneswar airport. It had flown directly from a Russian air base. Its mission was kept secret. And, amid tight security, it started offloading its "sensitive" cargo. Huge crates were then loaded on to trucks that set off in the

evening for Chandipur: site of India's interim missile test range. With that, began a new chapter in the history of Indo-Russian military cooperation. It's just that not many people knew this was happening—not even the Orissa Police that was providing security to the cargo.

What was the Russian transport aircraft carrying? The *Hindustan Times* has learnt that its cargo included Russian-made OSA-AK surface-to-air missiles.

to be tested at Chandipur-on-sea. This is the first time that India has let out any of its test range facilities to a foreign country.

"The Russians are taking advantage of the facility to test fire the OSAs in Indian conditions," said a senior official of the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO), which manages the test-firing range. The OSA has already been deployed in the Indian Air Force. It was showcased in the ongoing



war exercises in the Thar desert. Defence source. He clarified that the Russians were not being charged any fee for the use of the Chandipur test-firing range. He

said the "special arrangement" has must be seen against the backdrop of India's "extremely close" defence ties with Russia. Seventy per cent of India's hardware is of Russian origin.

According to airport officials, a "scientific vehicle" was among the cargo carried by the Il 76. Sources said another military aircraft carrying several Russian scientists and defence personnel was also scheduled to arrive in Bhubaneswar. This aircraft's

departure from Russia, however, has been delayed. The scientists will camp in Chandipur.

Defence officials say the Russian deployment in Chandipur will not be "permanent" and a modernisation programme is underway there. After the successful testing of the Agni II intermediate ballistic missile, an upgrade of the missile firing range was overdue, to accommodate India's ambitious integrated guided missile development programme.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

12 MAY 2001

Ivanov, Brajesh discuss Afghan developments

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, MAY 5. As part of a review of their bilateral security cooperation, India and Russia today discussed the unfolding developments in Afghanistan and their implications for regional security.

The visiting Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, today met the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister and the National Security Adviser, Mr. Brajesh Mishra.

Renewed fighting in Afghanistan and growing concerns about the spill over of the Afghan conflict into Central Asia figured in the talks between Mr. Mishra and the Russian Foreign Minister.

The discussion between the two centred on improving cooperation between the two national security establishments. There are agreements already in place for interaction between the Indian and Russian national security councils.

India and Russia have recently sponsored a tougher U.N. sanctions against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. New Delhi and Moscow also support the Northern Alliance, led by commander, Mr. Ahmad Shah Masood, which is resisting the attempts by the Taliban to gain total control over



The Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation, Mr. Igor Ivanov, calling on the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, at Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi, on Saturday. — Photo: V.V. Krishnan

Afghanistan. Mr. Ivanov's talks yesterday with the foreign office got inevitably focused on the question of the latest U.S. proposals for building a national missile defence system, and an exchange of Indian and Russian views on their long-term implications.

But his discussions with Mr.

Mishra today were centred on bilateral security cooperation. The two sides have joint working groups in place to discuss cooperation in countering terrorism and in promoting regional stability.

Mr. Ivanov, who concluded his visit today, also called on the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan.

THE HINDU

5 MAY 2001

OUR APPROACHES COINCIDE: IVANOV

Indian support for NMD not at Russia's cost

HD-1
5/5

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI MAY 4. Pressing ahead with its latest diplomatic rope trick, India today dispelled apprehensions that its strong support for the National Missile Defence plan may undermine its traditional partnership with Russia. The Government, which stunned the world with its enthusiastic welcome to the U.S. proposals for nuclear reductions and missile defences earlier this week, today reassured the visiting Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, that India remained empathetic to Moscow's security concerns.

At a joint press conference this evening with Mr. Ivanov, the Defence and External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, fully backed the Russian position on the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty that restricts the development of missile defences. Pointing to the importance of the ABM treaty between Russia and America, Mr. Singh declared that it "should not be abrogated unilaterally". He also welcomed the Bush administration's decision "to engage Russia in a dialogue" on missile defences.

Fully endorsing the views of Mr. Singh on the ABM treaty, Mr. Ivanov said the approaches of India and Russia on missile defences "mostly coincide". The Indian and Russian Foreign Ministers will now meet every year as part of new mechanism for consultations on international security. Earlier in the day, Mr. Ivanov held delegation-level talks with Mr. Singh.

Russia is not opposed to the idea of NMD per se; it has offered its own plans for building missile defences to the Europeans. Russia, however, insists that any transition towards a new nuclear order must be through a negotiated agreement between Moscow and Washington.

At the end of a 45-minute meeting between Mr. Ivanov and the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, this morning, the two sides agreed that any modification of the ABM treaty between Russia and America should be through "mutual consultations and understanding".

At the press conference, Mr. Ivanov did not criticise the latest plans by the U.S. to build missile defences. He reiterated Russia's acceptance of the offer by the U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, for consultations on the subject. He said Russia was looking forward to consultations with the U.S. at the expert level, and that Moscow has specific proposals to offer on nuclear reductions and missile defences to the American side.

Mr. Ivanov reiterated that Russia was prepared for deep cuts in nuclear arsenals and that its approach was "in tune with the views" of the Bush Administration. One of the key reasons for India's support to



The Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, calling on the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, in New Delhi on Friday. — Photo: V.Sudershan

NMD has been the prospect of significant reductions in world's nuclear arsenals.

In reaching out to the Russians on the NMD, Mr. Bush had proposed talks and cooperation with Moscow in building a new global security order. This has eased Russian fears about American unilateralism and created a very different context for the international debate on the NMD than we have seen until recently.

Mr. Ivanov, here on a three-day visit, handed over a letter from the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, underscoring the importance of the strategic partnership between the two countries. The principal objective of the visit was to prepare for Mr. Vajpayee's trip to Moscow later this year. Conveying his greetings to the Russian President, Mr. Vajpayee said he was "looking forward eagerly" to his Moscow visit.

The two sides also discussed the full range of bilateral issues and welcomed the ongoing cooperation in countering terrorism. They also reviewed the latest situation in Afghanistan, where New Delhi and Moscow have converging interests. Notes were exchanged on their recent positive interaction with the Iranian leadership.

Mr. Ivanov called on the Finance Minister, Mr. Yashwant Sinha, who heads the joint economic commission between the two countries. He also met the National Security Adviser, Mr. Brajesh Mishra. After calling on the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, tomorrow, Mr. Ivanov heads home.

THE HINDU

5 MAY 2001

Vajpayee will visit Moscow in November

USA, Russia should discuss NMD: India

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 4. — India today said it was not against the American missile defence programme (National Missile Defence) but merely wanted discussions between the USA and Russia before any decisions were taken.

This appeared to be the position after a joint press conference by the Indian external affairs minister, Mr Jaswant Singh, and his Russian counterpart, Mr Igor Ivanov, this evening.

During the briefing, Mr Singh said that "discussions must take place if any amendment is envisaged in the ABM treaty." Significantly, he did not say India was opposed to the USA's breaking the treaty.

He also welcomed the other decision by President George W Bush about cuts in nuclear weapons arsenals of both countries. "Between mutually agreed decisions and mutually assured destruction, the former is preferable," he said.

The Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972, forbids, as it says, anti missile missiles as it would lead to more weapons.

This is the treaty Mr Bush's NMD may be violating. Even yesterday, India appeared to support the NMD system and today only spoke of discussions before amendments.

For all the apparent differences between the two countries on the issue, they made it clear they were closer than ever. Mr Vajpayee will be visiting Moscow in first week of November and India and Russia seem to agree on important issues like the situation in Afghanistan and the need to fight terrorism.

There is also an effort to improve trade and economic relations. And also there is a closeness on scientific issues, including the supply of Russian cryogenic engines for India's space programme.

Speaking on the NMD, Mr Ivanov downplayed it, saying that President George W Bush saw it as a test and will send experts for consultations to Russia. He said a more specific Russian position would emerge after consultations with the USA.

