

Indo-US naval exercise meet

OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Nov. 20: The Indian and US navies are working on joint exercises of their special forces. A two-day meeting of the executive steering group of the two sides was considering an exercise schedule that would involve Indian marine commandos (marcos) and US Navy Seals.

India's marine commandos are involved in counter-insurgency operations in the Wular Lake in north Kashmir.

Defence sources said the meeting of the executive steering group was also considering exercises in salvage, diving, submarine search and rescue (Sarex) and counter-terrorism warfare in the seas.

The deputy chief of the navy, Vice Admiral S. Gopalachari, and Vice Admiral Robert Willard, commander of the US Pacific Command's seventh fleet, were leading the delegations. The Indian Navy has been looking to acquire underwater systems. In 1998, India was negotiating to buy submarine rescue gear from the US when Washington barred military sales following the nuclear tests.

THE TELEGRAPH

21 NOV 2003

Drop trade barriers, U.S. tells India

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, NOV. 20. The United States Under-Secretary of Commerce, Kenneth Juster, is optimistic of making progress with India in high technology cooperation, but does not set any deadline on when specific agreements could be reached.

Addressing a press conference after the second meeting of the India-U.S. High Technology Cooperation Group (HTCG) this evening, Mr. Juster said he had "fruitful discussions" with the Foreign Secretary, Kanwal Sibal.

Mr. Juster said he was pleased that a drop in Indian tariffs had led to an increase in the U.S. exports to this country. Underlining the need for expanding the potential of commercial ties between India and the U.S., he pointed to the huge trade relationship between Washington and Beijing.

At the press conference and at a meeting organised by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) this morning, Mr. Juster called on India to drop the trade barriers. Specifically, he called for better protection by India of patent rights.

On export controls relating to nuclear proliferation, the official said the U.S. favoured "catch all" controls; suggesting that India should license any components that could be used by another country for weapons of mass destruction programmes.

To a question whether the U.S. would help India in the Nuclear Suppliers Group in its desire to obtain technology for nuclear reactors, Mr. Juster said there were ways in which the

U.S. could cooperate which would not violate Washington's international commitments, but did not provide details.

At the FICCI function, he categorically denied that there were any U.S. sanctions in force against India. Regretting the position India had taken at the World Trade Organisation (WTO) on trade issues, he made a strong plea for New Delhi's full compliance with intellectual property rights, reduction in tariffs and taxes and simplification of complex customs procedures.

Addressing the FICCI meeting, Mr. Sibal, said there were "critical areas" in the India-U.S. technology transfer relationship, which New Delhi believed, had remained a "prisoner of the past." He, however, conceded that a broad range of controlled goods and technologies were now easily available to most importers in India.

Pointing out that over the past two years India and the U.S. had tried to pursue a long-term strategic partnership, Mr. Sibal claimed that one example of beneficial cooperation was "strong growth" in defence ties.

"The task is not easy, especially because our bilateral relationship exists in a broader international context and there are historical legacies to contend with. But, our two Governments have engaged in this task in a constructive, forward-looking and realistic manner.

"We are now well into the process of resolving these issues, consistent with our respective laws, national security and international obligations, but entirely in the spirit of the new relationship between our two countries," Mr. Sibal said.

US warns India of 'another backlash'

Business Standard

NEW DELHI, Nov. 20. — The US today adopted a tough posture on bilateral and multilateral trade issues. It warned that unless India wanted another backlash, like the one against outsourcing, the country should reduce tariff and non-tariff barriers, protect intellectual property rights and allow more US goods to flow into the country. It put the burden of trade expansion squarely on "India's shoulders".

Refusing to budge from its stand on agricultural trade negotiations at the World Trade Organisation, Assistant United States Trade Representative Ashley Wills put the onus of reducing agricultural tariffs on developing countries like India in exchange for the lowering of subsidies to farmers by developed countries. He also said the US was unwilling to reduce the level of domestic support and export subsidies unless other developed countries, like members of the European Union, reduced agricultural support further.

On bilateral trade, US Under-Secretary for Industry and Security Kenneth Juster said India should provide better intellectual property rights protection through a tougher patents regime if it wanted to

attract US investments. He was speaking at a press conference here.

On the backlash against outsourcing and proposed legislation banning such business practices in the US, Juster said: "As economic opportunities rise, dislocation also rises. The way to address it is to expand trade and investment relations so that people in the US also see the benefits of liberalisation. It has to be a two-way process."

During his various interactions through the day, Juster repeatedly stressed on the need for India to loosen control and provide a simpler Customs regime and lower tariffs. "At times, progress in trade has been potentially less. This is because tariffs and taxes are too high, also there is greater need

for protection of intellectual property rights," he said during an interaction with Indian industry, organised by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

As a justification of his demands for greater liberalisation, Juster said the easing of government controls in India and tariff reduction had resulted in a 25 per cent increase in US exports, which were estimated at \$4.8 billion this year.

He dismissed India's charges that trade suffered due to sanctions imposed by the US after the Pokhran blasts in 1998.

The trinity issues

By M.R. Srinivasan

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Relations between India and the U.S. need to be based on a sympathetic understanding of each other's concerns and not against the backdrop of international rules of conduct which are breached whenever necessary.

EVERY ONE in India associates the Trinity with Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwara. In the Indo-U.S. diplomatic dialogue, however, trinity issues mean cooperation in civilian nuclear power, cooperation in civilian space research and export of dual use technology. When the Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, met the U.S. President, George W. Bush, in New York in September 2003 there was expectation that an agreement between the U.S. and India on these three issues would be announced. When no such announcement came, it was explained by some diplomats that the U.S. wanted to delay the agreement because it expected that Pakistan would make a case for similar treatment. After Pokhran I in 1974, the U.S. and Canada embargoed export of equipment, components and materials that could be used for nuclear applications. In 1978, the U.S. Congress passed the Nuclear Non-proliferation Act, at the initiative of the then President, Jimmy Carter. Parallel with this, the Nuclear Suppliers Group, popularly known as the London Club, was set up at the urging of the U.S. with the aim of denying to those outside the NPT supplies or knowhow related to nuclear technology. Some of the European countries and Japan were initially reluctant to go along this path but eventually accepted the U.S. dictates. In due course, the U.S. sponsored the Missile Technology Control Regime and embargoed equipment and technology related to space research to countries like India. Later, all these control regimes were unified under the 'Energy' and 'Wassenaar' protocols.

While other countries have been affected by these technology denial schemes, India has been hurt the most because of its large and diversified nuclear and space programmes. Strangely, China, which in the past was classified as an enemy by the U.S., and even now is sometimes referred to as a potential challenger to U.S. hegemony, has access to nuclear and space technologies from the U.S. and other advanced countries. The justification is that it is a member of the NPT, though as a nuclear power, and also adheres to the MTCR. In reality, however, China assisted Pakistan actively in the latter's quest towards nuclear weapons, in violation of its obligations under the NPT. China also supplied long-range missiles and technology to Pakistan and North Korea, the latter also a supplier to Pakistan.

After the Pokhran II tests of 1998 and the Chagai tests in Pakistan in

the same period, the U.S. put in place stricter embargoes against both India and Pakistan. Even prior to 1998, the U.S. authorities had drawn up an Entities List, running into a few hundreds, which included all industries, academic institutions and other bodies that carried out work for the nuclear or space programme. Any proposal by them to import a high technology item from the West or Japan resulted in a long correspondence with no certainty that the item would be cleared for export. The post-1998 embargoes reached ridiculous proportions; for instance, the author of this article could not get a visa to visit the U.S. in 2002 to attend a conference on a nuclear weapons-free world. While these embargoes were a nuisance to our scientists and technologists, they have hardly impeded India's nuclear and space programmes; in fact, the 1998-2003 period has seen many new achievements in these two advanced technology areas. If the U.S. is prepared to look at this irritant to find a way out, it is as much to do with improving relations with India as an admission that the embargo policies have failed, at least in the case of India.

What are the prospects of cooperation with the U.S. in the field of civilian nuclear power? The U.S. has about 100 nuclear power units of the light water type in operation. However, in the last 15 years, the U.S. has not built a single new reactor and hence the industry has been virtually dismantled. Under the second Bush administration, there is talk of a revival of nuclear power in the U.S. However, the U.S. is looking at designs using the High Temperature Gas Cooled system. India is presently building Pressurised Heavy Water Reactors, a type the U.S. has not been engaged in. India is building two light water reactors of Russian design at Koodankulam. India would like to build some more LWRs at Koodankulam and elsewhere. Some 15 or 20 years ago, France was very keen on building LWRs in India. Recent cost projections show that if an LWR were to be imported from France, the cost of electricity would be too high for the Indian consumer. This is because of the high capital cost of French supplied equipment. The massive

devaluation of the Indian rupee in the 1990s is no doubt an important reason. The only way a French reactor would be competitive in India is if a large part of the equipment is made in India, on the basis of technology transfer. In comparison, Russia has offered prices that permit the reactor to supply power at acceptable cost. Even in this instance, if a further four or eight reactors were to be obtained from Russia, Indian industry must be brought in to make as much of the equipment as possible in India. The fact of the matter is that India is one of the most competitive producers of high technology equipment. This is the reason why our nuclear reactors, space satellites and launch vehicles are associated with low costs. To revert to the prospects of the U.S. supplying civilian nuclear power units to India, it is not building at present the type of reactors we are interested in; the ones it is considering in the revival of nuclear power are the types we have no immediate interest in. In addition, the cost disadvantage mentioned for the French reactor would apply to the U.S. reactors too. Moreover, after the long and protracted debate over Tarapur, many Indian policy makers would be weary of any future nuclear cooperation with the U.S.

Some U.S. commentators talk about cooperation in the field of civilian nuclear reactor safety. With over 100 reactors operating over many years, the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission has built up a formidable library of safety related issues, modes of equipment malfunction and the required operator intervention. If Indian safety regulators have access to this information it would be very useful indeed.

Regarding cooperation in civilian space activities, India already has its own programme of building satellites and launch vehicles. Even the unmanned moon mission is on the basis of home grown technology. If the U.S. were to ease restrictions on export, India might procure from the U.S. detectors, instruments, computers, power packs, electronics, etc. mounted on space platforms. A big inhibition, however, is that a future misunderstanding between India and the U.S. might throw the suppli-

es into uncertainty. Some commentators have speculated that resolution of the trinity issues may open up a multi-billion dollar trade between the U.S. and India. There is indeed no objective basis for this expectation. At best there will be some trade but the gain is that an irritant embedded in the flesh will have been removed. Indian policy makers keep reminding that the U.S. has derived and continues to derive substantial benefit from Indian brains working in many areas of science and technology, space research, nuclear safety, software, health and medical services and so forth. To deny India the benefit of advances in S&T taking place in the U.S. therefore appears unethical. The U.S. invokes exceptionalism when dealing with countries such as China, Pakistan and Israel and yet hectors India that it has to live within the confines of U.S. laws and agreements. This is hardly the way to advance a relationship that is sometimes described as strategic.

One initiative the U.S. could take to improve relations in high technology with India is not to block high technology exports to India from other countries. Specifically, Russia is keen on supplying more light water reactors to India. But the U.S. is coming in the way, behind the scenes, reminding Russia of its obligations under the 'Energy' regime. Even before the Indo-Russian supplementary agreement on Koodankulam was signed in 1998, the U.S. exerted pressure on Russia not to proceed with the project. Russia went ahead all the same on the ground that this was an agreement originally signed in 1988 which was simply being renewed. Similarly, the U.S. put pressure on Russia to renege on its contract to supply cryogenic engines to the Indian space programme. The U.S. did succeed in getting the technology transfer part of the agreement deleted. France expresses interest to cooperate with India on civilian nuclear power, from time to time. But after discussions proceed up to a point, they say that the U.S. has to agree to such cooperation. This is a clear case of double standards that the U.S. policy supports notwithstanding any claim to the contrary. Relations between the two largest democracies of the world need to be based on a sympathetic understanding of each other's concerns and not against the backdrop of international rules of conduct which are breached whenever necessary.

