

## China and Russia will cooperate on ABM treaty

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BEIJING: China and Russia have held "intensive" talks on U.S. plans to withdraw from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and the countries will continue close links on the issue, China's foreign ministry said on Tuesday.

"Both sides held a wide and intensive exchange of views on the present international security situation and the major issues on disarmament and the arms control field," foreign ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue said of Monday's talks in Moscow.

"Both sides stressed that under the present situation the maintenance of the arms control and disarmament regime and the global strategic balance is of crucial importance to world peace and security."

The talks between China's vice foreign minister Wang Guangya and Russian counterpart Georgy Mamedov follow the announcement by U.S. President George Bush late last week that the U.S. would withdraw from the ABM treaty. The U.S. will now proceed with the construction of a national

missile shield, outlawed under the terms of the Cold War accord.

China and Russia have consistently voiced opposition to the U.S. missile defence plans, which they say could spark a new arms race, and at Monday's talks pledged to continue co-operation on the matter now U.S. withdrawal from the ABM treaty has been confirmed.

"Both sides agreed to maintain consultations and co-operation on this question," said Zhang. "Both sides have a consensus and common understanding on the U.S. plan to develop NMD (National Missile Defence), so we hope the U.S. side can heed the opinion of the majority of countries and exercise prudence," she added.

During the talks, China and Russia agreed arms control had to be enforced, the Russian foreign ministry said on Monday. "The sides underlined the imperative need, under current conditions, to preserve a system of control over disarmament and global security, which is the obligation of the international community," the statement said. (AFP)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

19 DEC 2001

# Putin muted, others don't mince words

SHARON LAFRANIERE  
MOSCOW, DECEMBER 14

**R**USSIAN President Vladimir Putin on Thursday night offered muted criticism of President Bush's decision to withdraw from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, calling the move "mistaken" and saying it could create a "legal vacuum" in arms control at a time when the world faces new threats. Putin's restrained remarks, delivered in a brief speech on Thursday night on Russian television, seemed intended to play down the impact of the US decision to abandon a treaty that the Kremlin has repeatedly called a cornerstone of nuclear deterrence.

But many Russian analysts and politicians were more blunt, saying the Bush decision had humiliated Moscow after Putin stood with the US in its campaign against terrorism.

Some said the decision not only flies in the face of what seemed to be a new alliance between Russia and US, but could provoke other nuclear-armed nations to launch a new weapons build-up. Putin said Russia had done all it could to preserve the treaty.

Although the Kremlin lost that battle, he said, the current relationship between the US and Russia should "not only be preserved, but also used for the earliest possible creation of a new framework for strategic relations." He noted that both sides had agreed to reduce their offensive nuclear arsenals.

Putin spoke from his Kremlin office a few hours after the White House notified Russia of its intention to

15/12  
withdraw from the treaty. But politicians and analysts outside the Kremlin were more critical. Sergei Rogov, director of the US-Canada Institute, said he fears the decision will spark a new arms race far more difficult to rein in than the one that led to the ABM accord three decades ago. "We might have, I am afraid, some kind of turning point where there are no rules of the game and everyone is for himself," he said. "It will be different from the Soviet-American arms race, but it will be more dangerous, because there will be more players."

If China decides it needs more N-weapons to penetrate a US missile defence system, he said, countries like India, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq could all follow suit. Rogov said the US could have tested a missile defence system without pulling out of the ABM treaty. "It was a deliberate decision to create a crisis..."

"They want to bury arms control like Nikita Krushchev wanted to bury capitalism." Several influential Russian legislators said Moscow should react by rethinking its offensive nuclear missiles. Mikhail Margelov, chairman of the international relations committee in the upper House of Parliament, the Federation Council, and a close Putin ally, said Russia now has "a free hand" in deciding the make-up of its nuclear forces.

He suggested that Russia would now be free to reverse early decisions to eliminate missiles. Alexei Arbatov, deputy chairman of the Military Affairs Committee the State Duma, the lower House of Parliament, said Russia should announce that it will no longer abide by the Start II treaty that it ratified early last year. —LATWP

## US QUILTS ABM

INDIAN EXPRESS

15 DEC 2001

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14, 2001

## A CHALLENGE TO STRATEGIC 'ORDER'

THE U.S. PRESIDENT, Mr. George W. Bush, seems poised to notify Russia of his intention to end his country's adherence to the bilateral Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty of 1972. With the U.S. Senate Majority Leader, Mr. Thomas Daschle, reporting that Mr. Bush has informed some Congressional leaders of his decision to break ranks with Russia on the ABM front, the actual diplomatic denouement appeared to be simply a matter of timing and not a question of fine judgment any longer. By seeking to consign a major treaty of strategic stability to the scrapheap of history, Mr. Bush has only underlined his transparent calculation that America is unstoppable on its chosen path of self-willed unilateralism. In a strictly legalistic sense, Mr. Bush may only be invoking Washington's right to free itself from the perceived constraints of the ABM Treaty in circumstances that have already been explained several times to his Russian counterpart, Mr. Vladimir Putin. However, there can be no doubt that the present international strategic environment, already in a fragile state, is being vitiated by the U.S.' unilateralism. Surely, it was before the terrorist offensive of September 11 on America's home turf that Mr. Bush had begun his loud thinking as also his conversation with Mr. Putin on the ABM's irrelevance to the present times. Yet, it is astonishing that the U.S. President should now be politically insensitive to the fraternal spirit of the ongoing international "campaign" against terrorism. With Mr. Putin having made common cause with the U.S. in the "movement" against globalised terror, the least that Mr. Bush could have done is to set a realistic time-frame to assess whether his administration's parleys with Russia on the ABM issue are indeed doomed. In the event, Mr. Bush's unseemly haste in writing off such negotiations as an unproductive exercise can hardly enhance America's credibility as a caring or patient

prime mover in regard to any truly cooperative venture to promote international stability and security. 10-10

14/12  
Now, the fine print of the ABM Treaty does not at all brook the development and deployment of any system of anti-missile defences by both the U.S. and Russia. It is also no secret that the U.S. is eager to build such defences so as to ward off any "rogue" missile strikes that might be directed against it in the foreseeable future itself. The Bush administration's stated objective is to try and insulate America from attacks with nuclear or chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction that some "rogue" states or terrorists might conceivably plot against the U.S. homeland itself. Although the terrorist onslaught that rocked America and the civilised world last September could not have been deterred by any missile defence system, the Bush administration has turned the argument on its head to insist on going "beyond" the ABM Treaty so as to stave off any missile strikes by some terrorists themselves.

In a sense, Washington has been trying at this stage to capitalise on the new international focus on "nuclear terrorism" to reinforce the case for missile defences. The boost-phase of America's diplomacy in this sphere has received a stimulus from the latest success of a publicised experiment. In this hoopla, Washington seems to put its perceived national interest above the requirements of collective international security. Russia and China as also some European powers may, in reality, be apprehensive about their own technological and financial prowess to match America's missile-defence endeavours. Yet, if the U.S. is genuinely serious about assuaging their concerns at a time when it needs their cooperation in the ongoing anti-terror "campaign" itself, Mr. Bush can do with a less cavalier approach.

THE HINDU

14 DEC 2001

New York, December 12

US PRESIDENT GEORGE W Bush has turned his back on many of the alliances forged for his war on terrorism by giving notice that he will press ahead with his "son of star wars" missile defence system.

Bush informed leaders of Congress of his decision to withdraw from the ABM treaty on Wednesday. Senate majority leader Thomas Daschle when asked if members of Congress visiting the White House were informed of the decision, Daschle said: "Yes we were."

The project, to create a shield against what the US considers rogue nations, such as Iraq and

North Korea, is opposed by Russia, China and much of Europe.

The move came after Secretary of State Colin Powell was unable to bridge differences with Russia's President Vladimir Putin on how to deal with an arms-control accord that Bush has called a "relic" of the Cold War.

The decision ends a raging debate within the administration over the wisdom of withdrawing from the treaty, and marks a major policy defeat for Powell. He has long maintained that it was still possible to negotiate an

agreement with Russia that would allow the Pentagon to move forward with the kind of tests it insists are necessary to develop an antiballistic missile system initially capable of handling the launch of a handful of nuclear weapons at the US.

Bush's decision was a major victory for Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, fresh from the success of the military campaign against the Taliban. Rumsfeld has countered that there is no technologically satisfying way to amend the accord that President

Richard Nixon signed with the former Soviet Union nearly three decades ago.

But US officials said that Bush intended in the next few days to give the required six months' notice that he intends to ditch the 1972 anti ballistic missile (ABM) treaty that outlaws testing new systems.

Bush said in a speech that the treaty "was written in a different era for a different enemy".

The move allows the Bush administration to start building interceptor silos and a test com-

mand centre in Alaska.

In a speech in South Carolina, Bush said: "America's next priority in the war on terrorism is to protect against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them."

"Rogue states are the most likely sources of chemical and nuclear weapons for terrorists. They have been warned. They are being watched, and they will be held to account."

America's most recent missile defence test, in which a "kill vehicle" destroyed a mock war-

# Bush withdraws from ABM treaty

head, moved the project marginally into credit. Until that point, there had been two hits and two misses.

Some, not least Jack Straw, Britain's foreign secretary, have argued that the September 11 attacks strengthen the case for the defence shield. Others have observed that no amount of new missile technology would have stopped the hijackers from seizing the planes for their suicide missions on September 11.

Many allies fear the end of the treaty might herald a new arms

race, but US officials say Putin had assured Bush that relations between the countries would not be affected. If so, nobody seems to have told Igor Ivanov, Russia's foreign minister. "The positions of the two sides remain unchanged," he said after meeting Powell at the Kremlin.

But they are close to a deal on cuts in long-range nuclear arsenals that might be sealed at the next summit between the two Presidents next Spring. Bush said last month that the US would cut its armoury over the next decade from 6,600 warheads to as few as 1,700. Powell is returning to Washington with a Russian offer thought to match that.

Agencies

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# Draft eludes meet on biological weapons

HD-9 By N. Gopal Raj 9/12

**THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, DEC. 8.** The three-week 5th Review Conference of the Biological Weapons Convention ended in Geneva on Friday with an unprecedented failure to agree on a final declaration and the meeting was instead adjourned for a year. *Disarmament*

Once again, the United States has been the stumbling block. In July this year, it stood in the way of a legally-binding protocol which had effectively taken almost a decade to negotiate.

The protocol was intended to provide compliance mechanisms for the Biological Weapons Conventions which came into force in 1975 but has lacked any real teeth. The U.S. argued that the draft protocol would jeopardise its biodefence programmes and its companies' commercial proprietary information while failing to deter "rogue nations" from pursuing illicit biological weapons programmes. |

At the 5th Review Conference, which began on November 19, the U.S. chose to officially accuse Iraq, North Korea, Iran, Libya and Syria of having biological weapons programmes.

The delegates of Iraq, Iran and Libya angrily denying the U.S. accusations, retorted that the U.S. had only mentioned Arab Muslim countries while disregarding the violations of Israel.

The U.S. also presented its own set of proposals to strengthen the Biological Weapons Conventions. Countries would have to enact national criminal legislation forbidding biological weapons activities and strengthen bilateral extradition agreements for such offences.

Countries would have to accept international inspectors if the U.N. Secretary-General determined that there were suspicious disease outbreaks or alleged biological weapons incidents.

Countries would need to restrict access to dangerous pathogens and ensure national supervision over high-risk experiments. The World Health Organisation would have enhanced role in global disease surveillance and response capabilities.

But the U.S. proposals did not have key verification procedures, such as mandatory inspections, which the draft protocol had envisaged. Even its own allies did not see the U.S. proposals as a substitute for a legally-binding inspection and enforcement regime.

In the end, the conference broke down because the U.S. was unwilling to allow negotiations to continue on such a legally-binding instrument.

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THE HINDU

- 9 DEC 2001

# US spanner in germ warfare meet

Geneva, December 8

THE US forced a germ warfare conference to break up on Friday without new measures to toughen an international ban, angering its European allies.

In a bid to save face, the review conference of the 1972 Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention opted formally to suspend work for a year after Washington put forward what one European delegate called a "conference breaker."

In a last-minute demand, Washington sought an end to attempts to give teeth through verification mechanisms to the pact outlawing biological weapons.

The move, which caught even EU States by surprise, came just an hour before the end of the three-week meeting aimed at finding ways to beef up the pact. "They have fired a missile at

the conference. We are deeply disappointed," a European diplomat said.

Under pressure from the anthrax attacks in the US, countries agreed on a number of measures but remained deeply divided on key issues. Amongst these was the future of the so-called ad hoc negotiating committee — backed by all countries except the US — which had sought to make the treaty testable.

Unlike other arms treaties, the biological weapons pact has no mechanism for checking whether members are obeying the rules.

The US had already rejected ahead of the conference a draft protocol proposed by the committee that would have instituted a system of spot checks.

Washington said it would have exposed its industrial and military facilities to spying without

giving any guarantees that it could catch cheats.

Yesterday it went a step further by formally proposing that the mandate of the committee — agreed at the last convention review conference in 1994 — be withdrawn. "It is a direct provocation to everybody. Their (the US) position is completely unacceptable," another senior European diplomat said.

European diplomats said it reinforced a view that the Bush administration, which has already spurned a number of global accords, including on climate change, preferred to go it alone in international affairs.

The EU said in a statement that it remained fully committed to "multilateral" arms negotiations, adding that the 1994 mandate remained "completely valid."

At the review conference,

Washington turned up the heat by accusing some of its fellow treaty signatories — including Iraq and Iran — of violating the treaty.

US Under-Secretary of State for Arms Control John Bolton said six countries either had germ weapons programs or were interested in developing them.

He said Iraq and North Korea had developed such weaponry and Iran had probably done so. Libya and Syria might be in a position to produce small quantities of biological weapons and Sudan had expressed interest in a program, he said.

All the countries except Syria and Sudan are members of the convention. They deny the accusation. "I wish we could have continued talking but it was obvious that we would not reach an agreement," said Bolton.

Reuters

## UK, Germany ready to lead

### UN peace force

BRITAIN AND Germany have expressed interest in leading a multinational military force to help keep the peace after the war in Afghanistan, Secretary of State Colin Powell said on Saturday.

Powell said talks were continuing about the make-up and command of the security force and that there were a number of potential candidates to lead it, but added: "Chancellor Schroeder had earlier expressed an interest in it and there's been some British interest in it.

"They are the only two I can think of," he said.

"It would be desirable if this thing was starting to move in the time the government set up on December 22," Powell added. "I just don't know if it'll go that fast."

Reuters, Tashkent

# IAEA concern over nuclear terrorism

By George Chakko

*Vienna*  
**VIENNA, DEC. 4.** The closed special session of the Board of Governors (BoG) of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), specially attended by the U.S. Energy Secretary, Mr. Spencer Abraham, concluded on Friday. In a well-received speech India's Ambassador, Mr. T.P. Sreenivasan, tabled the country's strong and clear position.

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The IAEA BoG wants an urgent early implementation of measures to pre-empt nuclear terrorism. The recognition is that since September 11, every nuclear or research reactor, fuel cycle plant and nuclear material insecurely guarded or stored anywhere, is an international security liability.

IAEA's concern is genuine. The world has 438 nuclear reactors, 651 research reactors (284 oper-

*10-12*  
ational) and 250 fuel cycle plants in operation. Many of these need additional security. Some 900 facilities come under IAEA's monitoring to make sure that no diversion to military use takes place.

The IAEA Director-General, Dr. Mohammed el-Baradei, identified four forms of terrorism in his report to the BoG — (a) nuclear weapons theft via acquisition; (b) material acquisition to construct either a weapon or to cause a radiological hazard, (c) acquisition of other radioactive material to cause a radiological hazard, and (d) destruction of nuclear facilities through violence, thereby causing radiological hazard. To combat this, a broad-based strategy based on member States (numbering 132), cooperation and coordination at sub-national, national, bilateral and interna-

tional levels is needed.

The additional emerging dimension to nuclear safeguards is global security and the proposed IAEA strategy for protection against nuclear terrorism is —

(a) The theft of a nuclear weapon is the responsibility of a State possessing it. States have to review current security and ensure measures are in place to meet possible threats.

(b) IAEA plans to increase the number and scope of its International Physical Protection Advisory Service missions. Security is inadequate because there is no comprehensive binding international standard. So IAEA seeks to broaden the scope of the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material to cover additional security measures.

(c) IAEA believes some States have lax security. Radioactive materials stored or otherwise have become orphaned from regulatory control in certain regions. Radiation sources need updated protection.

(d) IAEA believes attacks on nuclear reactors have to be averted even if they are robust. It plans to help States undertake facility-specific assessments, implement safety-related upgrades.

Finally the Agency proposes to upgrade its Emergency Response Centre to improve the speed, efficiency, reliability and quality of the response in the event of a large radiological emergency. For comprehensive appraisal of emergency response programmes, an updated IAEA International Emergency Response Centre will be linked with National Emergency Response Centres.

THE HINDU

10-12

# 'Friends' fail to clinch missile control deal

Crawford (Texas), November 16

US PRESIDENT George W Bush and his Russian counterpart Vladimir Putin have failed to bridge their differences over a key arms control treaty but did not let that stop them from back-slapping and wisecracking as they ended a rain-soaked summit.

In an extraordinary display of friendship for two men who only met in June, Bush and Putin were in playful moods during a student news conference at Crawford High School on Thursday despite the steady rain and booming thunder outside.

"When I was in high school, Russia was an enemy," Bush said. "Now the high school students can know Russia as a friend."

Putin showed that behind his stony face is a dry wit. "No math questions, please," he told the students. He had them cheering at the end when he told them, at the count of three, to raise their hands if they wanted Bush to visit Russia.

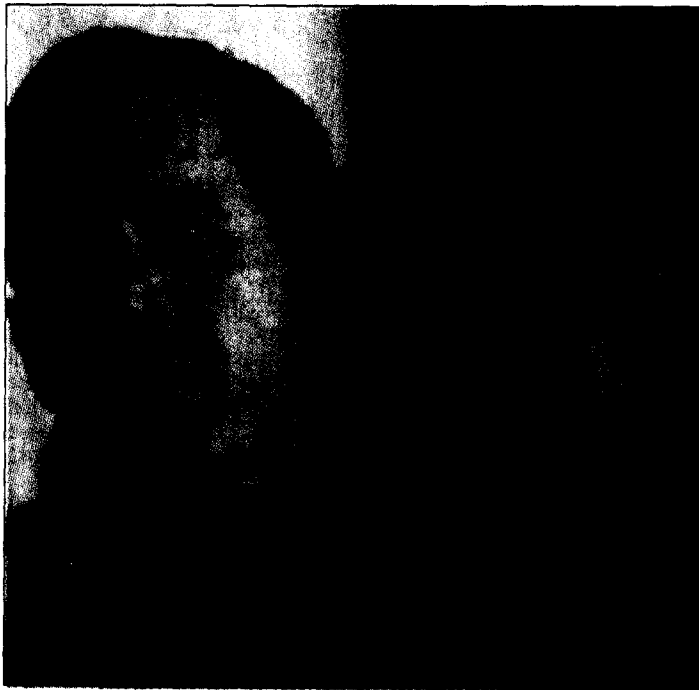
"One ... two...", he said dramatically. "Yes!" they yelled.

Facing a barrage of mature questions from the students, Bush and Putin were quizzed about everything from their differences over Bush's desire to deploy a missile defence system, to their decision to reduce their countries' nuclear stockpiles, to women's rights in Afghanistan and to what Putin liked most about Texas.

They revealed that they were not able during their three days of discussions in Washington and Crawford to resolve differences over the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which Bush calls a Cold War relic blocking missile defences, but which Putin says is essential to strategic security.

"Given the nature of the relationship between the US and Russia, one can rest assured that whatever final solution is found, it will not threaten or put to threat the interests of both our countries or the world," Putin said.

Bush said: "We have a difference of opinion, but the great



REUTERS PHOTO

Russian President Vladimir Putin and US President George W Bush at the Crawford High School in Texas on Thursday.

## US to retain stocks of smallpox

THE UNITED States will retain the world's stocks of smallpox germs till scientists develop new vaccines for the disease. Experts believe it would take decades and that it may be criticised by developing countries, *The New York Times* reported.

The plan reverses Clinton's decision to destroy microbes of the contagious disease by next year.

After the September 11 attacks and the spate of anthrax laced letters, the Bush administration couldn't but abandon its promise to destroy the stocks, officials said. Officials said that the remaining smallpox samples stored at a laboratory of the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta should not be destroyed until the nation develops at least two anti-viral drugs, a vaccine and other defensive measures. The Clinton Administration had assured other nations it would destroy the stocks by 2002.

PTI, New York

thing about our relationship is our relationship is strong enough to endure this difference of opinion. Our differences will not divide us as nations."

Putin also expounded on the importance of maintaining good relations, despite differences.

"We cannot fail to understand the importance of the quality of

this relationship — no matter how difficult the challenges are, how difficult the problems are that we are solving, such as the ABM treaty," Putin said in an interview with National Public Radio in New York after visiting the rubble of the World Trade Centre.

Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

17 NOV 2001



# Putin renews nuclear cut appeal

Disarmament 5-3 15/11

Washington, Nov. 14 (Reuters): Kremlin leader Vladimir Putin issued a fresh appeal to proceed quickly with cuts in nuclear arsenals after differences emerged on arms issues at White House summit talks with President George W. Bush.

Putin told academics and businessmen at the Russian embassy last evening that he had "no doubt that we will secure the understanding of the US" in moving ahead with the reductions long proposed by Moscow.

"Today's meeting with President Bush confirmed it. That's why Russia is declaring its readiness to proceed with significant reductions in its strategic weaponry," he said.

"That's why we today propose a radical programme of further reductions of strategic weapons to at least one third of current levels, to the minimum level necessary to maintain strategic balance in the

world." Putin sought reliance on "the existing foundation of disarmament treaties", a new allusion to Moscow's call to uphold the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile pact. Bush wants to abandon ABM treaty to build a missile shield against "rogue states".

Putin's proposals broke no new ground as Moscow, unable to maintain a large post-Soviet arsenal, has sought a level of 1,500 warheads for each side. Washington has roughly 7,000 deployed strategic warheads against Moscow's 6,000. Putin is to make another address today at Houston's Rice University in Bush's home state of Texas. He then heads for an overnight stay at the President's 1,600-acre ranch in central Texas.

Bush welcomes Russian President Vladimir Putin to his Texas ranch today, hoping some down-home hospitality can help soften Putin's scepticism over US missile defence plans.

"I can't wait for him to get to see Texas," Bush told reporters as he landed in Waco with First Lady Laura Bush a day ahead of Putin.

The Russian leader is to arrive with his wife, Lyudmila, at the president's ranch in Crawford, Texas this afternoon for an overnight stay.

Bush plans to treat Putin to Western-style entertainment and tour of his beloved ranch, as well as follow up on their talks in Washington on Tuesday on a new strategic relationship.

Bush had earlier proposed paring the US stockpile to between 1,700 and 2,200 warheads over the next decade, an offer Putin said Moscow would "try to respond to in kind." But the Russian President gave no precise figures.

The Russian side also appeared reticent over Bush's contention that no new treaty was needed to entrench the cuts.



Bush with family dogs Barney (foreground) and Spot (rear) at the Waco, Texas airport. (Reuters)

THE TELEGRAPH

15 NOV 2001

# Bush, Putin open talks on N-arms

REUTERS

WASHINGTON, Nov. 13. — The US and the Russian Presidents opened talks here today expected to result in sharp reductions in the two countries' nuclear weapons and a common position on the Afghan war.

It was, however, unclear whether they would be able to reach an accommodation on the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty to allow the USA to pursue a missile defence system while maintaining the 1972 accord, which expressly forbids it.

The two leaders were expected to announce on Tuesday a two-thirds reduction in each country's nuclear weapons arsenals, a tangible achievement for their fourth meeting since June and a strategic scenario impossible during the Cold War.

Mr Bush and Mr Putin were believed to be pursuing a scenario in which the USA would proceed with missile defence tests while keeping Moscow informed. In turn, Russia would not declare the tests to be ARM treaty violations.

Sitting side by side in the Oval Office, the two leaders got off to a chummy start as they began three days of meetings.

THE STATESMAN

1 5 NOV 2002

# America boycotts Nuclear Test Ban Treaty conference

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Disarmament 96-6

ASSOCIATED PRESS

UNITED NATIONS, NOVEMBER 12

THE United States did not attend a conference on speeding the ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty after reiterating last week that it did not support the pact.

At yesterday's session, Washington was the only nation not supporting the accord, while India and Pakistan — both new nuclear possessors — voted in favour along with Russia, China, Britain and France. The US, which signed the treaty in 1996, forced a vote last week in the UN committee on disarmament and security in order to demonstrate its opposition to the test ban accord.

Although Washington signed the pact five years ago, the republican-controlled senate rejected the treaty in 1999, saying that it is unenforceable.

Eliza Koch, a spokeswoman for the State Department, said the US had been invited to attend yesterday's conference as an observer, but

had decided not to go. "The purpose of the conference is to promote ratifications of the treaty and the administration has made clear that it has no plans to ask the senate to reconsider its 1999 vote on this issue," Koch said.

Of a total of 161 nations which signed Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, 84 have ratified it. But the treaty cannot take effect until all 44 countries possessing nuclear weapons or having civilian nuclear power programmes or laboratories have signed and ratified the treaty.

Only 31 such nations have ratified the 1996 accord banning nuclear tests in any environment, including Britain, France and Russia. The US is one of the 13 non-ratifiers.

At yesterday's conference, Annan had pointedly alluded to the US and stated that some of those nations with-holding their ratification "are states which themselves worked hard to conclude the treaty". He had further said that it was now within their power to bring it into force.

NDIAN EXPRESS

13 NOV 2001

# UN opens CTBT conference

**DEUTSCHE PRESSE AGENTUR**

UNHQ, Nov. 11. — The UN today opened a three-day conference on the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty with the intention to urge more states to ratify it so the treaty can be enforced.

The 11 September strikes have made it urgent for the treaty to be enforced, the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kofi Annan, said in his opening address.

Dr Annan said: "Those events should have made it clear to everyone that we cannot afford further proliferation of nuclear weapons. We must do everything we can to reduce the risk of such weapons falling into the hands of terrorists."

The conference elected the Mexican foreign minister, Mr Jorge Castaneda, to preside the debate and it also adopted the agenda for discussion. A total of 161 governments have signed CTBT, of which 84 have ratified.

**THE STATESMAN**

12 NOV 2001

ABM TREATY / 'TALKS CAN CLINCH A DEAL'

## Putin hints at compromise

WASHINGTON, NOV. 7. The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, has said his country and the United States could reach a compromise on strategic offensive and defensive weapons "quite quickly," if they applied due diligence.

"As to the offensive and defensive arms, yes, I think in that context we could reach quite quickly mutual agreements," Mr. Putin told ABC Television in an interview. "Anyway, our position in this is quite flexible. We believe that the ABM treaty of 1972 is important, essential, effective and useful, but we have a negotiating platform starting from which we could reach agreements. At least I hope so," he said.

The administration of the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, has declared the ABM treaty a relic of the past that prevents it from deploying an effective national missile defence system.

Administration officials insist

such a system is needed to defend the U.S. against a possible missile attack from nations such as Iran, Iraq and North Korea.

The U.S. has threatened to withdraw from the treaty if no accommodation is found. While underscoring the importance of the treaty, Mr. Putin said the two sides could find a mutually acceptable solution. "It's somewhat difficult for me to talk about this with certainty, but I should say the compromise can only be found as a result of very intense negotiations," he said.

"First of all, the ABM treaty already has a potential for creating or developing defensive systems," the Russian President explained.

"There are other provisions in the treaty based on which we could find common approaches."

His comments were the latest sign that the former Cold War foes could be nearing a historic compromise. Moscow has traditional-

ly seen the treaty as the cornerstone of strategic arms control and rejected the U.S. position that the pact is a Cold War relic. Room for compromise is seen in its desire, partly financial-driven, for deeper cuts in both sides' nuclear arsenals to reduce the risk that a missile shield would give Washington a strategic advantage.

Mr. Putin said Mr. Bush's position on missile defence was evolving. "His view is not fixed. I should be honest with you. We will be basing our position on building international security as we understand it."

The U.S. argues that the ABM was conceived for an era when security was based on the concept of mutual deterrence.

It says that the picture has changed now that "rogue states" have developed or sought to develop nuclear capabilities of their own. — AFP, Reuters

THE HINDU

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# Russia admits ABM is a relic, seeks new pact

Moscow, November 3

**RUSSIA CONCEDED** on Saturday that the 1972 ABM Treaty was a "relic of the Cold War" as Moscow and Washington marked a breakthrough in differences over missile defence on the eve of a summit between the two nations' presidents.

"We have been often told in the past that the ABM Treaty is a relic of the Cold War," Russian Defence Minister Sergei Ivanov told reporters at the Kremlin following closed-door negotiations with his US counterpart Donald Rumsfeld.

"In part, and I repeat in part, I agree with this. But all Russian-US agreements, and those reached with the Soviet Union

are — to a certain extent — relics of the Cold War," Ivanov said after Rumsfeld held brief talks with President Vladimir Putin.

The comments by Ivanov, regarded as among the more conservative military advisors in the Putin entourage, marked the clearest admission to date that Moscow was prepared to give up its grip on the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty just nine days before the landmark November 13-15 summit in Washington and Crawford, Texas.

The two sides are accelerating their negotiations on missile defence after Russia emerged as a key ally in the US-led military assault on Afghanistan, which neighbours three former Soviet republics. Adopting language of

the US administration in mapping a new post-Cold War relationship, Ivanov said Russia and the US, "as partners ... should look into the future together."

"But before dropping any one agreement, even though this is a sovereign right of the US, we believe it is better to do so when something new is already in place," said Ivanov.

Rumsfeld for his part said the US was interested in formulating new security agreements "for the 21st century", adding that he and Ivanov "had good discussions as to how should go about this".

Putin separately told Rumsfeld that "I am happy that our dialogue is proceeding according to plan", without going into

further details.

Ivanov stressed that Russia was unwilling to send its own soldiers into Afghanistan, where Soviet troops waged a brutal and eventually futile 1979-89 war.

Russia is ready to share intelligence information, Ivanov said, but not risk getting involved in Afghanistan again. "What is more, none of our partners has even asked for this."

Analysts agreed that Ivanov's ABM concession — while perhaps inevitable — meant that Moscow was looking for a long-term treaty that may take years to agree, but which should cement the air of good-will that has recently warmed relations between the two rivals.

Analysts agreed that Moscow

will now turn a blind eye on US tests of its missile defence project while Washington studies its options concerning a new strategic treaty with Russia.

"Russia is very concerned about collective security and Russia's role in the new system," added Sergei Markov, director of the Institute of Political Studies.

But he said that the Bush-Putin summit will be dominated by new agenda items — such as developing cooperation between two armies that for decades had been trained to eye other with distrust. "This is the first time the two sides' intelligence services have to cooperate in 50 years. ABM is already on the periphery."

AFP



Russian Defence Minister Sergei Ivanov (right) with his US counterpart Donald Rumsfeld in Moscow on Saturday.

# ABM by other means

By Pran Chopra

DISARMED  
7/9  
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7/10

**I**N DEALING with the U.S. plans for a missile defence system (NMD), the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, has shown, together, various qualities which he has shown, one by one, in dealing with other tricky situations. He has shown realism and pragmatism on the one hand and resoluteness on the other, with the ability to move steadily towards a foreseen goal even when he appears to be taking one ad hoc step after another without a chosen direction.

He has taken the very realistic view that Russia cannot prevent the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, from going ahead with NMD by violating the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 (ABM), but in the meantime he is also calculating what Russia might gain from that and how to maximise the gains. Some of all that might have implications for India.