Mr Ivanov made it clear that Russia would not just listen, it

also had a position. "We have something to say... Mr (Vladimir) Putin, (the Russian President) has a position regarding strategic offensive weapons and missile defence," he said.

He added that Russia was ready to cut nuclear arsenals to 1,500 warheads on both sides. Probably referring to the ABM treaty, he said there was little point in destroying what was working well.

The two foreign ministers ruled out any creation of a bloc comprising Russia, China and India. The two ministers made it clear that they were working on Afghanistan and a joint working group would discuss the issue soon.

Today, Mr Ivanov met Mr Vajpayee, held talks with him and Mr Singh and will meet the President, Mr KR Narayanan, tomorrow.

He presented the Prime Minister with a document from Mr Putin that spoke of the strong relationship between the two countries and called for specific steps to increase cooperation.

■ Photograph on page 8

THE STATESMAN

- 5 MAY 2001

Igor Ivanov's Delhi visit: Engaging a new India

JYOTI MALHOTRA

A WHIRLWIND of international engagement is on the cards. Brand new proposals to make up a brave, new world are on the anvil. Struggling to make up for lost time (the last four months), an aeon in international politics, US President George Bush is seeking to junk the old nuclear rules the world once lived by. Russia and China have been put on notice, even as India, poor but ambitious, has at first glance chosen to throw in its lot with the proposal unleashed two days ago by Washington.

Within these fluid parameters, Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov has arrived in New Delhi. While the bilateral agenda packs in interesting, new ways on how to cope with the terrorism emanating from Afghanistan — both in Kashmir and Chechnya — Ivanov is sure to also find out the government over the Bush administration's determination to build new weapons in space.

The significance of Ivanov's visit also lies in its timing. Ivanov comes to New Delhi having met the China's Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan — Beijing and Moscow will sign a Friendship Treaty in July — and soon after his return, travels to Washington to meet his counterpart, Colin Powell on May 18. Interestingly enough, Foreign Secretary Chokila Iyer will be in Washington over May 17-18 for New Delhi's first foreign office consultations with the Bush administration.

Ivanov is sure to want to get a sense of the lay of the land in New Delhi, which, especially after the unusual meeting between Bush and Jaswant Singh last month, seems inclined in favour of Washington. Ideologically attuned to the free market, history has helped the BJP to mend its post-Pokharan fences with the US. In the name

of pragmatism, New Delhi has progressively found it suitable to align its mind with Washington.

It is this major change in India at the beginning of the new century that Ivanov will be confronted with. The Indian middle class — just like the Russian middle class — is simply far more interested in the West (read America) than in any other part of the world. With Indian business unable to strike a balance between entrepreneurship and the mafia, unlike its Western

Suppliers Group guidelines because of its relationship with a non-NPT signatory country like India, have been systematically ignored by Moscow. India's GSLV programme, meanwhile, has a large number of Russian components and ISRO officials say that Moscow is now willing to sell technology for other parts of its programme.

And yet, if the relationship must be reinvented, both sides must be willing to look beyond today's "buyer-seller" approach. In the

Meanwhile, the ~~delhi~~ splash with a pragmatic proposal made by President Bush, only a couple of days ago, a new-age 'Star Wars' defence of America and the free world, called the National Missile Defence.

New Delhi's enthusiastic response, on the eve of Ivanov's visit, in itself constitutes a major departure from its traditional, cautious approach over the militarisation of space — leading some to believe that it is moving farther away from Russia than ever.

But that may be a simplistic position. In fact, Moscow is believed not to be particularly averse to the new changes in the world's security architecture. Some say that its very public opposition to Bush's proposal in recent months has been made with an eye to enhancing its own leverage, especially when the time comes to negotiate with the US.

Security analysts here speculate that Russia's price for withdrawing opposition to the US project may be the Western affirmation of Moscow's influence over the territory that once constituted the former USSR. In effect, that would mean a check on the "insidious expansion" of NATO eastwards — something Russia has demanded for at least 8 years and NATO systematically rejected.

Effectively, that would mean that Bush's reinvigorated space weapons are really targeted at China. Despite the fact that Beijing aspires to be a major power in this century, security theologians insist that China just doesn't have the capability to take on the US. That a missile race would be an indecent drain on Beijing's exchequer, taking away from its social commitments elsewhere.

It is in this changing world that Igor Ivanov, the foreign minister of Russia, comes to town.

There is too much at stake in the Indo-Russian ties for it to be simply discarded like an old sock in last year's closet. Seventy per cent of India's air, naval and army equipment is still sourced from Russia. An MOU signed during President Putin's visit includes the supply of nuclear fuel for Tarapur nuclear plant

wake of posting a 6 per cent GDP growth last year, Moscow has been desperate to reassure its exhausted population by stabilising key economic indicators.

More significantly, for the first time since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Moscow is beginning to show promise about returning to the international stage. From promising military and nuclear supplies to old friends like Iran and North Korea, to lending a warm ear to Egypt's Hosni Mubarak last week, to receiving China's Jiang Zemin in July — to sign the Friendship Treaty — Putin is getting accustomed to the feel of what it could be like to be a big power.

counterparts who make roaring profits in Russia, the future seems pretty pessimistic even to an incurable optimist.

And yet, there is too much at stake in the old Indo-Russian relationship for it to be simply discarded like an old sock in last year's closet. Seventy per cent of India's air, naval and army equipment is still sourced from Russia. A memorandum of understanding on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, signed during President Putin's trip last October, includes the supply of nuclear fuel for the Tarapur nuclear plant in the teeth of American opposition; while Western accusations about Russia violating the Nuclear

INDIAN EXPRESS

5 MAY 2001

Bush N-strategy weighs on India-Russia talks

Cong questions endorsement



unilateral cuts in its nuclear arsenal conveyed to Washington yesterday has added a new aspect to the Indo-Russian relationship. This was quite in contrast to Moscow's initial response.

Russia, along with its partners in the Shanghai Five grouping (which includes China) has warned the US that it was seeking to undermine the foundations of the international order.

Even before Ivanov could land here, Moscow sent an invitation to Singh for another round of talks in the immediate future.

However, it is not certain whether the Russians want it for a focused dialogue on this issue alone. The next few weeks are going to see some serious negotiations on the new US strategy.

New Delhi, now increasingly viewed as a friendly state by Washington, is one of the countries where President Bush would be sending his Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage next week. Armitage is likely to discuss with India the possibility of a new framework

for security and stability. The external affairs spokesman said the "qualified endorsement" given by India to the US shift in strategy will have no impact on the close and time-tested relationship between India and Russia. "We have a continuous dialogue with Russia over co-operation in defence, science, technology and economic matters."

Foreign secy to visit US

INDIA'S FOREIGN secretary, Chokila Iyer, has been invited to Washington later this month for talks with her newly appointed counterpart, under secretary of State, Richard Haass. Haass, the former head of the Washington think-tank, Brookings Institute, is known to be keenly interested in India. The South Asia section of Brookings had got a boost under him.

HTC, New Delhi

HT Correspondent New Delhi, May 3

THE CONGRESS has described the Vajpayee Government's endorsement of US President George Bush's new nuclear missile doctrine as "thoughtlessly premature" and "dangerously immature".

Questioning the "tearing hurry" with which External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh has hailed Bush's doctrine, CWC member and head of the party's Foreign Affairs Department Natwar Singh said almost every country, including the US' closest allies, had expressed serious reservations on these proposals.

"Even within the US, Bush's doctrine has been attacked on economic and technological considerations. This reaction does not serve India's interests in any way," he said.

Singh said his party was unable to understand why India alone should give a certificate of approval to Bush's new nuclear policies without undertaking a detailed study.

Lamenting that the Government did not deem it necessary to take the Opposition leaders' into confidence, Singh asked, "Has the National Security Advisory Board been consulted while formulating India's response?"

He said there was no need for the External Affairs Minister to welcome Bush's statement while talking over the phone to US National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice.

"But the Minister by hailing the nuclear doctrine has already surrendered whatever manoeuvring India could do on the issue. He could have merely said that India would give its considered response when the US Deputy

Secretary of State Richard Armitage would arrive in Delhi on May 10," Singh maintained.