(The writer is a former Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.)

Atal a man of peace: Bush

Musharraf tears apart India on J&K at UN

S. Rajagopalan
New York, September 24

WHILE PRIME Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee broke new ground in an exceptionally warm meeting with President George Bush on Wednesday, Pervez Musharraf stuck to the tired script of India-bashing on Kashmir.

Bush hailed Vajpayee as "a man of peace" and praised his peace initiatives aimed at normalisation of relations with Pakistan. Vajpayee reportedly pointed out to Bush that Pakistan was still to stop cross-border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir.

At the hour-long luncheon meeting on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly meeting with Vajpayee, Bush is understood to have made a fresh request for deployment of Indian troops for Iraq. There was, however, no immediate official word on what transpired at the meeting that was marked by exceptional warmth and cordiality.

The meeting was an elaborate affair, with Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice representing the US, and Yashwant Sinha and Brajesh Mishra representing India.

The 'trinity' issues — on the transfer of American dual use technology for India's civilian space, nuclear energy and missile defence — formed an important part of the bilateral issues in which "substantive exchange" took place. On the high-technolo-

gy issue, there has been heightened expectation of the US being in the process of offering India a historic pact. But an Indian official said the pact might not come through right away.

Musharraf, meanwhile, upped the ante on Kashmir at the UN, demanding that the world body and the developed nations intervene and help resolve the dispute. Addressing the General Assembly soon after a meeting with President George W. Bush, Musharraf let it be known that he was in no mood to yield to the Indian taunt on Pakistan's "annual Kashmir itch" and characterised Kashmir as "the most dangerous dispute in the world".

In a more-the-merrier fashion, Musharraf devoted the bulk of his address to the "brutal suppression of the Kashmiris' demand for self-determination and freedom from Indian occupation". He brushed aside Indian concerns on cross-border terrorism, saying New Delhi cites it to merely refuse a dialogue.

The General also took potshots at India's bid for permanent membership of the Security Council, saying: "States which occupy and suppress other people and defy the resolutions of the Security Council have no credentials to aspire for permanent membership." All through his speech, Musharraf was mum on terrorists operating in Kashmir.



NATURAL ALLIES: Vajpayee and Bush at the luncheon meeting in New York on Wednesday.

PTI

Atal heaps praise on Sonia

Vir Sanghvi
New York, September 24

IT IS, by common consent, the one moment on every foreign trip when Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee comes into his own. But this time, Vajpayee refused to speak extempore at the NRI function organised (at huge expense to the Indian taxpayer) by Bhisma Agnihotri and read instead from a prepared speech on Sunday evening.

On Tuesday night, Vajpayee finally righted the balance and delivered one of his best speeches yet. This time around, he was speaking at Lalit Mansingh's more modest (read, vastly cheaper) function for the Indian community. Avoiding the usual clichés of reciting a crowd-pleasing poem and appealing to the Parivar supporters in the audience, Vajpayee chose instead to speak about the bipartisan nature of Indian politics

and — more remarkably — to praise Sonia Gandhi.

The Prime Minister told three anecdotes. The first was about his first trip to New York as part of an Indian delegation in 1957. At a function to mark Gandhi Jayanti, he recalled, Krishna Menon noticed that he was standing on the sidelines and sent an aide to ensure that a seat was found for Vajpayee, despite the Congress-Jan Sangh divide.

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Bush border rap on Musharraf

K.P. NAYAR

New York, Sept. 24: In a major effort to keep alive the nascent Indian peace initiative with Pakistan, US President George W. Bush today firmly told his Pakistani counterpart, General Pervez Musharraf, that infiltration of terrorists into India from territories controlled by Pakistan has to stop.

It is understood that Bush shared this privileged information about his advice to Musharraf with Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee here today when Vajpayee told the US President that cross-border terrorism into India was continuing.

The Bush-Vajpayee exchange about cross-border terrorism was set against the background of praise by the US President for the Prime Minister as a "man of peace" for his recent effort to restart a dialogue with Pakistan.

The Bush administration, according to American sources, is extremely concerned that Vajpayee's peace initiative may become a non-starter in the light of sharp exchanges here between India and Pakistan this week.

The administration's South Asian antenna has also been raised following Pakistan foreign minister Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri's decision a few days ago to drop a planned visit to India after Delhi advised him to send the invitation to Vajpayee for a South Asian summit through diplomatic channels instead of hand-delivering it.

One hour after Bush told Musharraf to end cross-border terrorism, the General told the UN General Assembly that Pakistan was ready "to encourage a general cessation



AB Vajpayee with George W. Bush at the Waldorf Astoria hotel in New York on Wednesday. (AFP)

of violence within Kashmir, involving reciprocal obligations and restraints on Indian forces and the Kashmir freedom movement".

According to sources at the General Assembly, this paragraph was an afterthought in Musharraf's speech and was added after the General's meeting with Bush. As a result, some diplomats pointed out that the hastily-added paragraph contradicted an assertion by Musharraf earlier in the speech that the "Kashmiri struggle is indigenous".

"If the Kashmiri struggle is, indeed, indigenous, how can Musharraf facilitate what he calls a general cessation of violence within Kashmir?" asked a Western diplomat who

once served in Delhi.

The key word used by Musharraf is "reciprocal obligations", pointed out another diplomat. That means Musharraf can still turn off the tap of violence in Kashmir, whatever he may have said earlier.

The Bush-Vajpayee meeting, over a lunch hosted by the President, lasted just over an hour.

Indian officials described it as an "exceptional gesture" from Bush since this was the only lunch hosted by the President during his two-day stay here for the General Assembly.

Represented on the US side during the working lunch was a virtual "who's who" in the US administration and included secretary of state Colin Powell,

Atal salute

New York, Sept. 24: Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee last night sprang a surprise by applauding Sonia Gandhi twice.

Speaking at a reception, Vajpayee recalled that when Parliament was attacked on December 13, 2001, Sonia had called him to enquire if he was safe.

Vajpayee, who was at home, asked the Opposition leader where she was. He was equally relieved that she, too, was safe and at home. "This is the beauty of India's democracy," Vajpayee said.

The Prime Minister also extolled her for meeting Ariel Sharon during the Israeli Prime Minister's recent visit to New Delhi, although many of her supporters and the Third Front were campaigning for a boycott of the visit.

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national security adviser Condoleezza Rice, White House chief of staff Andrew Card, US ambassador to the UN John Negroponte and former US ambassador to India Robert Blackwill.

Indian officials, who described the meeting as "friendly, cordial and substantive", said the discussions were wideranging and included Iraq, China, Iran, West Asia and Afghanistan.

Considerable time was devoted to discussing the "trinity of issues" in bilateral relations — peaceful cooperation in nuclear energy, high technology exports, including dual-use military civilian equipment, by the US to India, and bilateral collaboration in space.

THE TELEGRAPH

25 SEP 2003

India needs more trade reforms, says US official

Press Trust of India

MUMBAI, Sept. 8. — India should reform its trade policies further and reduce tariffs to boost trade with the USA, the secretary of state for Washington state, Mr Sam Reed, said today.

Addressing a seminar here, Mr Reed, leading a delegation comprising businessmen, corporate executives and officials from Washington, said while India has reformed its trade policies and needed to make system transparent and reduce tariffs further for trade between the two countries to grow.

US is one of the largest trading partners of India and trade worth \$1 billion to and from India either passed through or transacted by entities in Washington, according to Indo-American Chamber of Commerce data.

The bilateral economic relations would also grow through outsourcing opportunities, he said, adding the opposition by some

states in US to outsource activities to India was a "short sighted" approach without any benefit. Outsourcing would help US companies to make operations economical and face competition while ensuring quality of services, Reed said.

He said this was the first visit by any US trade delegation to India after the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

"The recent twin blasts in Mumbai had also raised some apprehensions over visiting the place but we decided to go ahead with the tour. We need to work together to deal with terrorism," he said.

The Essar group chairman, Mr Shashi Ruia, said the USA has imposed 35 per cent tariff on some Indian Steel products, which would be difficult to justify at the WTO forum.

Mr Ruia said the barriers to trade, including tariffs, should be brought down to support bilateral economic and business relations.

9 SEP 2003

ALL STATES...

Indo-US exercise near China border

6/1 OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT 6/9

New Delhi, Sept. 5: The Indian and US military establishments are understood to be holding a joint exercise in Kashmir near the border with China.

Defence ministry sources said the logistics of the exercise were still being worked out. They refused to give the location but said the drill could be at a height of around 5,000 metres near the Karakoram range. Special forces from both countries are participating in the exercise.



This raises the possibility of US troops being in the vicinity of the Siachen Glacier, the world's highest and coldest battlefield, where Indian and Pakistani forces are locked in a perpetual standoff. Siachen is also one of the most secretive and strategic locations for the Indian military.

The US military has carried out studies on the Kargil conflict that led to a "Siachenisation" of a long stretch of the Line of Control. Since the 1999 war, Indian and Pakistani forces regularly man and patrol snowbound heights — just as in the Siachen Glacier — all through the year.

Recently, too, Indian and US forces had been engaged in military exercises adaptable to extreme cold weather conditions. The latest was in Alaska in June.

6 SEP 2003

THE TELEGRAPH

US' new Iraq plan puts India in spot

K.P.NAYAR

Washington, Aug. 28: India's main argument against committing troops to serve in US-occupied Iraq may not hold water much longer.

In a significant climbdown in the face of relentless daily casualties of US soldiers in Iraq, the Bush administration has moved towards the possibility of establishing a UN-endorsed multinational force in Iraq.

Shifting away from its uncompromising stand that the UN must be held at arms length in Iraq and confined to humanitarian and relief activities, the administration this week indicated that it is willing to seek endorsement of the world body for a multinational force as long as it is headed by an American commander.

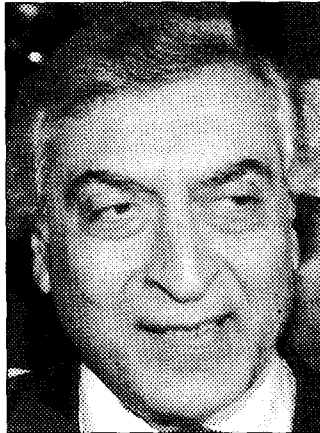
In remarks to regional reporters, released by the state department, Richard Armitage, deputy secretary of state, refused to be drawn to any detailed discussion on the new plan on the ground that "I don't think it helps to throw them out publicly right now".

He, however, outlined the broad contours of the arrangement under consideration as "a multinational force under UN leadership" in which an "American would be the UN commander".

Officials here said the US has historically opposed any overseas operations in which American troops are not under American command. So this arrangement, if it goes through, would not represent any departure from precedents.

But India would find it difficult to continue to refuse its participation in an Iraqi stabilisation force because the arrangement being contemplated now is modelled on an ongoing peace-keeping effort in the Congo.

In this instance, the UN approved a multinational force to bring peace in eastern Congo, but the troops are led by the French and are not wearing the



Indian foreign secretary
Kanwal Sibal. (AFP)

traditional blue helmets of a UN force. India is taking part in the Congo operations and has sent the Indian air force to help French forces in restoring order.

Kanwal Sibal, the foreign secretary, appeared to be preparing dissenters to this eventuality when he made a key speech in New Delhi a few days ago. In his speech, which is now receiving the intense scrutiny of the administration here, Sibal said: "There has been no US pressure on India" to send troops to Iraq.

The "US would, of course, like India to contribute to the stabilisation force but to say that a request amounts to pressure would be a reflection of an undue sense of vulnerability. We value our relations with the US and whenever possible we should explore issues on which we can work together".

Alert to the possibility that blue helmets may not run the stabilisation operation in Iraq, Sibal said: "It is clear that there are new realities. Indeed it is bound to be so since the structure and features of international relations have undeniably changed since the 1990s. India recognises the changes and the new realities. The question then is how do we respond to them?"