It is a part of this game that each time America says "Here are some goodies. Now forget about ABM", Moscow replies with a resounding "No". But at the same time Moscow also indicates its willingness to be invited to a joint Russian-American review of global nuclear security to see whether ABM should be modified or discarded, and if the latter then what should replace it; and in either case how the concerns of other nuclear weapon powers should be accommodated. This of course implies three things. First, admission by America that there are still two superpowers, not one. Second, "negotiations" between the two, to which Mr. Bush remains most averse. And three, Russian respect, greater than America's, for the interests of the other nuclear weapon powers.

The more this diplomatic duel persists, the more credit Mr. Putin can claim for sweet reasonableness and the more blame Mr. Bush may get for arrogant unilateralism. As it is, the present American readiness to bypass international agreements, such as the Kyoto accords about the environment, irritates many world capitals, from Tokyo to Paris. Mr. Tony Blair's London may be an exception to that, but there also public opinion is not the same as the Government's policies in this respect. Early in August, a survey in the E.U. had shown high levels of public disapproval of disregard of treaties by Mr. Bush.

The latest thrusts in this duel are illustrative, and it was fascinating to watch them played out in Moscow up to mid-August. A couple of weeks earlier, Ms. Condoleezza Rice, National Security Advisor to Mr. Bush, visited Moscow, where she played a card with which India has had reason to be familiar. She gave smiling hints that her talks at the Kremlin had brought Mr. Putin closer to Mr. Bush on NMD. But her Russian counterpart was much quicker off the mark in pricking that bubble than anyone was in New Delhi. He made it plain that the talks were pleasant but did not add up to much more than

scheduled two. "Not because there were differences", Mr. Rumsfeld explained, but "because of efficiency". But the fact that there were differences tumbled out on August 13. Talking to American reporters about the NMD proposal by Mr. Bush, Mr. Putin emphasised "For us, it is unconditionally linked with both START-I and START-II. I would like (you) to understand that". He wanted to convey it very clearly that if America freed itself from ABM, Russia would consider itself freed from the restraints imposed these two agreements.

About NMD itself, Mr. Putin said "We would like to get military and technical pa-

***The more the diplomatic duel over NMD-ABM persists, the more credit Mr. Vladimir Putin can claim for sweet reasonableness and the more blame Mr. George W. Bush may get for arrogant unilateralism.***

rameters" of the proposal, which he said had been 'formulated' by Mr. Rumsfeld's department. But giving and discussing them would amount to 'negotiations', and the Russian Defence Minister, Mr. Sergei Ivanov, underlined that at a press conference he jointly addressed with Mr. Rumsfeld after their talks. He said "an understanding" would have to be reached about "the thresholds and limits, both on offensive and defensive systems" before "a new set of negotiations" could begin. He said he remained unconvinced that ABM could now be done away with, and that in the meantime "We feel no compunction to leave one or another treaty or accord which we currently have signed".

that. Plainer language followed a few days later.

The American Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, visited Moscow for what his hosts thought would be a trip for exploring possibilities through negotiations but which Washington saw differently, according to *New York Times*. The paper said on August 11 that Mr. Rumsfeld "is about to travel 10,000 miles to Moscow and back for one day of talks on missile defence and nuclear reductions at which no agreements are expected — because many officials believe the outcome is preordained and the American position has prevailed".

The paper summed up this 'position' as follows: "... the treaty that limits American missile systems (ABM) is obsolete" and Mr. Bush would not "slow testing and deployment". For good measure, the paper also quoted a "senior Defence Department official" as saying that while America would try to build a new relationship with Russia "it is a relationship that will require us to be moving beyond some of the institutions of the Cold War such as the ABM".

This and other reports of the same kind had preceded Mr. Rumsfeld to Moscow, and the chill that resulted surprised no one. The talks lasted one day, not the

rameters" of the proposal, which he said had been 'formulated' by Mr. Rumsfeld's department. But giving and discussing them would amount to 'negotiations', and the Russian Defence Minister, Mr. Sergei Ivanov, underlined that at a press conference he jointly addressed with Mr. Rumsfeld after their talks. He said "an understanding" would have to be reached about "the thresholds and limits, both on offensive and defensive systems" before "a new set of negotiations" could begin. He said he remained unconvinced that ABM could now be done away with, and that in the meantime "We feel no compunction to leave one or another treaty or accord which we currently have signed".

One found general agreement among official and non-official 'think-tanks' in Moscow over what Russia stands to gain from this flexible and yet resolute posture on NMD. The gains are seen to be only incremental as yet but capable of becoming more significant as they accumulate. First, improved stature in European eyes, as mentioned earlier, because greater acceptance by Europe is desired by most Russians and no less by Mr. Putin himself. Second, increased respect in Chinese eyes because, as is believed around the world, NMD is not sought by Mr. Bush for better

defence against some mythical "rogue state" but against some possible Chinese ambitions. Third, closer Sino-Russian proximity at the strategic level.

In fact, the Russian position on NMD ties in obviously well with Article 12 of the Treaty of "strategic collaboration" signed by Russia and China in the midst of the preoccupation of both with the future of ABM. Article 12 says "The Contracting Sides shall take joint efforts to maintain global strategic balance and stability and shall energetically promote compliance with the fundamental agreements that ensure the maintenance of strategic stability". The danger of instability in this domain is the principal argument Russia advances against violation of ABM.

There is also the more material possibility that if Russia and China have to erect military defences in a world which would be without the restraints of ABM and of START I and II, then Russia's defence research and manufacturing establishments, at present languishing for lack of custom, will have to get busy again, obviously more with the help of Chinese orders than with the present or foreseeable Indian orders. The financial burdens will indeed be great but do not intimidate those who believe that with all that Russia already has in its laboratories and on the drawing board, it will need to add only an affordable further effort to show that America will still be vulnerable despite NMD, and that will further fuel the second thoughts which are being expressed in America already. They will become an ABM by other means.

There are two footnotes to this. One is the opinion expressed by some Russian scholars of strategic affairs. They believe that a tussle has been going on between those in the Moscow establishment who favour greater proximity to China and those who favour Europe more, and the needs of the defence industry establishment will tilt the balance in favour of China. The second is that as financial implications come to the fore it will become clearer to the world that the real concern of the NMD lobby in America is not the defence of America but the financial health of its famed military-industrial complex for which the NMD budget that is talked about would be an elixir.

# US assurance to Russia, China

REUTERS

*Wannan 5:5 5/9*

GENEVA, Sept. 4. - The USA today reaffirmed its right to develop an anti-missile defence shield which it said should not stand in the way of its relations with Russia or China.

The US ambassador, Mr Robert Grey, also called for the USA and Russia to develop a new security framework following an agreement between their leaders to launch the process. Washington hoped the dialogue would be fruitful, he added.

Mr Grey was addressing the UN conference on disarmament, whose 66 member states wind up their annual session next week mired in an impasse on issues including outer space.

"The USA and its allies have an inherent right to adopt appropriate methods of defence. No one has the standing to deny this, nor can anyone

else can take that right away," Mr Grey said, adding that the right was enshrined in the UN Charter.

"US plans for missile defence are not aimed at Russia nor at China. The USA would like to build affirmative and forward-looking relations with Russia and China on political, economic and cultural levels. The issue of missile defence should not stand in the way and in practice we don't believe it does," he said.

The USA, which says it must confront an emerging missile threat from "rogue" states like Iraq, Iran, Libya and North Korea, is expected to withdraw unilaterally from the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty and start building a missile defence system, prohibited under the 1972 pact, unless a compromise with Moscow is reached by a November summit.

THE STATESMAN

- 5 SEP 2001



## National Defence Offence

From junking the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to unveiling the National Missile Defence plan to slowly moving towards physically testing nuclear weapons, in six short months, the Bush regime has travelled the entire distance from nuclear conservatism to overt nuclear showmanship. Perhaps it is just as well that Bush Jr is so open about his intentions. The world's only superpower no longer lectures lesser countries about the dangers of nuclear ambition. Indeed, America under Dubya is refreshingly candid. No frowning upon the fact that India defiantly gatecrashed into the nuclear club. No dark threats issued to us about signing the CTBT. No looming deadline on Fissile Material Cut Off Treaty. No forced dialogue with persistent American interlocutors. In this wonderfully liberal nuclear regime, we can even test and refine our arsenal of nuclear weapons, the only pre-condition being that we go along on the NMD. Official India may not have actually signed on the dotted line, but through its eloquent silence on the subject, it has conveyed to Washington precisely what the latter wants to hear. Back at the time India was obliquely hinting its support to the NMD, these columns had warned that the plan had the potential to introduce a dangerous dynamic into the stasis imposed by the doctrine of mutually assured destruction (MAD). In some respects, the certainty of MAD's macabre outcome would seem less fearful compared to the as yet unknown ramifications of the NMD. Today, as the United States goes about expanding what is permissible in nuclear powerplay, that fear would appear more and more justified.

Will India back the US should it decide to resume nuclear testing? We could, judging by our recent track record. Bill Clinton made the CTBT the centre-piece of America's defence policy with the same passion that Mr Bush is displaying with his NMD. To the newly-nuclear India, CTBT was just the negotiating instrument it needed to pacify an America fuming at our audacity and thus started the endless rounds of negotiations between Jaswant Singh and Strobe Talbott. Our foreign policy experts were convinced that CTBT was the shortest route to America's affections. Mr Clinton was followed by a successor who came in waving the NMD. And with the changed American lexicon, the NMD replaced the CTBT in India's strategic calculations. In short we'd do as we were bid. This is not to say that India should go back to the moral pedestal it once so imperiously occupied. When the world at large is guided by pragmatism, it devolves on us to do what is in our best interest. Which is why this paper cautiously supported India's nuclear tests. The imminent US sanctions against China over missile proliferation to Pakistan must be similarly welcomed. This illicit transfer has been a major irritant for us and more so because of seven years of deliberate fudging by the US. At the same time, we would do well to understand that this is merely America armtwisting China. Were nuclear proliferation Mr Bush's genuine concern, it is unlikely he would agree to China expanding its nuclear arsenal as reported, or, even more worryingly, himself plan further nuclear tests. After all, proliferation is not merely how many countries possess nuclear weapons but the quantum of weapons the nuclear powers themselves possess.

## U.S. is not satisfied with China over missile proliferation

WASHINGTON: The U.S. said on Thursday it was still not satisfied that China intended to honour a pledge to halt exports of nuclear-capable missiles and components — despite a day of talks on the issue in Beijing.

U.S. and Chinese experts met earlier in the Chinese capital following recent U.S. media reports that a Chinese state firm had sent missile components to Pakistan, in apparent violation of an agreement clinched last year.

“We’ll need to do additional work to clarify China’s willingness to implement fully the terms of the November 2000 missile agreement,” said state department spokesman Philip Reeker.

“We have not yet been fully satisfied in our discussions about that,” he said, adding the talks were “candid” — a term often applied in diplomatic circles to difficult or combative discussions.

U.S. officials had originally said that Friday would be available to

continue the talks if necessary — but Mr Reeker said no new meetings were planned.

The U.S. has made halting the flow of missiles to adversaries like Iraq, Iran and North Korea and flashpoint states like Pakistan a key foreign policy priority.

Beijing’s proliferation record is among a long list of glaring differences between the U.S. and China, which include human rights and security issues.

Recent intelligence leaks on the issue have heaped domestic political pressure on President George W. Bush as he prepares to visit Shanghai and Beijing in October. For example, prominent members of Congress have demanded immediate sanctions on Chinese firms.

Under the deal sealed between China and the administration of former president Bill Clinton, Beijing pledged not to help any country develop nuclear-capable ballistic missiles. (AFP)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

25 AUG 2001

# Rumsfeld hints at withdrawal from ABM

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17. - The USA may unilaterally withdraw from the 1972-Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty before reaching a deal with Russia on a new strategic framework, the US defence secretary, Mr Donald Rumsfeld announced.

It was not immediately clear whether the comment, made in an interview with a US television station, was meant as a signal that Washington was considering decoupling the issues of missile defence and strategic arms reductions that the USA and Russian presidents agreed to link at their meeting in Genoa last month.

Mr Rumsfeld told the KSDK-TV of St Louis, Missouri: "I got in from Moscow, having visited them about that. It's not clear what the way ahead will be.

"But I suspect that we'll either have to withdraw from the treaty, and then continue working with them on establishing a new relationship." He did not say what the other option would be.

Pentagon released the interview's transcript yesterday.

THE STATESMAN

18 AUG 2001

# US, Russia discuss ABM treaty end

UPI-11  
Moscow, August 13

*Discussions (missile talks)*

US DEFENCE Secretary Donald Rumsfeld went into a meeting with his Russian counterpart Sergei Ivanov on Monday after saying the two countries no longer needed deterrence pacts like the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty.

Rumsfeld is to discuss Russian opposition to scrapping the treaty, which Moscow says is a cornerstone of global stability.

He made it clear that Washington would go-ahead with missile defence plans which contravene ABM whatever Moscow's stance may be.

"Here you have an agreement between two states that was developed in 1972 during the Cold War that has outlived its usefulness," he said at a meeting with Russian journalists.

Rumsfeld's one-day Moscow talks are also due to include potential major cuts in the nuclear arsenals of both nations. He and Ivanov are to hold a half-hour tete-a-tete before being joined by experts. Russian media have said Rumsfeld would also meet President Vladimir Putin.

Russia is suspicious of US plans designed to protect the United States from potential attacks by "rogue states" and is reluctant to subscribe to any changes to the ABM treaty.

Rumsfeld said Washington's desire to get rid of the ABM treaty came from fundamental changes in bilateral relations and did not harm Russia's interests in any way.

"We don't have treaties with Mexico which keep us from bombing each other or attacking each other or...with Canada, or with England," he said.

"The idea that a limited missile defence system ought to bother anybody is silly," he added.

"The only one it's going to bother is someone who wants to lob a ballistic missile in on you, and we do not look at Russia as a country that has any desire to do that."

Rumsfeld said Moscow's opposition would not stop tests of elements of the missile defense system.

"Our President has decided that that is not a responsible policy...to remain vulnerable to ballistic missiles from countries like North Korea, or Iran or Iraq," he said.

On Sunday Rumsfeld said his talks would also span increased economic, political and military-to-military ties with Russia and urged Moscow to focus on rebuilding its economy.

"If Russia is going to prosper and succeed, which certainly is in the interest of the Russian people and the interest of Europe and the world, they are going to do it because of investment," Rumsfeld told journalists travelling with him.

"For the country to be seen as an environment that is hospitable for investment by Russians and everyone else in the world, we have to re-fashion the political and economic as well as the security relationship," the Defence Secretary added.

Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

14 AUG 2001

# CIA arms proliferation report indicts Russia, Iran, N. Korea

WASHINGTON: Russia's "commitment, ability and willingness to curb proliferation-related transfers remain uncertain," the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has said in its report to the Congress, claiming the country remains primary source of advanced conventional weapons to India and China.

The CIA's global proliferation report, covering up to the first half of 2000, also said Russia "continues to supply advanced conventional weapons to Iran and Syria, and it has negotiated new contracts with Libya and North Korea."

"We remain very concerned about the non-proliferation implications of such sales in several areas, monitoring Russian proliferation behaviour, therefore, will remain a very high priority," it said. "Russia supplied India with material for its civilian nuclear programme during the reporting period."

"Russian President Vladimir Putin, in May, amended the presidential decree on nuclear exports to allow the export in exceptional cases of nuclear materials, technology and equipment to countries that do not have full-scope International Atomic Energy

Agency (IAEA) safeguards such as India," the report noted.

During the first half of 2000, it said, Russian entities remained a significant source of dual-use biotechnology, chemicals, production technology and equipment for Iran. "Russia's biological and chemical expertise make it an attractive target for Iranians seeking technical information and training on biological warfare and chemical warfare-agent production processes".

According to the report, Iran has already manufactured and stockpiled several thousand tons of chemical weapons, including blister, blood choking agents, and the bombs and artillery shells for delivering them.

"Iran remains one of the most active countries seeking to acquire weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and advanced conventional weapon (ACW) technology from abroad... In doing so, Teheran is attempting to develop an indigenous capability to produce various types of weapons — chemical, biological and nuclear — and their delivery systems."

The evidence, the report com-

mented, indicated reflections of determined Iranian efforts to acquire WMD and ACW related equipment, materials and technology, focused primarily on entities in Russia, China, North Korea and western Europe.

On North Korea, the CIA said the country has produced enough plutonium for at least one, and possibly two nuclear weapons. "Pyongyang continues to acquire raw materials from out-of-country entities needed for its WMD and ballistic missile programmes."

"Throughout the first half of 2000 North Korea continued to export significant ballistic missile-related equipment and missile components, materials and technical expertise to countries in the Middle East, South Asia and North Africa," it said. "During this time frame, North Korea continued procurement of raw materials and components for its ballistic missile programmes from various foreign sources, especially through firms in China. We assess that North Korea is capable of producing and delivering via munitions a wide variety of chemical and biological agents." (PTI)

## Good progress in missile talks, says Putin

REUTERS

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MOSCOW, July 23. — Mr Vladimir Putin today said his deal with Mr George W Bush to link missile defence systems to cuts in the nuclear arsenal was a good progress rather than a breakthrough.

"There has been no principal breakthrough, indeed," the Kremlin quoted the Russian President as telling top ministers in Moscow after a meeting with Mr Bush at the G-8 summit in Genoa.

Russia has so far been reluctant to allow changes in the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty with Washington that bans the development of anti-missile systems. The USA wants to set up a missile defence system to avert potential attacks by so-called "rogue states" such as North Korea, Iran or Iraq.

US officials have said that Washington could withdraw from the 1972 treaty if it stands in the way of its missile defence plans. Russia says a US withdrawal from the pact could trigger a new arms race.

THE STATESMAN

# Bush, Putin to sustain talks on NMD

By Batuk Gathani

40-14 21/7  
**BRUSSELS, JULY 23.** After a two-hour meeting on Sunday in Genoa, Italy, the U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, and the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, have agreed to sustain and consolidate their cordial dialogue by agreeing to disagree. In a final press conference, each leader allowed himself to claim victory on the tense issues which link Mr. Bush's proposals of arms shield with Mr. Putin's strategy of arms cutbacks. They took significant steps to close the divide on defence issues agreeing on the need to "co-ordinate and couple" proposed cuts in nuclear arsenals with the development of missile defences.

A joint statement said: "We agree that major changes in the world require discussions of offensive and defensive systems. We already have strong and tangible

points of agreement." Mr. Bush said he was optimistic while Mr. Putin said the discussion on the offensive and defensive arms "as a set" had been unexpected and praised the former's approach to strategic issues saying his "mental reasoning is very deep and very profound".

Such agreement is interpreted as "a natural middle ground", pragmatic and consistent with the strategic aspirations of both sides.

For example, because of its dire economic circumstances, Russia needs to cut its strategic offensive weapons as it cannot afford to maintain and service its stockpile. This handicap can also be turned into a bargaining asset if Russians can manage to negotiate some advantage as Mr. Bush pursues his plan to deploy a missile defence. There is still intense speculation about the proposed missile de-

fence shield's shape, size and above all its strategic and scientific viability.

A series of meetings are proposed in coming weeks before the two Presidents again meet. Mr. Bush's National Security Adviser, Ms. Condoleezza Rice, will visit Moscow soon to discuss arrangements for security talks between Russian and American nuclear and defence specialists.

After the Genoa meeting — their second encounter in two months — the two leaders will meet in China in October and in November Mr. Putin will be the personal guest of Mr. Bush at his ranch in Texas. The U.S. Treasury Secretary, Mr. Paul O'Neill, and the Commerce Secretary, Mr. Donald Evans, will visit Moscow next week to pave way for the summit discussions on economic issues. Ms. Rice said both Presidents

wanted pre-summit ministerial talks to take place on an "aggressive schedule".

There is speculation about the extent of possible nuclear arms reduction and according to estimates the U.S. has about 7500 operational nuclear warheads against Russia's 6,500. The American officials have argued that in the context of 21st century strategic perceptions "development of missile defence is a search for security, not a search for advantages" and conclude that "just because Mr. Putin is willing to talk does not mean that he is also willing to agree".

But the bottomline is that there is a healthy rapport between the two Presidents. At their first meeting in June, Mr. Bush said he "was able to get a sense of his (Mr. Putin's) soul" and yesterday Mr. Putin praised Mr. Bush's reasoning.

5/6  
19/12  
TAKING A STAND  
Russia and China oppose the NMD *Disc*

ALTHOUGH both Vladimir Putin and Jiang Zemin are careful to stress that the Good Neighbourly Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation is not a military alliance and is not aimed at any third party, it is clear that America's geopolitical weight, measured by its economy and its military might, is one of their principal concerns. Of course, there are other issues on which the two countries can seek common ground. There is the question of terrorism in Central Asia and Xinjiang and the war in Chechnya leading to the formation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation regrouping Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, along with Russia and China. What brings the two countries closer at this juncture is the impending change in the global strategic balance due to the possible deployment of a national missile defence system by the United States, purportedly aimed at rogue states like North Korea, Iraq and Iran, but which will definitely give the Americans the technological capability of reducing the effectiveness of the nuclear arsenals of Russia and China. Thus the insistence on retaining the 1972 ABM treaty on the basis of which Russia had agreed to drastically reduce its nuclear arsenal on condition that no anti-ballistic missile defence system be deployed except to the extent specified in the treaty. Both understand that any significant change in the strategic balance would also radically alter power equations with the US.

The Russians have already seen Nato reducing their ally Slobodan Milosevic to insignificance and even poking its nose in Chechnya, while the Chinese suffer continuously from the umbrella the United States provides to Taiwan and the presence it maintains in the Asia-Pacific — in Japan and in South Korea. Whether this declaration upholding the ABM treaty will lead to the formulation of a joint military and strategic response, if and when the US deploys the NMD, is a matter of conjecture. Even if such a response is not targeted specifically at the United States, it will divide global strategic interests into two camps which may, ultimately, adopt adversarial positions on certain issues, drawing in portions of the world community sympathetic to their respective causes. There are limits to which such hostility can be taken in a world where trade and investment reign supreme, but the emergence of informal blocs cannot be ruled out, if the US breaks the global strategic consensus. These blocs may not be as hard as the ones that existed during the Cold War, but will certainly be much harder than the one formed, in the Security Council recently, by France, Russia and China, on Iraq.



# Russia, China to oppose US missile defence plan

BY PATRICK E. TYLER  
New York Times Service

Moscow, July 17: Russia and China signed a treaty of "friendship and cooperation" on Monday that binds to two nations more closely over the next 20 years but also commits them to oppose much of the framework for international security that the United States is seeking to erect after the Cold War.

The 25 articles of text joined Russia and China formally in opposition against America's missile defence plans, placed Russia more firmly behind China's claim of sovereignty over the island of Taiwan, and strengthened military cooperation between Beijing and Moscow while rejecting the kind of humanitarian intervention that Nato undertook in the Balkans in 1999.

The treaty, which China sought and which was concluded in a Kremlin ceremony marked by effusive gestures of camaraderie, reflected the deep concerns shared by Moscow and Beijing about a new world order dominated by the United States and its European allies.

It likely will be the centre of discussion later this week when President George W. Bush and the leaders of the six other largest industrial countries meet President Vladimir Putin of Russia in Geneva. Both Mr Putin and President Jiang Zemin of China went to some length to explain that the treaty is the first such instrument signed since the era of Stalin and Mao, was an agreement between neighbours seeking a new stability for Asian growth and development rather than a document creating a military alliance.



PASSIVE PARTNERS: Russian President Vladimir Putin and his Chinese counterpart Jiang Zemin greet the public during their visit to the State University in Moscow on Tuesday. Russia and China threw a challenge to America's domination of the post-Cold War world and its controversial plans for a missile defence shield. (Reuters)

In a joint statement, the two men said they hoped for a "just and rational new international order" and that the merger of their interests enshrined on Monday were "not directed against third countries." But in a striking similarity to the treaty politics of the Cold War, when Soviet leaders wanted Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford to sign thinly disguised accords against Maoist China, the pact signed here on Monday requires Moscow and Beijing to coordinate their responses in the event that either country is subjected to pressure or aggression from another power.

"In case of the emergence of the threat of aggression," the treaty stated, "the two sides shall immediately make contact with each other and carry out consultations in order to eliminate the emerging threat." A Russian commentator

here described the treaty as "an act of friendship against America." In addition, the treaty elaborated on Mr Putin's and Mr Jiang's opposition to the policy of humanitarian intervention, established during Nato's campaign to stop Serbian violence against Kosovar civilians. It said Russia and China "stand for strict observance of the generally recognised principles and norms of international law against any actions aimed at forced pressure or at interference, under any pretext, into domestic affairs of sovereign states." Russia's affirmation of Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan, now cemented in the more muscular confines of the treaty, followed the Bush administration's decision earlier this year to sell a new array of weaponry to the island, which has been estranged from the mainland for half a century.

# US threat to violate ABM

REUTERS

WASHINGTON, July 12. - The US has told Russia and its allies that it expects its development of a missile defence will conflict with a Cold War-era treaty in months, not years, documents obtained by Reuters showed.

At the Pentagon, an official said yesterday U.S. defence officials would outline a missile defence plan today proposing breaking ground at a test site in Alaska next month.

The state department spokesman, Mr Richard Boucher confirmed the authenticity of the

documents, saying embassies had been sent the documents a week ago as guidance to support missile defence.

According to the documents, Washington has told Russia it plans to violate the 1972 Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty.

Moscow has viewed the treaty as the cornerstone of strategic arms control though Russian leaders have said recently it would consider amending the pact.

The papers said the US had told its allies and Russia that it would seek capabilities prohibited under the pact, including sea-based and other mobile

methods - such as an airborne laser - to shoot down long-range missiles in an action often compared to chasing a bullet with a bullet.

The documents were the most explicit public sign yet of what a senior State Department official said Washington had told Russia and its allies months ago - that the Bush administration expected to depart from ABM sooner rather than later.

The documents said that a test system for fiscal year 2002, which begins on 1 October marked a first step in reviewing the approach of the Clinton administration, whose policy

was to amend rather than scrap the 29-year-old treaty. The next test is due on Saturday.

President Bush's proposed 2002 defence budget submitted to Congress on June 27 seeks \$8.3 billion for missile defence, nearly 50 percent more than in the current budget.

Mr Bush argues with the end of the Cold War, US-Russian relations should no longer be based on "Mutual Assured Destruction," and that the key danger is now from "rogue states" like North Korea, Iran and Iraq.

## Russia proposes drastic nuclear arms cuts

**MOSCOW JULY 6.** Moscow made radical new proposals today to cut by 10,000 warheads the nuclear arsenals of five nations with the largest stockpiles — Russia, the U.S., Britain, China and France.

Under the plan outlined by the Foreign Ministry in Moscow, 14,000 warheads would be reduced to 4,000 by 2009, a spokesman, Mr. Alexander Yakovenko, said.

The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, had discussed the

initiative with the French leader, Mr. Jacques Chirac, during their talks in Moscow earlier this week.

If the cuts are agreed, the five nations — all members of the U.N. Security Council — would immediately start joint consultations about strategic stability, Mr. Yakovenko said. Without naming India or Pakistan, the official said Russia hopes "other members of the nuclear club" would show restraint as the five nations worked together. — DPA

# Greenpeace activists hit Star Wars base in England

London, July 3

GREENPEACE ACTIVISTS today broke into a major British defence site in protest at the UK's involvement in the US national missile defence programme.

More than 100 peace protesters entered Menwith Hill spy base, near Harrogate, North Yorkshire, at 5 am.

Greenpeace claims that one group of 50 activists, some carrying flags with the message "Star Wars Starts Wars" and others dressed as missiles, walked

straight through the main gate to the complex playing the theme tune to *Mission: Impossible*.

Two other teams scaled three-metre-high razor wire fences to enter the base.

A number of protesters, dressed in boiler suits with the words "Stop Star Wars" written on, chained themselves to a water tower on a radar building at the base. Others stood outside the entrance to the site and waved banners, flags and model missiles at US military personnel entering the base.

"At the moment, we have 20 people on top of the radar building, 15 on top of the water tower and another 15 in various locations around the base," a Greenpeace spokesman said.

"We will stay there for as long as we possibly can," Greenpeace said. "The Ministry of Defence police have dragged about 50 of us off the base. We have not been harshly treated but there are a few scrapes and bumps as people have been ejected off the site." North Yorkshire police said it had 10 officers outside the gates to prevent

further breaches of security.

Helen Wallace, who is one of the protesters, said a number of activists had been arrested. "I am chained to a water tower in the site. There are around 20 people here on top of the tower, and other people chained down below," she told BBC Radio 4's Today programme.

"A number of people have been arrested. However, we are going to stay here continuing to make our point that Menwith Hill is part of Bush's dangerous Star Wars plan."

Reuters

# NATO top policy-makers sceptical of NMD plan

ASSOCIATED PRESS  
BUDAPEST, MAY 29

NATO's top policy-making body today stopped far short of endorsing the US plan for a national missile defence (NMD), preparing to offer only to "continue substantive consultations" with Washington.

A draft statement to be issued later in the day by the North Atlantic Council does not portray the possibility of missile attack as a common threat faced by allies, as the United States had hoped. The statement was obtained by AP.

US Secretary of State Colin Powell had hoped to persuade sceptical NATO allies to be more supportive of US missile defence plans.

But, according to sources close to the process who spoke on the condition of anonymity, France and Germany resisted stronger language sought by Powell.

NATO allies "intend to pursue these consultations vigorously, and welcome the United States' assurance that the views of allies will be taken into account as it considers its plans further," the draft statement said.

The statement was prepared for the North Atlantic Council, the alliance's top policy-making board, which is made up of for-



European Union security chief Javier Solana, left, gestures as US Secretary of State Colin Powell, centre, talks to NATO Secretary General Lord George Robertson, second from right, and Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban, prior to the opening session of the NATO foreign ministers' meeting in Budapest on Tuesday - PTI

eign ministers of the 19 NATO nations.

In a minor victory, Powell was able to persuade NATO foreign ministers to omit from the joint statement any mention of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Last year's joint statement called the treaty "the cornerstone of strategic stability."

The US wants to scrap or heavily modify the treaty, which prohibits development of national missile defence systems.

In addition to presenting US views on missile defence, Powell also sought to assure allies that the US would not pull its peace-

keeping forces out of the Balkans, despite comments by US Defence Secretary Donald H Rumsfeld suggesting the US role in Bosnia was near an end.

US officials had worked behind the scenes to win approval of proposed language for a joint statement that would cite a "common threat" of missile attack in a section referring to the US missile defence plan.

That would be stronger than the phrase "potential threat" that was in a year-earlier statement.

But the United States failed to get the stronger language included.

ARMAN CAP...

## Russia rejects U.S. offer on NMD

By Vladimir Radyuhin

140-16  
2505

**MOSCOW, May 29.** Moscow has rejected the U.S. offer of military aid to Russia aimed at buying Russian consent to scrap the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty.

Russia's Defence Minister, Mr. Sergei Ivanov, and the Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, both snubbed U.S. Administration hopes to secure Moscow's support for the National Missile Defence (NMD) system by offering Russia financial assistance to improve its early warning systems and by purchasing its S-300 air-defence complexes. The proposals, first reported by the *New York Times* on Monday, were later confirmed by White House officials.

"If such proposals come — we have not yet received them — I am sure that they will not solve the ABM issue," Mr. Sergei Ivanov told a news conference in Moscow. He said Moscow would consider any order from Washington for the S-300 system as a pure business proposition and would not tie a sale to a softening of its stance against the missile shield.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, also denied that a U.S. offer to buy the S-300 systems could sway Russia on the missile defence issue. "Our position on strategic stability is unchanged", the Minister said.