He cautioned that the acceptance of Bush's package was a decisive paradigm shift in nuclear policy and broke the international consensus that had existed for decades.

In response to a query, he said India was a champion of the non-aligned movement and not anybody's satellite state. "But this unilateral welcome of Bush's policies has driven India straight to one camp."

He said the Congress would make a deeper study of the Bush package in all its ramifications. "There are some parts of the package that may appear reasonable like the unilateral cut in the number of nuclear warheads. But a package comes as a whole and has to be judged in its totality," Singh argued.

THE INDUSTRIAL...

4 MAY 2001

India for consultative approach on doctrine

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, MAY 3. The Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, arrived here this evening amidst signals that both Russia and India may be ready to do business with the U.S. on the controversial national missile defence (NMD) programme.

India and Russia have both responded positively to the latest proposals by the U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, to build defences against missiles and cut nuclear arsenals.

India has welcomed many elements of the Bush proposals; and Russia appears to have shed many of its earlier reservations on the NMD. Russia is pleased to note that Mr. Bush has avoided the unilateralist temptation and is prepared to take Russia on board the project to develop missile defences.

In his comments in Moscow on Wednesday, Mr. Ivanov welcomed the U.S. offer to work with Russia on the NMD and global security. He pointed out that Russia's ideas on deep cuts in nuclear arsenals were "in harmony with the approach of the present U.S. administration".

Mr. Bush's conversation with the Russian leader, Mr. Vladimir Putin, on the eve of his speech and his positive references to Russia appear to have dramatically altered Moscow's tone on missile defences.

Until now, Russia has been one of the strident critics of the U.S. plans for the NMD. But it was not opposed to the idea of NMD it-

a possible, unilateral approach by the U.S. Moscow insists that any change in the global nuclear system must be negotiated between itself and Washington, in partic-

ular on the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

Mr. Bush's effusive references to Russia in his speech and his readiness to address the core Russian concerns on the NMD, may have significantly altered the context of the international debate on the NMD.

Part of India's enthusiastic welcome to the Bush proposals appears to be based on the fact that Russia and U.S. have begun to finesse their differences on the NMD. The Indian Government, in particular, strongly supported the U.S. decision to adopt a consultative approach on the NMD and propose cooperative solutions.

India may now be facing the happy prospects of a convergence of its interests on the NMD with Russia and U.S.. Their decisions to engage each other on the NMD has made it feasible for India to come out strongly in support of the proposed "cooperative transition" to the world of defences.

Mr. Ivanov will have substantive consultations with the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, tomorrow. He is also calling on the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee.

Besides NMD, Mr. Ivanov will discuss the full gamut of bilateral relations. He will also discuss unfolding developments in Afghanistan, where New Delhi and Moscow have convergent political interests. He leaves for home on Saturday.



The Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, being received by the Foreign Secretary, Ms. Chokila Iyer, at the Indira Gandhi International Airport, in New Delhi on Thursday. — PTI

THE HINDU

4 MAY 2001

India, Russia defence ties on track

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, MAY 2. There are many international issues of interest to Russia on which Mr. Igor Ivanov, Russian Foreign Minister, would want a clarification from India, during his visit to Delhi on May 4 and 5. Of particular interest to him would be the effect Delhi's new-found warmth in its ties with Washington would have on Moscow.

Russia has little to worry about defence cooperation with India. Delhi is understood to have assured Moscow that defence ties between the two countries are firmly on track and unaffected by the Tehelka scandal. The first meeting of the Indo-Russian Joint Commission on Military-Technical Cooperation, set up last year, is to take place in Moscow shortly.

But some issues have assumed relevance in the wake of the External Affairs Minister and Defence Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh's talks in Washington. One such is the U.S. decision to walk out of the 1972 treaty on anti-ballistic missile defences and build a national missile shield. In an interview to *The Hindu*, on the eve of Mr. Ivanov's departure, Mr. Alexander Yakovenko, chief spokesman for the Russian Foreign Ministry, hailed India as "one of the first countries" to support Russia's stand in defence of the ABM treaty. Mr. Ivanov would seek reiteration of that support.

Whether India's recent rapprochement with the U.S. will affect its readiness to take a common stand on issues of shared concern with Russia and China, both of which have problems with the new adminis-

tration in Washington, will be another issue. Russia has been emphasising the need for trilateral cooperation with India and China, while ruling out a formal axis. According to Mr. Yakovenko, "there is objective opportunity for certain coordination by the three nations of their efforts on key foreign policy issues." China has also recently warmed up to the idea. It has given a green signal for a trilateral meeting of scholars in Moscow in September, while its Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, told reporters in Moscow during the weekend that China favoured a "step-by-step, planned, gradual" movement towards trilateral cooperation. The anti-Taliban agenda is bound to become the main highlight of the Indo-Russian talks in Delhi, with both sides fearing the spread of terrorism and religious extremism in the region. What Mr. Ivanov may want to hear is how far India is prepared to go with Russia and Iran in aiding the opposition forces in Afghanistan.

Mr. Ivanov's visit opens a busy programme of high-level bilateral exchanges to prepare an Indo-Russian summit in Moscow later this year. In the six months or so before the Prime Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee's State visit to Russia, senior officials will travel to each other's country every month or more often, according to diplomatic sources here. Of special interest will be Mr. Jaswant Singh's visit to Moscow later this month. As co-chairman of the Joint Commission for Defence Cooperation, Mr. Singh will interact with Russia's new Defence Minister, Mr. Sergei Ivanov. Their discussions are likely to extend far beyond the defence agenda as both have much broader responsibilities in their Governments.

THE HINDU

- 3 MAY 2001

India, Russia to discuss NMD

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, APRIL 30. India will have a major opportunity this week to clarify its position on a range of issues relating to the controversial American programme to build national missile defences (NMD).

In its response to new American ideas on the NMD as well as in talks with the visiting Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, the Government might want to dispel any misperceptions of India's position on the missile defence question.

Barely 48 hours after the United States President, Mr. George W. Bush, announces tomorrow some new and probably divisive American ideas on the NMD, Mr. Ivanov will arrive here for consultations with the Indian leadership.

The speech by the U.S. President at the National Defence University in Washington tomorrow could mark a significant departure from the traditional framework that defined nuclear relations among the major powers over the last many decades.

Russia, which has been very critical of Mr. Bush's plans for NMD will be expected to come up with a quick response to the American proposals. Moscow's concerns on the NMD are likely to figure prominently in Mr. Ivanov's talks in New Delhi at the end of the week.

There have been indications

HO-1A that Moscow might be apprehensive that New Delhi, in its eagerness to develop close ties with the Bush Administration, may be softening its traditional opposition to the NMD.

During his visit earlier this month to the United States, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, did not join the chorus of international criticism of the NMD. The Indian reserve appears to be part of a careful reassessment within the Government on the future of missile defences and its impact on global security environment.

Tomorrow, Mr. Bush may announce the U.S. intention to withdraw from an agreement with the Russians that acts as a major legal constraint against the development of missile defences.

Russia is opposed to the American plans to tear up the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, signed in 1972 by Washington and Moscow. But it has not rejected the concept of missile defences and has come up with its own proposals on NMD.

In a conciliatory gesture to the Russians, Mr. Bush may offer to negotiate with Russia a different future for international arms control, minus the ABM Treaty in the present form.

The U.S. President may also offer significant unilateral American measures to reduce the nuclear danger. This may involve steep cuts in the size of the U.S. nuclear arsenal as well as a reduc-

tion of the state of alertness.

It is not clear whether the American gestures will be enough to placate the Russians; but there is no doubt that a "paradigm shift" in the thinking about nuclear weapons is about to be unveiled.

From what little New Delhi has said about missile defence, it would be safe to assume that India would strongly welcome any sharp cuts in the nuclear arsenals of the big powers. It would, however, want the unilateral cuts to be really deep and made irreversible through treaty arrangements.