"Our basic approach has been to uphold the principle of sovereignty and of supporting

assistance from outside, including the UN, only at the explicit request and consent of the state. Having said this, nevertheless we cannot shut our eyes to the reality around us and of the needs".

In an obvious reference to Iraq, he said: "In some cases the government is simply not functional, in others the institutions have collapsed or are non-existent: in other words the sovereignty cannot be exercised effectively at all. I would not name examples, but these should be clear to you".

State department officials are saying privately that Colin Powell, the secretary of state, has already discussed the new arrangement with UN secretary-general Kofi Annan. But the expectation here is that no final decision is expected until world leaders, including Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, gather in New York at the end of next month for the UN General Assembly.

India wary of new US-led move for troops in Iraq

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

New Delhi/Washington: India on Thursday responded guardedly to reports that the US would soon seek a new UN Security Council resolution on Iraq to enable India, Pakistan and other countries to contribute troops for the "stabilisation force" in the war-ravaged country.

"India and the entire international community have seen the tragic events that have taken place in Iraq," the external affairs ministry spokesperson said, referring to Tuesday's suicide bomb attack on the UN office in Baghdad which killed over 20 people. "On

the developments in the UN, India along with the rest of the international community is watching them with interest. We will see what happens out of that," he added.

The US wants India to contribute a division-level force of over 15,000 combat soldiers to the "stabilisation force" in war-ravaged Iraq. India, in turn, has declared that it would "consider" sending troops to Iraq only if there was an "explicit" UN mandate for it.

However, UN secretary-general Kofi Annan asserted on Thursday that the security of the UN mission in Iraq was the responsibility of coali-

tion forces, and rejected the idea of sending UN peacekeepers there.

US Secretary of State Colin Powell, among the Bush principals most inclined to seek an expanded UN resolution, was due to leave for New York on Thursday to meet Mr Annan on the new resolution.

The Pentagon and hawks in the administration, while agreeing to seek a new resolution, are still reluctant to cede any military control of Iraq to a UN force.

Earlier on Thursday, British foreign secretary Jack Straw flew to New York with a supposed tentative formula to woo Delhi, Islamabad and Istanbul.

India, U.S. to step up defence cooperation

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, AUG. 8. India and the United States will be stepping up cooperation in the realm of defence issues and at the end of the two-day meeting of the Defence Policy Group (DPG), the two countries have agreed on pursuing a number of areas and activities.

For instance, a team from the U.S. will be in India this September to discuss the possible sale of P-3 Maritime Patrol Aircraft; and India will host in coordination with the U.S. a multinational planning exercise to develop standard operating procedures. The expansion of joint exercises in frequency and complexity aside there will be a Missile Defence Workshop in India in the next six months.

A joint statement issued at the end of the DPG meet here speaks of a range of activities to include specialised training programme and joint exercises to be carried out by the armed services of the two countries, including an air combat training exercise; and the U.S. will be selling to India training materials and specialised equipment to support India's peacetime training facilities.

A high-level delegation from India led by the Defence Secretary, Ajay Prasad, was here for the DPG meet which was hosted by the Under Secretary for Defence, Douglas Feith. The DPG also reviewed the meetings of the security cooperation and the military cooperation groups that were held earlier in the week.

Addressing a press conference at the Embassy of India, Mr. Prasad spoke of his "constructive and fruitful interactions" with senior officials of the Bush administration that included the Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, and the Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage. The underlying fact, according to Mr. Prasad, was that both India and the U.S. recognised that the strategic relationship was of an enduring nature and that cooperation was of mutual benefit. Pointing to the fact that starting from a "near zero" base in 2001, the two sides noted with great satisfaction the directions in which this defence relationship evolved.

Mr. Rumsfeld dropped by the meeting at the Pentagon and spoke of the "strategic significance" of India and the value

of closer bilateral defence relations. And the statement issued at the end of this year's meet stresses, among other things, the danger of terrorists seeking weapons of mass destruction and the measures that are to be taken to check proliferation.

"...The delegations emphasised the long range strategic concepts that guide the new approach to the U.S.-India relationship. They agreed that the work of the two countries together during the past year and planned activities for the next year are translating that strategic vision into action," the statement says.

"The strategic situation in the world has changed dramatically in recent years. Global terrorism, state sponsors of terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction are key threats to international peace and security. The U.S. and India are drawn together in an effort to deal with these new circumstances," the statement reads.

This is the fifth meeting of the DPG and the third meeting since December 2001. The next meeting will be in New Delhi in 2004.

Generally upbeat after the current ses-

sion, Mr. Prasad told presspersons that Iraq was not raised in the meeting and that the U.S. made a detailed presentation of the situation on the ground. For its part, India had a comprehensive detail of cross-border terrorism and status of current relations with Pakistan.

But the issue of troops commitment to Iraq did come up with Mr. Armitage; and Mr. Prasad said that India had conveyed and reiterated that there was no change in its position.

What is also being pointed out is that India and the U.S. have developed a specific programme of military-to-military cooperation and that the latter has agreed to give equipment for India's Special Forces; that there has been a "positive response" for the Indian Navy's request for a Deep Submergence Rescue Vehicle and that the licensing processes is being sorted out.

At this meet, India has flagged the need to take technical cooperation to a higher level and that U.S. concerns of the security of the technology has been addressed to some extent by the Master Information Exchange Agreement initiated by Mr. Prasad and Mr. Feith.

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 10/8
India, U.S. differ on several issues in U.N.

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, Aug. 8. India and the United States may be engaged in building a new relationship, but their views on some key international issues still differ at the United Nations.

The annual "Voting Practices at the United Nations - 2002" report submitted to the U.S. Congress by the Secretary of State reveals that India and America still vote "differently" on a range of issues.

The text of the report shows that on 14 "important votes" at the U.N. General Assembly, India disagreed with the U.S. on seven, agreed on three and abstained on four.

Some of the issues on which India and the U.S. had divergent positions include the U.S. embargo of Cuba, work of the Spe-

cial Committee to investigate Israeli practices, the rights of the child, elimination of racism and racial discrimination and the Optional Protocol to the Convention Against Torture.

While the U.S. voted "yes" on the issue of human rights in Iraq, India chose to abstain. On the issue of globalisation and human rights, the U.S. voted "no" while India said "yes".

Interestingly, as far as the 14 important votes at the 57th U.N. General Assembly were concerned, India's position seemed closer to that of Iran as far as voting with or against the U.S. went.

The introduction to the report revealed why the U.S. was keen on conducting a detailed study of nations and their voting behaviour vis-a-vis American positions both at the

General Assembly and the Security Council.

"A country's behaviour at the United Nations is always relevant to its bilateral relationship with the United States, a point the Secretary of State routinely makes in letters of instruction to new U.S. ambassadors," it said.

"Nevertheless, a country's voting record in the United Nations is only one dimension of its relations with the United States. Bilateral, economic, strategic, and political issues are often more directly important to U.S. interests," the report said.

The percentage of "coincidence" between India and the U.S. on issues at the General Assembly has fluctuated between 20 per cent in the 52nd U.N. General Assembly session in 1997 and 21.2 per cent at the 57th session in 2002.

The report comes at a time of intense bilateral interaction between India and the United States on a range of issues, with officials of both countries referring to the continuous high-level exchanges between the two. More generally, the document revealed that voting "coincidence" with the U.S. and all other nations was on a downward trend.

The "global" percentage of coincidence with the U.S. position was down to 31.2 per cent from as high as 43 per cent in 2000.

"The decline in voting coincidence with the United States on non-consensus issues in the years since 1995 reverses the steady and dramatic increase in the years immediately following the end of the Cold War," it added.

Sending troops to Iraq was not discussed: Myers

By Sandeep Dikshit

NEW DELHI, JULY 29. The senior-most military officer of the United States today wrapped up two days of talks here on strengthening military-to-military ties and exchanged views on the situation in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan, but did not reopen the issue of sending Indian troops to Iraq.

This was stated by the U.S. Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Richard B. Myers, at a news conference in the morning and confirmed later by his interlocutors who included the National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra, the Defence Secretary, Ajay Prasad, and the Chief of Army Staff, N. C. Vij. Having arrived from Baghdad on Monday, Gen. Myers left for Islamabad in the afternoon.

Confident of militarily suppressing resistance to the Anglo-American combine

in a "challenging and complex environment", Gen. Myers said any contribution to peacekeeping in Iraq and Afghanistan was welcome but it was up to individual countries to send troops. "New Delhi's refusal doesn't bother me. It is up to the countries to decide. The U.S. is a good friend of India. I am grateful for India's cooperation in the war against international terrorism," he said.

At the same time, he referred to the "robust international coalitions" policing Iraq and Afghanistan and the substantial international commitments that were in the offing. In Iraq, 19 nations were part of the stabilisation force and 15 more had promised troops. Afghanistan was host to 10,000 American troops and 2,500 more from other countries. The purpose was to develop a stable Iraq and Afghanistan where terrorists could not gather, he explained.

Gen. Myers repeatedly denied discussing the "troops-for-Iraq" issue and insisted his visit was purely reciprocal.

Its planning began three months ago when there was no talk of requesting India for troops for Iraq, he said on being asked to comment on the perception here that his visit was arranged on short notice and the primary purpose was to renew the American request. "It has nothing to do with India sending troops to Iraq. It has everything to do with my counterpart's visit."

However, the Iraq situation and some subjects that could impact the "troops-for-Iraq" issue were discussed with senior security planners. In his interaction spread over two days, "some thought" was given on a possible U.N. resolution mandating international peace-keepers but no definite discussions were held. Casualties being suffered by American

troops on a near-daily basis was also raised, with Gen. Myers pointing out that the trouble spot was confined between Baghdad and Tikrit.

He reportedly told Mr. Mishra and Mr. Prasad that his troops were now receiving hard intelligence that was helping them neutralise resistance in central Iraq where 80 per cent of the security incidents took place. Iraqi people were coming forward with information leading to the discovery of huge ammunition caches. "They wanted an update of the situation and we have provided that," Gen. Myers said earlier in the day.

His discussions with the chiefs of the Army, Air Force and Navy centred around military-to-military relationship and ways to further it. "All the U.S. services have held various exercises and training events, and will continue to do so fairly robustly."

India, U.S. will win war against terrorism: Blackwill Start. 68

By Our Diplomatic Correspondent 11

NEW DELHI, JULY 29. A day before he leaves India for Washington, the outgoing United States Ambassador, Robert D. Blackwill, once again spoke of his "strong views" on terrorism. Addressing members of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), Mr. Blackwill said even before coming to India two years ago he was keeping a count of innocent Indians being killed by terrorists.

He said what had happened on September 11, 2001, in the U.S. happened nearly every day in India. "No respectable religion could excuse these merciless acts. No moral framework could sanction these abominations. No political cause could justify these murders of innocents. And, yet, they go on."

"But, my friends, these terrorist outrages against my country and against yours will not continue indefinitely. We know this from the Ramayana, and many other holy books. Good does triumph over evil, although it takes more time than we would like." "We will win the war on terrorists, and the United States and India will win



The U.S. Ambassador, Robert D. Blackwill, delivering his farewell address in New Delhi on Tuesday. —Photo: R. V. Moorthy

it together — because we represent good, and terrorists are evil incarnate. God will make it so," Mr. Blackwill said.

Pointing to his strong views against terrorism, the outgoing Ambassador said "to a considerable extent" he drew on the "white hot anti-terrorist convictions" of the U.S. President, George W. Bush. "But on this subject, like so many others, India has left its dominant and enduring imprint on me."

In his "personal musings", Mr. Blackwill spoke of his visits to the Siachen (where jawans gave a new meaning to the word "tough"), Andhra Pradesh (where food was hotter than hot), the forests of Sikkim and the border at Nathula, the North-East, Kaziranga and Brahmaputra. "And, thank you, India for every single thing that I have discovered here. Mother India has changed my life — forever."

Ministers off Myers' menu

SUJAN DUTTA

New Delhi, July 28: The senior-most military official in the US, Air Force General Richard B. Myers, today began a series of meetings with key figures in India's defence establishment.