# Russia warns against ABM dismantling

Moscow, June 19

RUSSIAN PRESIDENT Vladimir Putin said he and President Bush reached a "very high level" of trust during their weekend summit, but warned that Russia would strengthen its nuclear arsenal if the United States developed missile defenses that undermined key security treaties.

In a 2-hour interview on Monday night with American reporters in the wood-paneled Kremlin library, Putin said Bush was a "very attentive listener" during the meeting in Slovenia. Putin said he was pleased America no longer considered Russia an enemy.

Specialists, Putin said, had been assigned to analyse possible threats and how the treaty might affect efforts to counter them. But he was clear that Russia didn't see the same threats as the United States does.

"Here we do not have a common position," Putin said. Putin said he was worried about possible unilateral action such as US abrogation of nuclear treaty commitments. But he said Russia would strengthen its nuclear capability — a claim Russia has made in the past — if America insisted on going it alone.

"But at least for the next 25 years, unilateral action will not cause substantial detriment to the national security interests of Russia," he said. Putin also repeated Russia's position that the United States should not abandon the ABM treaty, saying that would undermine efforts to limit the numbers of nuclear weapons.

The mini-summit was the first between Bush and Putin, and the meeting the Kremlin had ardently pursued was a prize for



Russian President Vladimir Putin, centre, gestures during a meeting with American reporters at the Kremlin in Moscow on Monday.

Putin. The globe-trotting Russian leader had visited China just before Slovenia and made lightning stops in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, and in Kosovo on his way home. Putin revealed publicly for the first time that he had passed on a message from Chinese President Jiang Zemin to Bush saying his country was ready to put the April downing of a US reconnaissance plane by the Chinese military behind them.

While acknowledging that Russia is not an equal partner in its relationship with the United States, Putin seemed confident and optimistic about Russia's future and pleased by Bush's assessment that he was a man who could be trusted.

"It seemed to me the words that we said during the press conference were not just formal statements," Putin said. "They indeed reflected a very high level of trust between the two of us."

AP

## Ex-spy Putin in good company

RUSSIAN PRESIDENT Vladimir Putin spoke with pride about his years in the former Soviet security services, noting that it puts him in the same class as American statesmen Henry Kissinger and former President George Bush.

Kissinger had told him a decent person started in intelligence. "And I did, too," Putin said. He also referred to President George W Bush's father, noting the former intelligence director "was not working in a laundry, he was working in the CIA."

AP, Moscow

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# The NMD Opportunity

## India Could Benefit From US Plans

19/6  
M-10  
By MADHAVAN K PALAT

THE purpose of the Nuclear Missile Defence (NMD) is to tear up the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty of 1972 (revised in 1974) by which neither the US nor the Soviet Union were allowed to maintain more than one missile defence site and 100 interceptors each. Thus both were equally open to missile attack by the other side. This was the nuclear balance of terror or strategic parity between the superpowers of the Cold war. As a side effect, it left the US vulnerable to Chinese attack, limited as the Chinese capacity of 20 intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) was.

Through the NMD, the US would create the capacity to attack missiles as soon as they are launched. Thus the US would be safe, all others vulnerable, and the strategic balance would be destroyed. According to the Americans, this merely registers the reality that the cold war has ended, that the Soviet Union is no more, and that Russia cannot presume to speak to the US on equal terms.

The Russian protest has been ambiguous. Russia is agreeable to revising the ABM treaty, but not to the US doing so on its own. It insists on a joint revision. However, if the strategic parity recognised in 1972 has dissolved, then this treaty would be jointly revised by parties that are acknowledged to be unequal and it would in any case register the inferiority of Russia. The essential difference is between the US unilaterally proclaiming Russian impotence and the Russians themselves confessing to it.

Russia has reconciled itself to the end of the ABM of 1972; but it wants to negotiate the best for itself. Small wonder then that President Bush has generously offered to consult Russia when he unveiled his new strategic vision. Russia has been consistent in accepting strategic inferiority. When NATO expanded into East Europe, Russia shouted itself hoarse, but then quietly submitted to a non-decision making or purely consultative position for itself in NATO, the formula of a "voice but not veto". Yugoslavia was dismembered through the Bosnian war and the NATO assault on Serbia.

But Russia is relatively sanguine about the NMD for technological reasons. The NMD has not yet been proven effective, and Russian offensive capacity has not

dissipated. It would be long before America could demonstrate the effectiveness of NMD; by then Russia hopes perhaps to establish new equations on the basis of recovery.

China sees it differently. It now loses the deterrent advantage of its paltry nuclear arsenal. The NMD plans reveal a capacity to strike at just the level of 20-25 ICBMs that China possesses. China has interpreted NMD as directed against itself. This is perhaps correct in the short term, read with other American provocative actions like arming Taiwan, human rights interventions (including a Nobel Prize to a Chinese author) and a higher profile for the Tibetan cause.

China, unlike Russia, cannot join America in a joint missile programme. So it joined with Russia to protest; but Russia merely used it to fortify the Russian bargaining position without China getting anything in return. China further

### IN BRIEF

- Russia is sanguine about NMD for technological reasons
- An arms race with the US will be disastrous for China
- India can derive many advantages from NMD
- But it must steer clear of an anti-China stand

threatens to engage in an arms race with the US. If so, it would be disastrous for its economy, as the Soviet Union learned to its cost by the end of the cold war. Perhaps that is part of the American calculation. It could also be bloody-minded and proliferate to Pakistan as before.

The implications for India are many, but unexpectedly advantageous. We could benefit doubly from further Russian strategic decline. The more Russia accepts a second position and the more it cooperates with the US, the less the US needs the Pakistani military dictatorship and the warmer the US would be to India. At the same time, Indo-Russian relations would retain its vigour without its anti-US thrust. The decay of Russia is of its own making, nothing to do with India; and Russia has long preceded India in all forms of partnership with the US. It would be meaningless for Russia to side up to Pakistan, which is enough of a pain in the neck through the Taliban in Central Asia. India, among with China, is the largest arms market

for Russia; and the Russian armaments industry is the only one that competes internationally. India also provides a fertile field for nuclear and space collaboration. Thus Indo-Russian relations shall flourish as Russia falters and Indo-US relations prosper.

The effects of Chinese action are less certain. With China in an arms race, we would have to rework our calculations on minimum deterrence. But our nuclear lobby would welcome it as a boon that would further validate our weaponisation and reinforce our arguments to Washington.

China could, out of pique, proliferate to Pakistan more than before. However, China is in a weaker position now. Formerly a US-Pakistan-China axis operated against an Indo-Soviet (Russian) one. On that basis the US discreetly endorsed the Chinese proliferation to Pakistan. Now the US would be hostile, not for love of India, but for fear that an unemployed Pakistan military dictatorship would degenerate into a "rogue state". Bereft of its cold war job as a US frontline state, such a dictatorship would be reduced to perpetual adventurism in Kashmir, Afghanistan and elsewhere.

The US would have to worry seriously about nuclear irresponsibility by its former satellite. Thus provocative Chinese proliferation to Pakistan must lead to American pressures on the Pakistani army to the benefit of India. On the other hand, were China to play it cautious and reduce its involvement with Pakistan, India stands to gain from the double isolation of Pakistan from its principal allies of the cold war, the US and China.

India could derive many advantages from NMD, but it must play its cards carefully. It must not descend into an American frontline state in the Pakistani manner. It must not be enticed into becoming a base for anti-Chinese Tibetan operations, nor must it be foolish enough to allow NMD missile bases. It should be able to wrest concessions on sanctions, nuclear programmes, technology, and Pakistan, without having to surrender itself, in word or deed. If India could withstand the painful consequences of American hostility through half a century of non-alignment, there is no reason for it to collapse under the weight of American friendship.

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... from Home

THE TIME ...

JUN 20 1991



# Putin cautions USA on missile defence

17/6 REUTERS

KRANTU (Slovenia), June 16.

— The Russian President today cautioned the USA against deploying an anti-missile defence shield unilaterally, but said he was convinced the two powers could work together constructively on security matters.

"Any unilateral actions can only make more complicated various problems and issues," Mr Vladimir said after his first summit with Mr George W Bush, in a clear reference to Washington's missile shield proposal.

Mr Putin, speaking through an interpreter, reaffirmed his support for the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty about which the Bush administration has reservations.

"We proceed from the idea that the 1972 ABM treaty is the cornerstone of the modern architecture of security. We proceed from the premise that there are elements that unite us with our partners in the USA."

Mr Putin echoed the US President's upbeat assessment of their first meeting: "I'm convinced that ahead of us we've a constructive dialogue."

Mr Bush said he would send his treasury and commerce secretaries to Moscow soon for talks on boosting economic ties. He also pledged US support for Russia's bid to join the World Trade Organisation and praised Mr Putin for his tax reforms.

The Presidents emerged from the one-hour-forty-minutes meeting, 80 minutes more than originally planned, determined to be engaged in a far deeper dialogue, DPA adds.

Mr Bush said part of the forthcoming dialogue would focus on the missile defence, which, he stressed to Mr Putin, had to be for the benefit of both countries in a new era.

"I looked him in the eye and found him to be very straightforward and trust-

worthy," Mr Bush said, while Mr Putin stressed it had been "good to talk to people who make things happen."

He said the two nations were "not enemies, and can become good allies". He is looking forward to meeting Mr Bush in the USA "on his ranch" next autumn. He had invited Mr Bush to his home, too.

**Bush on Nato expansion:** The US President yesterday said Nato should expand right up to Russia's borders if former Soviet states fulfil the necessary criteria, *The Times, London*. adds from Washington.

Advancing his father's post-Cold War vision of a "whole and free" Europe, Mr Bush said Mr Putin would not be allowed to veto Nato's expansion. Russia opposes the admission of the three Baltic states, but Mr Bush felt while planning next year's Nato summit in Prague, the allies "should not calculate how little we can get away with, but how much we can do to advance the cause of freedom".

"It's time to put talk of East and West behind us," he said, in the city where the Warsaw Pact was signed in 1955. "Our goal is to erase the false lines that have divided Europe for too long. The future of every European nation must be determined by the progress of internal reform, not the interests of outside powers. As we plan to enlarge Nato, no country should be used as a pawn in the agendas of others. We will not trade away the fate of free European peoples. No more Munichs. No more Yaltas."

The US President, however, emphasised that he wanted Russia as a partner and an ally, not an enemy.

"I will express to President Putin that Russia is part of Europe and therefore does not need a buffer zone of insecure states separating it from Europe," he said. "Nato, even as it grows, is no enemy of Russia. America is no enemy of Russia. We seek a constructive relationship with Russia for the benefit of all our peoples."

THE STAR 1998

# DISARMAMENT PLANS

## Complications Arise In Specific Situations

**D**ISARMAMENT is a philosopher's dream, but a soldier's dilemma. It remains a paradox. A broad historical analysis traces the roots of disarmament to Mahabharat times and to the sixth century BC when the Chinese conference on disarmament was held. Therefore, President Bush's acceptance of the NMD philosophy as against cuts in their nuclear arsenal has to be viewed sceptically.

According to the book of Manu, ancient Hindus outlawed the use of barbed, poisonous and flaming projectiles, which is a form of disarmament and arms control. Since then attempts have been made to outlaw crossbows, submarines, missiles and nuclear weapons. This century has seen two world wars. In the post second world war period

and especially during the cold war period between 1970-1990, more than 15 disarmament related treaties were initiated, some of which India has been constrained to sign perhaps due to the interplay of forces in the South Asian region.

### MALTHUSIAN TRAP

Therefore, it becomes imperative to analyse the dominant factors like security perceptions in relation to deterrence and disarmament. Even the danger of an accidental war has to be offset by confidence building measures and such actions.

First, one can highlight the major schools of thought on national security, their major points of agreement and disagreement as regards disarmament. The dominant paradigm of conflict will be energy based in a post-2000 scenario where the shrinking of the earth's resources coupled with population expansion could lead the world to a Malthusian trap of war, social upheaval and ecological catastrophes. Logically, there is need for trans-disciplinary interaction and with a multi-disciplinary approach under the aegis of the United Nations.

It should invite a cross-pollination of ideas from countries which at times have been coerced into becoming signatories. NPT is the most prominent case, where the P-5 have imposed their hegemony and coerced nations into acceptance. Regretfully, in most cases the outlawing of weapons

*The author is a fellow of the Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis.*

By AK LAL

has been motivated more by a desire to curb a new area of military competition than by any sense of moral revulsion.

The renegotiations of the ABM Treaty between USA and Russia has to be seen from a perspective where Russia would be coerced or lured in

security as a requisite. Therefore, nations have to decide military preparations not based on unilateralism or militarism but a pragmatic analysis of the threat perception and the level of deterrence required.

In India's case, the shield should be indigenous or at least self-reliant (unlike the analogy

of Korea, Taiwan or Japan). It may be by a mutually benefiting loose strategic alliance with the technological controls in our hand. It should not be mixed up with hard military alliances like Nato or the erstwhile Cento. Obviously, it would be also mutually more cost effective and thus more affordable. It would promote our defence strategy to an "offensive-defensive stance". It may even facilitate calling the Pakis-

tani nuclear bluff and shifting the conventional strategic deterrence edge back in India's favour.

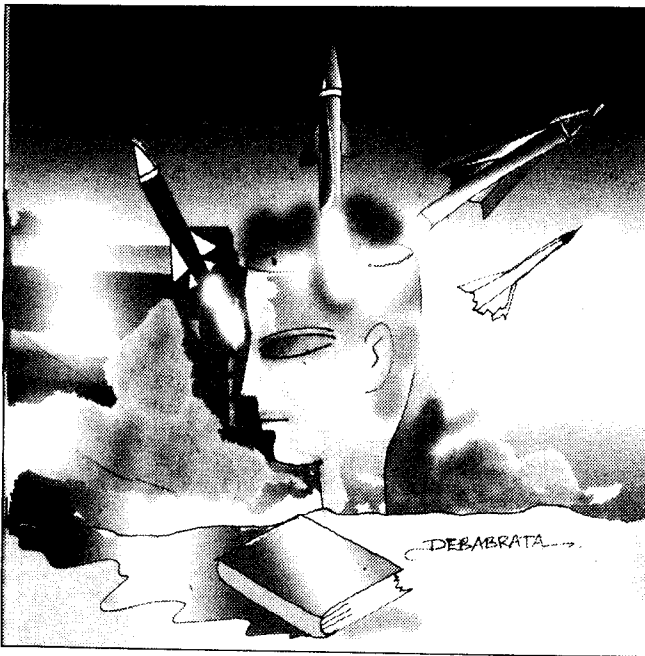
### DETERRENCE

Thirdly, one would also highlight the underlying principals of a "just war" as they get linked with various international/UN treaties. In fact, both traditional subdivisions of the "just war" theory are forms of arm control. "Jus ad bellum", or justice of war, concerns prohibitions on the initiation of hostilities and jus in bello, or justice in war concerns restraints on violence once hostilities have begun. The case of the Kargil war is apt to be recalled where India fought a just war with adequate restraint.

Thus, reducing the likelihood of war and limiting its scope and duration are professed objectives of modern arms control advocates and inasmuch as the laws of war facilitate these objectives, they constitute arms control measures.

Finally, one can magnify the relationship between nuclear deterrence and arms control per se, as is relevant today in the Indian sub-continent and that too with the NMD process. As a general concept, deterrence is relatively simple. Yet it becomes a complicated issue when applied to specific situations (like in J&K) or strategies.

Deterrence depends on human perceptions, which are subject to interference from emotions like hope and fear and on their credibility and stability. A stable deterrence should become the genesis for disarmament.



terms of economic benefits. The United States is offering to help Russia to finish the building of the radar, near Irkutsk, Serbia.

That is where the discrimination lies in security perceptions and could be identified as the core problem. The initiation of a Nuclear Weapons Convention is probably the answer to a total ban on all nuclear weapons. If there are zero nuclear weapons, the logic of a shield will not arise.

Secondly, one would like to share a few thoughts on the complexity of disarmament and deterrence in the context of the India, China, Pakistan balance of power. Mark Twain once observed that, "For every complex and difficult problem there is always a simple and easy solution and it is always wrong". Simple solutions can seem effective temporarily, but they usually manage to leave the real problem unsolved.

### COMPLEX

Disarmament falls in this category as they look simplistic but are very complex. To understand them there is a case for studying the relationship between arms control, disarmament and the strategy of defence; as treaties ban or restrict development or deployment and may work to the detriment of national security.

Therefore, any renegotiation of the ABM Treaty should involve a world consensus for collective global security rather than unilateralism, which rightfully is India's stand. However, unilateral disarmers believe modern weapons are so dangerous that global security has supplanted national

# Russia, China oppose NMD

REUTERS

SHANGHAI, June 14. - The Chinese President, Mr Jiang Zemin, and his Russian counterpart, Mr Vladimir Putin, today showed a united front against US plans to build a national missile defence system.

But Mr Zemin sounded a conciliatory note on China-US ties, calling for a "constructive" relationship with Washington, the Russian foreign minister, Mr Igor Ivanov, said.

Mr Zemin and Mr Putin met in Shanghai to kick off a six-nation summit aimed at combating Islamic militancy in Central Asia.

The Shanghai Five - China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan - are expected to join forces against Mr Bush's missile defence plans as he heads into a summit with the European Union.

"President Putin reiterated Russia's position on that matter and China stated that it will support Russia in its efforts to maintain the global equilibrium," a Chinese foreign ministry spokesman said.

Mr Zemin's meeting with Mr Putin was the first of three planned for this year as Moscow and Beijing forge a new alliance based largely on fears of



CONCERT OF EURASIA: (Left to right) Uzbek President Mr Islam Karimov, Kyrgyz President Mr Askar Akayev, Russian President Mr Vladimir Putin, Chinese President Mr Jiang Zemin and Kazakh President Mr Nursultan Nazarbayev make a toast after signing a joint statement in Shanghai on Thursday. - AP/PTI

Islamic separatist unrest and on opposition to US policies.

On NMD, Mr Ivanov said: "Our views on this coincide with China." But he added that Mr Zemin and Mr Putin had discussed the Russian leader's coming meeting with Mr Bush. Kremlin officials yesterday said Mr Bush's NMD plan threatened global security, backing China's frequent warnings that the plan could trigger a new global arms race.

Moscow and Beijing also share

common ground in seeking to offset growing US influence in oil-rich Central Asia.

USA is the largest foreign investor in Kazakhstan's oil and gas industries and has provided millions of dollars in military aid to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan.

The Shanghai Five, formed in 1996 to resolve Sino-Soviet border disputes, admitted Uzbekistan as a new member today and agreed to change its name to "Shanghai Cooperation Or-

ganisation."

The group will sign two pacts tomorrow, one on establishing the new organisation and one on boosting cross-border cooperation to fight "extremists", he said.

The chief concern of most member states is the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, which has led armed incursions across the region over the last two years in an attempt to create an independent Islamic state.

IND. STATE  
JUN 15 1996

# Bush push for NMD support

Brussels, June 13

FK-11  
**PRESIDENT BUSH** urged Nato allies on Wednesday to modernise their forces and prepare to face up to new security threats.

In brief opening remarks to an informal summit at alliance headquarters in Brussels, Bush gave a clear signal he would be trying to win support for his still-undefined vision of a missile defense system. He was expected to give alliance leaders more details of his thinking on missile defense, trying to convince them that it is aimed at preventing nuclear blackmail by rogue states rather than at winning strategic superiority over Russia.

Many US allies fear plans for a missile defense shield may upset three decades of strategic stability because it will require amending or abandoning the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty which forbids such defensive systems. Bush lauded the alliance's progress in recent years, particularly in fighting ethnic cleansing in the Balkans and helping topple "dictator" and former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, but said: "There is more to do."

"We must strengthen our alliance, modernize our forces and prepare for new threats," he

Israel and Australia — chained themselves to the airport gates and made a human chain in protest at U.S. policy. Hundreds of protesters had demonstrated peacefully late on Tuesday outside the U.S. embassy in Brussels.

Police threw a security cordon around the NATO complex, closing roads and disrupting some commuter traffic.

## Bush triggers ABM debate:

Speaking in Madrid on Tuesday, on the first stop of a trip that also takes him to Sweden, Poland and Slovenia, where he will meet Russian President Vladimir Putin, Bush bluntly dismissed the ABM treaty as a "relic."

Russia and China have criticized Bush's thinking on missile defense, saying it could spur an arms race. The president has argued for a system of interceptors to protect against incoming missiles from "rogue" states like North Korea and Libya.

He argues it is needed in a world where the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction — nuclear, chemical or biological — and of the missiles to deliver them leaves the United States and its allies vulnerable to "blackmail."

Reuters

told leaders of the Western security alliance.

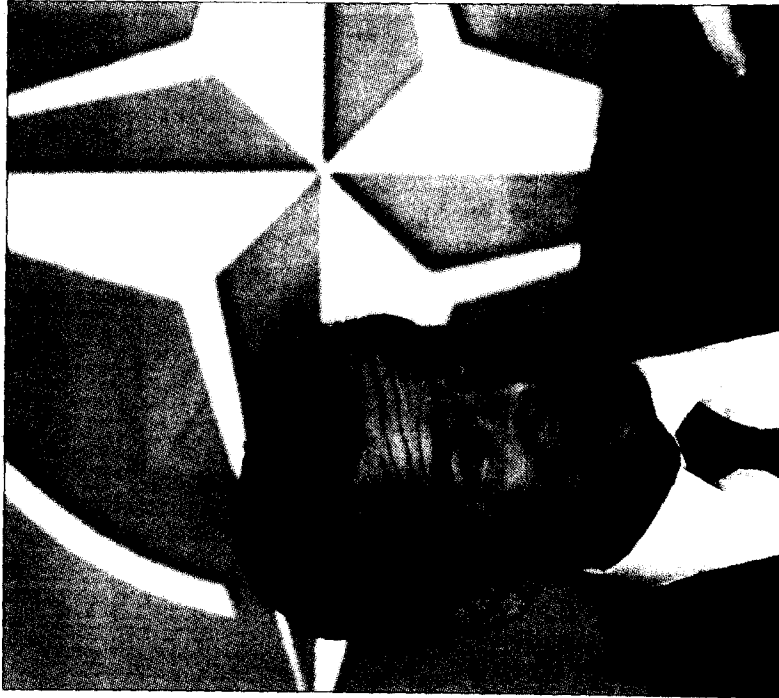
He said Nato had to step up cooperation with its partners, including Russia, and "extend our hands and open our hearts" to prospective new members from former communist eastern Europe.

## Protestors in human chain:

Bush flew into the Belgian capital on the second leg of a five-day European tour, touching down in Air Force One at Melsbroek airport after a two-hour flight from Madrid. Making his first official European trip, Bush has run into strong criticism on missile defense, his decision to abandon the 1997 Kyoto treaty on cutting greenhouse gases believed by many to cause global warming, and on Monday's execution of Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh.

About 150 demonstrators waved banners and blew whistles near NATO headquarters to protest against United States policy on arms and on global warming.

Greenpeace said 17 of its activists — from Belgium, Switzerland, Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Turkey,



AP PHOTO  
 US President George Bush upon his arrival at the Nato headquarters in Brussels on Wednesday.

# Posers on the NMD

By P. R. Chari

*The reasons for international reservations regarding missile defences can be sought at two levels — technology and costs, and strategic and political considerations.*

11/12/96  
**A** RECENT issue of the Carnegie Endowment of International Peace's e-mail service, 'Proliferation News', informs that a classified briefing was provided to U.S. Senators on world reactions to the President, Mr. George Bush's NMD (National Missile Defence) initiative. This followed a whirlwind tour by the Administration's senior officials to several world capitals, including London, Moscow and Beijing to ascertain their views on creating a "new framework" for strategic thinking on nuclear deterrence. Mr. Richard Armitage, Deputy Secretary of State, had also visited New Delhi for this purpose. The report hypothesises that there was a good reason underlying the secrecy of the meeting — the briefers had nothing positive to report.

The reasons for international reservations regarding missile defences can be sought at two levels — technology and costs, and strategic and political considerations. Nothing is clear at present about the feasibility and ultimate costs of the NMD system. There is also the problem of altering the mindset of allies and adversaries to conceive of nuclear deterrence within a new matrix of offensive and defensive strategy. Bureaucracies are notoriously slow to change and military bureaucracies are the slowest.

The technological problems underlying the establishment of an effective Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) system are formidable. It must have the capability to detect an offensive missile launch, track the missile in flight and, finally, intercept and destroy the incoming missile or warhead(s). There are three stages of a missile's flight when it can be attacked — the boost phase when the plumes of the missile launched can be detected, the cruising stage whilst it is proceeding to target, and the terminal stage when the warhead(s) is/are released. It needs mention also that an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) could fly from the U.S. to Russia or China in around 20 minutes, travelling at an average speed of 18,000 miles per hour. A rule of thumb here is that the earlier a missile is detected the easier it will be to attack and destroy it; the later it is detected the smaller the area that can be protected from missile attack.

General Ronald Radish, Director of the U.S. Ballistic Missile Defence Organisation

tion, is on record that the land and sea-based versions of the NMD are currently under development, but would only be able to defend against incoming missiles in their terminal stages, which restricts the area they can protect. Ultimately, the NMD visualises attacking enemy missiles in midcourse when they are cruising to target, using a kill vehicle travelling at around 15,000 miles per hour. All this may sound like science fiction, but the important point to remember is that missile defences have to be fool-proof, since even one nuclear warhead-armed missile slipping through the shield would cause horrendous destruction.

Warheads mounted on intermediate-range, medium-range and short-range missiles carried by other means of delivery such as aircraft, ships and submarines positioned near the American mainland could reach their targets in six to seven minutes, dramatising the hopelessness of seeking to establish fool-proof missile defences. There are several other ways of defeating these defences — by depressing the trajectory of attacking missiles, using cruise missiles or multiple warhead missiles, interspersing decoys with nuclear warheads, shielding the plumes of missiles or employing boosted launch techniques to complicate their early detection and so on. Besides, the very complexity of the NMD system, comprising detection and tracking systems, anti-missile launchers and kill vehicles makes it vulnerable to attack on its diffused components.

It is worth recollecting here that the Soviet research establishments have been working on these countermeasures since the "Star War" years in the mid 1980s; it is not inconceivable that they could pass on these technologies to China or to the "states of concern" that are ostensibly the reason why the Bush Administration wants to deploy the NMD. It is also worth recollecting that, in theory, these "states of

concern" would be mindful of the consequences of attacking the most powerful military power in the world, need not employ nuclear weapons at all. They could more easily use other weapons of mass destruction such as chemical or biological weapons with much less risk of detection and greater chances of success. Besides, a very difficult problem would accost the NMD, which is to determine the identity of the attacker; any confusion in this regard, which could deliberately be caused by an artful enemy, would greatly nullify its effectiveness.

The question of costs is naturally related to the sophistication of the BMD system sought, which must include, apart from the interceptors and their launch vehicles, an entire panoply of detection, tracking and communications systems for taking real-time decisions to destroy the attacking missiles. No one really knows what the final bill will be, but guesstimates place it anywhere between \$200 billion and \$1 trillion. The enormous investments required to deploy the NMD have aroused suspicions that the real intention is to reward the conservative elements in the Republican party who have close links with the arms manufacturing industry; in other words, the NMD is truly a manifestation of the American military-industrial complex in action.

The strategic and political issues raised by the NMD, in effect shifting from offensive to defensive systems, have been extensively debated over the years, since they pose fundamental questions relating to the entire fabric of nuclear deterrence. This rests, at present, on the concept of mutual assured destruction. The theory is that a nuclear first strike would assuredly invite a retaliatory nuclear second strike; that retaliatory strike would inflict such condign punishment on the aggressor as to inhibit him from launching the first strike. In other words, it is the certainty of annihilation, which prevents nuclear aggression, and has maintained nuclear sta-

bility. Constructing a missile defence shield would, no doubt, blunt the first strike. But it could also blunt the retaliatory second strike, leaving the U.S. in the invulnerable position of being able to launch both a possible first strike and retaliatory second strike, without fear of retribution. Naturally, this is a matter of concern to Russia and China. It is also a matter of concern to the U.S. allies in NATO and Japan, which see their leader withdrawing into a fortress and delinking its security from that of the allies. Erecting Theatre Missile Defence (TMD) systems for specific regions such as Northeast Asia or Western Europe only accentuates this delinking of the existing conjoint security system.

Mr. Bush's unilateral decision to "move beyond the constraints of the 30-year-old ABM Treaty" also incorporates a dangerous precedent. Other nations could also walk out of arms control agreements they find irksome for strategic or domestic considerations. Imagine the extension of this baneful belief to the CTBT or the NPT!

It is arguable that NMD technology is far away. With the Democrats having a majority in the U.S. Senate to thwart funding, technology being unproven, costs remaining indeterminate, allies unconvinced about its wisdom, Russia and China actively hostile, and domestic opinion lukewarm, the Bush Administration will have immense problems in pushing through its NMD obsession. Indeed, the entire debate on missile defences conjures up a sense of *deja vu*; we have had this debate earlier in the mid-1980s when "Star Wars" was vigorously pushed by Mr. Ronald Reagan, and earlier in the Nixon era that resulted in the ABM Treaty being negotiated and finalised in 1972. Will the present debate then, like before, remain a theoretical exercise? This will soon become clear.

In retrospect, the Indian alacrity in supporting the Bush initiative was quite wily, because it applauds the U.S. decision to reduce its nuclear arsenal whilst divorcing it from the NMD decision. This serves India's national self-interest and its larger intention to develop a new relationship with the Bush administration.

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

11/8

## Enemy of NMD is a friend

6/6

INDIA'S POSITION as the odd man out in its enthusiasm for the US missile shield has come into focus again after the western European countries showed their reluctance to endorse the Bush plan. Indeed, so obvious was their reservations that US Secretary of State Colin Powell had to tell the NATO foreign ministers that the Americans were not indulging in "phoney consultations" and would like to take their views into account. While the Chinese and Russian opposition to the so-called National Missile Defence (NMD) is known, what the European response shows is that there are no takers for the proposed shield against missiles launched by 'rogue' states.

One reason for this attitude is presumably the traditional European concept of a balance of power which has guided their foreign policies from the days when all the Great Powers were on that continent. Now, with only one superpower in the field, they probably believe that any unilateral move by

it to undo the existing treaties would inject a new sense of uncertainty in international relations. The fact that the US is a friend does not seem to have prevented the Europeans from treating its latest proposal with scepticism and even an element of apprehension.

The NMD has come under a scanner even inside the US where the Democrats seem to share some of the European sentiments. The fact that the Democrats will now head the Senate foreign relations and armed services committees after the 'defection' of James Jeffords to their side means that the proposals on the shield will not have an easy passage. As President Bush embarks on his European tour, he is also expected to face public demonstrations against the more controversial of his policies such as the scrapping of the protocol on global warming and the NMD. Since these rallies will also largely reflect official views, they will have more validity than what is usually accorded to them.

**THINK IT OVER...**

*All Nature wears one universal grin*

HENRY FIELDING

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

21/11/2001

# Bush mission to convince Europe on NMD

By Batuk Gathani

**BRUSSELS, JUNE 4.** The European and American officials have begun preparations for the U.S. President, Mr. George Bush's first official visit to Europe. Mr. Bush will meet the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, in Slovenia at the end of his European tour.

Mr. Bush is being briefed intensively before his crucial meetings with the European Union and NATO leaders. He will directly face his European critics over missile defence, the future of NATO and environment issues. The U.S. authorities have already warned its citizens travelling to Sweden to be ready for hostile demonstrations at the E.U. summit in Stockholm, as thousands of environmentalists and anti-armament groups are expected to con-

verge. From Sweden, Mr. Bush will visit Poland where he will again argue for the expansion of NATO. (NATO has 19 members and could have over 25 members within a decade.)

The U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, arrived in Turkey today to begin his European tour. After meeting Turkish officials, he will meet his counterparts in the European capitals and special importance is being attached to his meeting with the Russian Defence Minister, Mr. Sergei Ivanov.