India has been very supportive of the ideas for "de-alerting" nuclear arsenals, and any American move in that direction is likely to be seen here as the first step towards reducing the temptations for early use of nuclear weapons.

India, unlike Russia, is not a signatory to the ABM treaty and may not shed too many tears at its demise. But India would want to see the transition away from the ABM regime coming through negotiations between Washington and Moscow rather than by unilateral actions of the United States.

Finally, India might want to steer the international debate on missile defences towards the idea of political and technological cooperation among democratic states to promote peace and stability and counter the forces of destabilisation and extremism.

THE HINDU

1 MAY 2001

HID-1A

2/A

Indian cultural centre opens in Russia

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, APRIL 1. The world's coldest region, Yakutia has become the seventh Russian province to have an Indian cultural centre.

The centre, set up in the region's capital Yakutsk, was inaugurated last week by the Indian Ambassador to Russia, Mr. S.K. Lambah. It is housed in the local State University and will be headed by its rector, Mr. A.N. Alexeyev, in what is seen as a sign of importance Yakutia's authorities attach to contacts with India. Among its many activities, the centre will be organising master classes in yoga and classical Indian dance.

Yakutia, with a record winter temperature of minus 70 centigrade, has strategic importance for India as Russia's main producer of rough diamonds. Earlier this year, India signed its first deal for the import of \$ 4.5-million worth of uncut diamonds from Russia. A joint venture in diamond cutting, Choron Diamonds, has been operating in Yakutsk for the past several years.

The centre is the fifth to have been set up over the past year as part of a concerted drive launched by Mr. Lambah to promote direct ties with the different regions in Russia. Over the past two years, he has visited more than 25 key regions to tap their vast potential for bilateral trade. With Russia stretching across 11 times zones from west to east, regions often find it more advantageous to trade with foreign countries than with each other.

During the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin's visit to India last year, the two countries set up a working group on regional cooperation under the inter-governmental joint commission and signed a bilateral agreement on regional cooperation, the first such accord either side has with any foreign country.

The agreement allows the States in India and Russian regions to directly enter into various economic, cultural, scientific and educational ventures within the framework of their constitutional powers. Oil and natural gas,

chemicals, fertilisers, auto-parts, small-scale industries and diamond processing have been identified as priority areas for direct inter-regional cooperation.

Indo-Bangla meet on border coordination concludes

NEW DELHI, APRIL 1. The Indo-Bangladesh meet on border coordination concluded here today with both sides agreeing to resolve all bilateral issues amicably.

After signing the joint record of discussion, Mr. Gurbachan Jagat, Director, Border Security Force, said all decisions taken during the meeting would be implemented in letter and spirit and that sincere efforts would be made to remove all irritants.

Maj.Gen. A.L.M. Fazlur Rahman, Director-General, Bangladesh Rifles, said it was his firm conviction that all issues could be resolved through deliberation and discussion at the appropriate level. — PTI

THE HINDU

- 2 APR 2001

Russia's n-tech export curbs not to hit India

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, FEB. 23. Russia is going to tighten export control over missile and nuclear technologies, but this will not affect its cooperation with India.

The National Security Council on Thursday called for additional measures to prevent illegal export of sensitive technologies, such as more severe punishment of offenders and mandatory Government screening of export contracts.

The meeting was closed to media, but in televised opening remarks the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, for the first time admitted that some Russian agencies may have violated export restrictions. He said he had "questions" to some agencies over defence technology exports, above all to the Atomic Ministry, as well as to Rosaviaprom, which oversees aviation and space industry, and some student training and research institutes.

However, a senior National Security Council official said

the proposed tightening of export control will not affect Russian nuclear supplies to India despite objections from the United States.

"We did our best to reassure our Indian colleagues that we saw no reason for halting nuclear fuel supplies: it is an absolutely clean contract as regards our international obligations," Mr. Nikolai Uspensky, head of the international security department of the National Security Council, said in an interview. He was referring to this week's Indo-Russian Security Council consultations in Moscow.

The meeting was called a few days after the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, labelled Russia as an "active proliferator" of missile and nuclear technologies to such countries as Iran, Iraq and India. However, Russia has brushed off the charges as groundless. "We thoroughly verify all American complaints but none of them has so far

been substantiated," said Mr. Oleg Chernov, deputy chief of the Russian Security Council.

Mr. Putin acknowledged that proliferation of mass annihilation weapons and delivery means was "one of the main international threats" today as a number of countries were "trying to get access to technologies of building their own nuclear weapons and missiles".

At the same time the Russian leader stressed that export controls "must become an instrument for protecting Russia's economic interests".

Russia claims to have one of the world's most secure export control systems and by further tightening controls Moscow wants to cut the ground from under Western accusations that it is a source of illegal nuclear and missile technology exports.

"Russia is willing to conduct a concrete dialogue with NATO and the Council of Europe about non-proliferation of mass destruction weapons," Mr. Putin, said.

THE HINDU

24 FEB 2001

Russian security chief lauds ties with India

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, FEB. 21. The Secretary of Russian Security Council, Mr. Sergei Ivanov, today praised relations between India and Russia as "not just strategic, but sincere and open-minded partnership, based on traditional friendship and mutual trust between the two peoples and states".

"Russia and India share a common understanding of the need to promote a just and secure world order that can create conditions for economic, scientific and technological progress in the interests of all countries and peoples without exception," Mr. Ivanov, told Indian National Security Council (NSC) officials.

The NSC Joint Secretaries, Mr. Arvind Gupta, and Mr. S. D. Pradhan, met Mr. Ivanov at the end of

no change in Pakistan's position in the wake of Security Council Resolution 1333 calling for a ban on arms supplies to the Taliban, diplomatic sources said. Both sides welcomed Security Council consultations as providing a much-needed forum for discussing inter-agency issues. The next NSC consultations will be held in Delhi.

Terrorism, a common threat

The deputy chief of the Russian Security Council, Mr. Oleg Chernov, said on Monday that terrorism posed a threat both to Russia and India.

"Terrorism has emerged as one of the most pressing problems of today, a serious destabilising factor, not only in separate countries and regions, but in the world as a whole," Mr. Chernov said at the Indo-Russian consultations on security issues and terrorism.

Mr. Chernov described Taliban-controlled Afghanistan as "a base of international terrorism", which is attempting to expand into Central Asia.

"All this dictates a pressing need for close cooperation between Russia and India in opposing terrorism," Mr. Chernov said.

Diplomatic sources said Security Council consultations provided a useful forum for discussion of issues not covered by existing mechanisms of bilateral interaction.

THE HINDU

22 FEB 2001

US asks Russia to cancel N-fuel supply to India

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, February 17

THE US has taken strong exception to Russia's shipment of nuclear fuel to India's Tarapur power reactors and has demanded its cancellation as the supply is in "violation" of Moscow's non-proliferation commitments.

In a strongly-worded statement on Friday, the State Department spoke of Russia's "disregard" of its commitments as member of the Nuclear Suppliers Group and asked it to "live up to its non-proliferation obligations". The statement, issued by deputy spokesman Philip T. Reeker, stuck to the US line that

India does not have the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards on all its nuclear facilities "and is indeed pursuing a nuclear weapons programme".

The tenor of the statement, coming close on the heels of some uncharitable remarks about India by Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, appeared to put a question mark on the Bush administration's professed commitment to sustain Indo-US ties on a high note.

Mr Rumsfeld, participating in a TV programme, had virtually clubbed India with the likes of Iran and North Korea while targeting "proliferator" Russia for helping these countries with technologies of

destruction.

The American stand on shipment of low enriched uranium fuel for Tarapur is of direct concern to India. The US, which helped build the reactor in the 1960s, subsequently went back on its fuel supply commitment by insisting on "full-scope safeguards" for all Indian nuclear facilities.

Ever since, Washington has kept up its opposition to help coming India's way from any third country on this score. The Tarapur fuel issue has continued to stick out like a sore thumb while Indo-US relations in other areas have steadily warmed up.