Despite reports that Myers' visit to India is against the backdrop of Washington's request to New Delhi to reconsider deploying troops in Iraq, it is of some surprise that his schedule does not include a meeting with any political leader. Official sources said a meeting with defence minister George Fernandes, too, has not been fixed.

Myers began his meetings with a half-hour session with his counterpart, the chairman, chiefs of staff committee, and navy chief Admiral Madhvendra Singh, after which he met air force chief Air Chief Marshal S. Krishnaswamy. Tomorrow morning, he will meet national security adviser Brajesh Mishra, defence secretary Ajay Prasad and army chief General N.C. Vij before flying to Islamabad at noon.

Myers heads an 11-member team that flew in here from Baghdad. Officially, the team was here to brief the military establishment on the US perception of events in Iraq. However, with the Cabinet Committee on Security having said on July 14 that India

could consider deployment of troops in Iraq "were there to be an explicit UN mandate for the purpose", the military establishment cannot air views of its assessment independently.

Even at the level of individuals, Myers is unlikely to be comfortable with the reading of the Iraq situation by some of the top brass in the Indian military. Myers' counterpart, Admiral Singh, had obliquely commented on the US presence in Iraq at a seminar last week when he said its "consequence management" was questionable.

The military is also clear that even if a nominally independent chain of command were to be assured to it in Iraq, its troops there would be tasked with "peace enforcement" as distinct from "peacekeeping".

But there is one aspect — apart from the lessons of combat experience — in the discourse on the issue of sending troops that the military establishment finds particularly attractive. This is the perception that an involvement in Iraq will allow the military to interact with the US Central Command. India falls in the US Pacific Command's area of responsibility while much of its strategic interest is in West Asia, Afghanistan and Pakistan — which falls in the US Central Command's area.

GEN. MYERS COMING TOMORROW

India, U.S., to discuss Iraq, defence ties

By Sandeep Dikshit

NEW DELHI, JULY 26. The United States and India will discuss their evolving defence relationship, including the role to be played by Indian troops in Iraq, if the United Nations Security Council passes a fresh resolution authorising international peacekeepers for Iraq, during the visit here of the highest ranking U.S. defence official next week.

With India having declined to send troops to Iraq without an explicit U.N. mandate, the two-day interaction between the Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Richard B. Myers, and senior Defence Ministry officials beginning on Monday is expected to focus on the current situation in Iraq and the possible Indian troop de-

ployment options in that country.

Though there is no formal acknowledgement, the Army has kept a division size force in readiness for Iraq as part of its operational plans for the current year.

The earmarked division is posted 100 miles from the national capital and is cut out for the role envisaged for Indian troops in Iraq. It could be fortified with additional tanks and personnel from the medical and engineers units.

Gen. Myers' meetings with the National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra, the Defence Secretary, Ajay Prasad, and the Army and Naval Chiefs, will see New Delhi conveying its requirements for a mutually beneficial relationship and facilitating the sale of the Israeli

"Arrow" anti-missile missile system. Though the U.S. has allowed Israel to begin negotiations with India on the sophisticated "Phalcon" airborne radar system, it has dragged its feet on permitting the sale of "Arrow", whose acquisition is considered critical by New Delhi to counter the threat of Pakistan's inventory of Korean and Chinese missiles.

Gen. Myers is expected to touch upon the new schedule of Indo-U.S. military exercises to replace the existing series called the Kicklighter proposals during his interaction with the Chairman of the Chief of Staffs Committee and Chief of Naval Staff, Madhvendra Singh, and the Chief of the Army Staff, N. C. Vij.

Gen. Myers and Gen. Vij are expected to touch upon service-specific issues including the two options for Indian troop deployment in Iraq.

One foresees India taking charge of a sector in the northern sector with a beefed-up division strength (17,000 troops) and other seeking participation of a brigade in a multinational deployment headed by Poland.

Meeting ahead of the defence policy group (DPG) meeting, the highest forum of bilateral military dialogue, the two Generals will also review the status of the Indian Army's request for specialised counter-insurgency equipment and nuclear, biological and chemical (NBC) warfare suits.

The Army has forwarded a 29-item wish list worth over Rs. 200 crores and the U.S. will supply almost half of it during the current year. The first major Indo-U.S. weapons deal in three decades has taken off with the arrival of a set of weapon locating radars (WLRs) to help locate hostile artillery batteries and neutralise them.

The absence of WLRs had led to heavy casualties to Indian troops from Pakistani artillery during the Kargil conflict.

'U.S. still in touch on troops issue'

WASHINGTON, JULY 26. The United States is still in touch with India on sending its troops to Iraq because New Delhi has not said a "flat no" to deploying its forces in the war-ravaged country, according to the U.S. Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld.

At a U.S. Department of Defence briefing here, he said: "We have been talking to the Indians, the Pakistanis, the Turks, the Bangladeshis, and any number of other countries and I anticipate we will continue to get more international (support)".

Mr. Rumsfeld's comments came close on the heels of the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, conveying to the External Affairs Minister, Yashwant Sinha, that Washington was considering seeking the passage of a fresh resolution in the U.N. Security Council, which might facilitate India to reconsider its decision against sending troops to the embattled country.

The Indian Cabinet Committee on Security had on July 14 turned down a U.S. request to send Indian troops to Iraq to join the stabilisation force. India said it could consider the request if there was an explicit mandate for sending troops to Iraq.

Ambassador Paul Bremer, U.S. Presidential Envoy to Iraq, who was also present at the briefing, said the U.S.-led coalition in Iraq had troops from 19 countries. "We are in talks with another dozen about providing troops."

On his talks with Indian officials in Baghdad some three weeks ago on the possibility of Indian troops joining the coalition forces, Mr. Bremer did not give a direct reply and said New Delhi was capable of speaking for itself on this issue. — UNI

THE HINDU

27 JUL 2003

Powell, Sinha discuss Iraq

By Amit Baruah

110-13
NEW DELHI, JULY 22. In the first publicised contact after India rejected the United States' request to deploy troops in Iraq, the United States Secretary of State, Colin Powell, telephoned the External Affairs Minister, Yashwant Sinha, on Monday night to discuss Iraq. They shared views on the "political developments" in that country, the foreign office spokesman said.

Mr. Powell conveyed to Mr. Sinha the possibility of looking at a new United Nations resolution on Iraq that would have a broader U.N. mandate after the Security Council meeting in New York today.

India, in its decision of July 14, had said: "The Government of India has given careful

thought to the question of sending Indian troops to Iraq... were there to be an explicit U.N. mandate for the purpose, the Government of India could consider the deployment of our troops in Iraq." Asked if a possible Indian role was discussed, the spokesman said: "Not to my knowledge." The U.S. was aware of India's position.

Official sources told this correspondent that it was unclear whether or not there would actually be a new U.N. Security Council resolution. Discussions were on in New York. In the two months of discussions, New Delhi had conveyed to the U.S. that the security situation in Iraq would improve with a wider U.N. mandate.

They said that India deserved a bit of a credit for convincing the U.S. of the need for a wider

mandate. The issue of sending troops was discussed "on its own merits." The American side did not feel upset at the tone and tenor of discussions and understood that India's decision was taken due to its prevailing domestic situation.

The spokesman said Mr. Sinha and Mr. Powell also discussed the developments in India-Pakistan relations and agreed on a "measured and step-by-step process" to take the Prime Minister, A.B. Vajpayee's peace initiative forward.

In another development, the British Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, telephoned Mr. Sinha today to express his "unreserved condemnation" for the terrible acts of terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir. He extended his condolences to the Government and to the families of victims.

'No aftermath' in U.S. on India's decision, says Blackwill

By Amit Baruah

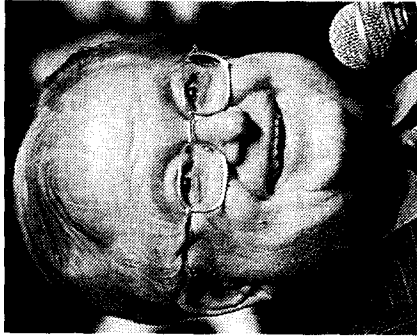
NEW DELHI, JULY 17. There is no "residue", no "aftermath" in Washington to the Indian decision not to send its troops to Iraq in response to an American request, the outgoing U.S. Ambassador to India, Robert D. Blackwill, said today.

He was addressing a meeting at the Confederation of Indian Industry.

Asked if India could send troops in the future, Mr. Blackwill said that New Delhi had made it clear that its forces could be sent only under an explicit United Nations mandate.

Mr. Blackwill, who leaves India this month-end, said that it all depended on what happened in Washington and at the U.N. "We didn't pressure the Government of India on sending troops... this is the opinion of the Deputy Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister."

In his view, there had been a "serious and sustained" discussion on the "basis of equality" between India and the U.S. on the troops' question. Washington had "obviously hoped" that India would take a "different decision". "But the transformation of U.S.-India relations that I am describing will not be af-



fect in the slightest by this particular outcome of India's governmental democratic process."

The disagreements on Iraq had been managed with "sensitivity and skill" by India and the U.S. "It is no surprise that these two great democracies with their dissimilar histories, their unlike political constituencies, and their current, somewhat contending, perceptions of how best to deal with the challenge of bringing democracy to a stable and viable Iraq, should not yet have come to a meeting of minds."

"But this time, contrary to the dismal decades of the Cold War, we have disagreed in our official

exchanges concerning Iraq without vitriol, without accusation, and without inflamed rhetoric.

"Instead, we always speak to one another regarding Iraq with respect, and in the context of our burgeoning bilateral ties. That...is another important example of the increasing maturity of the transformed U.S.-India relationship," Mr. Blackwill said.

There had been a radical change in the American approach to India. "No longer does Washington regard India as an acute and abiding proliferation risk that must be carefully managed and constantly lectured."

"No longer does the U.S. fixate on India's nuclear weapons and missile programmes. No more constant American nagging nanny on these subjects...in short, the Bush administration perceives India as a strategic opportunity for the United States, not as an irritating recalcitrant."

Referring to the global war against terrorism, Mr. Blackwill said: "We must get the terrorists before they get us." Defeating terrorism was a matter of survival for India and the U.S.

There was need to "clearly name" those responsible for

terrorist attacks in New York, Washington, New Delhi or Sri-nagar. "These murderers are not misunderstood idealists. They are not disadvantaged dissidents. They are not religious perfectionists. And, they are not freedom-fighters. They are terrorists, and we should not fail to call them exactly that."

Asked why the U.S. was providing funds to Pakistan when the roots of terrorism "lay" in that country, Mr. Blackwill said the U.S. was working on this problem. There had been constant exchanges with Pakistan on the issue, including during the recent visit of the Pakistani President, Pervez Musharraf, to Camp David. The U.S. would not lose stamina in addressing this issue. On defence cooperation, Mr. Blackwill said that American warships were routinely refuelling in Chennai and Mumbai. "We are in the planning stages for a fighter-aircraft exchange."

"In U.S. defence sales to India, we have gone from zero to almost \$200 million in the past 14 months, and are poised for a far more ambitious interaction in this field, including the possible purchase of defensive nuclear, biological and chemical equipment, special forces gear, and P3 Orion maritime patrol aircraft."

India's decision won't hit ties: US

By Chidanand Rajghatta
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

16/7 11-8
Washington: The Bush administration is disappointed at India's call not to send troops to Iraq but says the decision will not affect the bilateral relations between the two countries.

"While we had hoped India would take a different decision, the transformation of US-India relations will continue as before. India remains an important strategic partner for the US," a US official said, following the announcement that the Cabinet Committee on Security had rejected Washington's request for Indian help in Iraq.

The Indian decision on the issue over the weekend came as a surprise here because the lines of communication were buzzing as late as Friday when India's ambassador Lalit Mansingh met senior Pentagon officials to review the ground situation in Iraq.