During a series of meetings and speeches this week, Mr. Bush's main mission in Europe appears to be to attract European support for his plans to build a missile defence shield. According to European observers, since the loss of

majority in the Senate, Mr. Bush's ambition may have received a setback.

The incoming Democratic Chairman of the Senate's Armed Services Commission and critic of the Bush administration's missile defence strategy, Mr. Carl Levin, is widely quoted in the European media saying that he doubts if anything could be achieved before the U.S. presidential election in 2004. However, most Europeans agree that the Bush strategy has at best helped to ignite debate on nuclear deterrence.

Mr. Bush will make his own presentation of the proposed missile shield. If the result of the U.S. Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell's visit to Europe at the end of May is any criterion, the U.S. and NATO have already split over mis-

sile defence. The European members of the NATO alliance last month refused to acknowledge the "common threat" posed by missiles from potential enemies or so-called 'rouge' states like North Korea, Iraq and Iran. Early May, the U.S. also dispatched a team of senior officials to Europe and Asia in a concerted bid to persuade friendly nations to cooperate or at least show sympathy for the defence plan.

Mr. Bush is to reiterate this perception in major European capitals this week. According to European officials, Mr. Bush is "more than determined" to offer Mr. Putin unprecedented collaboration on defence against rogue missile attacks particularly from the Islamic fundamentalist countries in West Asia.

THE HINDU  
JUN 10 2001



# Missile defence

519 27/5

**P**RESIDENT Bush's announcement of his ideas on a National Missile Defence for his country started off a chain of rapid developments that continues to expand. Following the announcement, American envoys were sent out to explain the implications of the President's concept to selected allies and friends. To its evident gratification, India found itself in this league, and had the satisfaction of playing host to the US deputy secretary of state who came to New Delhi for this purpose.

Even before he came, and virtually before any other voices were raised in support, India expressed its welcome for the new initiative.

Normally diplomats are seen as sluggish and ultra-cautious creatures, suspicious of novelty and happy to sit on the fence. But there was none of that in India's response. It was swift and clear, lining up India with those who backed the idea.

The Indian response took everyone by surprise. It seemed unconscionably quick to many. Several observers felt it had not been considered deeply enough before being aired, especially as the NMD concept bristles with technical difficulties and is known to be internationally divisive.

Also, as the issue was bound to have far reaching implications for the country, there was a view that wide consultations should have been held within the ruling alliance and with Opposition parties before a final position emerged.

Certainly, the main Opposition party was quick to find fault, seeing a chink of vulnerability in the government's action on this point. Whatever be the rights and wrongs of it, the issue has been fully joined and

remains a matter of active public debate. It is not only the arcane aspect of it that is for discussion, the complex technical and strategic questions, but also the feeling that we have been too ready to follow another's lead, at the cost of our own independence of thought and judgment.

Internationally, India is on something of a limb. Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov's visit of a few weeks ago was dominated by the NMD question. At that time, he and his host were able to paper over the evident differences between them but since then Russia has been in prolonged conversation with America, without finding any reason to modify its opposition.

China is equally unconvinced. Moreover, Russia and China have just concluded their consultations on this subject in Moscow, and have jointly reiterated their opposition to the NMD. Even among the allies of the USA, the response has been far from uniformly supportive.

There is no shortage of scepticism about the technical feasibility of the scheme and uneasiness about

## WIDE ANGLE

SALMAN HAIDAR

the way it could affect established global relationships.

One need not take the doubts of the allies too literally, for they will remain



Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov's visit to India was dominated by the NMD question.

allies for all their fretting. But the contrast with India's reaction is obvious enough.

In these circumstances, the government has been forced into many rationalisations and explanations. As it happens, high-level visitors

from both Russia and China have been here, their visits providing an opportunity for serious exchanges on the theme.

Not much common ground seems to have been found but one can assume that all the parties are better aware of the rationale for their respective national positions.

Between India and China in particular it is important that the NMD question should not come to be an additional complication in an already difficult relationship.

Internally, some supporters of the NMD would see it as a forward-looking measure that finally takes a substantive step away from existing international security arrangements that hark back to the Cold War and are now obsolete.

These arrangements have been overtaken by sweeping global change and, even more so, by the fresh technologies that permit the development of a whole new range of defensive weapons. For India, the previous arrangements had little to offer. The Cold War instruments, especially the nuclear non proliferation treaty, served only to tie it into a permanently subordinate nuclear status,

which was manifestly against its security and political interests.

The Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty, the current bone of contention between the USA and Russia, can be seen as the keystone of an unequal system which was set up without much regard for the concerns of countries like India. So why shed tears for its possible dismantling? Logic and interest demand otherwise.

Why should we be nostalgic about the grim calculations of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) or treat it as a nuclear nostrum for all times?

The emerging doctrines and arrangements that NMD prefigures can serve India's interest more closely. What's more, India could be a genuine partner from the start and be much better placed than it has ever been to assure its future security interest.

Thus the argument runs that boldness in supporting the NMD initiative has a wealth of useful possibilities for the country.

Reasoning to this effect is not to be dismissed too readily. India has never had any stake in the nuclear regime derived from the NPT. But the very hastiness of our decision on the NMD has made it difficult to comprehend its rationale. The gain to the country is far from clear. If the extensive conversations with the USA have opened new strategic space for India, then that is not readily seen outside the corridors of authority.

Why did we move so fast, and is there any *quid pro quo*? And how closely have we weighed the implications of our decision for our traditional friendships and established ties? There is still a lot of explaining for the government to do.

(The author is a former Foreign Secretary.)

## 100 YEARS AGO

TODAY

MAY 27, 1901

**S**IR, — I read with great interest the article on

vegetarianism which appeared in the Statesman of Sunday last, and can with confidence endorse all the remarks contained therein. There is no doubt that a meat diet is unsuited to the human system. The consequence is that those partaking of it are, more or less, always ailing with some complaint. This was my case when I was a meat-eater. I suffered for several years with fever of a very bad type, which was characterised by the doctor I visited as "malarial", and in spite of all the drugging I

VEGETARIANISM

was subjected to, I could not shake it off, but since I adopted a vegetable diet. I have had perfect immunity from it. It would, I feel sure, be a very good thing if a vegetable diet were universally adopted, but that is an event which is a long way off. A suggestion has been made in a recent issue of your valuable journal about the formation of a "Vegetarian Society". I should be glad to join such a society if it was inaugurated in Calcutta. I think this would be a move in the right direction, and trust somebody will be found to come forward to start such a society. — Yours, etc., VEGETARIAN.

THE TELEGRAPH

MAY 27, 1901



# China, Russia slam U.S. plans

By Vladimir Radyuhin

2285  
MOSCOW, MAY 22. Russia and China have reiterated their opposition to U.S. plans for a missile defence and vowed to work jointly for preserving the existing arms control mechanisms.

HD-16  
"Russia and China have again asserted that they oppose plans for the deployment of a 'global anti-missile defence', banned under the 1972 treaty, and do not find convincing the reasoning and arguments of the plan's supporters," said the Russian Foreign Ministry in a communique on Russian-Chinese consultations on disarmament in Moscow.

The sides exchanged views in the wake of consultations with U.S. envoys the President, Mr. George W. Bush, sent to Europe and Asia to explain his plans.

Russia and China "stated proximity or coincidence of views on the key aspects of the problems under discussion and mapped out joint and parallel steps to preserve intact the architecture of arms control and arms reductions set up in recent years by the entire international community," said the Russian statement.

The two sides favoured prioritising "non-military, political methods of upholding global and regional international security" and called for strengthening bilateral and multilateral cooperation to achieve this goal.

They urged further dialogue on strategic stability involving the United Nations, its Security Council, including the five nuclear powers, the Conference on Disarmament and "other universal forums open to all interested nations".

THE HINDU

23 MAY 2001

# Lengthy talks by US fail to sway Russia on NMD

BY BARRY SCHWEID

Washington, May 20: Lengthy talks with the Bush administration have failed to sway Russia to approve anti-missile defences or to scrap a landmark treaty that bans them, the country's foreign minister said Saturday.

"I will be frank with you. The offered reasoning fails to convince us and the majority of the world," Mr Igor Ivanov said before flying home.

President Bush, who met with Mr Ivanov for a half-hour Friday at the

White House, has dismissed the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty as a relic of the Cold War that should not block protecting the United States from missile attack.

Mr Bush sent teams of state department, Pentagon and White House officials to the four corners of the world this month to try to persuade other governments that North Korea, Iran and other states might launch a long-range missile attack.

But Mr Ivanov said Russia and most other countries were not convinced "the potential threats

require the dismantling of the entire body of the agreements on disarmament and the jeopardising of non-proliferation regimes."

His statement reflects the view held also by many American analysts and members of Congress that a missile defense would inspire other countries to develop weapons to pierce a shield, thereby igniting a new nuclear arms race.

But, Mr Ivanov said, "We have agreed to continue the dialogue on all the aspects of the issue of strategic stability at the political and expert levels." Besides Mr Bush,

his national security adviser, Condoleezza Rice, and secretary of state Colin Powell also talked to Ivanov about the dispute on Friday. Mr Powell will meet with Mr Ivanov again in Budapest, Hungary, at the end of the month. Mr Bush and Russian President Vladimir Putin will have missile defence at the top of their agenda when they meet June 16 in Slovenia. At a state department press conference on Friday, Mr Powell

stressed that the Bush administration would "act on what we believe are our own best interests at that

time" if agreement is not reached with Russia and other countries.

But Mr Ivanov on Saturday counseled patience and waiting for the results of the consultations. "We do hope a mutually satisfactory result will be achieved," he said.

In fact, Mr Ivanov said, there is "some concordance of opinions" on reducing US and Russian nuclear weapons arsenals.

Under the 1993 Start II Treaty, the two nations are committed to reducing their warhead stockpiles to the range of 3,000 to 3,500 each. (AP)

THE ASIAN AGE

21 MAY 2001

# Pak. opposition to NMD based on principles: Sattar

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, MAY 18. The Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, said that Pakistan's opposition to the American Defence Missile System was based on principles and no country having principles can support it.

Participating in a programme on the state-owned Pakistan Television (PTV), the Minister said that Pakistan believed that the development of the system would trigger a new arms race in the world.

In a reference to the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty of 1972, Mr. Sattar said that the U.S. and the erstwhile Soviet Union had agreed twenty-nine years ago that they would not develop such a system.

He said that commitment to it should be followed otherwise a new arms race would begin.

Pakistan is clearly in a dilemma on the NMD. After initial hesitation, Pakistan during the visit of the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji, came out against the programme.

However, the day after the departure of Mr. Zhu came the clarification that the observations made by Gen. Musharraf on nuclear and arms race have nothing to do with the events of the last two weeks.

In the course of the PTV programme, the Pakistan Foreign Minister sought to

dispel the impression that Pakistan had any tilt towards the U.S. or chalked out its policies at its behest.

"The U.S. has slapped unjust sanctions on Pakistan for the past eleven years and our relations are not very good," Mr. Sattar said.

He claimed that it was Pakistan's success that relations with major powers were either becoming strong or coming to normalcy. Mr. Sattar maintained that the Sino-Pak friendship was not directed against anyone and that the fifty-year friendship with China was based on principles and China also valued it greatly.

"Our friendship is not against anyone, rather we have been making efforts to increase our cooperation.

"We want this strong and stable friendship to further grow in the years to come."

On the Kashmir issue, Mr. Sattar said thanks to the efforts made by the Government, the 'longstanding' issue had come to limelight at the international level and the Kashmiri leadership had assumed fundamental importance.

The Minister urged India to realise that the issue cannot be resolved through 'brutal suppression' of the Kashmiris and would have to be resolved in accordance with the 'aspirations' of the Kashmiri people.

He said despite the 'brutal

suppression' and 'killing' of several thousands of people, India had not been successful in suppressing the legitimate struggle of Kashmiris.

The Foreign Minister claimed that Pakistan was not isolated at the international level on this issue.

He maintained that the Chinese Prime Minister had fully supported its position and the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) passed resolutions every year in support of the 'just cause' of the Kashmiri people.

## U.S. to extradite former Pak. naval chief

ISLAMABAD, MAY 18. A former Pakistan naval chief, Admiral Mansur-ul-Haque, settled in the U.S. to escape corruption charges, would shortly be sent to Pakistan as a U.S. court has accepted his request for extradition.

A team of officials of Pakistan law enforcement agencies would soon travel to the U.S. to bring Admiral Haque back, the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) said here in a statement.

Admiral Haque was accused of receiving kickbacks worth several million dollars in the purchase of Agostan-90 nuclear submarine from France in 1997. — PTI

## China condemns U.S. missile shield plan

**BEIJING, MAY 16.** Even as the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush's emissary was here to discuss the missile shield, the Chinese Government on Tuesday publicly condemned the U.S. proposal to build a National Missile Defence (NMD), calling it a fruitless step that would endanger global security.

Mr. James Kelly, the Assistant Secretary of State for Asian and Pacific Affairs, spent Tuesday privately meeting Chinese arms control and foreign policy officials, presenting Mr. Bush's vision of a "new framework" for security involving missile defences and a sharp reduction in America's nuclear arsenal.

The Bush administration says the planned anti-missile shield is aimed at stopping attacks from small "rogue" nations like North Korea, Iran or Iraq and should not worry China.

But China fears that even a modest U.S. missile shield will neutralise its small nuclear forces, currently believed to include only about 18 long-range missiles, and will make the United States feel invulnerable and more likely to bully other countries. On Tuesday afternoon, at a regularly scheduled press briefing, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Sun Yuxi, said China's opposition to the programme was unwavering. — AP

THE HINDU

17 MAY 2001

# Missile defence & strategic stability

HD-12  
By V. R. Raghavan 17/5

*The U.S.' missile defence plan skews the strategic balance in potentially dangerous ways... The official Indian response of praise and endorsement has, therefore, come as a surprise.*

**M**ISSILE DEFENCE and nuclear weapons have been given a salience which they did not have when the Cold War ended. Arms control and nuclear weapons limitation treaties had put a stable strategic regime in place. Nuclear deterrence with all its offensive connotations was operative. The two superpowers were agreeable to find stability in the threats they posed to each other. The Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty in fact allowed the continued threat of nuclear weapons to be in operation. The two Cold War adversaries agreed to live under the threat of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) by not agreeing to develop defences against ballistic missiles. The U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush's announcement that America would develop ballistic missile defences and even pull out of the ABM Treaty dramatically changes the strategic cohesion of decades.

The new U.S. administration believes that the ABM Treaty is a hindrance to its search for security against new threats which have emerged in recent years. The belief is based on the assumption that Russia is no longer the main strategic threat. The threats are now seen to emanate from China and other missile possessing states. New strategic thinking in Washington is based on a future where the U.S. would have to be involved in military conflicts which are regional in scope. The assessment is that in such conflicts U.S. forces would be vulnerable to attacks with missiles bearing weapons of mass destruction. A progression of such missile capability from short or medium range to long or inter-continental ranges would be inevitable.

There is no clear consensus in the U.S. on the ballistic missile defence issue. A media poll had indicated that public opinion favoured missile defence as much as arms control treaties. The poll indicated that while nearly 80 per cent of those polled supported missile defence, over 50 per cent were against breaking the ABM Treaty with Russia. The administration is sweetening the pill by combining missile defence with an offer of reduction in the nuclear arsenal. That raises the question of American nuclear guarantees to its allies. Its 7,600 nuclear warheads were never

needed to protect the U.S. mainland. Less than 1,000 would have been more than adequate for the purpose. The large arsenal was in fact needed to ensure that Warsaw Pact forces did not overrun western Europe. Now that the U.S. will reduce its nuclear arsenal, its credibility as a guarantor of the defence of Europe or of its allies in the Asia will come into question.

The preference for the uncertainties of missile defence over the stability of the ABM Treaty-based security structures is felt to be a potentially destabilising development. The significance of the missile defence choice lies in the shift from offence to defence in nuclear doctrine. The existing arrangement rested on MAD which in turn was based on the assured second strike capability of the adversaries. Its strength lay in cooperative security in which each side accepted the other's capability to annihilate. It was useful to allow such mutually annihilating capabilities to exist. Missile defence changes the equation by making it possible for one side to be invulnerable. To allay fears of vulnerability in Russian minds, the U.S. is willing to amend the ABM Treaty but threatens to pull out if need be. As some analysts have termed it, self-interest of the U.S. is being placed above the mutual interests of the global community.

Critics of the missile defence plans in the U.S. — and there are many — believe that the concept reduces the emphasis placed so far both on arms control measures and on deterrence. It places an avoidably higher premium on missile defence. The missile defence plan therefore skews the strategic balance in potentially dangerous ways. Critics also believe that the real threat to the U.S. lies less in defending itself against smaller missile powers and more in building an antagonistic relationship with major powers and even its allies. The missile defence idea is also of concern to the armed forces. They fear

the additional funds needed for an uncertain missile defence would inevitably come from their already-depleted allocations. There is general agreement that the U.S. would have to greatly improve its conventional military capability to be effective in regional conflicts. Critics also claim that even with missile defence capability, assured destruction or MAD would still remain the cornerstone of nuclear deterrence. Others have called it the end of arms control arrangements. Some have gone on to say that a pullout from the ABM Treaty is only a ploy to justify testing of future weapons systems.

The supporters of the missile defence plan defend it as a necessary change in the face of new threats to U.S. interests. These include the high probability of military conflict in the Korean peninsula and in the Taiwan Straits. The new threats take in the proliferation risks inherent in North Korean and Chinese transfer of technologies to Pakistan, Iran and other states of concern. They visualise a situation where the vulnerability of U.S. troops to local and regional missile threats, e.g. in the Middle East and Far East, would do incalculable harm to U.S. interests in the long term.

It is believed in right wing circles that unlike in the past, deterrence would be increasingly used in the future against the U.S. The nature of future conflicts and their impact are under careful study in the Pentagon and in American think tanks. The forces needed for the changed nature of war would be different than those now existing. The Rumsfeld Review of Defence Preparedness is looking at this change in triple terms of technology infusion, manpower reduction and defence against ballistic missiles. There is increasing talk of forces which possess variable capabilities instead of fixed force configurations. In this plethora of views and counter opinions comes the news that the Russian air force recently conducted joint exercises

with its Chinese counterpart. These were designed for a nuclear attack against U.S. intervention forces in the Taiwan Straits. The new treaty of friendship and cooperation between Russia and China is aimed to "further strategic stability and security around the world". The strategic stakes are high, and they are not being lessened by what is now termed the Bush Doctrine based on ballistic missile defences.

Perhaps the most balanced view in the cacophony on missile defence comes from Mr. Thomas Schelling. The octogenarian doyen of deterrence theory is quoted as having criticised Mr. Bush for unnecessarily making missile defence against smaller states seem like a major national capability. This has imposed diplomatic costs on the U.S. He does not see an arms race in the offing while the U.S. and Russia substantially reduce their arsenals. As for China, Mr. Schelling sees merit in allowing the Chinese to develop, like the Russians, a second strike capability against the U.S. He does not think that the theories about missile defence would become a reality soon. And when that happens, he believes other ways would be found to strike at U.S. interests.

The official Indian response of praise and endorsement of the missile defence programme has therefore come as a surprise. There were some who had earlier asked about what was there for India in the U.S. missile defence plans. That good question still remains unanswered, which makes the reason for the Indian enthusiasm in endorsing the Bush doctrine even less clear. If the immediate endorsement was for obtaining a better relationship with the U.S., the Government's action begs the question on the very relevance of the 1998 tests. The claims made on the occasion, of India as one of the largest states exercising its right to strategic autonomy, seem out of place now. The conclusion being drawn in knowledgeable circles is that Indian policy-makers have once again demonstrated a less than adequate understanding of both nuclear deterrence and strategic stability. Some go so far as to question if India's security interests are correctly perceived at all.

(The writer is currently Fellow, Center for International Studies & Cooperation, Stanford University.)

# FRIENDS AND ALLIES

5/10 India may be part of the new order

**M**ORE details are available on the American national missile defence system and the strategic thinking behind it. The idea, outlined by George Bush recently, is "to transform the strategic parameters within which the Cold War strategic architecture was built" and, one supposes, to do away with the cornerstone of this architecture, namely the doctrine of mutually assured destruction. There is apparently a philanthropic motive lurking in the undergrowth of this prose: reduce the quantity of nuclear weapons worldwide as well as the necessity for hair-trigger alerts — witness recent reports on the condition of Soviet military satellites — and build a cooperative global security regime aimed only at those — rogue states, terrorists — who challenge the idea of establishing global power equations through negotiation and consensus, on the basis of universally recognised criteria (economic wealth, technology development, size, position and commitment to civil liberties and the rule of law). Seen thus, one can understand why India's reaction should be positive: one, a shift in the Cold War paradigm might create a space for India to reposition itself in the world in a way commensurate with its ambitions, two, a general movement towards a drastic elimination of nuclear weapons goes along with the position articulated by India while rejecting the CTBT.

These conclusions are supported by what has been said recently by Bush and his national security adviser, Condoleezza Rice: the former mentioned New Delhi as an "allied capital", the latter counted India among "friends and allies", strange. Strange in view of the fact that New Delhi was, hitherto, rarely consulted, on a routine basis, on any strategic decision taken by the United States, in the way Japan or South Korea or even Pakistan was, once upon a time. The signal has changed, Richard Armitage, deputy secretary of state, visited Tokyo, Seoul and New Delhi. This "friends and allies" business looks serious, mainly because of Pokhran and Chagai, the subsequent paranoia in Washington and the fact that looking like the good guy in the movie is appreciated in the new international climate as opposed to the days when the United States would think nothing of propping up a Pinochet here or a Park Chung-hee there.

Other reactions to the NMD tell who all are squirming and why. The Russians are obviously having second thoughts after an initially strong reaction. They are now demanding "arguments to convince us that they (the Americans) see clearly how to solve the problems of international security without damaging disarmament agreements which have stood for 30 years", one can see the underlying preoccupation with their own status in the new order. The European Union, especially the Germans, stood uncomfortably close to the Russians on the issue, maybe because they think it is time the US stopped taking responsibility for the whole world, but Tony Blair says he wants to see the details before he makes up his mind. In other words, he wants to see whether Britain can continue to feed off America's global power in order to maintain its influence in the West, especially vis-a-vis the other players in the EU across the channel. The only outright opposition, among the big players, comes from the Chinese who understand, correctly, that the US is out to inhibit their growth as a military superpower.

THE STATESMAN

16 MAY 2001

# China rejects NMD plan for world peace

Beijing, May 15

CHINA, THE most obdurate opponent of President George W Bush's missile defence system, has rebuffed a US attempt to persuade it that the plan is good for world peace.

Assistant Secretary of State James Kelly said before going into talks with Chinese officials that he would appeal to Chinese pragmatism in his mission to allay Beijing's fears that the plan would open the door to a new arms race and strategic instability.

But the Foreign Ministry made clear that nothing he said to a Chinese team including top disarmament diplomat Sha Zukang would shift Beijing from its trenchant opposition.

"China's constant position is unchanged. We are opposed to the National Missile Defence because it destroys the global strategic balance and upsets international stability," Foreign Ministry spokesman Sun Yuxi told a news conference.

Sun also dismissed as "groundless and irresponsible" a *Washington Times* report that US spy satellites detected evidence that Beijing is preparing to hold an underground nuclear test this month.

The *Washington Times* quot-

ed US intelligence officials on Saturday as saying spy satellites picked up vehicle activity last week at the Lop Nur nuclear weapons test site in the remote western province of Xinjiang.

"That report is groundless and irresponsible," Sun said.

Speaking on Bush's missile plan, Sun said: "The US plan has met the opposition of many countries around the world because it harms their interests as well as the interests of the United States itself," he said.

Kelly had told reporters he sought "a dialogue with Chinese officials on security and stability that reflects today's world" reflecting Washington's view that traditional deterrence ideas held by China are increasingly outdated.

"China clearly shares with us an interest in promoting peace and stability in East Asia and the world. Curbing the threat posed by weapons of mass destruction is a key element in the maintenance of peace and security," Kelly said.

Kelly, the first senior Bush administration official to visit China, said he would present a Bush strategic vision of "non-proliferation, counter proliferation, missile defence and unilateral reductions in the American strategic forces".

"These reductions will sharply lower the number of such weapons in America," he said.

Sun said US hopes of building a shield against missiles fired by "rogue states" such as North Korea or Iraq would trigger a new arms race and undermine the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty that Beijing sees as the cornerstone of the world's strategic balance.

Senior US envoys have toured the world since early May to sell the Bush administration's strategic gameplan.

China is at the sharply negative end of a spectrum of world opinion that has ranged from understanding in Australia and India to ambivalence in Europe to opposition in Russia.

But the dispute is just one of many irritants in a US-China relationship damaged by the April spy plane standoff.

Ties are also strained by US promises of arms sales to Taiwan, Bush's vow to do "whatever it took" to defend Taiwan if China were to attack and Beijing's detention of four Chinese-American academics. "The current climate of bilateral relations isn't really conducive to making early progress," said a Western diplomat.

Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

16 MAY 2002

# China firm as US canvasses for NMD

Beijing, May 13

US ASSISTANT Secretary of State, James Kelly, arrives here tomorrow to explain President George W Bush's anti-missile shield proposal to China, one of the world's most strident opponents of the American plan.

The visit is part of Bush administration's exercise to convince world leaders about the deployment of the Missile Defence System and the proposed strategic security framework.

Kelly's trip to China follows visits by US Deputy Secretary of

State Richard Armitage to Japan, South Korea and India to explain the Bush plan.

Kelly, will, however, get little more than a polite hearing on the missile shield plan, a leading Chinese security scholar said.

"China's stand is very firm: We will not support the US plan to build a National Missile Defense system or a Theater Missile Defense system," said Yan Xuetong, executive director of the Institute of International Studies at Tsinghua University.

"I think (Kelly) knows he cannot expect cooperation from China on this," he said. China is

strongly opposed to the missile shield plan, which could erode the effectiveness of its nuclear arsenal and cover Taiwan, which Beijing regards as a renegade province, which must be reunited with the mainland, by force if necessary.

Meanwhile, Australia today backed the plan by urging Washington to ratify a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty.

Sino-US relations took a steep downturn after the April 1 mid-air collision between a US navy surveillance plane and a Chinese fighter jet over the South China Sea.

Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

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# Russia not convinced on NMD

REUTERS

MOSCOW, May 11. — Russia today said it remained unconvinced after initial talks with the USA on Washington's plans for an anti-missile defence.

Foreign ministry spokesman, Mr Alexander Yakovenko, said talks between US arms expert, Mr Paul Wolfowitz, and Russian officials had been substantive but left "more questions than answers".

"The USA has been unable to give us arguments to convince us that they see clearly how to solve the problems of international security without damaging disarmament agreements which have stood for 30 years...But I want to underline that discussions will continue."

The Russian foreign minister, Mr Igor Ivanov, today said in Helsinki that preserving international stability built over the past decades must be the goal of Russia's talks with the USA.

"In our view, it's important to carefully preserve (the system that) has been built up over the

decades and that has also functioned as a guarantee of international security," he said.

Wrapping up a two-day visit to Finland, the Russian foreign minister said the USA and Russia should widen their talks on strategic defences to include other countries because the solutions would affect others as well.

"It pays to act in matters of strategic stability in a way that doesn't cause any harm to international security."

He said the main purpose of the talks with the USA was to gain clarity about the US plans for strategic stability.

"Of course, such issues don't only concern relations between the United States and Russia, but also the interests of other countries, and it would be welcome, in my view, for other countries to participate in these consultations," he said.

**Ivanov-Powell meet:** Mr Ivanov will meet with the US secretary of state, Mr Colin Powell, in Washington on 18 May, UNI reports quoting Mr Yakovenko.

THE STATSMAN

12 MAY 2001

# Russia still not convinced after US missile talks

REUTERS  
MOSCOW, MAY 11

RUSSIA said on Friday it remained unconvinced after initial discussions with the United States about President George W. Bush's plans for an anti-missile defence, but would keep on talking.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Alexander Yakovenko told reporters that some two hours of talks between Russian officials and a team headed by US Arms expert Paul Wolfowitz had been substantive but left "more questions than answers".

"The United States has been unable to give us arguments to convince us that they see clearly how to solve the problems of international security without damaging disarmament agreements which have stood for 30 years. But I want to underline that discussions will continue," he said, noting Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov would hold talks in Washington next week with US Secretary of State Colin Powell.

However, there was no immediate word from the US team

at the talks. Wolfowitz may meet Igor Sergéyev, the former Defence minister who is now President Vladimir Putin's Strategic Security Advisor, before he leaves Moscow. Speaking after his arrival late on Thursday from a day of talks in Germany and Poland, Wolfowitz was optimistic despite the failure of previous US attempts to win the Russians over.

Russia rejected the premise of NMD, outlined by Bush in a major address last week, that the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty was outmoded and must be abandoned. Russia, backed by China, sees ABM as the foundation of decades of disarmament.

Dmitry Rogozin, who chairs the foreign affairs committee in the State Duma, the lower house of parliament, said Moscow would listen attentively and understand the US mindset. "Unlike Russia and Europe in geographical terms they (the US) avoided the misfortune of conventional war," he said on Russian television. "That's why their sense of security is linked to some sort of fantasy with Star Wars."

INDIAN EXPRESS

12 MAY 2001

# US to give limited missile shield to allies

Seoul, May 11: A limited US missile shield, one that will not trigger an arms race, will be offered to America's allies if the technology is successful, US deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage said in an interview published on Friday.

"This is a US plan, but if we are successful, it could be made available to our allies," Mr Armitage told Korea's *JoongAng Ilbo* daily newspaper. "We think if we are successful and have sufficient technology to stop a limited number of missiles, then we can offer countries who might be faced by

rogue states who purchase or manufacture missiles an alternative to making their own missiles.

"They could have a limited defensive shield. It ensures stability and doesn't cause an arms race," Mr Armitage said. Mr Armitage is on an Asian tour to explain the Bush administration's strategic gameplan, featuring unilateral nuclear missile cuts and a missile interceptor system that is still on the drawing board and could cost tens of billions of dollars.

He said he did not come to Korea asking for Seoul's support for

plan, particularly the missile shield element, whose violation of a key Cold War treaty against such defences has aroused concern in Asia and Europe.

The missile shield poses no threat to China's small nuclear deterrent, Mr Armitage said.

"We believe if we have a limited — limited — defence against a handful of missiles, that in no way eliminates China's strategic deterrent, so it is not a threat to China. "We have no desire to keep China down," he said. "Right now they are a great country, not a great

power. But they are a great country with great problems."

Mr Armitage said North Korean leader Kim Jong-il's offer to maintain a moratorium on missile testing until 2003 was a positive message to Washington. "We thought it was a message to us and to others and we took positive note of it. Whether it is an inducement or not, I think it was good common sense by Chairman Kim Jong-il."

The United States is not trying to change or overthrow the Communist Totalitarian regime in North Korea, he said. (Reuters)

## Europe gets few straight answers from the US

London, May 11: European allies got few straight answers to their sceptical questions about President George W. Bush's plans for missile defence when senior US envoys toured the globe this week.

Washington's friends welcomed the consultations, especially after Mr Bush irked them by pulling out of the Kyoto climate change treaty without seeking their views. Most used the opportunity to urge him not to scrap arms control treaties unilaterally. The US visitors said it was clear the allies took security risks from the spread of ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction more seriously than in the past. Under secretary of state Marc Grossman said raising awareness of the new threats and reassessing old thinking about strategic stability were the main aims of the mission.

European diplomats said they learned frustratingly little about what kind of missile shield the Americans plan on what timetable, at what cost, with what reliability or in what legal framework.