In his statement, expressing "deep regret" over Russia's shipment of nuclear fuel to

India, Mr Reeker said the US was joining other nuclear suppliers in calling upon Moscow "to cancel this supply arrangement and live up to its non-proliferation obligations".

As a member of the 39-nation Nuclear Suppliers Group, Russia is committed not to engage in nuclear cooperation with any country that does not have comprehensive IAEA safeguards on all its nuclear facilities, Mr Reeker said.

While conceding that Tarapur reactors are under IAEA safeguards, he sought to emphasise that "India does not have such safeguards on all its facilities and is indeed pursuing a nuclear weapons program".

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

18 FEB 2001

Russian deputy PM, on Day 1, signs aviation safety compact

Crucial defence talks today

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

9/2/07
Ajay Mishra. *AA-3*

New Delhi, Feb. 14: India and Russia on Wednesday signed an agreement for the promotion of aviation safety on the first day of the visit by Russian deputy Prime Minister Ilya Klebanov.

The agreement signed by Mr Klebanov and civil aviation minister Sharad Yadav aims to reduce the economic burden imposed on the aviation industry and operators of the two countries by redundant inspections, evaluations and testing.

The decision to sign the agreement was taken last year when Indo-Russian working group on civil aviation had met in Moscow.

Russia is keen to extend co-operation with India in the aviation sector and will conduct technical assistance and systems in areas of airworthiness and environmental testing, maintenance facilities, approval of flight operations and flight training establishments.

The two countries agreed to accept bilateral certification if the technical assessments reveal that standards, systems, rules, procedures and practices are compatible.

During his two-day visit, Mr Klebanov will meet defence minister George Fernandes and national security adviser Bra-

His meeting with the defence minister was crucial as India and Russia are likely to sign a major tank deal. The two sides are also preparing for security dialogue which is slated for next month.

The tank deal involves purchase of 310 T-90 main battle tanks from Russia at an estimated cost between \$600 and \$700 million.

Russia is to deliver 124 tanks in fully-assembled state and the remaining 186 in semi-knocked down state. The contract also includes a licence for the production of more T-90s. Russia's Main Battle Tanks are known for their excellent facilities across the world.

Officials said the deal is almost finalised last minute negotiations were going on regarding the price.

While the reports from Russia said that the deal would be signed during Mr Kelbanov's visit, there was no official confirmation from the Indian side.

The two sides will prepare for the military-technical committee meeting which will take place next month.

Russia is India's primary military partner and several deals were finalised during Russian President Vladimir Putin's visit to India last year.

THE ASIAN AGE

15 FEB 2007

India, Russia sign deal for T-90S main battle tanks

HF13
142

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, February 15

INDIA AND Russia today signed three agreements over the T-90S main battle tank (MBT) which would cover their purchase and eventual manufacture including weapons systems. Defence minister George Fernandes and visiting Russian deputy prime minister, Ilya Klebanov, were present at the signing ceremony. The Defence ministry however did not reveal the price tag. It was understood that last minute negotiations were in progress that will be carried over to the next round of the military technical committee's meeting next month in Moscow.

The first agreement stated India would purchase 124 of the 310 MBTs in ready for use configuration and the remaining 186 in semi and complete knocked down condition. The assembly work of the 186 will be done at the facility of the Heavy Vehicles Factory in Avadi in Tamil Nadu.

The second one involved transfer of technology and manufacture of the MBTs in India. The third envisages manufacture of the weapons systems of these tanks. The missiles for the tanks are to be acquired in knocked

down condition and assembled by Bharat Dynamics, a Ministry of Defence undertaking. The agreements also cover transfer of technology for further manufacture of these missiles in India. According to a Defence Ministry spokesman, the T-90S tanks have superior mobility, better communication, fire power and night vision capability compared to the tanks already in service with the Indian Army. They will also be capable of firing missiles.

Mr Klebanov, who concluded his two-day visit today, had earlier signed an agreement for the promotion of aviation safety between the two countries. It aims to reduce the burden imposed by redundant inspections, evaluations and testing. Under the agreement, Russia will conduct technical assistance and systems in areas of airworthiness and environmental testing, maintenance facilities, approval of flight operations and flight training establishments.

THE RUSSIAN T-90S VERSUS THE AMERICAN ABRAMS

ARMAMENT

- 125 mm gun
- Refleks anti-tank guided missile system with range of up to 5kms
- 7.62mm machine gun
- 12.7mm air defence machine gun

SELF-PROTECTION

- Infrared jammer
- Laser warning system
- Grenade discharging system



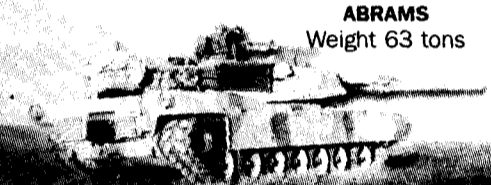
T-90S
Weight 46.5 tons

ARMAMENT

- 120 mm gun
- Armour-piercing guns that feature depleted uranium penetrators. Depleted uranium provides high penetration characteristics

SELF-PROTECTION

- 2 six-barreled M250 smoke grenade launchers
- Hull and turret are protected by advanced armour



ABRAMS
Weight 63 tons

India signs deal for Russian T-90 tanks

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Feb. 15. — India today signed agreements for the acquisition of the Russian T-90 main battle tank and transfer of technology.

The initial purchase of 310 tanks would cost about \$600 million.

The 124 tanks being purchased in a drive-away condition will be delivered in a couple of months.

The remaining 186 will be supplied in semi-knocked down and completely knocked down kits and assembled at the Heavy Vehicles Factory in Avadi near Chennai.

The defence minister, Mr George Fernandes, today said the Army needs much more than 310 tanks.

The second deal would allow India to produce more such tanks in the future, thanks to the transfer of technology for both the tank and its primary anti-tank weapon, the 'reflecks' missile.

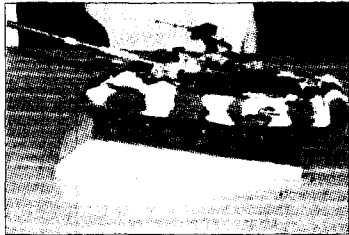
The technology for the tank's missile, which will be produced by Bharat Dynamics Ltd. in Hyderabad, will also be transferred.

Officials from the two countries signed the agreements after a round of talks between Russian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Ilya Klebanov, and Mr Fernandes.

The deals had been virtually finalised during the Russian President, Mr Vladimir Putin's visit to India last year. Indian ministers too discussed the matter but no formal arrangement was made at the time.

The T-90 is one of the most advanced tanks in the world and technologically a generation ahead of the T-72 with which the majority of armoured units are now equipped.

It will be the only tank in the Army's inventory capable of firing both missiles and shells.



A model of the Russian T-90 main battle tank. — PTI

A variety of secondary weapons and sensors are fitted to the T-90 which can also negotiate water obstacles. The acquisition process is spread over four years and Russian has modified the tank to suit Indian conditions.

PM may tour Russia: Mr Atal Bhari Vajpayee may visit Russia in September-October this year, the Russian Deputy Prime Minister said today, adds UNI.

THE STATESMAN

Indo-Russian pact on air safety signed

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, FEB. 14. India and Russia today signed an agreement for the promotion of Aviation safety as a precursor to a joint venture partnership in the manufacture of 16-seater and 100-seater passenger aircraft.

The agreement was signed here today by the visiting Russian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Ilya Klebanov and the Minister for Civil Aviation, Mr. Sharad Yadav. The pact will enable both the countries to recognise each other's certifications, standards and norms and reduce the redundancy of going through tedious procedures while evaluating each other's products.

The proposal to sign the agreement was cleared by the Union Cabinet on Monday.

Mr. Klebanov said the pact was a component of the strategic partnership agreed to by India and Russia during the visit of the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, last year. The joint venture in

the manufacture of small-seater passenger aircraft followed the decision to transfer technology for the licenced production of the defence aircraft, Sukhoi-30 MK1.

The agreement would promote not only indigenous assembly of modern aircraft but a whole cycle of design and research in modern aircraft, he said.