In answering the many clarifications New Delhi sought, US officials explained the formation of the governing council in Iraq with powers for appointing ambassadors and ministers. India was also given a sense of the geography, terrain, and social tensions of the areas in Northern Iraq it was invited to police. US officials were also preparing grounds for reconciliation with the United Nations, whose Secretary General Kofi Annan, is due in Washington for talks with Presi-

France not to send troops to Iraq

Paris: French President Jacques Chirac said on Tuesday that Paris could not consider sending troops to Iraq under existing conditions, according to his aides. AFP

dent Bush.

But New Delhi pulled the plug ahead of that meeting.

Officials from both sides agreed that while the ground situation in Iraq appeared to be congenial for Indian troop placement, New Delhi was primarily inhibited by domestic constraints, including fears that the issue would become a political football in an election year.

"The decision is a political one," a key Indian official told this newspaper.

The Indian decision was particularly hard on the outgoing US ambassador in New Delhi Robert Blackwill who had pushed hard on the deployment issue, arguing that an Indian commitment in Iraq would have been a good strategic investment. An Indian affirmative would also have strengthened Mr Blackwill's political future in Washington.

But despite his close personal rapport with the principals of India's cabinet, caution and prudence appears to have won over what was widely seen as an iffy, risky venture.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

16 JUL 2003

India rejects US plea for Indian troops

② Ind us ...
But government ready to consider
Iraq mission under UN mandate

By Rajat Pandit
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

New Delhi: India on Monday rejected Washington's request for a division-level force of about 15,000 combat troops to act as part of the US-led "stabilisation force" in Iraq.

The government, however, made it clear that it was willing to "consider" the deployment of Indian troops in Iraq if there was "an explicit UN mandate" for it.

The prospect of sending Indian troops into the potentially incendiary situation prevailing in Iraq during an election year, without a domestic political consensus, had forced the government to turn down the US request—even at the risk of displeasing the Bush administration, said sources.

Emerging after an almost two-hour meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security chaired by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, external affairs minister Yashwant Sinha said, "India remains ready to respond to the urgent needs of the Iraqi people for stability, security, political progress and economic reconstruction."

The CCS is known to have been divided on the issue, with some ministers, including deputy PM L.K. Advani, advocating the despatch of Indian troops.

"Were there to be an explicit UN mandate for the purpose, the government of India could consider the deployment of our troops in Iraq," added Mr Sinha, reading out a statement.

The UN Security Council, in resolution 1483, had merely recognised the US and the UK as "occupying powers" in Iraq and said countries were free to send forces under the occupation authority's overall command. However, the UN did not mandate the creation of a multinational, UN-led peacekeeping or stabilisation force for Iraq.

The US embassy reacted promptly to India's rejection. "As we have

India welcomes Iraqi council

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

New Delhi: India on Monday welcomed the formation of the governing council in Iraq, noting that this marked the "first stage of involvement of the Iraqi people in their own affairs".

"We also note that the new members have not only advisory powers but also executive functions," an external affairs ministry spokesman said.

The 'welcome', the spokesman emphasised, was "quite separate" from the decision of the cabinet committee on security.

said before, this was a decision for the Indian government to make. While we had hoped that India would take a different decision, the transformation of US-India relations will continue as before. India remains an important strategic partner for the US," its spokesman said on Monday evening.

After the CCS meeting, Mr Sinha said "careful thought" was given to the issue. "Our long-term national interest, our concern for the Iraqi people, our long-standing ties with the Gulf region as a whole, as well as our growing dialogue and strengthened ties with the US have been key elements in this consideration," he said.

India is ready to contribute to the restoration of infrastructure and to the medical, health, educational, communications and other civilian needs of the Iraqi people. "As a concrete gesture of our support to the Iraqi people, we are already planning to set up, jointly with Jordan, a hospital in Najaf in Iraq," said Mr Sinha.

9/2/03

'Stabilisation' of Iraq figures in Sibal-Rice talks

11-10

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JULY 2. Bilateral relations between India and the United States along with other issues such as participation in the "stabilisation" of Iraq are said to have figured in the Foreign Secretary, Kanwal Sibal's interactions with senior members of the Bush administration. Mr. Sibal had meetings with the President's National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice, the Deputy Secretary of Defence, Paul Wolfowitz, and the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs at the State Department, Marc Grossman.

Mr. Sibal is also scheduled to meet the Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage. He is here to participate in the first meeting of the High Technology Cooperation Group of which he chairs from the Indian side.

His opposite number here is

the Deputy Secretary of Commerce, Kenneth Juster. The two have had extensive meetings in the last two days. The Foreign Secretary's visit has also to be seen in the context of the recent interactions and dialogue that Washington and New Delhi have had in recent weeks.

The National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra, was in town to be followed by the high-profile visit of the Deputy Prime Minister, L.K. Advani. Both of them had the opportunity to see the U.S. President, George W. Bush.

Mr. Sibal's visit to Washington comes just after the Pakistani President, Pervez Musharraf, met Mr. Bush at Camp David; and hence the Foreign Secretary would have been briefed on what transpired during the days Gen. Musharraf was in town. The Pakistani President was given a five-year \$ 3

27 billion aid package, split about evenly between economic and military assistance.

The administration here is maintaining that the finer details of what goes in the military assistance package has not yet been fully determined. There is no question of the fact that the Bush administration is eager for an Indian military participation in the so-called stabilisation process in Iraq with Washington keen on having about 18,000 to 20,000 Indian troops with a strong possibility that these troops would be used in northern Iraq.

Given the strong sentiments in India on the issue the administration has been told that a political consensus would have to evolve before any decision is taken. New Delhi has sought certain specific clarifications and Washington is said to have provided these.

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3 JUL 2003

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India could play a major role in Iraq: Blackwill

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, JUNE 19. The United States says there is no "shortage" of countries willing to send troops to Iraq but will not "buy" the participation of nations by paying for the deployment of their military personnel.

Talking to *The Hindu* today, the outgoing U.S. Ambassador, Robert Blackwill, said that India could play a "major role" and serve on the "inner board of directors" managing the security of Iraq in its transition to democracy. Discussions on the issue would go on.

India, the U.S. had in mind, would be at the "centre on the security side" with a few other countries. This, he said, would inevitably have consequences for India's influence on the political and diplomatic side.

On the issue of "who pays" for troops to Iraq, Mr. Blackwill spoke of general principles rather than of India specifically. "...Our view is that the nations that choose to do this will do it for their own interest and, therefore, should pay for it."

The Ambassador, who leaves India at the end of July, said the countries sending troops would



not be doing the U.S. a favour. "Our team came here (on Monday) led by Assistant Secretary (Peter) Rodman... I think that he answered several questions that the Government of India had..." he said, adding that the U.S. was willing to give more clarifications to India on the scope and terms of troop deployment.

Asked if the repeated reference to sending troops to Iraq at a series of recent meetings with Indian leaders did not constitute "pressure", Mr. Blackwill claimed that the "other side" did not feel any pressure.

"...Let me say that India is not

this timid little entity that says 'oh my goodness the Americans can't talk to us because we'll feel pressured'. India is a rising great power with great confidence, civilisational power, military power, diplomatic power. We can say things to India without India... shrinking back..."

"It is rather... two mature democracies with increasing strategic collaboration talking about a major international issue... on equal terms."

Asked for his assessment on whether India would send troops to Iraq or not, Mr. Blackwill said he "didn't know" but India was in the middle of a very serious, deliberative, democratic process on the issue. "I don't want to predict...because I don't know how it's going to come out."

Refusing to be drawn on the issue of U.S. military sales to Pakistan, he, however, denied press reports that the U.S. Secretary for Defence, Donald Rumsfeld, had told the Deputy Prime Minister, L.K. Advani, that Washington would sell F-16s to Islamabad.

Mr. Blackwill said he had "two regrets" as he was leaving India. One, India continued to

suffer from terrorism when he came two year ago and the situation persisted even today. Second, he regretted the lack of movement on the India-U.S. trade relationship.

India continued to suffer terrorism on a daily basis despite the "enormous effort" made by the U.S. President, George W. Bush, and the "top" of his administration. "... I wish we (the U.S.) could have been more successful than we have been (on tackling terrorism faced by India)... but I can tell you that we are not going to stop trying," he stressed.

On the India-Pakistan territorial issue, Mr. Blackwill made it clear that Washington did not have any ideas about a "final outcome" when it came to a solution to the question.

Stressing that the U.S. was simply interested in "process", he said the Bush administration hoped that India and Pakistan would "get together and talk" of the areas they disagreed on.

"...We are not going to slide into outcomes here... there is no interest in Washington in doing that... we are not going to fool around with (the) final outcome..." he added.

SEE FINDL

20 JUN 2003

NO APPRECIABLE CHANGE IN GROUND SITUATION: ADVANI

Blair concurs with India's stance on talks with Pak.

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By Hasan Suroor

LONDON, JUNE 16. The British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, today reportedly agreed with India's view that no dialogue with Pakistan could be meaningful unless cross-border terrorism stopped completely and the terrorist infrastructure in Pakistan was fully dismantled.

He also assured the visiting Deputy Prime Minister, L.K. Advani, that he would take up the issue with the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, whom he was expected to meet tomorrow.

Mr. Advani, who met Mr. Blair at 10 Downing Street this morning, was apparently scathing in his assessment of Pakistan's continuing support for cross-border terrorism. He told Mr. Blair that there had been no appreciable change in the situation even after the renewed initiative by the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, to extend a hand of friendship.

This was in line with his remarks at a meeting with Indian community leaders here on Sunday that there had been no change in the situation at all since he last visited the U.S. 15 or 16 months ago and that if any improvement had taken place it was entirely due to India's own security efforts.

Mr. Advani told the British Prime Minister that despite lack of progress on cross-border terrorism, India was willing to have a composite dialogue with Pakistan to resolve all differences, including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. Indian officials said that Mr. Blair "fully appreciated" the Indian assessment and expressed his sincere hope that there would be an "adequate" response from Pakistan.

Briefing reporters, the Indian High Commissioner, Rorie Sen, said that both Britain and the U.S. were aware of the assurances Pakistan had given on



The Deputy Prime Minister, L.K. Advani, being received by the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, at 10 Downing Street in London on Monday. — AFP

putting an end to cross-border terrorism, and it was now for them to judge whether those as-

surances had been honoured. Iraq also figured in the talks, but Mr. Sen emphasised that

I was quoted out of context: Musharraf

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 16. In an apparent attempt to backtrack on his remarks on the chances of the recurrence of a Kargil-type conflict with India, the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, today claimed that he was quoted out of context and that it was an attempt to project him as a "war monger".

"They are looking for an excuse to malign us, or to target me personally," he was quoted as saying by Indus TV, referring to the criticism in India of his remarks on Kargil in an interview to NDTV. Elaborating further, he said, "I only said that if we don't resolve this (Kashmir) anything can happen. Why are they pinning it on me as though I am going to do something. I am not going to do anything".

What he said was not an aggressive statement but a statement of fact, the General pointed out. At the same time, he said there was no guarantee that both India and Pakistan would not go to a war in the future.

"We have fought three wars in the past, so what is the guarantee in the future there won't be any further action. That is not an aggressive statement, it is a statement of fact." — PTI

the issue of India sending its troops to Iraq was not raised. Mr. Blair, he said, "highlighted" the role India could play in the "stabilisation" and "reconstruction" of Iraq, but no reference to Indian troops was made.

The nature of the role India was expected to play in post-war Iraq was not specified.

Bilateral issues which came during the meeting included economic relations between the two countries, and mutual cooperation in the areas of science and technology and information technology.

The Indian side made much of the "atmospherics" of the meeting and the "personal chemistry" displayed by the two leaders. In a special gesture, Mr. Blair came to the doorstep to receive Mr. Advani and later escorted him out.

In another departure from normal practice, Mr. Blair decided to move the meeting from the cabinet room to a more informal setting — on the sunlit lawns of Downing Street.

In brief remarks to the media, Mr. Advani said he had a "very good meeting" but was not drawn into the details of the talks.