"They registered our questions but the response was mainly 'We don't know yet, it's too early to tell.'" (Reuters)

## Russia unconvinced by US missile plan

By MARTIN NESIRKY

Moscow, May 11: Russia remained unconvinced about US anti-missile defense plans after initial talks on Friday, but both sides pledged to keep talking.

Deputy defense secretary Paul Wolfowitz, heading a US team touring Europe to marshal support for President Bush's National Missile Defense scheme, held two hours of talks at the foreign ministry and met other security officials too.

The diplomatic language on both sides suggested there had been much detailed talking but little if any change in positions, a pattern largely repeated elsewhere as US teams crisscrossed Europe and Asia this week.

Russian foreign ministry spokesman Alexander Yakovenko said talks had been substantive, but left more questions than answers.

"The United States has been

unable to give us arguments to convince us that they see clearly how to solve the problems of international security without damaging disarmament agreements which have stood for 30 years," he told reporters.

Foreign minister Igor Ivanov reinforced this during a visit to Finland, saying at a news conference it was Russia's goal to preserve the strategic balance and international stability.

US deputy national security adviser Stephen Hadley told reporters outside the foreign ministry in Moscow: "The fact that we are meeting and opening this dialogue is a sign of progress."

"It is a first step in a consultation process which will continue over the weeks ahead and include discussions and consultations between our two Presidents," he said, also using the word "substantive" to describe Friday's encounter. (Reuters)



ARMS TALKS: US deputy defence secretary Paul Wolfowitz walks with US ambassador to Russia James Collins (left) shortly after his arrival in Moscow on Thursday. (AP)

## Germany questions Bush's missile defence shield

By ROGER COHEN  
New York Times Service

Berlin, May 11: Germany, unconvinced by President George W. Bush's proposals for a missile defense shield, on Thursday posed what an American envoy called "very, very serious questions" over the project.

Paul Wolfowitz, deputy secretary of defence, said after meeting German officials that these questions centered on whether such a shield could be built "in a way that is cooperative, rather than confrontational, in a way that enhances stability rather than generating new tensions and

new arms races."

Like other United States allies, Germany has been troubled by the Bush administration's determination to move ahead with what is seen in Berlin as an unproven and potentially destabilizing system of deterrence that would involve the abrogation, or at least the adjustment, of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty with Moscow. The treaty banned national missile defense, preserving the threat of mutual assured destruction on which peace was based during the Cold War. The Bush administration argues that a new world requires new means to keep the peace.

The center-left German government does not dispute this principle. But it is worried that the American plans could anger Russia, so destabilising or dividing Europe once again, and be viewed by China as a direct challenge.

Mr Wolfowitz, leading a team of American officials, held talks at Nato headquarters in Brussels earlier this week and will arrive Friday in Moscow. Trans-Atlantic friction has increased in recent months partly because European officials have felt out of step with President Bush on issues ranging from the environment to new defence strategies. Referring to these problems, Mr

Wolfowitz said, "I do not think there is severe misunderstanding."

He also reached out to Moscow, saying that Russia was "no longer our enemy" and promising to "build a relationship with Russia in which strategic nuclear weapons were no longer the centerpiece of that relationship."

After meeting Mr Wolfowitz, Michael Steiner, the chief diplomatic aide to Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, said:

"We have a number of questions to which we need answers and we don't have them yet. That is why the German position is that we say neither 'yes' nor 'no.'"

# Musharraf opposes Bush nuclear missile shield

Islamabad, May 12

AFTER INITIAL hesitation, Pakistan has taken a firm stand against US President George Bush's Missile Defence Shield (MDS), saying it would jeopardise strategic stability and trigger new arms race.

"It would undermine international efforts aimed at arms control and disarmament," country's military ruler, Gen Pervez Musharraf said announcing his regime's stand for the first time on the American proposals to have missile defences.

"We share the international concern at the development and deployment of ballistic missile defence which could jeopardise strategic stability, trigger a new arms race and undermine international efforts aimed at arms control and disarmament," he told a State banquet given in honour of visiting Chinese premier, Zhu Rongji here last night.

It was for the first time that Musharraf reacted to MDS after India welcomed the American move to have missile defence as a step towards unilateral reduction of nuclear forces.

It is significant that Musharraf chose to announce this during the visit of Chinese premier Zhu, whose Government firmly opposed the plan. Musharraf's announcement coincides with US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage's visit to New Delhi. The Pakistan media today carried comments by Prime Minister A B Vajpayee welcoming the new American

## 'CHINA TO CONDUCT NUKE TESTS SOON'

US SPY satellites have detected evidence that China has stepped up the pace of preparations for an underground nuclear weapons test that could take place before the end of the month, *The Washington Times* reported on Saturday.

The newspaper quoted US intelligence officials as saying spy satellites last week picked up vehicle activity at the Lop Nur nuclear weapons test site in the remote western province of Xinjiang. The officials said that the information was gleaned from intelligence reports that coincided with the resumption on Monday of US reconnaissance flights near China.

*The Washington Times* first reported on test preparations at Lop Nur on April 9, after US intelligence agencies detected signs of an impending nuclear test in March. The newspaper quoted the officials as saying China was believed to be trying to develop a new small warhead based on the design of the US W-88 nuclear warhead. It said China obtained the secret design information on the warhead through espionage in the United States.

US intelligence agencies suspect China is engaged in covert nuclear testing that relies on small, low-yield underground blasts.

Reuters, Washington

vision of disarmament.

Zhu, who is on a four-day visit here, however, did not refer to MDS in his speech. He said China is ready to work together with all countries in south Asia including Pakistan and contribute its share for peace and stability of Asia and world.

**France, Germany ready for talks:** France and Germany declared themselves ready on Friday for a dialogue with the US on a proposed anti-missile shield in the hope that President Bush was ready to change his views after hearing theirs.

German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder announced after an informal bilateral summit that Paris and Berlin — which were both very cool to US envoys touting the new defense plan in

Europe this week — were ready to take up Bush's offer of a dialogue. "Dialogue means exchanging opinions and can only function if each side is ready to take the other side's views seriously and nothing is decided in advance," Schroeder said after dining with France's President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Lionel Jospin.

Dialogue meant each side should be ready to modify its position. Chirac also expressed support for a dialogue. The leaders of the EU's key bilateral partnership also agreed to draw up a common position on EU enlargement before the bloc's summit next month and said they would continue discussing their contrasting views on EU.

PTI & Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

13 MAY 2001

# U.S. seeks to allay European fears on NMD

By **Batuk Gathani**

**BRUSSELS, MAY 10.** The Bush administration has launched a major diplomatic offensive this week to sell its controversial National Missile Defence (NMD) plan to a sceptical Europe and Asia. A team of senior American diplomats led by the Deputy Defence Secretary, Mr. Paul Wolfowitz, is in Europe for a general briefing and discussions on Mr. Bush's plan. The U.S. has argued that a new strategy for America's defence is necessary to counter any potential threat posed by "rogue" States, who are either in the process of acquiring or have already acquired nuclear capability and weapons.

The Europeans have serious misgivings about the feasibility of Mr. Bush's missile defence plan. However, no major allied power in the European Union has strongly criticised the NMD plan, even after the U.S. President reiterated his commitment to push ahead with it. The U.S. has undertaken a diplomatic offensive in major European capitals essentially to

allay the fears of its allies and many Europeans also realise that the plan is almost a "religious matter" for the U.S. administration.

The Europeans have mixed feelings about Mr. Bush after his first hundred days in office. The European media portrays Mr. Bush as a gunslinger and polluter after he bombed Iraq and turned his back on the Kyoto Agreement. But the Europeans have also been impressed with Mr. Bush's handling of the row with China over the spy plane and. For average Europeans, Mr. Bush is still an enigma and many assume that his apparent insensitivity to European concern on a number of issues is based on his emotional and intellectual isolation from Europe. The European media goes out of its way to point out that the U.S. President has never visited London or Paris or Berlin. Often branded as a die-hard conservative with southern American values, Mr. Bush epitomises post-Clinton America and all that which goes with it.

The U.S. delegation to Europe has reiterated

## the Bush administration's view that European and Asian countries are more vulnerable than the U.S. to missile attack from "rogue" States. Analysts feel that most countries with nuclear capability still lack the capacity to attack the U.S. Five countries have long-range missiles — the U.S., Russia, China, Britain and France. Six have nuclear missiles with ranges between 620 and 3420 miles. These include India, Iran, Israel, North Korea, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Of these, Israel and Saudi Arabia are considered "close security partners" of the U.S., both India and Pakistan are described as "friendly" States by the U.S. while Iran and North Korea are "potential adversaries."

The main worry of the Europeans is that the U.S. initiative could trigger a fresh nuclear arms race. Some Europeans even feel that America is now seeking its own security at the expense of others. The mission of the U.S. delegation is to convince the Europeans that these are wrong perceptions.

The main worry of the Europeans is that the U.S. initiative could trigger a fresh nuclear arms race. Some Europeans even feel that America is now seeking its own security at the expense of others. The mission of the U.S. delegation is to convince the Europeans that these are wrong perceptions.

THE HINDU

MAY 10 2001

## STEPPING ON DEATH

LANDMINES MUST GO. There are no two thoughts on that. Essentially a macabre icon of claim over territory, the anti-personnel landmine has come to serve as both the first and the last line of defence in conflict areas. This silent, indiscriminate decimator, which continues to either kill or maim one person every 22 minutes the world over, clearly has no place in conventional warfare. For, once a war is over, a ceasefire called and soldiers withdrawn, these silent sentinels remain, killing or mutilating anyone who may step on them. Be it international borders running between hostile countries or large tracts within states faced by rebel activities, the anti-personnel landmine has signalled death and destruction. Its potency has been unleashed time and again. And, if examples are still required about the debilitating impact of landmines on society, there can be none more telling than the vast cordoned off tracts in Sri Lanka's northern Jaffna peninsula, where resumption of economic activity remains a distant hope for several whose lands fall in mined territory. The massive efforts that are on by the UNDP to identify the landmines in Jaffna are a pointer to the near-permanent consequences of laying these devices. Sharp escalations in armed conflicts around the world only paint a more ominous picture for civilians caught between fighting forces. The time has clearly come to eliminate these automatons of mutilation and death.

The difficulty, however, lies in the detail. To begin with, putting an end to the use of landmines calls for concerted action by parties that are inherently opposed to each other — be it hostile states or non-state players. The reluctance expressed by several states to sign the Ottawa treaty banning the use of landmines must be seen in this backdrop. With both internal and international settings tending towards an increasing militarisation, advocates of a total elim-

ination of anti-personnel mines are confronted with the unwillingness of several states, including India, Pakistan and the United States, to endorse the treaty that has been ratified by 107 countries so far. That India and Pakistan seem to have linked this issue to the larger resolution of long-standing differences between the two nations does not give much hope of an early end to the use of anti-personnel mines by the two countries. Yet another issue confronting nations is the cost involved in destruction of stockpiles. In addition, identification of mines and subsequent demining is easier said than done. With the mines' tendency to shift along under the soil after they are planted, even the best prepared maps have been found to be outdated by the time mine identification programmes start.

The single-biggest challenge in the complete elimination of landmines, however, is that posed by non-state players. Given the simplicity and low cost with which it can be made, the landmine has remained an inseparable part of rebel arsenals the world over. That such mines are laid indiscriminately and are not mapped only makes the issue more complicated, leading to a reluctance by states to endorse the mine-ban treaty. More often while it would be easier to bind states with treaties and monitoring mechanisms, it would be difficult to do the same with non-state players. The biggest hurdle that has to be overcome, therefore, is evolving a mechanism that would bind antagonistic parties — non-state players as well as hostile states — to work towards the elimination of anti-personnel landmines. The time has come when states can no longer sidestep the serious issues confronting the elimination of landmines. It is imperative that parties to conflicts move sincerely towards cleansing their territories of landmines in the interest of the civilians whom they intend to protect.

THE HINDU

11 MAY 2001

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# Big on Symbolism

## But the Devil's in NMD's Detail

By C UDAY BHASKAR

THE May 1 speech by President George 'Dubya' Bush that outlined a new framework for US nuclear weapons and related missile defence policy is the equivalent of setting the proverbial cat among the pigeons. In this case, his formulations have challenged the orthodoxy subscribed to by strategic hawks, doves and owls alike — each group marinated in deterrence theology and lore over the decades. The big picture that has been evoked in broad strokes is akin to a tectonic shift in the basic underpinning of deterrence practice and the reverberations are still being felt in the global strategic community. Friends and allies of the US are being consulted and Bush envoys are fanning out to different capitals including New Delhi in coming days.

In yet another radical departure, the Indian government was among the first to welcome and endorse the Bush initiative. Both these developments warrant scrutiny for their nuances and some details of timing and juxtaposition are equally relevant. The US envoy visiting India is deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage and consultations are scheduled for May 11, the third anniversary of the Pokhran II nuclear tests.

While India is still under sanctions imposed by the US then, the Armitage visit is an indicator of the progress since made in the bilateral relationship on the nuclear issue. But the main elements of the Bush nuclear policy are indeed radical and breathtaking in their scope. Deterrence theology as deified in the cold war decades is based on the offensive and apocalyptic destructive capability of the dreaded nuke. The mutuality between the erstwhile superpowers was based on a balance of terror, or the doctrine of mutually assured destruction, aptly called MAD. And in what may be deemed heresy, Mr Bush asserted that "Deterrence can no longer be based solely on the threat of nuclear retaliation" and added that the post cold war world requires "new concepts of deterrence that rely on both offensive and defensive forces."

During the cold war, the defensive strand was deliberately abjured and both sides remained vulnerable to each other. This was enshrined in the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) that forbade the US and the former USSR from acquiring credible ballistic missile defences. However, successive Republican administrations in the US be-

ginning with Mr Reagan have mooted the idea of missile defences in different forms but the technology required to neutralise incoming ballistic missiles proved elusive. Post the 1991 Gulf War for Kuwait, the whole issue of 'rogue' states and weapons of mass destruction received intense focus within the US defence establishment. One could perhaps conjecture that the threat of use of Scud missiles by Iraq against US forces in Saudi Arabia was comparable to the 1941 Pearl Harbour episode in terms of the influence on US strategic culture. The US was determined that its forces and assets could not be held hostage by deviant states that acquired WMD capability and hence the quest for theatre and national missile defences.

This shift is reflected in the Bush articulation wherein it is averred that the major threat to the US and its allies comes from rogue or less

qualified as a major responsible state more than assuages domestic sensitivities. Thus the initial response from Moscow to the Bush speech was cautious yet positive.

Moscow is not against missile defences in principle, particularly against rogue states and the possibility of a mutual accommodation on the ABM seems a distinct possibility. It is China that has been most vocal in opposing the new Bush policy and has warned of dire consequences that will follow if the ABM is tinkered with. This is understandable for Beijing is the subaltern power in the Washington-Moscow grid. It is possible that if China feels left out of the likely consensus on NMD, it may well increase its offensive capability and this is of direct relevance to India.

And it is here that some of the contradictions and the grey areas come into focus. The Bush articulation is no doubt bold for it talks about rewriting deterrence and lifting the nuclear thralldom that has enslaved the world since Hiroshima-Nagasaki. The Holy Grail is inspiring in its symbolism for it is predicated on consultations and consensus among responsible nuclear weapon states. That India is seen as part of the management is significant, yet the contradictory devil is in the detail. How will the US and the world get to this promised land?

It is said of the famous Indian mathematician Ramanujam that very often when presented with a complex problem, he knew the answer — instinctively. By sheer gut. But he floundered when asked to work out the methodology. The technology for missile defences is still far away and it is pertinent to ask if the certitude of deterrence as we know it can be recast. Yet if disarmament is to be pursued, some radical steps must be taken. This is the dialectic that must be grappled with and Dubya may be doing a Ramanujam.

For India, the dilemma is even more palpable. Equitable global disarmament and the protection of core security interests in the interim remain the abiding goals of India's reluctant nuclear quest. The Bush formulation makes no reference to disarmament as a goal though arms reduction is identified. China looms large in the Indian calculus and Beijing's reaction to the Bush policy remains the wild card in the Pandora's box that has been opened with such flourish.

### IN BRIEF

- NMD is the result of US determination not to be held hostage by deviant states
- If China is left out of the NMD consensus, it may increase its offensive capability
- This is of direct relevance to India
- Bush makes no reference to the ultimate goal of disarmament, one of India's abiding concerns

than responsible nations for whom "terror and blackmail are a way of life." The proposed new framework is a mix of the offensive and defensive capability — and herein lies the rub — for acquiring the latter entails moving beyond the constraints of the 1972 ABM. Russia and China have been in the vanguard of opposing any changes to the provisions of the ABM for their existing strategic balance vis-a-vis the US would be degraded but their response to the Bush policy is instructive.

The new blueprint refers to encouraging "still further cuts in nuclear weapons" as also their character — that is the alert status — and further still, hints that the US may well make unilateral reductions to "lead by example." This is welcome music to Moscow that is keen to reduce its expensive nuclear arsenal and the manner in which Russia is

## MUTUAL DESTRUCTION

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THE United States' announcement that it was going ahead with the development of a national missile defence system (NMD) has been sugar-coated with promises of cutting down its nuclear arsenal and offers to subsequently expand the scope of that umbrella to cover what it deems as its allies. The White House has never been short of articulate and clever speech writers but spin doctors have been unable to camouflage the basic truth that by going ahead with the NMD Washington has unilaterally scrapped the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) which served as the basis for all the limited moves towards eliminating weapons of mass destruction these past 30 years. In terms of principle it suggests that the Bush Administration considers itself at complete liberty to act in what it perceives to be self-interest even if it flies in the face of international commitments.

There would be some validity to the argument that the old ABM had been conceived in the cold-war era, that there are new realities to be faced and that the tenet of mutually assured destruction upon which the ABM is founded is skewed. Maybe some grounds too for the apprehension that the threats it faces emanate not from the current incarnation of the erstwhile Soviet Union but from North Korea, Iraq and possibly Libya, though that is another display of the classic American mindset of always pointing to "rogue" states to justify its one-horse arms race. All those arguments might have carried weight had the Bush Administration genuinely consulted its allies before taking a decision which Clinton had put on hold. Despatching its envoys to sell the line cannot be equated with consultation. A likely fallout of the NMD decision could be an end to the voluntary moratorium that other nuclear powers, overt or covert, have imposed on testing and development of nuclear weaponry. Should China respond by augmenting its already considerable stockpile it could force India to re-write its manual about what constitutes the "credible minimum deterrence" enunciated in the draft nuclear doctrine. Just one factor which India ought to have assessed before the External Affairs Ministry issued what it maintains was a "considered" statement in response to Bush's actuating a new nuclear button.

THE STATESMAN

21/4/03



# Cold War Comeback

## Learn to Live with the NMD

By K SUBRAHMANYAM

WASHINGTON: President George Bush launched his programme on national missile defence, with his speech at the National Defence College on May 1. The speech was along expected lines and did not contain details on costs, time for development and type of deployment. He justified the missile defence on the following grounds. Mutual assured destruction, the foundation of the Anti-ballistic missile (ABM) treaty is no longer justifiable after the end of the cold war and the US and the erstwhile Soviet Union ceased to be adversaries.

The new threat is proliferation of missiles and weapons of mass destruction to new irresponsible states. Now that the cold war was over, the world should think beyond the logic of that era and in the background of new technological capabilities. The proposed national missile and theatre missile defence would enhance global security and not lead to an arms race since it is not aimed at any major power but only to protect the US, its allies and its forces. The US will be sending a high-powered team to consult its allies, Russia and China, on the issue.

The above speech would demonstrate that the US psyche and behaviour pattern have not changed over the last five decades and even the end of the cold war has not made any difference. The US administration usually makes up its mind on what is good for the US and then pursues its goal ignoring all other considerations. While President Bush is right in arguing that the strategic environment has changed and new threats have emerged requiring new solutions, the US administration would not admit that this situation was of its own creation. It was the result of the US pursuing single-mindedly a core strategic objective ignoring all other considerations.

To wage the cold war against the Soviet Union, the US needed the support of China and Pakistan. Therefore, it chose to ignore the China-Pakistan proliferation of nuclear technology and missiles. It was inimical to the Iranian regime and, therefore, looked away from Saddam Hussein's proliferation efforts with the connivance of western European nations. Saddam Hussein's missile war against Iran evoked responses from Iran. The US did not dare to confront China

about its nuclear and missile proliferation because it was keen on building up a one hundred billion dollar trade with that country.

Whatever arguments may be advanced by others, the US is not likely to be diverted from its set goal. The fact that technology is not yet ready is not a valid argument, according to the supporters of the NMD. It will be ready only if more money and R&D effort are expended on it. All major weapons programmes had their initial failures, it points out. Most Americans understand that the real purpose of this programme is to establish the unquestioned dominance of the US over all other major powers. It is also meant to enable the US to dominate space. To reinterpret Admiral Mahan who said that the power which dominated the oceans in the 20th century would dominate the world, the US proposes to dominate outer space to dominate the world in the 21st century.

President Bush is right in his argument that treaties which outlive

stand, including the Shakti tests.

The US needed arms control measures so long as there was an adversary, the USSR, which was more or less equal in military capability. After its demise, the US has no significant challenge. Therefore, the same Republicans who concluded the ABM treaty, SALT I threshold test ban, the intermediate nuclear force (INF) treaty, START I and II have no more use for arms control treaties. Hence, the opposition to CTBT and discarding of the ABM treaty. Therefore, the days of arms control appear to be over. This is not to pass a judgment on the need for arms control. This is today's reality.

The NPT is not an arms control treaty. It has been converted into a treaty to legitimise nuclear weapons in the hands of a select few and deny it to others. As long as NPT legitimises nuclear weapons, the US needs a missile defence against the use of a legitimate weapon in the hands of other nations. The era of arms control ended with the era of the cold war. Unfortunately, many of the arms control theologians especially in the US state department have not yet realised it. The NMD is not just about an armament system. It is about a new era in which the US, no longer constrained by a countervailing power is informing the world it is the sole indispensable power and that a new international security paradigm is emerging.

There are distinct possibilities that in spite of their reservations, the Europeans and Russians would reconcile themselves to NMD. The Japanese will strongly support it. There is no point in India coming out against the scrapping of the ABM if the Russians are going to accept it, albeit with reservations. India should, therefore, not take a strong stand on the issue but watch further developments carefully. The Chinese are eminently pragmatic people and, therefore, even while they oppose it they may learn to live with it.

India should now urge the US administration to update its cold war thinking, as has been urged by President Bush and to rethink its sanctions, its ideas on nuclear supplier groups and other related matters which are all products of the bipolar era to fit in with the post-cold war paradigm.

### IN BRIEF

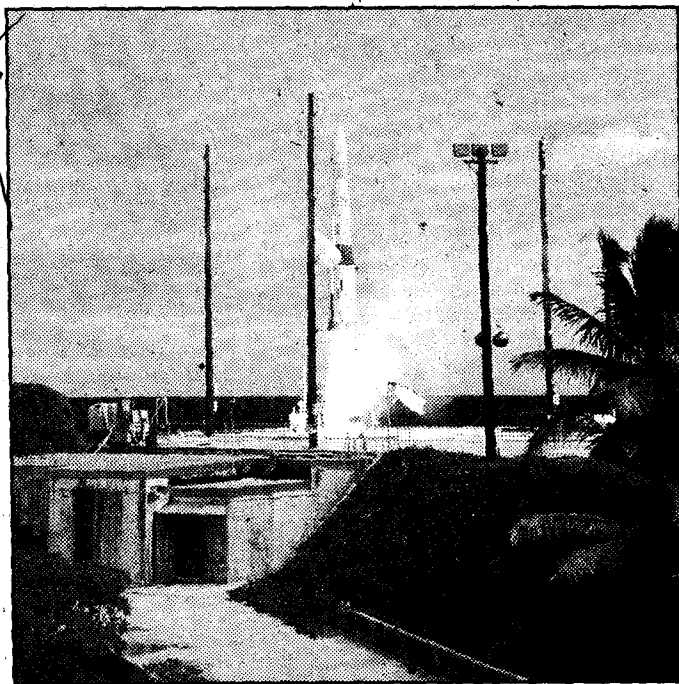
- The global proliferation problem is of America's own making
- The failure of the NPT has forced the US to go beyond the ABM treaty
- Most nations will reconcile themselves to the NMD

their utility and which do not meet the imperatives of current strategic requirements should be discarded. He feels the ABM treaty and the CTBT fall into this category. He does not seem to realise that the NPT also falls into this category. It is the double failure of the NPT which has led to the present situation which calls for the US to go beyond the ABM treaty. A nuclear power like China did not observe article I of the treaty and proliferated. European powers, members of the NPT, discarded their obligations and assisted, tacitly or otherwise the proliferation efforts of yet another member of the NPT, Iraq. Therefore, President Bush and the US administration have to carry their logic to its full conclusion and start examining whether NPT, in its present form, serves its stated purpose. The proposed NMD is proof of the failure of the NPT regime and a total vindication of India's

**SONIA TRIKHA**  
demystifies the  
technology behind  
the top-of-the-mind  
acronym

# Ps and Qs of the NMD

INDIA'S enthusiastic response to the Bush administration's National Missile Defence (NMD) system has generated a great deal of interest, and is being described as a "shift" in India's policy on space warfare. In the past, and even as recently as early last month, the Indian Government was saying "we are against the weaponisation of outer space". The new response, which India claims remains unchanged, applauds the new "cooperative, defensive" transition of US nuclear and space policy which is moving away from the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction. To really make sense of the response it might be useful to take a look at the NMD programme and see if it has to be committed to deploying weapons in space to succeed—in which case India has moved—or does the NMD, unlike Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative, work more modestly but just as well through defensive missiles, fired from land, air and sea.



A payload launch vehicle carrying a prototype interceptor.

## Nuts and bolts of NMD technology

This technology is untested and unproven. The only time anti-missile technology was deployed, it was targeted against the Iraqi Scud missiles in Operation Desert Storm in 1991. The Patriot missiles were fired 44 times to intercept the Scuds and missed on most occasions. The Bush administration's plan, though undefined yet, looks like a larger version of the also-debated theatre defence system. The theatre system aims to protect individual cities or troops in the field, say the NATO troops in Kosovo during the recent Yugoslavia crisis.

Once an adversary fires a missile, it is detected on an early-warning radar system, the kind that the US has in Massachusetts, California, Alaska, Greenland and the kind its allies have—the UK in Fylingdales in North Yorkshire and Australia in Alice Springs.

On the basis of missile detec-

tion, a point of interception is calculated and a missile is launched in defence. This defensive missile is made up of a booster and a destroying vehicle which neutralises the incoming warhead. Using the thrusters, the killer part of the missile detaches from the booster and engages in a speed collision with the warhead. It's like "shooting a bullet with a bullet".

## US deployment of NMD

In an interlocking system, rocket-launched interceptors can be fired from the ground, from Navy ships and high-powered lasers carried by Air Force planes. To make these components work, the US will require, apart from the existing facilities, advanced radar systems on the ground and at sea as well as sensors in space. The attacking missiles can then be destroyed at the time of launch, or while it is in space or at the point of re-entry into Earth's atmosphere.

The first chance to neutralise comes in the boost phase as its thrusters are firing into space and according to reports in the US,

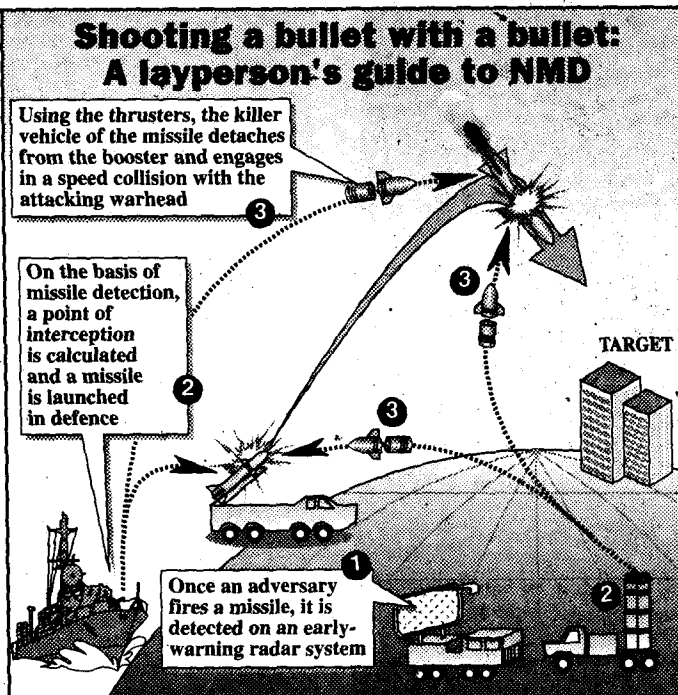
their Air Force is working on the Airborne Laser programme which is designing a powerful Chemical laser to be carried in the nose of a 747 plane to shoot down short- and medium-range missiles like the Scuds. This system could also be adapted to use against Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs). It's all in the future though.

Similarly, the US Navy's SM-2 air defence missile could be outfitted to be fired from Aegis cruisers and chase down ICBMs.

The most tested, but not entirely successful, is the ground-based defence system of launching interceptors from Alaska and a few other places that the Clinton administration favoured.

## China, the new Enemy No. 1

China seems to have taken over from Russia as the lead strategic antagonist to the US, if the reaction to Bush's NMD speech is anything to go by. They said the project violates the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and would destroy the balance of international stability and even cause an arms race.



IE Graphics/B.K. SHARMA

The reality seems to be that the modest size of China's missile arsenal is the reason for US optimism in the face of stiff criticism. The US hopes to "consult and debate" the issue with the rest of the world, including Russia while China leaving out. Because China, unlike Russia which could overwhelm the US missile defence system through its arsenal, is not in a position to threaten US might.

In fact, the unstated US belief is that the NMD is more than likely to neutralise the modest Chinese challenge.

Which consists mostly of 18 liquid-fuelled DF-5 missiles that are stored at a low level of alert with warhead separated from the launch system. Its solid-fuel medium- and long-range mobile missiles, DF-31 and DF-41, with the ability to strike north-west (Alaska) United States.

China's other response could be to develop low-cost measures such as smart decoys to counter the counter-missiles.

Michael Krepon of the Henry L. Stimson Center says the Chinese could also indulge in "asymmetrical warfare" which is really to target the

enemy's weaknesses in order to counter their strengths.

## It's also about the economy

According to Krepon in *Foreign Affairs*, Moscow and Beijing will view an aggressive US missile defence programme as an attempt to both negate their own nuclear deterrents and render their satellites blind. What is aggression will be determined by whether weapons are deployed in space or not.

Because weapons in space threaten assets such as satellites and their vulnerability in turn could affect investments in space. US space technology industries realised \$125 billion last year. So opposition to NMD is also about economics. India's position—"we are against the weaponisation of space"—could stem from this as well as from keeping Russia and neighbour, China, in non-confrontational mode.

Its "shift" on the other hand might be encouraged by US assurances to bury CTBT and the fond hope that a Sino-US standoff will bring investment gain for India.



# NMD: A new nuclear order

New Delhi surprised the world by its lightning-fast response to President George W Bush's nuclear shield speech. Here is why and how it happened

**Pramit Pal Choudhary and Saurabh Shukla**  
New Delhi

**T**HE TELEPHONE call from the office of the US national security advisor Condoleezza Rice, came for Jaswant Singh late on Tuesday night. It was meant to be a polite consultation about President George W. Bush's coming speech at the National Defence University in Washington, a diplomatic forewarning that the US president was about to turn the world of nuclear weapons inside out.

As it was, the Indian external affairs minister was unavailable. By the time Singh returned the call from his South Block office, at 4.50 in the afternoon of the following day, Bush had already made the speech heard round the world.