Expressing satisfaction about the agreement, Mr. Sharad Yadav said joint programmes such as these would give a boost to the economy of both countries.

Speaking to the media after the signing of the pact, the Civil Aviation Secretary, Mr A.H. Jung, said the 16-seater 'Saras' aircraft being manufactured by the National Aeronautic Limited (NAL) with Russian support could be flying in 14 to 15 months. The 100-seater aircraft which would be produced at HAL here with mutually coordinated design and expertise, might take three to four years. The Russian companies which have shown interest in the joint venture are Tuplov and Ilyushin.

DEFENSE

MiG builders target Indian market

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, FEB. 5. The MiG Aircraft Corporation of Russia plans to finalise a contract for the supply of carrier-based MiG-29K fighter jets later this year, whereupon it will concentrate on the upgrade of a large fleet of IAF's MiG aircrafts.

"We have reached an agreement on the main characteristics of MiG-29K for the Indian Navy and hope to work out the remaining issues by March", said Mr. Nikolai Buntin, chief designer of the planes.

India is to buy a batch of MiG-29K planes for the Admiral Gorshkov Aircraft Carrier which is currently being refit in Russia for the Indian Navy. Mr. Buntin would not say how many MiG-29Ks India plans to purchase. Media reports said the figure varied from 40 to 66. The aircraft will be showcased at Aero India-2001, which opens in Bangalore on Feb. 7.

The MiG corporation's strategy in India is also targeting the upgrade of hundreds of MiG-series planes, purchased from Russia or built under Russian licence in India. "We will concentrate our efforts on upgrading the earlier supplied MiGs", said Mr. Victor Kozlov, Deputy Director-General of the MiG Corporation.

The company recently delivered to India the first two upgraded MiG-21Bis planes, designated MiG-21UPG (upgraded) and will supply sets of new avionics and weapons to the

Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. (HAL) where 123 more MiG-21s will be upgraded.

"The upgrade has turned MiG-21 from a 2nd generation frontline fighter into a 4th generation plus plane", said Mr. Andrei Karasev, deputy chief designer of the MiG company. He said the upgraded plane was equipped with advanced avionics, the new Kopyo radar and new high-precision weapons against aerial and ground targets.

Mr. Karasev conceded the project was running about a year behind schedule due to delays in selecting and integrating French and Israeli avionics. The MiG officials admit that they had problems with the reliability of foreign-supplied equipment and say some tests on integrated avionics are yet to be carried out. However, they assert that the end result is better than what was envisaged by the original upgrade plan. "MiG-21UPG has the best set of equipment available on any MiGs today", Mr. Buntin, MiG designer, said.

The company is currently conducting talks with HAL on the upgrade of MiG-27 produced in India, Mr. Karasev said. He denied reports that India may entrust the upgrade of its 165 MiG-27s to Israel. "No upgrade is possible without our participation as the designers of MiG-27", he said. Talks are underway as to what will be done in Russia, India and in third countries.

MiG manufacturers have also offered to upgrade India's fleet of 74 MiG-29s, supplied by

Russia. The proposed upgrade will improve the planes ability to engage airborne targets and provide new ability to precision-hit ground targets. The partially upgraded MiG-29SMT was demonstrated in Germany in 2000 and the final version will be ready before the next air show in Bangalore.

The upgrade concepts for MiG-27 and MiG-29 will be presented at Aero India-2001. The display at Bangalore will also include the MiG-AT advanced jet trainer, which India mooted buying before opting for the British-made Hawk. Now that the Hawk deal has been called off, MiG officials are proposing to set up MiG-AT production at HAL. Two MiG-AT prototypes have been built so far, one with French avionics, the other with all-Russian equipment. Officials said their company was ready to help India develop the LCA.

"The Indian aircraft industry has been largely built on the basis of MiG technologies and were ready to help with LCA if asked to", Mr. Karasev said. Earlier this week the Sukhoi Company expressed willingness to join in the LCA project.

The MiG Corporation, which is currently diversifying into civil aircraft construction, will also present in Bangalore several of its new models, including the IL-103 light multi-purpose plane, the MiG-110 passenger-cargo convertible plane and the TU-334 medium-haul airline.

THE HINDU

16 FEB 2001

16 FEB 2001

Indo-Russian deal on MiG-29K ready

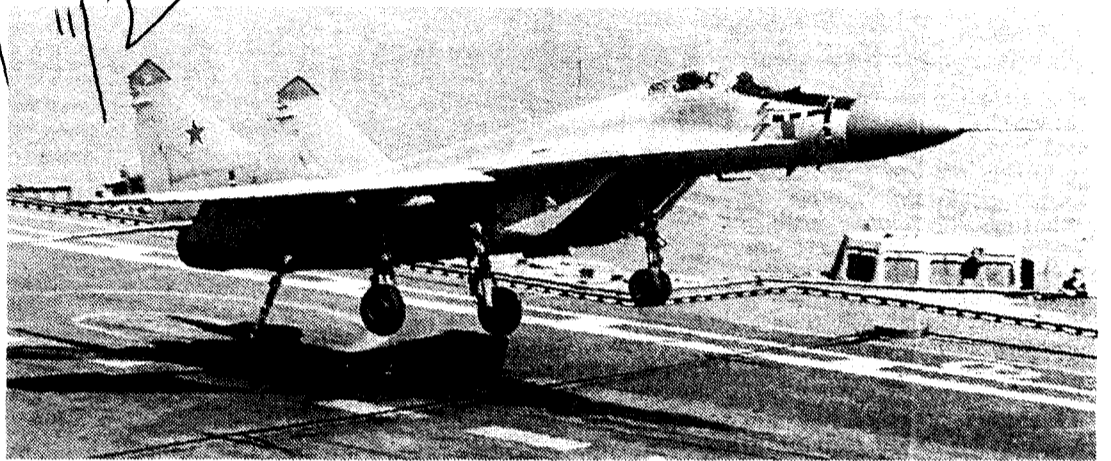
By Rasheed Kappan

BANGALORE, FEB. 10. India and Russia have prepared contract documents for sale of 25 to 28 Russian MiG-29K aircraft to be attached to the Admiral Gorshkov aircraft carrier. The Indian Navy is gearing for the procurement of the carrier which is to be re-equipped as a base for conventional fighters.

"The documents are waiting to be signed. A final decision on the exact number of aircraft will be known once the helicopter strength for the aircraft carrier is known," top officials of the MiG Russian Aircraft Corporation told *The Hindu*. "The number will also depend on the role for which the carrier is being procured."

Reports of an Indo-Russian deal on the supply of five Ka-31 marine helicopters have hinted at a speedy conclusion of the deal. Incidentally, the Ka-31 AEW helicopters could be incorporated into the Gorshkov aircraft carrier. If the carrier deal is through, and no more helicopters are to be procured for the purpose, the number of MiG-29K could be close to 25. Top MiG officials said if there were no helicopters at all, the carrier would need a fleet of 30 MiG-29Ks.

The Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, recently indicat-



The Russian MiG-29K aircraft likely to be procured by the Indian Navy.

ed that MiG-29K would be "the" aircraft that would go with Admiral Gorshkov. Built as a carrier-borne aircraft, the composition of the MiG-29K's weapon is shaped by the fighter's primary mission — destroying hostile aircraft and warships.

The aircraft's main weaponry includes RW-AE medium-range active radar homing air-to-air missiles, R-73 short-range heat-seeking air-to-air missiles, and Kh-31A anti-ship active radar homing missiles, besides precision-guided munitions to kill "pinpoint" ground targets, aerial

bombs, rockets and an integral cannon.

Unlike other carrier-borne aircraft, MiG-29K requires less room on the flight deck and in the hangars of the carrier, ensuring a larger number of aircraft both on board in general and in the combat component of the carrier air group in particular.

The high-combat efficiency, wide spectrum of combat missions, group operation capability and lesser fuel consumption per sortie of the aircraft have impressed the Indian officials who

are shopping for a carrier aircraft fleet for Admiral Gorshkov.