Later, he also met the Home Secretary, David Blunkett, who raised the issue of illegal immigrants in the context of the security threat posed by them, and the need for both countries to strengthen cooperation in fighting terrorism.

The next meeting of the joint India-U.K. working group on terrorism would meet in New Delhi in July.

Meanwhile, Mr. Advani told the Indian community leaders that the issue of dual citizenship was expected to be resolved by the end of the year. He also reiterated that Mr. Vajpayee would continue to lead India after the next elections.

17 JUN 2003

Indo-U.S. talks on Iraq today

By C. Raja Mohan

16/6
HD-VI
NEW DELHI, JUNE 15. An intensive round of consultations with senior officials of the Bush administration here tomorrow is expected to provide vital inputs to the debate within the Government on sending a large military force to stabilise Iraq.

A team of U.S. civilian and military officials led by Peter Rodman, Assistant Secretary of Defence for International Security, is arriving here late tonight for discussions that could shape the Government's eventual decision. For a few weeks now the Bush administration has been requesting India to send a substantive military contingent to take charge of a major sector in Iraq now under international occupation. The Government has sought a number of clarifications from the Bush administration before taking what could be a landmark political decision.

Sending a division-sized force to Iraq would significantly raise New Delhi's mil-

itary profile in the Persian Gulf and lay the foundations for a long-term security cooperation with Washington in the Indian Ocean region.

As the Government considers the historic opportunity awaiting it, it is also aware of the potential pitfalls in embarking on a military venture in Iraq. While seeking to build a national consensus on a major deployment of its troops abroad, the Government wants to thoroughly assess the risks and rewards of joining the operations to stabilise Iraq.

The focus of the Indo-U.S. talks is expected to be on a number of issues, including political and operational, that could help the Government make up its mind, one way or another.

Mr. Rodman is expected to share the current American assessment of the situation in Iraq and plans for bringing stability, organising an early transfer of power to the Iraqi people and initiating economic reconstruction.

New Delhi is also seeking answers on a range of operational questions such as command and control of the forces, the rules of military engagement on the ground, the costs of the operation and the demands of logistics.

Mr. Rodman will hold talks with B.S. Prakash, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs. Senior officials from the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Defence and the armed forces will be part of the Government's delegation. He will also meet the Foreign Secretary, Kanwal Sibal, and call on the National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra.

The Government is also making its own assessment of the situation. B.B. Tyagi, India's Ambassador to Iraq currently stationed in neighbouring Jordan, is expected to travel to Baghdad shortly. At its meeting last month, the Cabinet Committee on Security had decided to send Mr. Tyagi to Iraq and get an independent sense of the conditions on the ground.

ONE HINDI

16 JUN 2003

Assurance on Iraq troops before Pentagon visit

US tries to calm fears of combat

OUR SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, June 13: The US has said it is requesting India to send troops to Iraq for non-combat duties. The statement by ambassador Robert Blackwill is seen as an effort to combat opposition within the country to the proposal before a team from the Pentagon arrives on Monday to clarify questions raised by India.

"They (the troops) will not be used for combat. A decision to send them will be positive and will enhance Indo-US relationship," Blackwill said.

Indications suggest, though there is nothing official yet, that the US wants the troops for northern Iraq, the most peaceful part in a violent country.

Objections within the ruling BJP and in the Opposition to the proposal stems from the fact that Indian troops would have to operate under US command whereas thus far they have worked in a peacekeeping role only under the UN flag.

Addressing this concern, Blackwill said Indian troops can fly their own flag. His clarifications come two days before Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee consults Opposition leader Sonia Gandhi on whether or not India should respond to the request.

Deputy Prime Minister L.K. Advani has already attributed the opposition to sending troops to uninformed opinion.

"They (the Opposition) are

entitled to their views, but the government will take a decision keeping national interest in mind," he told a TV channel.

India's main worry stems not so much from whether the troops will be under US or UN command as from what their role will be. Delhi's concern is that its forces will have to play the role of peace enforcers with the risk of combat.

Japan, which has been agonising over a similar proposal, today received the cabinet's go-ahead amid fears that the country is stepping away from its pacifist constitution.

While the troops will only be sent to areas "free of military conflict", critics have pointed to the repeated attacks on US forces in Iraq as showing there is no such thing.

Blackwill's assurance of non-combat duties, therefore, is unlikely to allay Indian concerns.

He, however, stressed that if India refused to send troops, it would not affect relations. "There is no pressure from the US on this score. Even the deputy Prime Minister did not feel any pressure nor did we exert any," the ambassador said, referring to Advani's recent talks in Washington.

Pressure or not, few in Delhi believe a refusal will not have an impact on ties. India is vulnerable because of its dependence on the US on tackling what it calls cross-border terrorism from Pakistan.

■ See Page 4

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'PAK. INVOLVEMENT CANNOT BE IGNORED'

India, U.S. must fight jihadi terrorism together: Advani

HD-1 1876

LOS ANGELES, JUNE 12. The Deputy Prime Minister, L.K. Advani, said on Wednesday that India and the United States had to work in tandem to defeat the menace of jihadi terrorism fuelled by religious extremism, the epicentre of which was Pakistan.

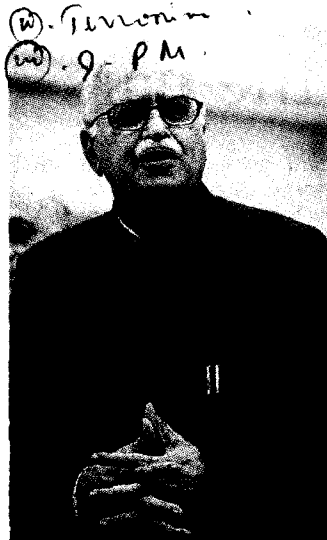
Terrorists had attacked Parliament, temples, aircraft, trains and buses in India and spared no one, including women and children, leading to the death of more than 60,000 innocent Indians, Mr. Advani said.

"The epicentre of international terrorism lies in India's immediate neighbourhood ... it gives me no joy in pointing fingers but the involvement of Pakistan can no longer be ignored," he said.

Jihadi terrorism was a threat not only to the security of the two countries but to peace and tranquillity around the world. The terrorists who were against America also come from the same pool of jihadi terrorism, he said.

The Deputy Prime Minister, who is on a 10-day visit to the U.S. and the U.K. to hold discussions on the global war against terrorism, was delivering a talk on 'Indo-U.S. Relations in a Strategic Perspective', under the aegis of the World Affairs Council here. Academics and diplomats, including those from Pakistan, were among the audience.

Mr. Advani said the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, had once again extended a hand of friendship to Pakistan which should demonstrate that it was sincere in implementing the promises made to the United States and the international community regarding dismantling of the jihadi terrorist in-



frastructure which it had spawned and fostered.

Explaining the controversial

"retirement" threat of the Prime Minister during his recent interview, Mr. Advani said Mr. Vajpayee was referring to his earlier peace bids with Pakistan — the Lahore bus trip and the Agra summit — and only implied that he would give up the effort if the third and final attempt failed.

Mr. Advani urged Pakistan to heed the voices of sanity and give up its futile path of confrontation with India. India, he said, was determined to see that the scourge of terrorism was removed and that the people of Jammu and Kashmir lived in peace and prosperity.

He said the infrastructure facilitating cross-border terrorism remained in place as a result of strong support that the terrorists received by being aided,

abetted and sponsored from abroad. Replying to a question, Mr. Advani said India's nuclear policy was based on no-first use and deterrence. He said if India were made a member of the United Nations Security Council, it would discharge its duties with full responsibility.

Mr. Advani said the purpose of his visit was to weave political, economic and military strands into a strategic partnership. Indo-US ties, he said, were characterised by an "unprecedented dynamism and willingness on both sides to strengthen the relations".

Referring to the visit of the then U.S. President, Bill Clinton, to India in 2000 and invitation to President George W. Bush, Mr. Advani pointed out that after the end of the Cold War, the two "estranged democracies" had become "engaged democracies" with high-level contacts becoming frequent and substantiv

Uncalled for, says Islamabad

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 12. Pakistan tonight denounced the reported statement of the Deputy Prime Minister, L.K. Advani, that Pakistan was the "epicentre of terrorism" as "uncalled for and unhelpful" and said that it was against the spirit of Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's peace initiatives.

In a formal statement, a Foreign Ministry spokesperson said that allegations of Pakistan's involvement in terrorism were not only factually incorrect but also against Mr. Vajpayee's offer of friendship and dialogue.

Pakistan was in the "forefront" of the fight against terrorism and a key ally in the international war on terrorism. "No country in the world has done more than Pakistan in combating this menace." Such remarks coming from an Indian leader were "unhelpful" and the two countries should remain focused on the dialogue and peace process, he said.

Mr. Advani's statement is only expected to reinforce the perception in the Pakistani establishment that the Vajpayee Government is a divided house. The newly-appointed spokesman, Masood Khan, said that New Delhi should get "its act together and speak in one voice". Pakistan noted with concern statements from the Indian leadership over normalising ties with Islamabad, he said adding that there should not be any conditionalities before the talks.

The Deputy Prime Minister paid tributes to Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel for their vision to make India a strong democratic and secular state.

'No theocratic state'

Mr. Advani said that India would never become a theocratic state and expressed the confidence that it would be among the world's developed nations by the year 2020.

Theocracy was alien to India and its polity but "pseudo-secularism would not thrive either," the Deputy Prime Minister told a gathering organised by more than 70 associations of Non-Resident Indians and Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs). — UNI

India, U.S. to strengthen economic ties

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JUNE 12. India and the United States very much understand that there is a vast scope of furthering cooperation in the realm of trade, investment and services and are taking steps to meet some of the challenges and problems, says the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, Arun Jaitley.

"There are, between the two countries, large areas of convergence and divergence but we can work together for better relations, with one representing the world's largest economy and the other the economy of one-sixth of the world's population whose gross domestic product in purchasing power parity terms is the world's fourth largest," Mr. Jaitley said here.

The Minister was speaking at the relaunch of the United States-India Commercial Dialogue, an institutional arrangement that was put in place at the time of the visit of the former U.S. President, Bill Clinton, during his visit to India in 2000; and one that involves the United States-India Business Council, the Confederation of Indian Industry and the Federation of Indian

Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

Mr. Jaitley said it valued the relationship with the U.S. The dialogue, among other things, facilitated both countries to understand their respective positions while stressing the need for an increase in the frequency of the dialogue.

On Wednesday, Mr. Jaitley had a session with the Commerce Secretary, Don Evans, and was expected to meet the U.S. Trade Representative, Robert Zoellick. The other participants were the Deputy Secretary of Commerce, Samuel Bodman, who said that it had been almost three years since the last Commercial Dialogue session was held and "that's far too long."

But for someone who had been highly critical of the low levels of U.S. exports to India, the senior administration official said that he could report some "good news".

U.S. exports to India increased by nine per cent in 2002 and crossed the \$ 4 billions for the first time; and the rise in the first quarter has been almost 26 per cent; U.S. imports from India rose another 21 per cent last year and increased 20 per cent in the first quarter of this year; and as of 2001 U.S. direct investment in India posted a net po-

sition of \$ 1.7 billions, Mr. Bodman said. "So, while we have inched forward, India's immense potential in the global economy is far from being realised.

"India must be a more significant commercial partner for the United States. Opportunities are being missed for the business communities on both sides," Mr. Bodman said, adding that considerable progress had been made recently and that "India must continue to "move forward" with economic reform.

"We have seen considerable progress but much remains to be done to create attractive and supportive business climate... including further tariff reductions, increases in foreign direct investment limits, implementation of the value added tax, improved intellectual property protection as well as implementation of the recently-passed Electricity Reform Bill," Mr. Bodman said.

"This is a big agenda. But the fulfilment of it would improve the conditions for commercial partnership with U.S. companies, for economic growth in India... and, most importantly, for improved living standards for the Indian people," the senior administration official said.