In a 10-minute conversation, Rice, daughter of a dirt-poor black cotton farmer, told the blue-blooded Rajput about the US's plans to take "friends and partners" along in its plans to erect a national missile defence (NMD) shield. Rice said Bush was planning to send Richard Armitage, who has taken over from Strobe Talbott as the new US Deputy Secretary of State, as a "personal emissary" to New Delhi to explain Washington's new policy.

Bush, Rice and other senior members of the US foreign policy coterie, had invited foreign leaders of many capitals that Tuesday night. Armitage is among three "high-level representatives" that Bush is sending around the world to explain his NMD speech. But it was notable what company India was being placed in: traditional US allies like Germany and the United Kingdom and major powers like Russia. Armitage himself will be touching down at Canberra, Seoul and Tokyo — capitals more loyal to Washington than the state of Montana. Beijing was only getting a run-of-the-mill assistant secretary of state.

Ministry of external affairs officials say Rice's call was a courtesy. Bush's plans for an NMD were more than well-known to New Delhi. Ever since India's national security advisor, Brajesh Mishra, met the Sphinx-like Pentagon chief, Donald Rumsfeld, in Munich in March, the NMD has been on the agenda of every high-level meeting between Indian and American officials.

The most recent such powwow was Singh's Washington stopover where he met every member of Bush's security and foreign-policy inner circle — except the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, General Hugh Shelton. Shelton broke his leg the day Singh was taken to the Pentagon and had to

send his deputy.

This foreknowledge was also why the Indian government was able to come out so quickly with a response. "India and the US have been talking about the NMD for one year, not one day," said a South Block official. Foreign diplomats were impressed not only with the speed of India's response but also, given India's tradition of diplomatic waffling, the MEA statement's uncharacteristic boldness. "Ours was not an off-the-cuff response," said an official.

The billion-dollar question India, along with every government in the world, is asking is: What does all this mean? Not even the thousands of studies and papers churned out by the Beltway brigade in Washington is completely sure.

But there were a number of compelling reasons that led India to give a green light to Bush's proposals that outshone the responses of many NATO allies.

India saw in Bush's speech not a call for a new crop of whiz-bang missiles but the makings of a new nuclear order. As MEA officials point out, the Indian response nowhere endorses NMD. Indeed, India's Wednesday statement doesn't even mention the phrase. What New Delhi liked was Bush's promise "to transform the strategic parameters on which the Cold War security architecture was built."

As an Indian official explained, "This is not about something as trivial as missile defence, this is about a new security paradigm."

### The order changer

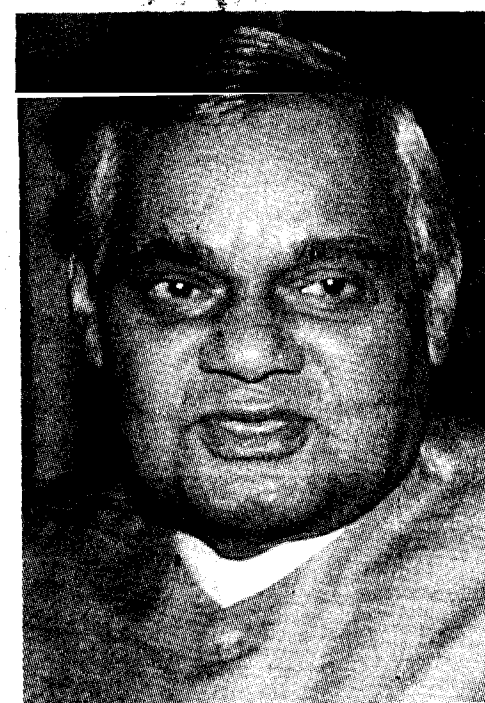
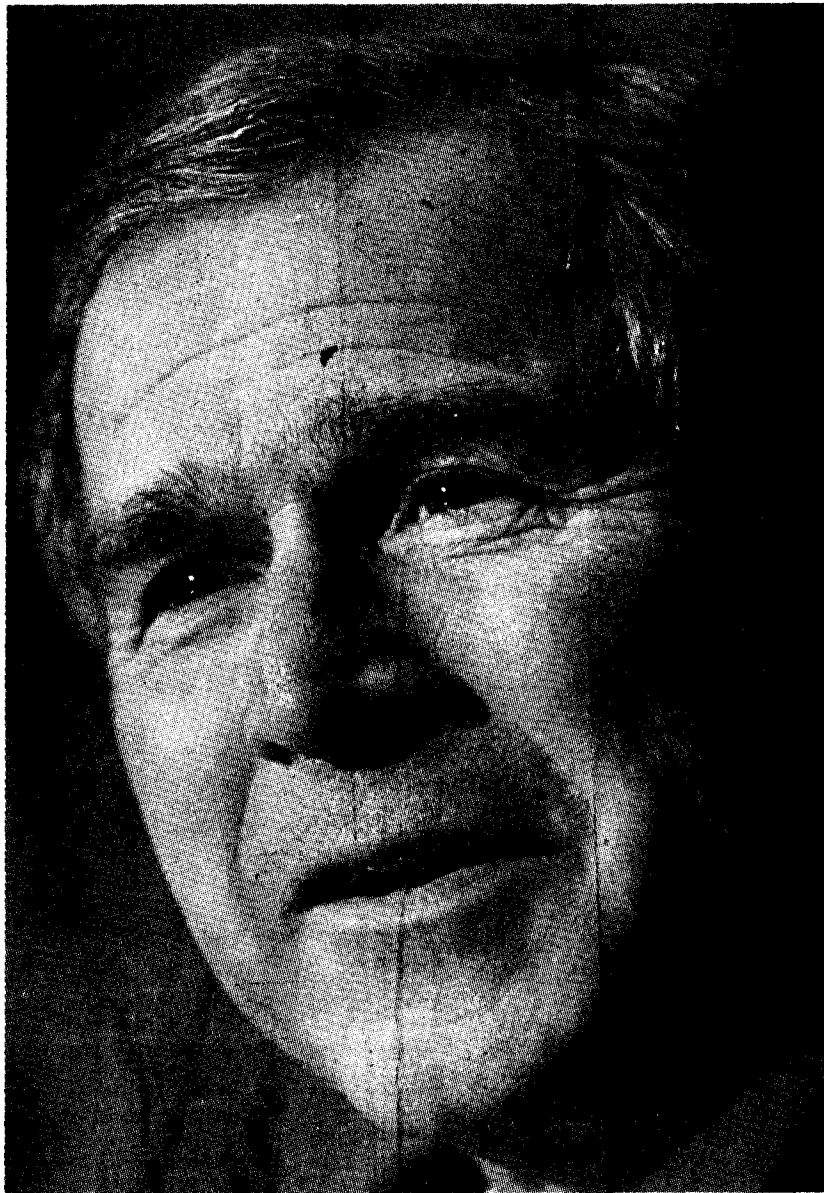
INDIA has no love for the present nuclear order, forged by events like the Cuban missile crisis and enunciated by people like Henry Kissinger. The old order — deterrence through mutually assured destruction — abounded in wars for India.

First, it had evolved a class structure with five nations holding all the technological, treaty-making and strategic cards. New Delhi had unsuccessfully rallied against this regime as "discriminatory" for years.

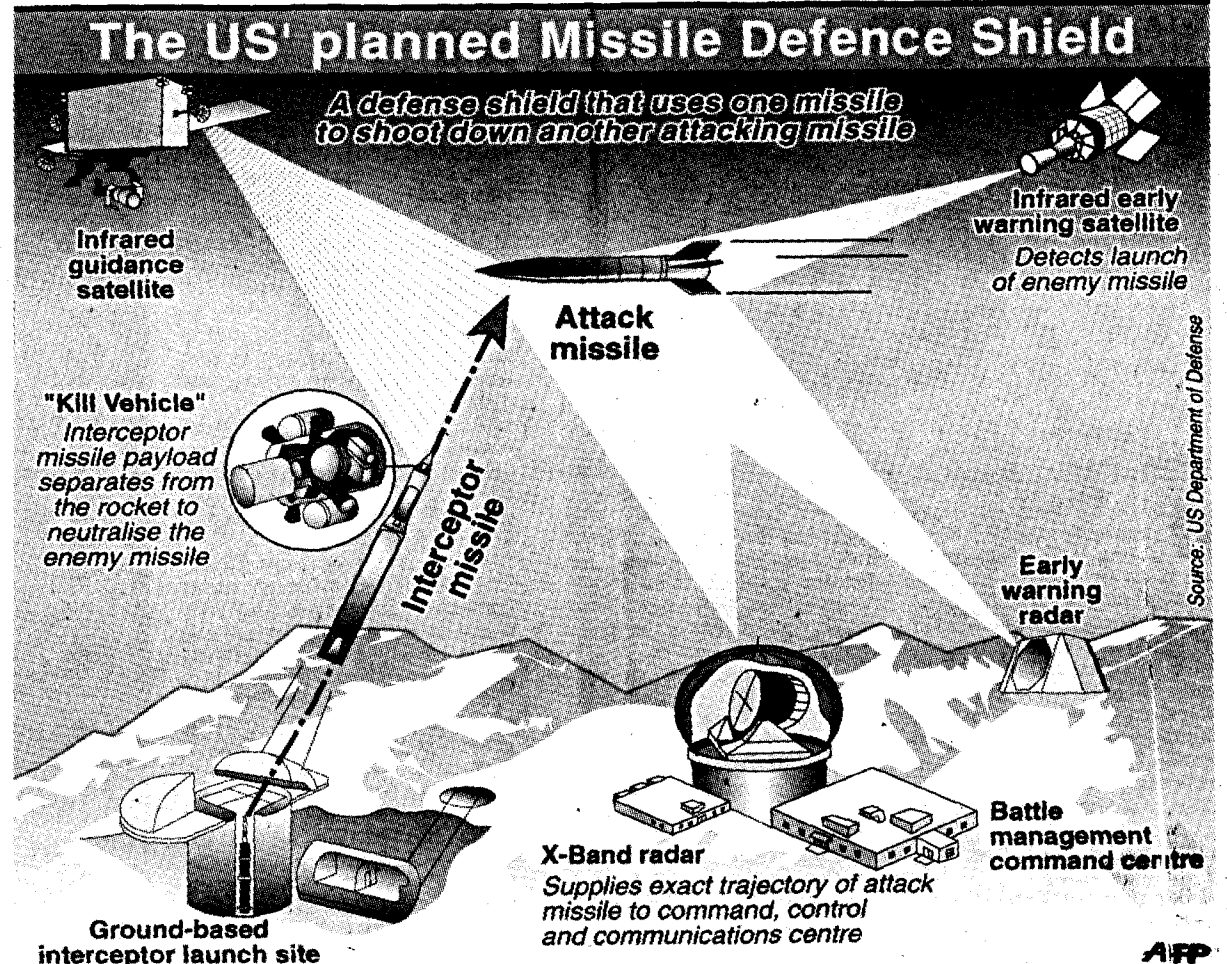
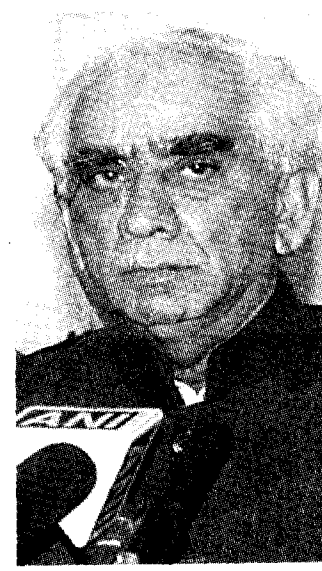
Second, India was uneasy at the manner the regime operated at the weapons level. Deterrence, far from being stable, repeatedly teetered close to the edge of armageddon. It led to a spiralling arms race and left city-busting missiles idling on launchpads.

Finally, New Delhi fretted that the old order was unable or unwilling to control the spread of nuclear and missile technology. Worse, much of this illicit trade was packed in containers marked "Kahuta, Pakistan."

What Bush is proposing is strikingly different. Besides the missile



US President George Bush, Jaswant Singh and Atal Bihari Vajpayee



shield, say officials, what made his speech attractive were the other three legs of his new order: a promise of unilateral cuts in nuclear arms, a de-alerting of nuclear forces and a promise to develop what the US president called "a new cooperative relationship" in the nuclear sphere.

Explained a government official, the Cold War nuclear regime was "predicated on the constant increase in the quality and quantity of nuclear weapons." In comparison, said a South Block mandarin, the Bush regime is "predicated on cuts in nuclear weapons, on the winding down of the arms buildup."

Unlike what MEA called the "prevailing nuclear orthodoxies," India sees opportunities in an NMD-based regime.

For one thing, Bush, note Indian officials, is talking about a new cooperative, defensive nuclear order. The administration refers to "like-minded nations", India, a status quo power with a no-first-strike policy, is exactly that.

"The US president spoke of how an NMD regime would leave out "the world's least-responsible states," those "for whom terror and blackmail are a way of life." New Delhi immediately thinks of its eastern neighbour: a terrorist sponsor that invaded India under a nuclear umbrella.

Indian analysts are wary of China's response. What, they ask, if Beijing

reacts to the NMD by rapidly expanding its nuclear arsenal? K. Subrahmanyam, ex-chairman of the National Security Council Advisory Board, calls the claim this will lead to an Sino-Indian arms race as "totally untenable." India's minimum deterrent, he writes, "will not need revision whether China has 30 or 300 missiles." Professor Kanti Bajpai of Jawaharlal Nehru University points out that the NMD is not a 100 per cent defence shield.

Even India, let alone China, has the ability to overwhelm an NMD. Beijing will not be disarmed, just be less capable of carrying out a first-strike with assurance. Some Indian officials point out that China peddles its nuclear missiles and technology throughout India's neighbourhood. "China is expanding and modernizing nuclear arsenal even now," said one. Why, say many Indian security analysts and officials, should New Delhi go out of its way to appease a Beijing whose nuclear policies have shown no consideration for India?

### Keep China in

NONETHELESS, New Delhi insiders expect there are good reasons that the dragon should not be deliberately isolated. "Dropping China will be counterproductive as it will be tempted to proliferate more and increase investment in strategic systems. This will not be in the interests of either India

or the US," said a South Block insider. Even crystal balls become cloudy trying to predict what will be the fate of the NMD. For example, it remains to be seen whether the US will stick to unilateral arms cuts and refrain from unilateral decisions.

But India knows this: It was a permanent dissident under the old nuclear regime. New Delhi was regularly slapped with sanctions, given moral homilies, barred from the high table of nuclear policy. Bush's "new cooperative relationship" seems more amenable to India's interests.

Also, New Delhi has an opportunity to be present at the creation. The US has chosen India to be among the handful of countries it is consulting about how to set up an NMD-based regime. Bush in his speech clubbed New Delhi among the "allied capitals." The MEA responded by noting that Rice included India when she mentioned the phrase "friends and allies" of the US.

In the Fifties and Sixties, when they last put a nuclear order together, India was left banging on the door. With a single statement about a telephone call, New Delhi has ensured a seat at the table where a nuclear regime is being assembled. "Every country is going to cutting deals with the US," said one expert. "For once, India should not be mindlessly critical and then suddenly find itself the only one left holding the can."

## Sheriff US wants global deputies

Bush prefers shields to swords, countries to counties

**O**NE OF Bill Clinton's officials remarked that the foreign policy of George W. Bush was a strange mix of "timidity and arrogance." On one hand, Bush has pulled US troops out of Macedonia and the Sinai at the first sign of trouble. On the other, he has trampled on the Kyoto protocol, and told his European allies that he was going to change the nuclear rules of the game irrespective of what they said.

The idea of a national missile defence is a perfect example of Bush's sweet and sour approach. On one hand, declaring his intention to recast the nuclear doctrine that has dominated the world for 50 years is breathtaking stuff. This is revolutionary. A nuclear reformation against a crumbling atomic orthodoxy. If the NMD does take off, Bush doesn't have to do anything else while in office to be assured a place in the history texts.

On the other hand, given the US has the means to go full steam ahead and damn the criticism, Bush was remarkably conciliatory. The primary reason for India's enthusiasm for NMD, say South Block officials, is that Bush went out of his way to not play bully boy and cloaked the entire business in terms of cooperation and dialogue with other countries.

But the visual image that the NMD produces, of a US covering itself with shield even as it beats most of its nuclear swords into plough shares, is

telling. Bush likes to talk of his foreign policy as a "distinctively American internationalism." Translation: don't be any more internationally engaged than absolutely required.

In part, this reflects Bush's own character. He has a self-deprecating sense of humour. For a US President, he keeps an extraordinarily low profile, especially compared to his limelight-loving predecessor, Bill Clinton. He likes to lay down broad policy and leave implementation to a cabinet full of policy heavyweights. This is not a president, said one of his campaign advisors, "who will be his own secretary of state".

By all accounts, Bush runs a tight ship. Especially, said a former US ambassador, when compared to the Clinton administration "which was quite chaotic". Or to put it another way, the new US president dislikes surprises. So his officials make sure there are none.

Bush and his team are against US military intervention in different parts of the world. As his national security advisor, Condoleezza Rice, once declared, US paratroopers should not be escorting kindergarten children in Kosovo. They are also reluctant to let the US have its arms tied to various international norms, treaties and obligations. Not so much for concerns about sovereignty, but because the present White House inhabitants don't want the US to be sucked into having to handle Rwandan massacres and Sierra Leonean banditry. As Bush grumbled repeatedly during his election campaign, "I'm concerned that we're overdeployed around the world."

But everyone knows the US has overseas interests, least of all people like Rice, Colin Powell and Donald Rumsfeld. So how will the US protect them. The answer seems to be through the use of regional allies. Bush will not play global cop. He'd rather give out silver badges to a score of deputies. Under this vision, the US will confine its role to providing funds, weapons, intelligence and the odd bit of military logistical support. As Bush repeatedly says, the US should act with "humility" and not "arrogance" but still set the world's agenda.

Administration officials have spoken disparagingly of how Clinton "neglected" traditional allies like Japan and South Korea. And they have carefully cultivated new ones like Nigeria. But it is pretty clear that one country the Bush administration has great hopes for is India, their expectations seemingly rising with each passing month.

Bringing India into the fold of nuclear consultants for the NMD regime is perhaps the strongest indication that Washington is seeing India in a remarkably different light. As South Asia analyst Stephen Cohen of the Washington-based think tank, Brookings Institution, recently said, "For the first time, we are treating India like a mature adult not like some kind of problem child that needs to be instructed." It is another matter whether India is really ready to play the role of a major global player, with all the heartaches and headaches that come with that role.

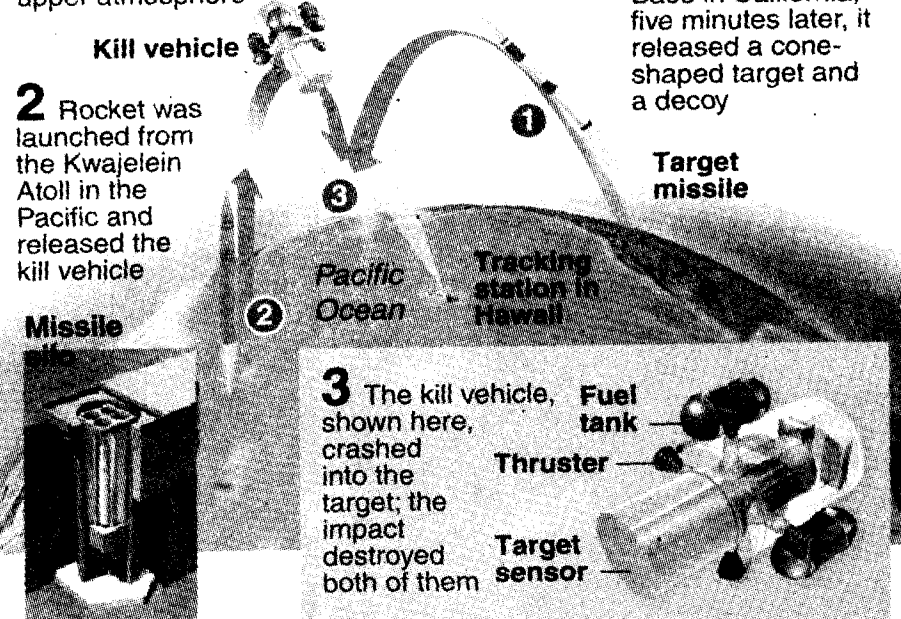
— PPC

## Types of anti-missile systems

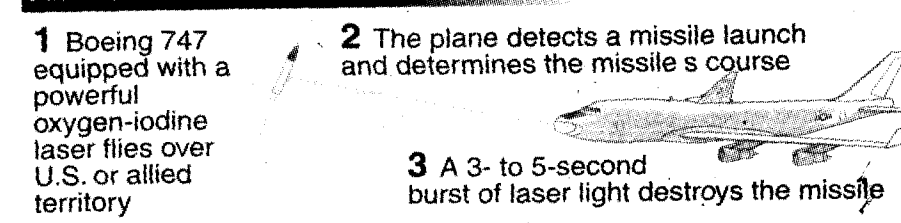
These are some of the technologies being considered for the proposed U.S. missile defence system:

### LAND-BASED SYSTEM

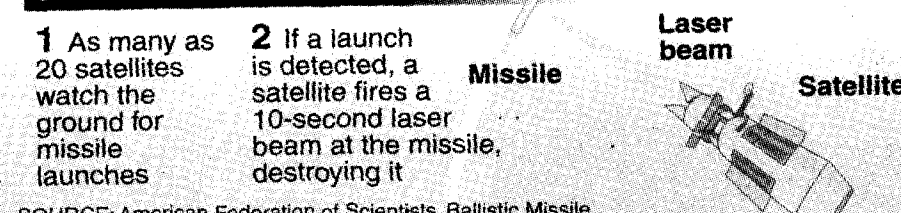
In this successful 1999 test, a kill vehicle destroyed a missile in the upper atmosphere



### AIRBORNE LASER SYSTEM



### ORBITING LASER SYSTEM



SOURCE: American Federation of Scientists, Ballistic Missile Defense Organization Graphic/CHICAGO TRIBUNE 2001 KRT

## The new grid on the block

All you wanted to know about NMD but didn't know who to ask

Why does the US want a missile defence?

Post-Cold War, security analysts realized that deterrence based on mutually assured destruction had been wildly unstable and dangerous. Also, the rise of non-state players like terrorists and new nuclear nations meant the security picture was more complicated. Bill Clinton's solution: put together a non-proliferation regime made of international treaties like the CTBT. Thanks to a variety of foes ranging from India to the US congress this regime is likely to remain half-finished. The US rightly argued for an alternative answer: a national missile defence. With Bush's election they're giving it their best shot.

### Is this the end of deterrence?

Not quite. NMD will modify deterrence. Missile defence will make it more difficult for, say, Pakistan to launch a sneak nuclear strike on India. Even an imperfect shield would make it impossible for Islamabad to be sure of wrecking India's ability to strike back. In nukespeak, the NMD serves to degrade Pakistan's first strike capability. This is why missile defence makes the world safer: it reduces the incentive for sneak attacks, but make countries like India who have eschewed first strikes more secure.

### Where does NMD leave Pakistan?

In an awkward position. Largely to please China, Pakistan has in past denounced the NMD at international venues. Since Bush's election it has studiously remained silent on the matter. It's a Catch22: criticize NMD and irritate Washington, do the opposite and

infuriate Beijing. But Islamabad has greater reasons to fret. An NMD system will be most effective against countries with small nuclear missile arsenals like Pakistan. And punch holes in a nuclear doctrine that allows for first strikes, like Pakistan.

### Will NMD work?

The simple ship and landbased NMD being proposed will be easy to make. It can never be a perfect shield. Most antimissile systems, like the Patriot, have a poor record of hits. But Washington stresses: it doesn't have to be perfect. NMD will make it impossible for a country to be certain it could wipe out and would be to inject uncertainty in the calculations of countries contemplating a sneak missile attack.

### What about the CTBT?

The Bush administration will not abandon such treaties outright. They still serve a purpose. One school of thinking: Washington will use the NMD as a bargaining chip to get China and Russia to agree to deeper nuclear cuts and tighter nonproliferation regimes.

### What's the world thinking?

Bush went out of his way to woo the Russians during his speech. Moscow's reaction to NMD has been mild that experts believe it is no longer interested in opposing NMD, just getting the best terms for supporting it. If Moscow accepts the NMD, European fears of an arms race will similarly subside.

China remains a sticky question. Beijing stridently opposes an NMD. But if it seems inevitable, they may seek a deal with the US. China knows an NMD would be easy to overwhelm through sheer numbers. It also knows triggering an arms race could cripple China's economic burden.

### Is the NMD inevitable?

Hardly. The technology may fail completely. Also, rather than foreign governments, Bush has to persuade his own divided Congress to fund the NMD's development.

### How much will it cost?

The US government's general accounting office recently estimated the NMD would cost between \$18 billion and \$28 billion. Some estimates put it as high as \$50 billion. But given that the earliest realistic date for such a system is 2005, Washington can easily spread the cost over time.

# US plans to hardsell missile shield plan

Washington, May 3

TOP US officials are preparing to travel the globe, including India, to convince world leaders of the importance of the controversial US missile defence plan, but president George W Bush will also have to convince a divided US Congress.

Bush on Tuesday said the shield was needed to guard against attacks by "rogue states".

Turning decades of arms control orthodoxy on its head, Bush said the 1972 anti-ballistic missile (ABM) treaty with Russia, which bars such defences, was obsolete.

Officials would not be drawn

into assessing a flurry of reaction on the shield from Europe and Asia, but plans were firming for top-level missions to consult with US allies and major powers.

"As the President announced, he is dispatching high-level officials to allied capitals to consult our friends in Europe, Asia, Australia, Canada," said State department spokesman Philip Reeker. The envoys would endeavour to give "a clear view of where we're coming from with this and so that we can hear their views and their concerns," Reeker said.

Under the plans being drawn up, Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage will leave for Japan, South Korea and India

early next week, while Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs James Kelly will visit Australia and Singapore. "He (Kelly) may also stop in China for discussions related to missile defence," said Reeker. Deputy Defence Secretary Paul Wolfowitz and Deputy National Security Adviser Steve Hadley are scheduled to travel to Europe on a similar mission, Reeker said.

The four-pronged consultation mission will follow hard on the heels of a volley of telephone calls to world leaders placed by Bush before and after his announcement.

But Opposition democratic leaders denounced the proposal

as overly ambitious and based on a questionable premise, making it clear the plan will face an uphill battle in the divided US congress. "The premise on which all this is based is somewhat faulty that is, deterrence does not work," said Senator Joe Biden, senior democrat on the senate foreign relations committee. "I have great concerns about a unilateral decision because it could result in a new Cold War, what I call Cold War II" and nuclear proliferation, said democratic senator Carl Levin, a member of the senate armed services committee.

Bush's plans for a shield look set to become the latest point of contention in Washington's

highly tense relationship with Beijing.

Analysts quoted by the official Xinhua news agency warned Bush's initiative could spark an arms race and threaten world peace. Meanwhile, Australia's diplomatic relationship with China remained tense today after the Government signalled it would not veto US plans to use Australian bases for a missile defence system.

China also issued a stinging rebuke to Canberra overnight for its support of US commitments to defend Taiwan in the event of Chinese aggression, raising the tenor of its recent criticism directed at Canberra.

AFP

THE JOURNAL

14 MAY 2001



# U.S. seeks to reassure allies on NMD

By Sridhar Krishnaswami  
**WASHINGTON, MAY 3.** Even as senior officials start to fan out to capitals in Europe and the Asia-Pacific next week, the Bush administration is under no illusions of what is in store by way of reactions from "friends and allies". From Europe to Asia, allies have reacted in highly muted terms and there has been no ringing endorsement of the President, Mr. George W. Bush's new strategic thinking or emerging framework.

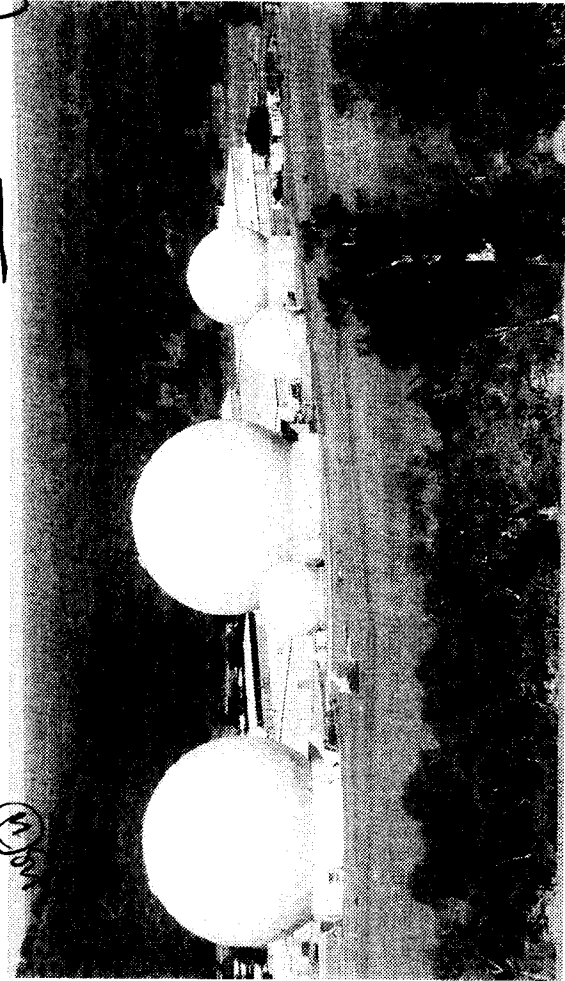
In fact, some of key allies of the United States in Asia such as Japan has said that it would want to know more of the National Missile Defence system; and one perception here is that Tokyo may even press Washington for a rethinking on the subject. Japan, for its part, is under no false pretensions of what is in store should it throw its weight behind the proposals of Mr. Bush.

Prior to his speech at the National Defence Academy, the President made a round of telephone calls to world leaders that included the new Japanese Prime Minister. And on Wednesday, the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, had a call from the Japanese Foreign Minister, Ms Makiko Tanaka; but the word from Tokyo is that the two did not discuss the proposals of Mr. Bush.

The Deputy Secretary of State, Mr. Richard Armitage, is due to travel to Japan next week for two days which will be followed by a two-day trip to South Korea. The Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia Pacific, Mr. James Kelley, is due to join Mr. Armitage in Japan and South Korea before he goes to Australia and Singapore. Significantly, the State Department is saying that Mr. Kelly "may" travel to China.

The lack of euphoria on the part of key allies in Europe and Asia does not mean that the Bush administration will be coming away empty after its sessions. For the record, both the White House and the State Department are saying that senior officials are travelling to different capitals not to inform but to discuss.

But there are deep doubts on the extent to which the Republican administration would be willing to compromise on the NMD. For now, allies are focussed on the NMD and are



An undated file photo shows the radar domes of the top-secret joint U.S.-Australian missile defence base at Pine Gap near Alice Springs in central Australia. The U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, announced on Thursday that the base, built during the Cold War, would play an important role in his missile defence system. The statement has increased tensions between Australia and China which fears the technology will create a military shield over Taiwan. — AFP

relieved that the American President did not formally walk away from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty on Tuesday. But the President and his senior officials have made no bones of the fact that the 1972 arrangement is "ancient history"; and that Washington is willing to work with Moscow to come to new arrangements.

That said, there is the resignation in non-official circles that the Bush administration will get away with the National Missile Defence system in one fashion or another. American allies will come to accept the same giving their own interpretations so as to stay clear of criticism from either Russia or China. Europe is bound to be concerned over the Russian reaction as much as the Japanese dread further getting on the wrong side of China.

Washington is aware of the fact that Tokyo may not be on board with the National Missile

Defence System, but is a party to a joint study on the Theatre Missile Defence system that is aimed to protect American troops in Asia and that of its allies. Here again, Tokyo faces the stiff opposition of China which sees any missile defence as extending to Taiwan and, therefore, upsetting the present arrangements, political and strategic.