According to officials, the contract, if finalised, will even entail the licensed production of MiG-29K from Indian aviation companies, on the lines of previous deals. India is also likely to supply the avionics for the aircraft, like the Sukhoi-30MKI project. The latter's avionics features Indian, French and Israeli components. Among other carrier aircraft which were considered for the Gorshkov were the Sukhoi-33 aircraft and the Ka-28 ASW helicopters.

THE HINDU

FEB 11 1999

India, Russia sign oil deal

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, FEB. 10. India and Russia have signed an historic accord on massive Indian investment in the Sakhalin oil and gas fields that will give a major boost to their bilateral economic relations.

ONGC-Videsh Ltd. (OVL) and the Russian State-owned Rosneft company signed the agreement in the presence of the Union Minister for Petroleum and Natural Gas, Mr. Ram Naik, and the Russian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Victor Khristenko, in Moscow on Saturday.

OVL has acquired a 20-per cent stake from Rosneft in the Sakhalin-1 offshore project in the Russian Far East. Under the accord, OVL would invest between \$ 1.5 to \$ 2 billion into the project over the next five years before oil and gas production commences in 2005-2006.

It would be India's biggest single-project investment abroad and the largest foreign investment in Russia. Mr. Naik praised

the deal as representing a quantum jump in Indo-Russian economic relations... In the context of Indo-Russian relations years from now, the Sakhalin-1 project will be remembered in the same way as we think today of Indian steel plants, like Bhilai."

Sakhalin-1, a huge upstream project, consisted of three offshore fields being developed by an international consortium under a Production Sharing Agreement (PSA).

President undergoes medical check-up

By Our Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, FEB.10. The President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, today underwent a regular routine check-up at Sir Ganga Ram Hospital in the heart of the Capital.

The spokesman for the President said, Mr. Narayanan was "hale and hearty". It was just a regular routine medical check-up."

THE HINDU

11 FEB 2001

Report: Russia to lease long-range bombers to India

Moscow, February 9

RUSSIA IS preparing to sign the lease of four TU-22M3 (backfire) long-range bombers armed with deadly 'KH-22' cruise missiles to India next week despite US objections, media quoted Air Chief Gen Anatoly Kornukov as saying.

The deal, under negotiations between India and Russia since 1998, was put on the backburner by Boris Yeltsin's government fearing 'unwanted political consequences', Vremya Novostyei daily reported.

Despite Moscow's claim that TU-22M3 bombers are sub-strategic weapons and India will get 'KH-22' cruise missiles with conventional, non-nuclear warheads, Washington considers them a strategic weapon, automatically banning their export or lease, the daily said.

"Judging from the statement of Kornukov, the Kremlin seems to have permitted Russian arms exporters not to pay attention to these 'petty differences' with the Americans," defence analyst Yuri Golotyuk wrote in an article 'Russia will help India become a great military power'.

Moscow's mentioning of 'non-nuclear' character of the deal is no more than a tribute to the traditional custom of 'decent conduct' on the arms market, especially in

view of the Indian declarations about possessing nuclear warheads of various capacity which can be fitted on any type of delivery vehicles, the daily said.

The supersonic 'TU-22M3' bomber has a maximum range of 2,410 km if flying at subsonic speeds and carrying a 12-tonne payload of bombs and missiles.

It can carry five KH-22MA air-to-ground missiles, which have a range of up to 500 km.

The aircraft can also carry up to 10 short-range air-to-ground missiles as well as both nuclear and conventional bombs with a total weight of 24 tonnes.

Under the US-Soviet START-1 arms control treaty, its mid-air refuelling system was dismantled.

Though the START-1 treaty bars Russia from extending the range of these bombers, the Indian military could also upgrade the bombers to extend their range to 5,000 km, with mid-air refuelling sufficient to allow India to reach targets in the United States or Europe, should it so desire, Russian experts say.

Moscow could be forthcoming to help India in this if the US walks out of 1972 ABM treaty and deploys national missile defence, seen by Russia as Washington's attempt to ensure impunity for itself, they say.

(PTI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

10 FEB 2001

119-12

RUSSIAN HELP FOR LCA

THE OFFER FROM Mr. Mikhail Pogosyan, head of the Russian Sukhoi Aircraft company, to help India with its project for the making of the Light Combat Aircraft (LCA) should come as a surprise to the Government of India which would have regarded it as very unlikely since the aircraft will initially have to be powered by the U.S.-made GE 404 engines. In spite of the project having been indefinitely delayed and the remote possibility of the LCA getting airborne before 2012, and given the spade work which the Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. would have put into the project on the basis of the GE 404 engines being eventually replaced by the indigenous Kaveri engines, it might be extremely difficult for India to consider accepting Russian assistance at this stage. It will also be very embarrassing for India to give even a preliminary consideration of the Russian offer since the reaction of the U.S. makers of the GE 404 engines would be very unfavourable. Nevertheless, in view of the very close ties which have been forged between India and Russia even before the break-up of the Soviet Union as well as the harmonious relations which have grown between Washington and Moscow since the end of the Cold War, the response of New Delhi to Mr. Pogosyan for participation in the LCA programme does not have to be wholly negative.

India's giving a positive response to the Russian offer will hinge upon how the progress so far made with the LCA programme could accommodate it. It is most unlikely that this could be possible at the initial phase of the project involving the fitting in of the GE 404 engine to the LCA. Inducting the Russians at the next stage when the aircraft would be equipped with the indigenously-produced Kaveri engine would throw up quite a few questions. The scope for the farming out of a few components for the Kaveri engine to Russian producers would still depend upon the U.S. being agreeable to it since the programme for the

production of these engines would be based on U.S. technology for the GE 404 engine. If the acceptance of the Russian offer involves the making of structural changes in the LCA engine for making a complete departure from the U.S. technology, it will make matters extremely difficult if not wholly impossible for India apart from delaying the LCA take-off indefinitely beyond even 2012. Mr. Pogosyan should certainly have been aware of these problems when he made an offer for Russian participation in the LCA project. Instead of seeking a direct response from India to their proposal, the Russians should sound the U.S. about their willingness to participate in the LCA programme. Hopes about the U.S. agreeing to their participation would rest upon the unlikely possibility of the American aircraft manufacturer's readiness to farm out to the Russians some of its components which the Kaveri engines might need.

The significance of the Russian willingness to participate in the LCA programme arises from its being made at all by Mr. Pogosyan who should have thought deeply about what such a late entry into a crucial defence programme implies. With the aeronautical industry like every other engineering and technological sector having become very much an open book, Russian aeronautical production could perhaps wholly match U.S. technology. If India is hesitant to accept the Russian offer because of its doubts about the U.S. reaction, Russia could consider modifying it suitably with proposals to make aircraft correspond fully to the LCA. This should not be difficult for Russia with some of its later versions of the MiGs being not very far removed from the LCA. With its aircraft like the MiGs already having long become a major presence in the IAF squadrons, Russia does not have to compete with the U.S. which will be virtually making a debut with its GE 404 engines for strengthening India's aerial defence.

THE HINDU

17 FEB 2001

India, Russia to sign aviation treaty

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Feb. 5. — India and Russia will sign an agreement regarding aviation safety standards as well as designing and developing a 100-seater civil aircraft, during the forthcoming visit of the Russian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Ilya Kelubanov, according to the Civil Aviation Secretary, Mr A H Jung.

Mr Jung said that the agreement once signed would help both the countries in doing away with the "dilatatory process" of having tedious discussions and agreements on issues such as safety, airworthiness and maintenance.

It would also cover future commercial joint-ventures.

He was talking on the

sidelines of a function where the Russian authorities gave a presentation of their civil aircraft.

He said the groundwork for the treaty was done by a civil aviation team which visited Moscow recently, adding that Hindustan Aeronautics Limited and its Russian counterpart would jointly work on the development of the 100-seater aircraft, which Mr Jung felt, would be completed in six to seven years.

The Russian authorities are at present holding a presentation for the civil aviation ministry of their civil aircraft.