India, US seal informal alliance

India may send troops to Iraq, hints Advani

By Chidanand Rajghatta
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Washington: Profound changes are taking place in Indo-US ties. Almost everything that deputy Prime Minister L.K. Advani said on Tuesday at the end of his visit to Washington points to an unprecedented level of confidence, warmth and fealty between two sides that have had a hard time being on the same wavelength for half-a-century.

Short of declaring a formal alliance, the two countries have now signalled their intent to work together in a global and regional architecture that accepts American pre-eminence but recognises India's own sphere of influence and independent line of action, without jeopardising the interests of either country.

"President (George W.) Bush expressed his strong desire to continue the process of transforming Indo-US relations," Mr Advani said in a statement at the end of two days of meetings with the US leadership. "(He) also reaffirmed the US stake in building relations with India in a strategic context."

The White House did not issue any statement but US officials endorsed the sentiments.

Mr Advani added, "On my part, I assured President Bush that we did not view our relations with the United States as a matter of convenience, but as a partnership of trust and confidence which can stand up to whatever challenges the future brings."

The two sides also ironed out several wrinkles in the course of Mr Advani's visit, even agreeing to disagree on US policies towards Pakistan.

Mr Bush expressed warm admiration for the Prime Minister's move of gambling for peace with Pakistan, Mr Advani said, adding that the US President had reiterated that he would speak to Gen Pervez Musharraf about creating a climate in which this initiative could succeed.

Asked later whether the US agreed with India that no progress in Indo-Pak talks was possible unless cross-border terrorism ended, Mr Advani appeared to acknowledge differences on this point, saying, "The US government is conscious of all these facts (terrorism), but every government has its foreign policy interests to safeguard, and those foreign policy interests may be based on certain assessments with which India may not agree."

But the Pakistan issue, for once, was marginal to the talks, and Mr Advani went so far as to say that unlike his last visit here, this one was not Pakistan-centric. In fact, the issue of Indian troops for Iraq appeared to dominate talks with the principals, a fact Mr Advani conceded as much. He insisted, however, that there was no pressure to commit and the government of India was free to take a decision after hearing

clarifications about the nature and mandate of the mission and the command structure from the Pentagon team that is visiting India.

However, there are enough indications that New Delhi is inclined to play ball with Washington for a host of reasons, including extending

its influence in the Gulf region.

Mr Advani said the cabinet committee on security had twice discussed the matter before his arrival here and decided to seek clarifications regarding the US request (instead of rejecting it outright), suggesting that New Delhi was weighing the pros and cons.

In fact, in interviews with TV networks on the margins of the visit, Mr Advani criticised those who opposed the move, saying they were uninformed, clearly suggesting that the government was looking to seize what some see as an opportunity and a challenge.

Mr Advani also said he did not take up the issue of outsourcing in any of his meetings because it was a matter for American companies who stood to benefit from the process to lobby against legislation aimed at stymieing it.

Between us and the US



George W. Bush



L.K. Advani

India, U.S. discuss sale of hi-tech military equipment

By Sandeep Dikshit 11/6

NEW DELHI, JUNE 10. India and the United States are discussing the sale of hi-tech military equipment and modules of the missile defence shield, besides scheduling high-level military conferences to further improve harmonisation between the two armed forces. The two sides are also discussing the modalities of Indian participation in regulating the post-Saddam Iraq.

The initial American proposal for entrusting a zonal command of a Kurd-controlled area to an Indian Army division did not find favour but the U.S. continues to view India as a potential contributor to efforts to stabilise Iraq and is willing to accept whatever assistance is offered by New Delhi, whether troop deployment or military-operated medical relief operations.

In the cutting edge area of missile and anti-missile technology, the U.S. is continuing efforts to familiarise New Delhi with the basic concepts of the missile defence shield.

India has been invited to participate in a missile defence cooperation conference in Ja-

pan next month and its representatives would be observing the next edition of the missile defence exercises at White Sands in California.

Though the U.S. has no objections to an Israeli proposal for selling the aircraft-mounted Phalcon radar to India, talks on the Patriot missile interceptor are still at last year's "request for information" stage, probably owing to differing perceptions on the international missile control regime and export of sensitive technologies. Separate discussions are being held on these and other security related issues.

'Defensive' equipment sale

Discussions are progressing smoothly on military equipment categorised as "defensive" in nature. These include the P-3-C Orion sought by the Indian Navy for long-range maritime reconnaissance, nuclear biological and chemical (NBC) warfare equipment like chemical protection suits and supply of spares for specialised naval helicopters. The first Indo-U.S. military deal in three

decades is likely to bear fruit this summer with the arrival of the first of Raytheon's weapon locating radars.

Further impetus to military cooperation will be provided by the delayed meeting between top civilian officials of the two Defence Ministries in New Delhi next month. The Defence Policy Group (DPG) defines the parameters of security-related cooperation which was revived in December 2001. The previous two meetings provided enough momentum to enable independent inter-services co-ordination.

These include interaction between the special forces this summer and again in winter; another joint exercise involving fighter aircraft is being planned in January next year; and, the two navies will pick up the threads of the previous series of 'Malabar' exercises later this year. These joint exercises will be reapprised and further defined at the executive steering group (ESG) meeting of the two air forces at the U.S. next month. The meetings are scheduled for late this year and early next year..

Military or not, US wants Delhi

6.8 10/6 ✓
SUJAN DUTTA

New Delhi, June 9: Despite Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee wondering aloud on the practicality of sending Indian troops to Iraq, the chapter is not yet closed.

High-level sources in the security establishment say an exercise is on to determine what could be the nature and size of Indian participation in stabilisation forces in Iraq. The US is understood to be open to both military and non-military participation.

Washington has clearly indicated that it is deeply interested in a force from India.

However, the US interest is not specific to India but has been expressed as an appeal to several countries, among them Pakistan.

The subject was also broached during US defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld's talks with deputy Prime Minister L.K. Advani in Washington yesterday. (Italy, Romania and Poland are among the countries known to have responded positively to the American request).

The civil unrest and chaos following the invasion of Iraq has created conditions that may force US and British troops to be engaged in Iraq for longer than they had planned and undertake responsibilities that they were till now wary of taking.

India was among several countries invited by the US-UK

command to a meeting in London on May 8. The meeting was attended by representatives of about 14 countries.

India did not send a representative to the meeting as the political consultations on Indian participation in stabilisation forces had not gathered steam. However, Delhi is briefed on the subject and is aware that Indian participation is needed "even if it is only half-a-dozen ambulances".

It is understood that Indian participation may not necessarily be restricted to the use of only military forces. Suggestions that paramilitary forces and medical staff be sent to Iraq are being considered.

India's participation is contingent not only on its diplomatic advantages and disadvantages in West Asia but also on the US' answers to clarifications that it has sought on several questions.

Among them: Why are Indian troops needed? Will their job be to maintain law and order or would they also be expected to use force? What will the chain of command be? How long will the troops stay in Iraq? What is the roadmap for Iraq?

The US itself is making public its need to augment forces in Iraq. Elements of the US forces that were earlier marked for withdrawal from Iraq this month may now have to stay on for longer. The US has an estimated 1,30,000 troops in Iraq.

Advani, Bush discuss J&K and Iraq

Indo-Asian News Service & PTI

WASHINGTON, June 9. — Mr LK Advani today met Mr George Bush for half an hour at the White House. At the meeting, Mr Bush raised the issue of India's joining peacekeeping operations in Iraq, Mr Advani told reporters.

He said he told the US President that the Cabinet Committee on Security had discussed the issue twice and needed clarifications. Mr Bush has agreed to send a team to Delhi to provide the clarifications.

Mr Advani met Mr Bush when he went to the White House to meet National Security Advisor Ms Condoleezza Rice. Mr Bush immediately invited him to the Oval Office. Mr Advani said he and Mr Bush also discussed terrorism in J&K. "Bush agreed every country has to look after its security," Mr Advani said. He also met Attorney General Mr John Ashcroft and defence secretary Mr Donald Rumsfeld.

'Vajpayee will remain PM'

Earlier, in his first categorical comment on the leadership controversy in the BJP, Mr Advani asserted that Mr Vajpayee will continue to be PM even after the next elections. "We will get the mandate again and Mr Vajpayee will rule for years," Mr Advani said. He was addressing the Indian community at a reception hosted by ambassador Mr Lalit Man Singh here last night.

Photograph on page 4

'SENDING TROOPS TO IRAQ UNDER STUDY'

High-level dialogue only after terrorism ends: Advani

By Srihar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JUNE 9. "The question of India contributing troops for the stabilisation of Iraq is under the consideration of the Government of India and a decision will be taken after taking all aspects into account," according to the visiting Deputy Prime Minister, L.K. Advani.

The issue was raised by the U.S. Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, when he called on Mr. Advani on Sunday.

While substantive aspects of the bilateral defence cooperation and programmes were discussed, Mr. Rumsfeld used the occasion to press the issue of India sending a contingent of troops to help with the stabilisation of the situation in Iraq. Knowing India's track record in the realm of peacekeeping operations, the U.S. is keen on New Delhi's participation.

Mr. Advani and Mr. Rumsfeld also discussed the all-important issue of terrorism, especially its relevance to the subcontinent. Mr. Advani is



The Deputy Prime Minister, L.K. Advani, with the U.S. Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, who called on the former at his hotel in Washington on Sunday. — PTI

said to have forcefully put forth New Delhi's position on cross-border terrorism adding that without an end to this any high-level dialogue between India

and Pakistan was not likely.

They also discussed bilateral issues and both "expressed satisfaction" at the pace and progress of defence cooperation between the two countries.

The next meeting of the Defence Policy Group is scheduled to be held here in the first week of August.

In what is being characterised as a "very special gesture", the Indian Embassy said that Mr. Rumsfeld came to the hotel where Mr. Advani is staying and held substantive discussions with him. The meeting lasted about 40 minutes. "The Deputy Prime Minister has greatly appreciated this gesture."

Mr. Rumsfeld was earlier scheduled to meet Mr. Advani in the Pentagon but dropped by at the hotel as he was leaving Washington for an overseas trip.

He is also said to have delayed his departure by several hours to meet Mr. Advani.

Later, addressing the Indian American community during a reception hosted by the Indian Ambassador, Lalit Mansingh, Mr. Advani asserted that India would emerge victorious in the war against terrorism.

In the past three wars with Pakistan, India had emerged victorious, he said stressing that the war against terror was a different kind of a war, not anything like the two World Wars or the three wars India had fought. But the bottom line was that in this war, India had the determination.

'We will be in power under Vajpayee'

WASHINGTON, JUNE 9. In an attempt to end the controversy over the leadership in the BJP, the Deputy Prime Minister, L.K. Advani, today asserted that "we will continue to be in power for many more years under Vajpayee's leadership".

"Humko phir 2004 mein janadesh milega, aur Vajpayee ji darshon tak phir rajya karenge (we will again get the mandate in the 2004 general elections and Mr. Vajpayee would rule for years)," Mr. Advani told a gathering of Indian Americans.

Pointing out that Mr. Vajpayee was the only non-Congress Prime Minister to have completed five years, Mr. Advani said "it was not a major achievement but the BJP-led NDA coalition should be given credit for the political stability."

He said new legislation would be made for the dual citizenship to the People of Indian Origin (PIOs). "The facility would be extended to other countries like the U.S. and Canada where dual citizenship restrictions were in force," he said.

Mr. Advani said there would be no compromise on the issue

of terrorism and that India would give a befitting reply to the proxy war being waged by Pakistan. Making India's position clear, he said, "after 9/11, we hoped that countries abetting terrorist outfits would not get any assistance as any sort of back-up would only propagate terrorism".

India, he said, had to suffer terrorist attacks even after 9/11 and even the U.S. President, George W. Bush, had deplored the attack on India's Parliament. He recalled that Mr Vajpayee had warned the U S about the menace of terrorism even before 9/11.

Pointing to the achievements of Non-Resident Indians, Mr. Advani said that when Indians could do wonders after crossing borders "there should not be any difficulty in performing remarkably even while serving in the country".