Reluctantly thrust into the spotlight in the Asia Pacific at the onset of a Republican administration which wanted to pursue a gung-ho policy towards Beijing, Tokyo soon found itself in the midst of other "problems" with China — American surveillance planes taking off from bases in Japan to spy off the coast of China; a Japanese visa granted to the former President of Taiwan, Mr. Lee Teng-hui, even if for medical reasons; and the recurring history text book controversy.

## 'Anti-missile defence plan will upset global balance'

Beijing, May 3

CHINESE MEDIA flayed US President George W Bush's plan to deploy an anti-missile defence shield for the second day today, saying it would upset the global strategic balance.

The Shanghai-based *Jiefang* daily said the US plans, which Bush vowed to implement in a speech on Tuesday, had met criticism not only abroad but also in domestic political circles in the US.

"Some Democratic members of Congress have said that since the system may not be technically feasible, plans to develop it are no different from gambling with US national security," the paper said.

"Many countries, including America's European allies, believe this plan is bound to destroy the current strategic balance and as a result will lead to a global arms race."

China has not yet made an official statement on Bush's Tuesday speech.

The *People's Daily* commented on the US defence policies in a serialised commentary on Bush's first 100 days in office.

"His intention to abolish the ABM treaty makes many Russians think he wants to restart the arms race," said the paper, which is the Communist party's mass-circulation mouthpiece.

Beijing's concerns have been heightened since Bush proclaimed China to be a strategic "competitor" of the US.

AFP

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

4 MAY 2001

Sweden critical of move ■ Britain, Canada wary but diplomatic ■ UN reiterates prevention of arms race

# Bush sparks off missile defence race



President Bush addresses the National Defense University at Fort McNair in Washington on Tuesday. — AP/PTI

## AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

WASHINGTON, May 2. — The US President, Mr George W Bush, ended an era in nuclear arms control with a speech that signalled the start of an all-out missile defence race free from the constraints of the 1972 ABM treaty.

Offering to work with Russia and US allies on a new security framework, Mr Bush nevertheless was blunt in saying yesterday that the USA should move beyond the ABM treaty.

The treaty, which bars the deployment of a national missile defence system, kept the nuclear peace between Russia and the USA for nearly three decades by making both sides equally vulnerable to massive nuclear retaliation.

Mr Leon Fuerth, a national security advisor to former Vice-President, Mr Al Gore, warned that giving it up will have "very real consequences in the de-

struction of arms control and the framework for reducing and controlling nuclear weapons." And the trade-off, he said, is "for something that mightn't work and might be in excess of our real need." But Mr Bush and his advisers have decided that the most pressing threat today comes not from Russia's vast arsenal but from "rogue states" bent on acquiring weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them.

The ABM treaty "ignores the fundamental breakthroughs in technology during the last 30 years. It prohibits us from exploring all options for defending against the threats that face us, our allies and other countries," Mr Bush said at the National Defence University.

**World wary:** World governments responded nervously to Mr George W Bush's decision to build a shield against ballistic missile attack, with some saying

they feared the plan could jeopardise global security, adds AP.

Allies including Britain and Canada issued statements that pointedly stopped short of endorsing the plan but diplomatically welcomed Mr Bush's promise yesterday to consult with NATO allies and Russia in creating the defence system.

Germany was even wrier and Sweden offered sharp criticism. Much of the apprehension focused on Mr Bush's declaration that a 1972 arms-control treaty was outdated.

The UN Secretary-General, Mr Kofi Annan, said the missile plan would "inevitably impact upon global security and strategic stability." He emphasised the need to "consolidate and build upon existing disarmament and non-proliferation agreements, specifically to prevent a new arms race and to maintain the non-weaponised status of outer space," the UN spokesman, Mr Fred Eckhardt, said.

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

Many of USA's European allies have been sceptical of Bush's missile defence ideas since his election, fearing that such a system could start a new arms race by prompting both Russia and China to increase their nuclear arsenals.

Neither Russia nor China commented immediately on Bush's announcement yesterday. The Canada was also wary. The foreign affairs minister, Mr John Manley, said before Mr Bush's speech that a unilateral American abandonment of ABM treaty "would be very problematic for us." Afterwards, the spokesman for Canada's department of foreign affairs, Mr Michael O'Shaughnessy, was non-committal, but welcomed Mr Bush's plans to work closely with Russia.

# Bush missile plans perturb China

London, May 2

CHINA WARNED ON Wednesday of a possible arms race if the United States goes ahead with its controversial missile defence plan but Russia said it was ready for talks on new defence ideas.

Beijing and Moscow were reacting to US President George W Bush's call on Tuesday for replacement of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty—a bedrock of US-Russian nuclear stability for three decades—to make way for the new plan.

Bush said the ABM treaty needed to be replaced to permit a missile system that would protect the US and its allies from attacks by what Washington calls rogue nations or accidental launches.

China's response came in a commentary by the official Xinhua news agency attacking the planned National Missile Defense (NMD) system.

"The US missile defence plan has violated the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty, will destroy the balance of international security forces and could cause a new

arms race," it said.

"Therefore, it has been widely condemned by the international community," it added. But Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov, while backing the 1972 ABM pact as a key part of global security, said he was ready for talks with the US States on new structures for international defence.

"We are ready for consultations, we are ready to set out our position," he told a news conference. He said international security deals in place since the pact was signed were extremely complicated, involving treaties banning nuclear tests and reductions in strategic missiles.

"That is why we are so insistent in keeping and strengthening ABM," Ivanov said, adding that he was looking forward to meeting the experts Bush promised to send for talks on the US ideas on ABM and future defence arrangements.

Washington's allies were cautious in their initial response, focusing on promises by Bush to consult on the NMD scheme and make unilateral nuclear arms cuts.



APF PHOTO  
Bush outlines his missile defence plans in Washington on Tuesday.

today." Bush phoned Putin to explain his missile plans, and said he wanted to meet the Russian leader before a Group of Eight summit this summer. Bush may need Britain's permission to upgrade US radar facilities in northern England for their role in any missile defence network.

British Prime Minister Tony Blair has so far declined to make clear whether he would approve such a request, saying he has not yet been formally asked.

German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, said in a statement: "We welcome President Bush's announcement of close consultation with the allies."

Fischer, who is in Washington for talks with Secretary of State Colin Powell, said he would use the visit to further discuss the topic.

Nato Secretary-General George Robertson also issued a statement welcoming Bush's announcement.

"The President is right to focus on these new challenges, and I welcome his commitment

to close consultation with the allies," he said.

But not all European reaction was so supportive.

"This could spark a new arms race," Foreign Minister Anna Lindh of Sweden, which holds the rotating European Union presidency, was quoted Wednesday by the Swedish tabloid *Aftonbladet* as saying.

France has yet to react officially but Colonel Jean-Louis Dufour, a strategic analyst with the research institute CERI in Paris, said Bush had made little more than a superficial attempt to consult allies on his plan before his speech.

"It's an extremely complex question and he kissed it off in 10-minute telephone conversations," Dufour said.

The missile defence system would eventually be established and divide Europe in the process, with some countries such as Britain agreeing to offer facilities for the umbrella and others declining them.

"The problem for Europe is that this will divide Europe. This is a bad blow," Dufour said.

Reuters



# US post-cold war plan emerges

REUTERS

WASHINGTON, MAY 2

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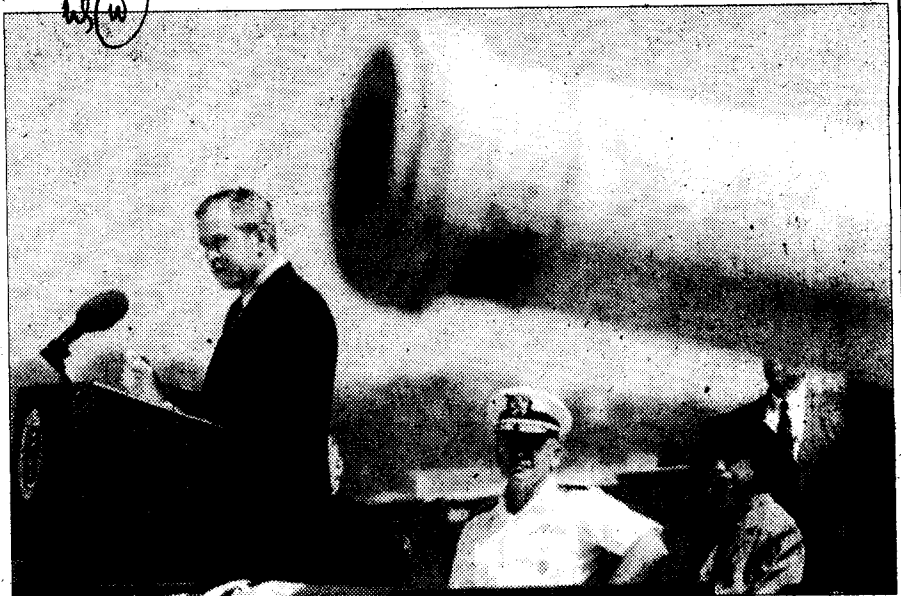
**P**RESIDENT George W Bush on Tuesday called for replacing the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty, a bedrock of US-Russian nuclear stability for three decades, to allow deployment of a missile defence system strongly opposed by Moscow and Beijing.

He said he planned to make unilateral nuclear arms cuts in what amounted to a sweetener for financially strapped Russia, which is struggling to afford the upkeep of its nuclear arms.

"This treaty does not recognize the present or point us to the future. It enshrines the past," Bush said, as he prepared to launch a high-profile effort to consult on the ABM treaty with wary US allies and Russia and China. Bush, in a major speech to a military audience at Fort McNair, said the 1972 ABM treaty between the United States and Russia needs to be replaced to permit a missile system that would protect the United States and its allies from attack from what Washington calls rogue nations or from accidental launches. The ABM treaty was created just to prevent such a defence system during the Cold War when Washington and Moscow settled on an approach of "mutually assured destruction." A missile defence was forbidden because it could give one side or the other the ability for a potentially devastating first strike.

Addressing the topic for the first time at length since taking office on January 20, Bush said the treaty ignored technological breakthroughs of the past 30 years and prohibited the United States from exploring options to defend itself against threats facing America and its allies.

"That's why we should work together (with Russia) to replace this treaty with a new framework, that reflects a clear and clean break from the past, and especially from the adversarial legacy of the Cold War," he said. The President offered no specifics about his missile defence plans, saying they were still being worked out, and no indication of the cost or timetable for building a system.



President George W Bush delivers his speech on the missile defense systems at the National Defense University in Washington on Tuesday - Reuters

## US army says no to Chinese berets

THE 'Made in China' label will not be welcome in the US army as it outfits about half a million troops with new black berets, the Pentagon said on Tuesday.

"The Army Chief of Staff has determined that US troops shall not wear berets made in China or berets made with Chinese content," Deputy Defence Secretary Paul Wolfowitz said. "Therefore, I direct the Army and the Defence Logistics Agency to take appropriate action to recall previously distributed berets and dispose of the stock," he said in a statement.

It was the latest twist in the black-beret saga that has hit controversy at almost every

step, and even became known as the "War of the Black Beret."

The Pentagon gave no reason for Tuesday's move. But the announcement comes on the heels of rising tensions between China and the United States over the collision of a US navy surveillance plane and a Chinese fighter jet over the South China Sea on April 1.

Moreover, it followed criticism from Congress of the Defence Department's decision to let contracts totaling \$27 million go to companies in China and elsewhere to make the black caps, instead of to American firms.

INDIAN EXPRESS

3 MAY 2001

# Bush sounds out allies for missile defence system

London, May 1

US PRESIDENT George W Bush has called Prime Minister Tony Blair to discuss controversial plans for a missile defence system, officials have said.

A Downing Street spokesman confirmed the conversation took place but declined to give any details. The defence shield would need Britain's permission for the upgrading of US radar facilities in northern England. Blair has declined to say whether he would approve such a request, saying he has not yet been formally asked.

Bush will make a strong pitch on Tuesday for a defense missile shield to protect the US and allies from rogue attacks, linking its deployment with cuts in the US nuclear arsenal.

In a speech at the Pentagon's National Defense University, Bush will argue for moving past the limitations in the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty and building a missile defense system in consultation with allies and Russia, a senior US official said.

Top Bush aide Karen Hughes said the president would call for a new approach that moved beyond the "nuclear balance of

## GLASSES FOR BLAIR, NEW 'VISION' FOR BRITAIN

"I HAVE an important announcement to make to you," Prime Minister Tony Blair told the London Press Club. "This is something I have been struggling with for a very long time."

Addressing an awards lunch on Monday, 47-year-old Blair admitted before a laughing audience that he now needs to wear eyeglasses when making public speeches. He then retrieved a pair of fine-rimmed spectacles from his pocket and put them on. "Matters came to a head a couple of weeks ago in Devon when I was addressing a teachers' conference ... and I was supposed to say 'teenagers' and I said 'teachers'," Blair said. "Some things in life you have to accept. It gives a whole new meaning to the phrase, 'a vision for Britain'."

He added, "I see journalists in an entirely different light as well."

AP, London

terror" of the Cold War era to take account of multiple threats posed by many rogue states.

"The world is much different from that today. We face a lot of different threats from many rogue states that are bent on developing weapons of mass destruction. So the president believes that we ought to look at better ways to defend ourselves and our friends and allies throughout the world," she told CNN on the eve of Bush's speech.

Bush's speech will revisit a major theme of his campaign for the US presidency. Bush announced almost a year ago

that he would develop and deploy a missile defence to guard against rogue nuclear launches and other attacks, and that he would share the technology with US allies such as Israel.

Officials said Bush would reiterate his willingness to make unilateral reductions in the US nuclear arsenal as a way to mollify Russian concerns, but would not cite specific numbers. Bush had promised to reduce US nuclear weapons to "the lowest possible number consistent with our national security" and vowed to urge Russia to do the same.

Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

- 2 MAY 2001

# US missile plan compromises global security

By TANG JIAXUAN

BEIJING: There is no doubt that each and every state has the right to seek its security and that the government of each state has the obligation to protect its nationals. However, how to exercise this right and acquire security in its real sense is a question worth serious deliberation.

As the process of globalization develops, countries and nations are becoming increasingly inter-dependent. This is as true in the security area as it is economically.

Security is mutual and indivisible. No country can exist in isolation from the international community, nor can it resolve all the security issues it faces single-handedly. Inevitably, the way a country seeks security will affect the security of others and entail necessary reactions on the part of these countries. Thus, while seeking its own security, a country should consider whether the relevant measures help increase universal security. A country can acquire security in the true sense only when it builds its own security on the universal security of all countries and on the extensive cooperation of the international community. A military edge cannot guarantee security.

Unilateralism at the expense of other countries security will only lead to greater insecurity. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and missiles is a very complex problem that can be tackled only through global cooperation. To set up a national missile defense system, or NMD, will not contribute to solving this problem,

but only further aggravate it. Since the end of the Cold War, the international community has made considerable progress in non-proliferation. The US and Russia reached a series of agreements on nuclear disarmament, the Chemical Weapons Convention entered into effect, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was extended indefinitely, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was concluded. Along with the Biological Weapons Convention, agreed upon in the 1970s, this shows that the final goal of eliminating weapons of mass destruction is not beyond reach. Thanks to the concerted efforts of the international community, the proliferation momentum in missiles has to a large extent also been checked. And there are a number of proposals that promise wider international cooperation in this field.

It is therefore neither wise nor advisable to build a so-called missile defense system, whose effect is questionable, at the expense of compromising or even quitting the international arms control and non-proliferation system after so many years' efforts, including by the US.

There are some people who describe the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty as part of the Cold-War mentality and hold that it should be discarded. This view is neither fair nor just. It is a fact that the ABM Treaty was concluded during the Cold War period. However, like all the other arms control treaties, it reflects the interdependent relationship among contracting parties in security matters. Such a relationship did not

disappear with the end of the Cold War, but rather is becoming even stronger in the era of globalization. The ABM Treaty is self-evidently effective. It is not outdated.

Just as the ABM Treaty cannot be viewed in isolation, neither can a US missile defense program. Offense and



Tang Jiaxuan

defense are always indivisible. Enhanced defensive capabilities, to a large degree, mean improved offensive capabilities as well.

This is particularly true for the US, the only superpower. The US possesses the biggest nuclear arsenal and the most sophisticated conventional weapons in the world, and it pursues a

nuclear deterrence policy based on first-use of nuclear weapons. A missile defense will thus become a multiplier for US offensive weapons. It will severely impede the nuclear disarmament process between the US and Russia, and indeed the world at large, and will render any US initiative on the reduction of offensive nuclear weapons meaningless. People cannot but ask what on earth is the real intention behind US insistence on developing a missile defense system in defiance of the international community? Is it really to defend against the missile threat from the few so-called problem states, or for greater military advantages over other big countries?

Located in the Asia-Pacific, China is naturally concerned about security in this region. Recently there has been relaxation of tensions in the area, particularly in northeastern Asia, and major progress has been made in the settlement of the missile issue. All parties should cherish this hard-won state of affairs and create conditions for continued relaxation. To introduce the theater missile defense (TMD) in the region will only add new, complex and confrontational factors to the detriment of regional peace and stability.

There are people in the US who clamorously advocate incorporating Taiwan into the US TMD system or providing anti-missile weapons or technologies to Taiwan. This is a most dangerous tendency.

If the US chose to do so, it would put Taiwan under the American umbrella of military protection and restore, de facto, the US-Taiwan military alliance.

It would surely inflate the arrogance of the forces for Taiwan's independence, jeopardize stability in the Taiwan Straits, endanger the peaceful reunification of China and lead to serious regression in China-US relations.

China has no intention of threatening US security, nor does it seek such capabilities. China has always exercised great restraint in the development of nuclear arms. Moreover, since the first day it came into possession of nuclear weapons, China has pursued the policy of no-first-use under any conditions. China keeps a small but effective nuclear force only for the purpose of containing other countries' possible nuclear attacks. This policy will remain unchanged.

China and the US are both permanent members of the UN Security Council and shoulder common responsibility for maintaining world peace and security. A cooperative and constructive relationship between China and the US will not only serve the interests of the two countries but also have crucial impact on world stability and security.

For a long time, China and the US have engaged in fruitful cooperation over the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and missiles. The Chinese side is ready to continue on this path with the US. But we also look forward to serious and pragmatic dialogue with the Bush administration on missile defense and related issues.

• (Mr. Tang is China's Foreign Minister. He wrote this article exclusively for *The Times of India*)

# RUSSIAN REPLY TO US NMD

By GENNADY GERASIMOV

IS a technically effective NMD system possible? The answer to this question is negative. In the pre-nuclear age, air defence was regarded highly effective if it downed 20 to 30 per cent of attacking bombers. The rest, although they bombed the target, could not erase it. The situation changed dramatically in the nuclear age. One nuclear missile can erase the target, be it a military facility or a city with a population of millions, from the face of the earth. In other words, to be regarded as effective, an NMD system should be able to intercept 100 per cent of attacking missiles. But no technology anywhere can guarantee this incredible result.

The very idea of the NMD system was borrowed from Raspe's Baron Munchausen, who fired balls from his cannon to repel the enemy cannon balls during the siege of Gibraltar. Today some people are talking about a bullet hitting a bullet. President Ronald Reagan, who advanced the notorious Strategic Defence Initiative that so much frightened Soviet generals, believed in this remote possibility.

During the Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik, I said at a preliminary conference of the Soviet delegation that Reagan would hardly succeed with his Star Wars. Marshal Akhromeyev, the military adviser of President Gorbachov who sat next to me, denounced me as an "amateur". But later the Americans admitted that their SDI programme was a bluff.

The current, second, edition of the SDI programme is somewhat more modest, not like the Reagan's one, who promised to make nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete. Today the Americans promise only to intercept individual missiles launched by the so-called problem countries — North Korea, Iran and Iraq.

But even this task is not feasible technically. President George Bush stressed that the USA would use an ABM system that would "work". Observers might conclude that this task is as good as fulfilled. But nothing is working yet and it is not clear when it will work. The first tests were not successful. I can cite the opinion of numerous experts who think that nothing will come out of the NMD idea, especially in view of the easiness and cheapness of counter-measures, such as decoy warheads, electromagnetic pulse weapons, and other tricks.

## THREAT

Officially, it is designed to protect the USA from the few hypothetical missiles launched by any one of the three problem countries, called the rogue countries only recently.

But no nuclear threat is coming to the USA from these countries. "Not yet", some would say. But no matter what we think about the regimes of these countries, there are not reasons to see their leaders as suicides, because of the assured US reply to their hypothetical strikes. And the main thing is that there are more practical and less expensive methods of ensuring general security.

US Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld mentioned Russia as a source of missile threat. No, he did not do this

literally, because the USA no longer sees Russia as an enemy. He meant the possibility of the leak of Russian missile technologies to other countries. But Russia is advocating non-proliferation of missile technologies and President Vladimir Putin pointed at the latest session of the Security Council at the importance of strengthening the control of the Ministry of Atomic Energy and the Russian Aerospace Association over this process.

In other words, the potential nuclear missile threats to the USA — and the possibility of replying to them — are hypothetical and questionable.

## CORNERSTONE

And here is the key question: Why then is the NMD problem being discussed so widely and passionately? The thing is that the 1972 ABM Treaty is "the cornerstone of strategic stability," as Russia and the USA stressed in their joint statements. Today this cornerstone is turning into a stumbling block. The US NMD system would not threaten Russia directly, because it is designed to intercept a few missiles, while Russia has thousands of them. Even if eating will fan appetite and the USA starts producing more anti-missiles, this should not engender fears (until a certain limit is reached) because Russia has devised several "asymmetric" answers.

But Russia is worried by the disruption of the balance of forces in the world. China, whose nuclear arsenal consists of a few missiles, might feel endangered. And the countries that the USA claims it fears might ponder counter-measures, too. Certain turbulence might develop in the existing strategic stability, leading to a new race for nuclear weapons. It is for these reasons that so many different countries are advocating the preservation of the 1972 ABM Treaty.

Russia has suggested a dialogue on this subject. But its readiness for dialogue was quickly interpreted in Washington as the recognition of the legitimacy of US fears of the threat coming from problem countries. In point of fact, Russia suggested searching for missile-threatened areas as the first issue for discussion.

Suppose such areas are found. In this case, the second question on the agenda would entail the discussion of possible diplomatic and political measures to preclude a dangerous development of events. If such measures prove insufficient, the sides would discuss more radical measures. Anyway, we should act gradually, in stages.

Since these proposals are based on common sense, we can hope that not just the USA, but also the West as a whole will regard them carefully. The agreement to hold such discussions does not mean the pledge to bury the NMD plans, which have been barely outlined so far.

On the other hand, Washington does not refuse to hold consultations, although The New York Times wrote that the Bush administration had not yet elaborated a diplomatic strategy to accompany its plan of defence from ballistic missiles.

Russian proposals might help the US administration do this. Russia has made a move and, as the diplomats say, the ball is now on the other side of the field.

*The author is the former Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Russia.*

THE STATESMAN

23 APR 2001

# Russia, China, N. Korea warn US on missile shield

BY IRWIN ARIEFF

United Nations, April 11: Russia, China and North Korea warned the United States that its plans to deploy a national missile shield threatened world security and could set off a new arms race. The warnings during a session of the UN disarmament commission were issued as the bush administration neared a decision on the kind of missile defence it wants to build, despite persistent questions about its effectiveness and its estimated \$60 billion price tag.

The statements from China and North

Korea on Tuesday were particularly harsh, although Chinese envoy Hu Xiaodi never mentioned the United States by name, referring only to a "certain country" that wished to press ahead with a missile defence. The system, Mr Hu said, "is in essence a disguised form of unilateral nuclear arms expansion which will severely hinder the international arms control and disarmament process and even trigger off a new round of arms race."

A green light from US President George W. Bush would damage ties between Washington and Moscow, derail efforts to eliminate offensive nuclear arms, disrupt

the global strategic balance and undermine mutual trust and cooperation among major powers, he said.

North Korean ambassador Li Hyong Chol said a US missile defence "creates great danger" and accused Washington of "picking on us to find pretexts for" deploying the system.

Mr Bush last month suspended talks begun under former President Bill Clinton and aimed at ending North Korea's missile program in exchange for better ties with Washington. Mr Bush also said he viewed North Korea as a threat and a "rogue nation" and questioned whether

Pyongyang would honour any new arms control pact. Mr Li told the meeting: "Since the United States attempts to enforce the establishment of the national missile defence system by groundlessly accusing us and defying international opposition, our counter measures also will not be bound by anything."

"Our countermeasures will have no limit in their scope and depth," he said. "even if this entails an arms race between (North Korea) and the US and all their agreements are scrapped, we will have little to lose." Russian envoy Andrei Granovsky put forth Moscow's well-known opposi-

tion to the Bush plan, saying its deployment would damage global stability and international security. "Russia believes priority should be given to political and diplomatic solutions to the problem of nuclear threats," Mr Granovsky said, adding Russia also backed creation of regional anti-ballistic missile systems to counter threats.

"Such systems would be created on a multilateral, non-bloc basis with the involvement of all the states concerned. We are also prepared for cooperation in this field with all the interested countries," he said. (Reuters)

THE ASIAN AGE



A view of the deck of the guided missile cruiser, *USS Blue Ridge*, on Friday at the People's Liberation Army Navy base in Shanghai. The command ship for Commander of US 7th Fleet arrived for a three-day port call amid tensions over possible US arms sales to Taiwan. — API/PTI

There are three primary reasons for nuclear weapons proliferation, despite agreements like the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty which aim to curb nuclear growth.

Advocates of nuclear weapons assert that one should not look at nukes through jaundiced eyes. These should be seen and acknowledged as the advent of development in the science of warfare just like, say, progress in communications, transport-

ation and education is considered a milestone. No record of nuclear weapons is available in the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* where weapons of mass destruction were first described. Second, and very significantly, nuclear weapons have completely changed *inter se* power equations politically.

Today, a small country with a nuclear arsenal can confidently hold itself against any attack by a superior power.

Contextually speaking, if Kuwait and Taiwan hold nuclear weapons, Iraq and China, respectively, would

# Imponderables of a nuclear race

A Moscow-Beijing collaboration over forging a joint missile shield to counter the USA's National Missile Defence is likely. Should this materialise, the arms race will get a boost with the possibility of a new Cold War, this time invoking Asia, says JK DUTT

think twice before committing any act of wilful aggression. Noted British defence analyst Shelford Bidwell in his arguments on nuclear ascendancy brings out the truth that the current nuclear-five nations — USA, England, France, Russia and China — suffered terribly during World War II, at the hands of the Axis powers because of a disproportionate military balance.

The chances of a repetition of such exploitation is remote because of the nuclear power equation.

Third, nuclear technology makes for good revenue earning. China, North Korea and Russia are conveniently supplementing their economy by well-founded sales of nuclear know-how to many client-nations who can afford to buy the costly knowhow.

Many west Asian *nouveaux riches* nations are leading procurers of the gamut of nuclear inputs. So, the number of threshold nuclear states in the world is bound to increase over time. Nuclear arms applicants have at the same time deviated from the general

conception of mass destruction in its comprehended sense as witnessed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

A new generation of nuclear weapons, more "acceptable" to mankind, has been produced where the warhead is so composed as to give rise to minimal collateral damage. This class of weapons is called the neutron bomb and has been designed to engage purely military targets such as tank concentration, artillery gun position, infantry deployment and so on. The latest American formula in respect of this weapon system, the W88, is alleged to have been cyberjacked.

The most contentious aspect of the nuclear controversy in vogue is the US National Missile Defence which is an upgraded version of the operative Theatres Missiles Defence.

Essentially, the NMD entails positioning of theatre monitored surveillance-cum-interception bases in various parts of the world in a pattern that would ensure US security interests against a nuclear attack. Such

bases are to be located in places like the Marshall Islands, Diego Garcia, Hawaii, Alaska, offshore spots of sea-fronted allies and so on.

Some designated attack submarines will also be transformed into subsurface mobile bases of this category.

In terms of statistics, Raytheon Company has developed the interceptor — also known as the "kill vehicle" — which weighs about 50 kg and is about two metres long.

A rapid detection and assessment arrangement will challenge an intruder missile as it enters a restricted air space and if not suitably acquitted, will launch the interceptor to destroy it.

There were some failures during the NMD trials but after rectifying the faults, many Minuteman missiles carrying dummy warheads were satisfactorily intercepted over the Pacific Ocean. Predictably, Russia and China have reacted adversely to the NMD. President Vladimir Putin even grossly modified the Russian General Staff nuclear ideology by openly declaring that Moscow will hesitate to carry out a tactical nuclear strike on conventional aggressor forces, thus dispelling the Flexible Response doctrine so espoused by Nato and which post-Cold War Russia favoured.

Mr Putin has also deployed nuclear arms in the western most region of Russia at locations like Kalinigrad.

An unequivocal nuclear threat to Nato's further-eastward expansion plans has been conveyed to the alliance, advising it against inviting any more members of the Confederation of Independent States in its fold.

The bone of contention over the NMD is the 1972 Anti Missile Treaty between the former USSR and the USA. Washington now feels that the treaty is outdated and requires thorough revision to bring it on par with the current scenario.

Moscow feels that the ABM Treaty is the very foundation of anti-nuclear defence and any alteration would jeopardise its *raison d'etre*. But the USA has decided to go ahead with the NMD.

Russia has come up with two germane political cards — one, it is offering Europe an equivalent nuclear shield at a much more economical rate and two, it has asked Europe to specifically define the envisaged

nuclear threat, principally, who is supposed to be the aggressor and with what motive? The European Union is caught in a cleftstick. On the one hand it wants to break free from the USA's grip and exist as an independent body, on the other it does not want to overtly antagonise the USA by closing ranks with Russia.

Mr Putin's latest poser is making Brussels ponder. He has resurrected General Sir John Hackett's third world war script of the 1970s, highlighting the unpalatable fact that in case of a global nuclear holocaust, Europe would be the first target for the aggressor and before the latter's attention shifts across the Atlantic, a ceasefire will be appropriated so that the USA remains largely unscathed.

Dispassionately analysed, a Russian missile shield guarantee carries greater rationale and conviction than the American one simply because Russia is part of Europe.

Mr Putin has met his Chinese counterpart Jiang Zemin and

there is serious thought of a Moscow-Beijing collaboration over forging a joint missile shield to counter the NMD.

Should this materialise, not only will there be a fresh overdose of an arms race but the possibilities of a new Cold War, this time invoking Asia.

There is no gainsaying the fallout of this insalubrious climate on the Indian sub-continent. US Secretary of State Colin Powell during his address to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said India had the potential to ensure peace in the Indian Ocean. Capitalising on this lead, India needs to do two things. First, it should initiate an Indian Ocean Treaty comprising all the littorals of the region for the management of this increasingly important geo-strategic waterway.

And second, it should negotiate with the USA for securing NMD coverage for this treaty.

(The author is a retired Lieutenant-Colonel, Indian Army.)



Russian President Vladimir Putin (right) with British Prime Minister Tony Blair at the start of a meeting at the EU summit in Stockholm on Friday. Russia is offering Europe a nuclear shield at an economical rate. — API/PTI



## CTBT Seesaw

Reports from Islamabad that Pakistan may sign the comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) without linking it with India's accession to that instrument will cause much speculation here. Islamabad's decision appears to have been dictated by its parlous economic situation and mounting pressure from its creditors. Pakistan hopes this signature will get it up to a billion dollars in credit from Japan, though given that country's own financial position such optimism might be premature. Islamabad, however, has no option but to yield to the wishes of the international community, even though the Bush administration has indicated that Washington is in no hurry to bring the CTBT back to the senate for ratification. Considering the economic price Pakistan had to pay for its tests of May 1998 there is no risk of Islamabad attempting further tests in the near future. The issue is whether signing the CTBT will give Pakistan adequate economic relief, or only cause the international community to step up its demand that Islamabad should take further action to curb the jihadi forces on its soil. It is difficult to predict whether the militants in Pakistan will allow General Musharraf to sign the CTBT, or strike at him pre-emptively on the assumption that surrender on this front will encourage the West to increase pressures to demand a crackdown on jihadi forces.