This comes at a time when India's domestic flier Indian Airlines has plans to buy aircraft for its fleet which badly needs further expansion.

THE STATESMAN

6 FEB 2001

Russia offers help for LCA project ✓

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, FEB. 4. Russia's leading aircraft manufacturer is willing to help India complete its LCA project and jointly develop a fifth-generation combat aircraft.

"We are open to cooperation with India in building the LCA," said Mr. Mikhail Pogosyan, Sukhoi aircraft company head. The LCA project was fairly up-to-date but a lot of work needed to be done to make it a success. Mr. Pogosyan felt the project could greatly benefit from Sukhoi technologies once the Indian aircraft industry had mastered the production of SU-30MKI multi-role fighters under licence from Russia.

"We are ready to consider participation through the integration of SU-30MKI and LCA technologies," he said in an interview on the eve of the Aero India-2001 show, opening in Bangalore on February 7, where the SU-30MKI would be a star attraction. It will be the first time the SU-30MKI's final version will fly in India. Russia will start delivering the planes later this year after completing ground tests of the avionics system, which includes Russian, Indian and French components.

Mr. Pogosyan denied media reports that earlier versions of the plane supplied to India were not operational. The SU-30M and SU-30MK planes had full-strike capability against airborne targets and limited capability unguided bombs and rockets — against ground targets, he said.

The upgrading of the earlier SU-30s is expected to be completed by 2005, which will enable

them attack ground targets with precision weapons. Russia will deliver 50 SU-30MKIs to India while another 140 planes will be manufactured in India.

"We're fully ready to meet the agreed schedules for fulfilling the SU-30MKI contract," Mr. Pogosyan said. "The next stage in our cooperation with India could be joint development of a fifth-generation fighter jet," he said adding this would be in line with a global tendency towards integration in aircraft construction. "Strategic partnership between our two countries opens the way to closer collaboration in plane building."

The Sukhoi company is currently testing the S-37 forward-swept wing prototype, "Berkut". The results gained from the tests are to be taken into account in the design of the fifth generation fighter. Mr. Pogosyan was not concerned that Russia was somewhat behind the U.S., whose fifth-generation Joint Strategic Fighter was expected to be ready by 2007-2010.

"Let them first catch up with our SU-27 and SU-30," the Sukhoi chief remarked. He did not rule out the possibility of the manufacturers of the Sukhoi and the MiG joining to build the fifth-generation multi-purpose fighter plane.

Sukhoi is Russia's leading exporter of combat aircraft. According to Mr. Pogosyan, the company was currently trying to enter the markets of Malaysia, Indonesia, South Korea and Latin America. Recently, it decided to diversify into civil aviation, mapping out plans to build medium-haul air-

lines. In Bangalore, the company would present the SU-80 multi-functional civil aircraft and the SU-38L light agricultural plane.

Warning from defence firms

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, FEB. 3. The future of India's air defences may be put in jeopardy if Delhi turns to Poland for upgradation of Russian-built "Pechora" complexes, Russian defence manufacturers have warned.

Dozens of S-125 "Pechora" surface-to-air missile systems (SA-3 'Goa' in NATO designation), supplied before 1989, form the core of India's air defences against aircraft and cruise missiles. The upgrade involves mounting the system on wheeled or tracked chassis, replacing the bulky bulb-using electronic equipment with compact and high-speed digital hardware, installing a new radar and enhancing electronic jamming resistance.

India has been discussing the upgrade with Russia but now appears to be tilting towards Poland, which quoted a lower price. Another argument in favour of Poland is that it is upgrading its own Soviet-built "Pechora" complexes, whereas Russia has discarded them.

Russian producers concede that Poland can do the job, but warn that India may have problems later on.

"As S-125 producers we will not be able to guarantee combat worthiness of Polish-upgraded com-

plexes or to carry out maintenance work on them," said Mr. Vladimir Tserazov, Deputy Director of the Defence Systems Corporation, which handles "Pechora" upgrades.

If India runs out of its stock of missiles for Polish-upgraded S-125s in the event of military conflict, Russian producers will not be able to guarantee new supplies, Mr. Tserazov said, because priority will be given to those countries which award upgrade contracts to Russia.

One such country is Egypt, which, according to *Janes Defence* weekly, has signed a \$125-million contract with Russia's Defence Systems to upgrade 50 "Pechora" complexes. Russians would not reveal the name of the country, but confirm that they have won a tender "in the Middle East" in the race against Poland and China and have already carried out successful tests of the upgraded S-125s.

A further disadvantage of tying up with Poland is that it cannot upgrade missiles for "Pechora" complexes, which can be done only in Russia, said Mr. Tserazov. By replacing the fuel and the warhead, Russians have nearly doubled the missile's hit range from 18 to 32 km, increased speed by 100 metres per second and enhanced accuracy.

Moreover, the Russian offer envisages the possibility of further upgrades to transform S-125s into "mini-S-300s". Russia's S-300 is reputedly the world's most advanced air defence system capable of intercepting ballistic missiles.

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He is believed to have met virtually all the foreign journalists based in Islamabad. Of course, the Embassy has taken care to ensure that every journalist lined up for an interaction got an opportunity for a one-to-one with the Minister. The two Indian journalists were ushered in minutes after a group of Russian scribes had finished their interview and the Indians were followed by Iranians.

He denied that the Afghan Government has not permitted any Indian journalist from visiting his country. "It is the Indian Government that is not allowing any journalist to visit our country. Give us proof of even one example," he asked. Mr. Muttawakil was obviously briefed about the possible questions from journalists from different countries and he was

India, Russia to step up cooperation

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, JAN. 16. India and Russia have called for strict enforcement of the U.N. sanctions against the Taliban and agreed to step up their cooperation in promoting a U.N.-brokered political settlement in Afghanistan.

A statement issued by the Russian Foreign Ministry after a meeting between the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Lalit Mansingh, and the First Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Vyacheslav Trubnikov, on Monday, said the two co-chairmen of the Indo-Russian Working Group on Afghanistan had discussed the progress in implementing decisions reached at the first meeting of the group in Delhi in November last and mapped out further action to step up Indo-Russian bilateral and multilateral interaction in the interests of regional security and international stability.

Mr. Mansingh was in Moscow for the 7th session of the Indo-Russian Inter-governmental Commission on Trade, Economic, Scientific, Technological and Cultural Cooperation. The sides stressed the need for all States to comply without fail with the U.N. Security Council Resolution 1333, which enforced international sanctions against the Taliban movement.

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Indo-Russian pact on \$1.7 bn ONGC-VL investment next week

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, January 12

INDIA AND Russia will conclude an agreement later next week envisaging \$1.7 billion investment of ONGC-VL in Rosneft, the Russian state-owned oil company, picking 20 per cent equity in the latter.

This will enable India to acquire equity oil of about 2-4 million tonnes annually and 5-8 million cubic metres of natural gas per day.

The pact would be concluded in the presence of Finance Minister Yashwant Sinha and Petroleum Minister Ram Naik commemorating the meeting of inter-governmental commission to be held on January 15. Sinha and Deputy Prime Minister of Russian Federation Ilya Klebanov are the chairmen of the commission.

The investment in Russian oil sector by ONGC's international arm is the largest made in any country. The equity oil and gas are expected to be procured

from Sakhalin-I offshore fields. The cabinet at a meeting before Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee left for his weeklong trip to Vietnam and Indonesia, had cleared this proposal of the petroleum ministry.

The other partners in exploring the Sakhalin-I proven oil fields are Exxon-Mobil consortium of US and Sodeco of Japan who would hold 30 per cent equity each in the four-way joint venture.

Apart from this major oil agreement, Sinha and Klebanov will jointly explore the possibility of enhancing traditional relations between two countries in areas like trade, economic, scientific, technological and cultural areas.

Specific areas for future co-operation identified by both sides include pharmaceuticals, steel, science and technology, information technology and civil aviation.

During his visit to Moscow, finance minister will call on Prime Minister of Russian Federation Mikhail Kasyanov and other members of the Indian Business Association based in Moscow.

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