While General Musharraf has yet to prove whether he can deliver on CTBT, there could be increased pressure on India to sign the treaty. Given the current state of Indian politics, New Delhi is in no position to reach a decision on such a complex issue. The air is thick with accusations that national security has already been compromised by corrupt politicians. Given the present situation of political uncertainty, and the distinct possibility of the country having to face yet another general election in the not too distant future, neither this government, nor a possible successor, is likely to soft-pedal on CTBT. The US is no longer leading a crusade on the issue. Though they might like India to sign the CTBT, the western democratic countries are in a position to understand why India cannot take a decision at this stage. The reported nomination of Professor Blackwill as US ambassador to India has sought to be interpreted by some media analysts in the context of his interest in arms control issues. It tends to be forgotten that while the Republican Party concluded the ABM treaty, SALT I, START I and II, the limited test ban and the INF treaties, till the end of George Bush Sr's presidency it always opposed the CTBT. The Republicans were never enthusiastic about what they saw as a Clinton initiative. The Republican Party platform called it an outdated move arising out of obsolete strategic thinking. India is entitled to seek further clarifications on the Republican views on CTBT before it can be discussed meaningfully in this country. The international community is today focused on US decisions on the National Missile Defence and the new US defence policy which emphasises the importance of the Pacific theatre as China becomes more powerful and Russia less so. As such, signing the CTBT is not likely to become a substantive issue in the coming months.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

28 MAR 2001

## 'Pak. developing n-weapons faster than India'

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, MARCH 25. Pakistan has edged past India in the nuclear arms race, according to the London-based *Jane's Intelligence Review*.

A Pakistani English daily, *The News*, in a special report today quoted extensively from the prestigious military journal on the relative strengths and weaknesses of the nuclear programme embarked upon by both countries since the May 1998 nuclear tests.

The report quoted the journal as saying that the "rhetoric" of Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, Scientific Adviser to the Indian Prime Minister, after the 1998 Pokhran tests that "weaponisation is now complete" was not matched by reality.

"Since that time, however, internal politics, international pressures and unique security concerns have caused Delhi and Islamabad to undertake very different nuclear postures and development plans," the journal said. According to the *Jane's Intelligence Review*, India moved slowly towards developing and implementing a nuclear strategy though it had grander aspirations. On the contrary, Pakistan moved more quickly to implement effective systems and procedures for its "more modest nuclear arsenal".

It said the pace of development

efforts could be seen in the progress each country had made in competing delivery systems that met their requirements. Procedures, tactics and doctrine for nuclear use, as well as systems to ensure effective command and control had been influenced by bureaucratic factors and each government's view on the role of the nuclear weapons.

## PML rebels elect new leader

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, MARCH 25. Rebels in the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) led by the former Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, today moved a step closer to play the role of 'king's party' by electing a leader of their own at the national level.

Mian Mohammad Azhar, once a protege of Mr. Sharif and now considered a confidante of the military establishment, is the new chief of the dissident group that claims almost two-thirds majority. This claim has been hotly contested by the loyalists of the former Prime Minister. They have dubbed the rebels as 'puppets' of the military government. Mr. Izzat Haq, son of Zia-ul-Haq, was the other claimant for the mantle.

THE HINDU

27 MAR 2001

26 MAR 2001



## *Pakistan's talk of CTBT a smart move, say experts*

By Seema Guha  
The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: General Pervez Musharraf may or may not accept the Pakistan army's recommendation to sign the CTBT. But experts here say it is a smart move. It makes virtue out of necessity and could give Islamabad the diplomatic edge it has lost to India since the Kargil War and the military coup.

Analysts agree that signing the CTBT could help in lifting the sanctions which have hurt Pakistan much more than India. The resource crunch is affecting Pakistan's country, and even the all-powerful defence establishment. Islamabad's defence budget was frozen this year, despite a General heading the government.

Western diplomats in New Delhi, while refusing to go on record on the basis of newspaper reports, however, felt that if Pakistan went ahead and signed the CTBT, it would show the Musharraf regime in a better light and could well break the country's isolation. "It will show Islamabad as a responsible, mature country which understands the international anxiety about a nuclear flash-point in South Asia," a diplomat said.

Indian officials, however, don't agree. The timing is all wrong, they insist. Pakistan could have gained a potential edge over India had it decided to go ahead with the CTBT when the Clinton Administration was in power in Washington. Now it is too late to make India look bad," a senior official said. "The CTBT is no longer such a hot issue, at least with the new Bush Administration." He added, "The EU, Japan and nuclear pacifists like Australia and New Zealand will be happy, but it won't mean that we will be under pressure."

Western diplomats say India's argument about Pakistan's timing being wrong, because the Bush Administration is not keen on the CTBT, does not hold much water. "The Republicans are keen on non-proliferation and will welcome any step that could lessen the danger of nuclear conflict in any part of the world," an EU diplomat said.

India is not bothered whether Islamabad signs the CTBT or not. "It is Pakistan's decision and has nothing to do with us," an Indian official said.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

24 MAR 2001

## Pak army agrees to sign CTBT: report

<sup>SI</sup>  
PRESS TRUST OF INDIA <sup>2/3</sup>

ISLAMABAD, March 20 — Pakistan army commanders have reportedly agreed to sign the CTBT as they feel the country has achieved a certain level of nuclear deterrence. The move would enable the military regime to lobby for lifting economic sanctions against Pakistan.

The decision was taken yesterday at the corps commanders conference in Rawalpindi, the *Pakistan Observer* said quoting sources. "Except for very negligible dissent, senior commanders are reported to have agreed that Pakistan has achieved a certain level of nuclear deterrence and the country may go ahead with signing of CTBT," the paper said.

The commanders kept in mind Pakistan's grim economic situation arising out of its pressing repayment schedules (about \$38 billion of its foreign debt is still unpaid). "They are also mindful of India's political developments."

**Hundreds held:** In a bid to stall a rally on Friday, demanding restoration of democracy, Pakistan's military regime today began arresting hundreds of activists.

Police raided the homes of politicians and party members across Lahore.

# Missile defence dialectic

By V. R. Raghavan

*The underpinning of the NMD-TMD is a perceived opportunity, and therefore the need, to obtain eventual U.S. military dominance of outer space.*

THE BUSH administration has made it clear that it will go ahead with the installation of a National Missile Defence (NMD) shield. It is purported to protect the territory and people of the United States from small scale missile attacks. Paradoxically, the public in the U.S. seems largely unexcited by the prospect of such a benefit. The Presidential campaign did not also make NMD a key issue in either the primaries or in the run-up to the final elections. All of the U.S.' allies are anxious about the adverse impact the NMD would have on themselves, or, on their region. Other major powers are objecting to the creation of NMD infrastructure. Other countries have either indicated their concerns or have preferred to wait and watch the unfolding of the missile defence drama. As states in possession of nuclear weapons, India and Pakistan also have a stake in these developments.

Defence of the North American mainland against missiles has been a long-standing demand in some powerful circles of the U.S. Even as the end of the Cold War was in sight, the missile defence protagonists had argued in its favour. It is useful to remember that one amongst Mr. Henry Kissinger's early reactions to the nuclear tests by India and Pakistan was a regret that missile defence had been avoidably delayed in the U.S. by two decades. Mr. Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative was part of the missile defence thought process. The Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty signed by the U.S. with the Soviet Union had also been criticised by the missile defence lobby. This was mainly on the ground of it denying to the U.S. the benefits of the technical advantages in space weapons it was presumed to possess.

The NMD system as envisaged will use ground-based interceptors supported by an extensive network of ground-based radar and space-based sensors. To be truly effective, the NMD will need the radar network to be installed outside U.S. territory. Canada certainly, probably the U.K. and possibly some West European territory may have to be included if the NMD is to be effective. The ABM Treaty was designed to prevent precisely this kind of

system. It disallowed the creation of defensive systems so as to discourage the making of more powerful weapons to overcome existing defences. In other words, the two superpowers had agreed to accept a degree of mutual vulnerability to ensure the stability of their nuclear deterrent. The Russians, not without justification, are upset at the unilateral shifting of the nuclear goal posts by the U.S. They believe, and many European states agree, that introduction of the NMD would upset the nuclear equilibrium that had held over some decades. The U.S., it is argued, can easily defend itself by using its global naval reach to destroy the adversary's missiles even as they are in the boost stage, instead of building a defence system which destabilises existing nuclear defences.

The U.S. Secretary of Defence, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, recently addressed the 37th Munich Conference on Security on NMD. In his words, "these systems will be a threat to no one". According to Mr. Rumsfeld, no U.S. President can responsibly say that his defence policy is calculated and designed to leave the American people undefended against threats that are known to exist. Anticipating the issue of the NMD's technical feasibility, the Defence Secretary goes on to insist that it is more a question of the President's constitutional responsibility to the American people. Mr. Rumsfeld invokes Mr. Kissinger to claim that that the NMD is a moral issue! Mr. Rumsfeld was also Chairman of the Congressional Commission to assess the ballistic missile threat to the U.S. The report of the Commission, submitted in July 1998, overturned an earlier intelligence assessment of a low threat probability from ballistic missiles. The report's first conclusion was that while there are no existing direct threats, there is a potential of its developing without the U.S. knowing of it. There were doubts expressed on the ability of the intelligence community to provide timely and accu-

rate estimates of the threat. The report worried that the U.S. would have little or no warning time before the threat materialises. The report's recommendation was for the U.S. to review its assumptions of an extended warning time about ballistic missile threats.

The U.S. argument against Russian objections is that both countries would continue to possess, under any possible future arms-reduction agreements, large diversified arsenals of strategic offensive weapons. The defence of the NMD is linked to both the U.S. and Russia continuing to deploy, "more than 1000 ICBMs and submarine-launched ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads, over the next decade and thereafter to give both countries the certain ability to carry out an annihilating counter attack". This is proof, if it was needed, that the U.S. will acquiesce in indefinitely giving up the potential for reducing the Russian arsenal to below the 1000 figure in order to have an NMD. The credibility of U.S. assurances on its commitments to deep reductions in arsenals or disarmament thus gets further eroded. The damage to the disarmament process by this action has naturally created wide concern. Chinese concerns on the NMD stem not only from its destabilising impact. They also arise from fears that there may be a U.S.-Russia trade-off on the issue, leaving China to cope with a reduced deterrence capability.

The NATO allies and partners of the U.S. have voiced serious reservations on the unpredictable impact of the NMD on European security and nuclear disarmament. The U.K. Government will face complex and unenviable choices if the NMD is to have a element on British soil. U.K. Ministers have gone on record to cast doubts on the wisdom of the NMD idea. As for the French, their Government's position is that it is anxious to avoid challenges to the ABM Treaty, a breakdown of the strategic equilibrium and a restart of the arms race. The Ger-

mans have always been unhappy over U.S. notions of using their territory for its nuclear interests. Mr. Javier Solana, former NATO Secretary-General, speaking for the European Union, has said the NMD could de-couple the security link between the U.S. and its NATO allies.

The NMD is considered by knowledgeable analysts to be unnecessary and unviable on the three major counts of threats, technology and costs. Existing threats to the U.S. mainland or to its forces operating out of the area from rogue-states is considered to be low. Such countries would much rather invest in cheaper and less obvious means of packing a nuclear device in a small sea-going vessel to reach U.S. ports. A missile fired leaves no one in any doubt about where it came from, and no state would prefer to invite widespread international retribution. The NMD technology so far demonstrated does not offer the assurance that the system is feasible in the near future. The costs amounting to \$ 60 billion is expected to be exceeded many times before a viable NMD can be obtained. What then explains the persistence with the need to defend the U.S. at maximum costs against the least likely threats?

The NMD would be accompanied by the Theatre Missile Defence or TMD. The underpinning of the NMD-TMD is a perceived opportunity, and therefore the need, to obtain an eventual U.S. military dominance of outer space. There is a substantial aero-space industry interest involved in the programme. The small scale threats from weak states are debating points to divert attention from the main purpose. That explains the weak and unconvincing reasoning that while the U.S. must have its security assured, Europe should refrain from creating its defence identity or a military capability, except within the U.S.-led NATO. American interlocutors do not also have convincing answers on queries about India seeking its security through nuclear deterrence against the same threats which makes the NMD so essential for the U.S. The dialectic of missile defence is building up. Its implementation needs to be watched carefully by both nuclear and non-nuclear states.

THE HINDU

20 9 2001

## 'Bush is committed to NMD, not CTBT'

WASHINGTON: U.S. national security adviser Condoleezza Rice has reiterated President Bush's rejection of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and said he is "absolutely committed" to the National Missile Defence (NMD).

At a press briefing she said, "The President made clear when he was running for the post that he did not believe that the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty furthered the non-proliferation goals which we do think are extremely important because it was not verifiable, because it didn't include certain parties, and because it certainly did nothing about the states that we are most concerned about when we talk about National Missile Defence."

"The missile defence we are talking about," she said, "is for states like Iran, like North Korea, where the non-proliferation regime has become quite leaky, and where you now do have a proliferation of missile technologies into places where we are very concerned about it being there."

Asked about the possibility of cooperation with the Russians on missile defence, Ms Rice said one of the problems in talking about cooperation and sharing is that "If, in fact, Russia is engaged in activities that are helping countries to acquire weapons of mass destruction or missile technology against which the shield is actually working, this is not going to be a very cooperative relationship."

"So proliferation behaviour and what we can do in a cooperative manner is very much linked here, and I think that is a point that we will want to make to the Russians. We are not, in principle, against cooperation. But we do have a problem with the proliferation behaviour," she said.

The non-proliferation regime, she commented, "has become leaky, and a good bit of that leakage we believe is because there is not sufficient attention to this issue in Moscow." (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

24 FEB 2001

# Russia gives Nato alternative to NMD

BY JON BOYLE

Moscow, Feb. 20: Russia handed visiting Nato secretary-general George Robertson its proposals on European anti-missile defence on Tuesday, which Moscow sees as an alternative to the US National Missile Defence system.

"The priority for us is to achieve a common understanding," Gen. Robertson said to defence minister Igor Sergeyev at the start of a day of talks with top Russian officials due to culminate in the opening of a Nato information office in Moscow. Minutes later a dossier containing the Russian proposals was handed to Gen. Robertson.

Colonel-General Leonid Ivashov said the three-stage plan for non-strategic anti-missile defence — which puts closer assessment of the threat and political efforts

before military hardware — would keep existing arms accords intact.

Colonel-General Ivashov, a leading military hawk who heads the defence ministry's foreign relations department, said the proposal was "radically different from what the Americans are proposing."

He said it was "not a defence for the whole of European territory, only a part, the main part of European territory." Russia has been alarmed by US plans to push ahead with NMD, which Moscow believes would undermine the cornerstone 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty and trigger an arms race.

Late last year, President Putin proposed an alternative "non-strategic" defence, which he said could head off attacks from "rogue states" like Iraq, Iran and North Korea without undermining existing disarmament pacts. (Reuters)

THE ASIAN AGE

21 FEB 2001

# U.S. opposes Russian nuclear fuel for India

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

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WASHINGTON, FEB. 17. The U.S. has said that it deeply regrets Russian plan to ship nuclear fuel to India and says that this is in violation of Moscow's obligations as a member of the Nuclear Suppliers Group. Disarmament

"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 International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards on all its nuclear facilities. Although India's Tarapur reactors are under IAEA safeguards, India does not have such safeguards on all of its facilities and is indeed pursuing a nuclear weapons programme", the State Department's deputy spokesman, Mr. Philip Reeker, said. The Department said that at a meeting last December of the Nuclear Suppliers Group, the overwhelming majority of members expressed strong concern over Russia's plan.

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Washington called on Moscow to cancel the supply arrangement and live up to its non-proliferation goals saying in the process that "Russia's disregard of its Nuclear Supplier Group commitments, together with its sensitive nuclear assistance to Iran, raises serious questions about its support for the goal of preventing nuclear proliferation".

THE HINDU

# Stop supply of N-fuel to India, U.S. tells Russia

By Siddharth Varadarajan  
The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: Close on the heels of U.S. defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld's biting characterisation of India as a country which was "threatening other people, including the U.S., Western Europe and countries in West Asia", the State Department has called on Moscow to stop supplying nuclear fuel to New Delhi.

On Friday, the ministry of external affairs (MEA) had chosen to ignore Mr Rumsfeld's remarks, made in an interview to a local TV network a day earlier.

Privately, Indian officials said his comments were an aberration and that the real target was Russia, whose criticism of the U.S. missile defence plans had clearly irritated the Cold War-era defence secretary. But Friday evening's statement by State Department spokesman Philip Reeker suggests that the MEA's optimism might be misplaced.

Mr Reeker said the U.S. "deeply regretted" Russia's supply of nuclear fuel to India's Tarapur reactors. "Although India's Tarapur reactors are under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, India does not have such safeguards for all of its facilities and is indeed pursuing a nuclear

weapons programme." Reiterating Russia's "non-proliferation commitments", the U.S. called on Moscow to "cancel this supply arrangement".

Noted defence analyst K. Subrahmanyam told *The Times of India*, "It would appear (from this statement) that the present U.S. administration has not learnt anything from the mistakes of the past 20 years." He said

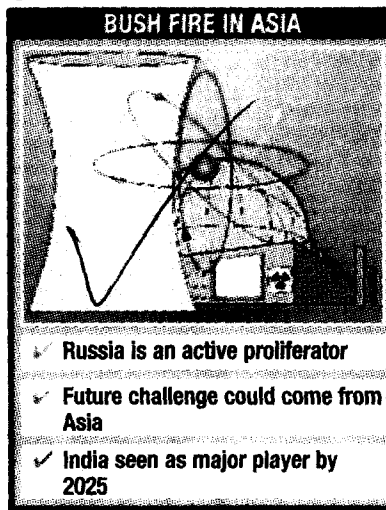
U.S. pressure of this kind would "only result in India having to switch to China for the purchase of enriched uranium or go in for MOX fuel".

Mr Subrahmanyam said the latest U.S. move appeared to be a way of "ruining the Koodankulam reactor project and a step towards applying economic pressure on Russia and trying to curb Russia's trade".

That would only lead to Russia increasing its cooperation with China, something that would not be in the U.S. inter-

est, he said. "But then, the U.S. is known to shoot at its own foot, as when it looked away from the Sino-Pakistani proliferation axis and fudged the issue of missile supply."

While Mr Rumsfeld's comments were indeed aimed at Russia, his decision to club India with some other countries suggests that the apparent coziness of the Clinton era might well be a thing of the past.



THE TIMES OF INDIA

18 FEB 2001

to

## Blair offers 'support' to U.S. missile system

LONDON: Prime Minister Tony Blair is offering tentative support for U.S. President George W. Bush's proposal to build a national missile defence (NMD) system, a plan that some critics worry could spark a new arms race.

"This is definitely in the box marked 'handle with care' on all sides," Mr Blair told *Forbes* magazine in an interview posted on its Web site Thursday. "It is a very sensitive issue. ... My own judgment is that provided we handle it with care, there is a way through which meets America's objectives and other people's concerns."

Mr Blair plans to travel to Washington to meet with Mr Bush at Camp David next week and the two are expected to discuss the new President's decision to deploy a limited ballistic missile defence shield. Mr Blair has been reluctant to take a position on the missile defence proposal, and leaders of the opposition Conservative party have accused him of vacillating. Conservative leader William Hague supports the plan.

Critics believe the missile shield would spell an end to the 1972 anti-ballistic missile treaty, and some European leaders agree with Russian warnings that it could touch off a new arms race. China also views plans for a U.S. missile shield as a threat to its security. (AP)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

17 FEB 2001



## *Debate before deciding on NMD, UK tells U.S.*

STOCKHOLM: British foreign secretary Robin Cook has called on the United States to go forward with a National Missile Defence (NMD) system only after discussions with Russia on widening a landmark arms control treaty.

Mr Cook met with senior officials of new U.S. administration in Washington last week, including secretary of state Colin Powell.

"The U.S. administration made it clear that they are several months away from reaching any conclusions," he said on Monday. "They will require some time in order to develop a response to technical terms to what they want to do and also how they take that forward in the international context."

He also said he was reassured by the Americans' commitment to consult with NATO allies, European nations and Russia, which says the system will violate the 1972 anti-ballistic missile treaty. "That is

a crucial part of the task that needs to be addressed — to make sure that should NMD proceed, it proceeds in the context of a successful widening of the arms control regime — not in undermining arms control," he said.

Mr Cook was speaking at a joint news conference with Swedish foreign minister Anna Lindh, whose country holds the rotating EU presidency. Lindh reiterated on behalf of the 15-nation EU that any NMD system should not endanger the ABM treaty.

Meanwhile, *The China Daily*, a Chinese state newspaper on Tuesday attacked anew U.S. plans to build a missile defence system, warning that it would set off an arms race in space. "The consequence will be a dangerous arms race in space," the newspaper quoted Yao Yunzhu, an analyst at the Chinese Army's Academy of Military Science, as saying. (AP)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

14 FEB 2001

# USA reviews N-arms cut

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9. — The Pentagon will review possible cuts in nuclear arsenal as part of a strategy to win allied approval for a US national defence against ballistic missiles, officials said.

President George W Bush has repeatedly said that there is room for unilateral reductions in the number of offensive nuclear weapons in the US arsenal. The military has, however, balked at further cuts.

Cuts in the nuclear arsenal could help the administration gain support abroad for Mr Bush's plan to build a national missile defence, a project strongly opposed by China and Russia.

The USA now has about 7,000 warheads for deployed nuclear

## RUSSIA TO DESTROY CHEMICAL WEAPONS

NEW YORK, Feb. 9. — Russia will finally begin destroying 40,000 tonnes of lethal chemical weapons, the largest stockpile in the world this summer, the *New York Times* reported today quoting western officials in Moscow.

Director of the Russian Munitions Agency, Mr Zinovy Pak after meetings Mr Josi Bustani said funds for the destruction of chemical arms had been increased six fold this year to \$105 million. Mr Bustani heads the secretariat which enforces the Chemical Weapons Convention signed by 130 countries.

The plan to begin operation of the first destruction plant will be presented to President Mr Vladimir V Putin next month.

The plant is nearing completion at Gorny, 1000 kilometre southeast of Moscow. American assistance to construct a second plant at Shchuchye, 1,700 km southeast of Moscow, remains frozen. — PTI

weapons while Russia has 6000. The recent nuclear arms reduction treaty between the two countries calls for cutting both sides' arsenals to 3,500 warheads. The Clinton administration had proposed further reductions, between 2,000 and 2,500 warheads on each side, as a goal for the next round of arms talks. Mr Bush is keen on cut-

ting below that level. Defence secretary Mr Donald H Rumsfeld said last weekend that he had been told by the President to consider how much the Pentagon could cut.

Pentagon spokesman Rear Admiral Craig Quigley said yesterday that Mr Rumsfeld had not received orders to begin the review, which is part of a comprehensive assessment of the nation's military requirements. Mr Rumsfeld, said he would conduct a series of reviews.

**'Pardon' under probe:** The Congress is scrutinising former President, Mr Bill Clinton's decision to pardon the fugitive billionaire, Mr Marc Rich. The Rich affair, compounded by criticism of Mr Clinton for leaving the White House with a haul of valuable gifts, was examined yesterday.

THE STATESMAN

10 FEB 2001

# Putin warns West over defence plans

GILES WHITTELL & BEN  
MACINTYRE  
THE TIMES, LONDON

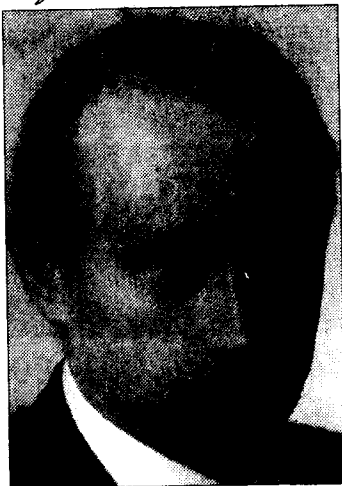
MOSCOW/WASHINGTON, Jan. 27. — The Russian President, Mr Vladimir Putin, issued a strongly worded warning yesterday that the USA's plans for a missile defence shield and Nato proposals to expand eastward into the former Soviet Union could do "irreparable damage" to the West's relations with Russia.

The USA, however, responded with the diplomatic equivalent of a shrug, observing that talks with Russia would take place "in due time".

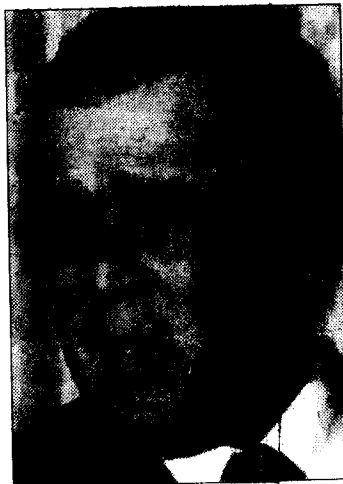
Mr Putin repeated in his bluntest language yet the Russian view that a US National Missile Defence would violate the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty on which all subsequent arms control treaties have been based.

(Mr George W Bush yesterday confirmed that he intends to go forward with two campaign promises: deployment of the NMD system and a reduction in US nuclear arsenal. The weapons cut could affect the course of the USA's arms control relations with Russia.

(But the promise has Mr Putin worried. Russia fears that the unilateral weapons



Mr Vladimir Putin



Mr George W Bush

cuts could reduce pressure on the USA for negotiated, binding treaties and give it more freedom to develop a NMD system.) Mr Putin added that the Nato expansion would also be "a mistake, and we say that it is unacceptable".

In a major foreign policy speech to Russian diplomats, the President held out hopes of a "positive dialogue" with Mr Bush but forecast a year of tense talks on the NMD.

"We will have a difficult and delicate task of preserving the 1972 anti-missile treaty," he said, choosing words carefully to leave open the possibility of altering the treaty rather than scrapping it — a solution that he may be forced to accept if USA proceeds with a missile

shield unilaterally.

At the swearing in of the USA's first black secretary of state yesterday, Mr Bush described Gen. Colin Powell as a "unique leader" who would carry out a foreign policy "true to our values and true to our friends. He understands that our nation is at its best when we project our strength and purpose with humility."

Mr Powell made it clear that he was in no hurry to open discussions with Mr Putin. When asked at what point he intended to begin a dialogue with the Russian president, he answered: "In due time."

The remark deepened suspicions that whatever Mr Putin's stated desire for

"deeper interaction" with the USA, the Bush administration wants to review relations with Russia before getting down to negotiations over arms control.

Mr Bush has already warned that Russia can expect a cut-off of economic aid until major reforms are carried out.

Mr Putin also made clear that Russian anger over Nato's bombing of Kosovo and its overtures to Baltic states such as Lithuania remains undimmed. "Our relations have moved backwards since the events in the Balkans," he said.

The speech came a day after Washington urged Mr Putin to enter talks with Chechen rebels — something he has sworn he will not do.

The USA reacted sceptically to Russian promises that troops in the breakaway province are to be cut back by 60,000 in the next few months. One week into the new administration, Moscow and Washington are still only testing each other's rhetorical defences. Mr Putin, however, made a point of consigning the Cold War to history. He acknowledged that Russia had changed fundamentally in the past 10 years and urged the West not to cultivate the image of a dangerous Russia for its own purposes.

THE STATESMAN

28 JAN 2001

## Death of a treaty

AMONG THE first foreign policy decisions of the administration of George W. Bush, the one by General Colin Powell was made even before the President-elect's inauguration. During his confirmation hearings, the next US Secretary of State said his Government would not submit the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to the Senate for ratification. This means the CTBT, the centre of so much hectic diplomacy these past few years, is a dead letter. If Mr Bush does not present the treaty to the Senate, the US cannot ratify the treaty. This in turn means that whatever slender hope it had of coming into force is now gone. The resistance of countries like India or North Korea had put a question mark over the treaty. But without the support of the world's only superpower, the question mark has become a guillotine blade. This does not mean an immediate resumption of nuclear testing. Mr Powell ruled out more tests by the US. India is still bound by its unilateral moratorium. The CTBT is dead, but an unwritten norm to not test still lives.

What remains unclear is whether the Bush administration will pursue the other elements of the nuclear non-proliferation regime, like the fissile materials cut-off treaty. While campaigning, Mr Bush spoke of reducing the US' nuclear arsenal and replacing it with a missile defence system. The US is determined to pursue the latter goal. It is less clear if it will carry out the former. A lot will depend on whether other countries will respond to missile defences by increasing their own nuclear arsenals.

In the short term, India will be pleased that a major irritant in its relationship with the US has disappeared. In the long term, New Delhi needs to start worrying about which direction global nuclear arms will now take. The one path it will not take is abolition. This was always a lovely sounding but wholly impractical ideal. The CTBT was to have been the cornerstone of a post-Cold War nuclear non-proliferation regime. That regime is now wounded, probably mortally. In the present uncertainty, countries around the world are now dusting off plans about building more nuclear missiles. Terms like 'arms race' and 'balance of terror' will start to reappear if the world community does not move to plug the gap left by the CTBT's demise. India, a resident in the world's most hostile nuclear environment, needs to be at the forefront of such moves.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

20 JAN 2001

# US should ratify CTBT, says study

S Rajagopalan  
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THE COMPREHENSIVE Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) debate is all set to revive with a study commissioned by President Bill Clinton urging the US to ratify the controversial treaty.

Conducted by retired General John Shalikashvili, the study is seen as part of a last-ditch Clinton bid to drum up support for the treaty that had been rejected by a Republican-dominated Senate in 1999.

The Republicans' position on the CTBT, more specifically that of President-elect George W. Bush, has been music to India's ears.

A sharp critic of the "unverifiable and unenforceable" treaty, Mr Bush had even gone on record sometime ago saying that as President, he would not pressure New Delhi to sign it.

Gen. Shalikashvili, who was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1993 to 1997, is slated to submit the report to Mr Clinton today. According to *The New York Times*, the report has concluded that the US must ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in order to

mount an effective campaign against the spread of nuclear weapons.

While a formal reaction of the Bush-Cheney transition may have to await a perusal of the report, political observers do not expect any drastic revision in the Republican perception that the CTBT is "another anachronism of obsolete strategic thinking".

Gen. Shalikashvili's report, according to *The New York Times*, has proposed increased

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spending on verification, greater efforts to maintain the US's nuclear arsenal and a joint Senate and Administration review every 10 years to determine whether the treaty is still in American interests.

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, finalised in 1996, can come into force only after it is approved by the US and 43 other countries having nuclear research or power reactors. Britain, France and Russia have signed and ratified the treaty, while India, Pakistan and

North Korea are among the countries that have not.

After the Republicans rejected his ratification bid in October 1999, President Clinton lost the "leverage" to make India and Pakistan sign the CTBT during his visit to the subcontinent last March.

That anyway was a point that Mr Clinton himself made at Mr Bush's headquarters, Austin, during the presidential campaign.

A small section of Republicans, however, has been supportive of the CTBT. The most notable supporter has been Secretary of State-designate Gen. Colin Powell, who believes the treaty is "necessary for the safety and reliability of the world because it will reduce the threat of nuclear weapon attacks."

Gen. Powell is even said to have urged India to sign the treaty during a visit there some years ago.

In sharp contrast, Defence Secretary-designate Donald Rumsfeld represents the more predominant conservative Republican view that the CTBT would be a stumbling block in any future US bid to develop newer nuclear weapons.

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