He reaffirmed the NDA Government's resolve to provide corruption-free elections. However, there were some States such as Bihar where electoral violence was still not uncommon.. — UNI

Vajpayee plays down Bush's assurance

By Manoj Joshi
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Evian: Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee on Monday said US President George Bush had told him that he would "talk" to Gen Pervez Musharraf, not "press" him to do anything about cross-border terrorism.

Asked what would happen if Mr Bush's assurances did not bring about any change in the situation, Mr Vajpayee said, "*Dekha jayega*" (we'll see). He was addressing presspersons at the end of his European tour.

Amplifying on his conversation with Mr Bush at Saturday's banquet at the Winter Palace in

St Petersburg, Mr Vajpayee said the terrorism issue came up when Mr Bush asked him if talks with Pakistan had begun. "I told him that the initial talks had started, but substantive discussions would take place only when cross-border terrorism ended and the infrastructure to support terrorism was dismantled." At this point, Mr Bush reportedly said he would "talk" to Gen Musharraf on the issue.

On Washington's request for Indian forces in Iraq, Mr Vajpayee said India had asked the US to clarify some issues. Would the army be used for peace-keeping or peace enforcement? How long would it be required? What about

the roadmap and who would command the forces? He pointed out that India, like the US, had a tradition of its forces serving only under its own command.

He said the summits at St Petersburg and Evian had given him an opportunity to see at close quarters the new tensions within the developed world over Iraq. Giving an example, he said that when at the end of Saturday's banquet, Russian President Vladimir Putin went to thank the interpreters, Mr Bush got up to join him. But on seeing German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder also getting up, Mr Bush stayed put.

Regaling presspersons with his experiences on the tour, Mr Vaj-

payee revealed that he learnt that Mr Bush does not drink liquor only after a toast was raised and he saw Mr Bush holding a glass of water. "When I asked him if it was all he drank, Mr Bush said he had had only water for the last 16 years," he said.

Considering that Mr Bush's run-ins with alcohol are well known, it is surprising that the Prime Minister had not been briefed about this important aspect of the American President's personality.

And when reporters asked what he had had at the various toasts at the banquets, Mr Vajpayee, with a smile, asked, "Is it important to know?"

Bush backs PM's stand on talks with Pakistan

By Manoj Joshi
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Lausanne (Switzerland): Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee has told US President George W. Bush that success in dialogue with Pakistan is not possible without an end to cross-border terrorism.

Authoritative sources said that Mr Bush agreed with him and indicated that he would "talk" to Gen Pervez Musharraf later this month.

The conversation took place at the head-table in the banquet given by President Vladimir Putin for leaders assembled in St Petersburg for its 300th anniversary celebrations where the Prime Minister was seated next to the American President to facilitate the conversation.

The sources also said that Mr Bush made "very laudatory" references to the PM's initiative on Pakistan. The US Prez is likely to make good on his promise during Pakistan President Musharraf's upcoming visit to the US where he will be feted in Washington and also spend quality time with Mr Bush at the presidential retreat in Camp David.

According to senior officials, Mr Vajpayee and Mr Bush sat side by side at a table along with Mr Putin and his wife, Greek President Constantine Simitis, who is the president of the European Union, and Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi who will succeed the Greek leader to the European presidency. "The two discussed India and Pakistan for about six or seven minutes but the rest of the conversation was social chit-chat," said an official

familiar with the event.

Asked whether the matter of the pending US request for Indian army participation in the stabilisation of Iraq was discussed, the official said "No, not yesterday (Saturday)."

On Sunday, Mr Vajpayee flew by helicopter from Geneva airport to the lake-side town of Evian, better known

gins. Among the other special invitees are China, Brazil, Malaysia, Egypt and other Asian, Latin American and African countries.

Mr Chirac's aim in inviting these countries is two-fold: First, to underscore France's interest in promoting a multipolar world and second, to answer anti-globalisation critics who turn up at the G-8 sum-



Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee sits with US President George W. Bush at a banquet hosted by Russian President Vladimir Putin (left) in St Petersburg on Saturday.

for its top-brand mineral water, and was received by President Jacques Chirac of France, who is also hosting the Group of Eight (G-8) summit.

According to senior officials, the PM plans to focus on development issues in his intervention in the discussions. India is not a member of the G-8, which comprises the eight most industrialised nations of the world—France, Germany, Japan, UK, US, Canada, Italy and Russia. But it is one of a group of developing countries invited by Mr Chirac for an informal summit on Sunday, a day before the G-8 summit be-

mits in large numbers to protest the policies of the rich countries. By his "broader dialogue" initiative, Mr Chirac wants to disarm these critics who mainly reside in the G-8 countries themselves. According to a senior Indian diplomat travelling with the PM, "This is very great innovation."

At Sunday's working lunch and meetings, Mr Vajpayee and the world leaders met without aides for what the official said was "an open-ended discussion" on subjects ranging from security and development to good governance and democracy.

US sends India Israeli reward

OUR BUREAU

May 22: The talks between India and Pakistan have not yet begun, but the US is already rewarding New Delhi for its initiative to resume a dialogue with Islamabad.

A state department official said in Washington today that "recent developments have eased concerns" about the proposed sale of Phalcon airborne radar systems by Israel to India.

Responding to queries about a report in the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* about Washington's green light for the \$1-billion sale, the official said: "We have informed Israel and India that we have no objection to the transfer of Phalcon Airborne Warning and Control Systems (Awacs) to India."

The official added that "we have been discussing the proposed sale with Israel for several years and have in the past expressed concern that heightened tension between India and Pakistan makes a transfer inadvisable. Finally, recent developments have eased those concerns."

The contract for Phalcon Awacs will make it the biggest single defence deal concluded by Israel in the last two years. So far, the biggest contract bagged by Israel's weapons industry during that period has been a \$700-million job for modernising Turkish army tanks.

Phalcon can destroy incoming missiles provided it is part of Arrow, the world's only operational anti-ballistic missile defence system. For the moment, its role in India would be limited to early warnings about missiles fired at the country.

The state department official said Washington was continuing to review the sale of Arrow, a product of US-Israeli military collaboration, to India.

The review will take into account merits of the sale, applicable US laws and America's commitment to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), the official said.

The sale of Arrow, unlike Phalcon Awacs, is complicated by the fact that the missile defence system has US parts and technology. The Bush administration will, therefore, have to chart a path for clearing the sale after weighing America's non-proliferation legislation.

The Phalcon radars will be mounted on Russian-built Ilyushin-76 cargo planes of the Indian Air Force to warn of incoming missiles. If and when the Arrow sale is completed, the Awacs will be integrated into the missile defence system to protect India against those missiles.

23 MAY 2003

U.S. drops objections to Phalcon transfer to India

By Atul Aneja

9/12
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MANAMA (BAHRAIN), MAY 22. The United States has dropped objections to the transfer of the Israeli Phalcon technology to India, paving the way for India to become one of the few countries in the world to possess an Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS).

Essentially surveillance planes, AWACS can carry out airborne searches behind enemy lines for hundreds of kilometers.

Fighter jets can be quickly positioned to an advantageous position in the sky to tackle a hostile air strike on account of the early warning that AWACS provide.

According to the Israeli daily *Haaretz*, the U.S. has given an unconditional clearance for the transfer of the Israeli Phalcon systems to India after keeping the decision on hold for about a year and a half on account of the tensions between India and Pakistan. Inquiries by *The Hindu* show that the U.S. decision to clear the Phalcon sales has not come as a surprise. In fact, this subject was raised during the recent visit to India by the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage.

The Phalcon system that integrated four sensors, including a highly-advanced phased array

radar, would be mounted on a special Russian-IL-76 platform, defence sources said. Once integrated, India will acquire a state-of-the-art AWACS, which will be capable of carrying out surveillance sweeps for hundreds of kilometers by day or night and in any weather conditions.

The combination of Israeli and Russian early warning technology is expected to encourage the fuller exploitation of some of the high performance planes with the Air Force such as the long range SU-30MKI and the French Mirage 2000 planes.

Sources said the U.S., in the past, had objected to the transfer of the phased array Greenpine radar, which is part of the Phalcon sensor package. While Israel developed this radar, the U.S. objected to its sales by pointing out that this sensor was the result of a joint venture, which Washington had funded.

The clearance for the estimated \$ 1 billion phalcon deal is likely to become a cause for concern for both Pakistan and China. In fact, China, before India had come into the fray, had been negotiating the purchase of the Phalcon system with Israel. This deal, which had nearly closed, however fell through at the last moment on account of the U.S. opposition to the transfer of an AWACS package to Beijing.

23 MAY 2003

THE HINDU

Brajesh sees India & US on a par

OUR SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, May 13: Back from his US visit, national security adviser Brajesh Mishra today said Delhi's relation with Washington was that of partnership, not a master-client one.

Mishra, also the Prime Minister's principal secretary, was speaking after launching the book, *Crossing the Rubicon — The Shaping of India's New Foreign Policy*, by strategic affairs writer C. Raja Mohan at the Habitat Centre here this evening.

India can never become a "client-state" of the US because of the country's pride and size, he said.

Mishra returned to the country yesterday after a successful visit of the US, where he held wide-ranging discussions on bilateral, regional and international issues with American national security adviser Condoleezza Rice and other senior members of the US administration.

President George W. Bush had taken time out from his busy schedule to meet Mishra, signalling the growing strength of the ties between the two large democracies.

Mishra's speech in the US, proposing an axis between India, the US and Israel as the three shared some common values, had created a stir in cer-

tain sections in India.

The national security adviser, however, did not appear to be apologetic about his proposal. "The US, with its global interests, has much more to ask from us," he said.

Mishra clarified that shared values and partnerships, however, did not guarantee an absence of disagreements.

Citing the example of Iraq, he said India had simply stuck to its position that it would not support any action outside the UN framework. "But this position was well understood by the US."

The "political will" both in the US and India to forge ahead with their relationship notwithstanding, there were

also "many hurdles ahead".

Mishra was referring to the technology sanctions imposed by the US affecting India's defence and economy.

"So we have to keep on engaging, hoping it will one day become a full partnership," he said. "We have to improve ourselves (read become self-reliant). We can't be waiting for others to improve us."

The Atal Bihari Vajpayee government's approach to foreign policy was based on "continuity with change", he said.

The country's nuclear tests of May 1998 had "awakened the world" to India. "It was a difficult decision...but this government decided that there was no

other way. This was something which had to be done."

The reasons, he said, were numerous, including the nuclear environment around the country and the fast-changing world situation. Mishra said India had managed to open out to the world in the five years since the nuclear tests.

Former US President Bill Clinton's India visit in March 2000 was the "turning point" in Indo-US relations, he said.

The change in the Washington administration, bringing the Bush government to power, has not affected the momentum of intense engagement between the two countries at various levels.

Force Pakistan to end terror, India tells US

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

New Delhi: India has put some of the onus for peace with Pakistan on the US, after reportedly telling the superpower that if it wishes it can compel Pakistan to stop cross-border terrorism, and that an Indo-Pak dialogue cannot begin until Pakistan assures that such terrorism will end.

Highly placed sources in New Delhi informed TNN that deputy Prime Minister L.K. Advani had told US deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage that Pakistan cannot disregard "what you say, as they are so dependent on you".

In a polite but firm manner, India reportedly told the US that it favoured peace, friendship and a dialogue with Pakistan, but no such dialogue could begin without its neighbour's assurance of ending cross-border terrorism.

The sources added that India had taken exception to a recent statement by some US officials that the Kashmir issue should be resolved to end cross-border terrorism. India says the terrorism must stop before talks on Kashmir.

In a separate development, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee took a swipe at the US on Sunday for lifting sanctions against Pakistan.

Mr Vajpayee said India would have to depend on development of indigenous technology for "major defence and dual-use items" till "a more equitable" global regime comes into place. Without naming any country, the PM said India had faced unjust sanctions since the 1974 Pokhran nuclear test and under "discriminatory"

policies, like the Non-Proliferation Treaty and Missile Technology Control Regime.

"Many of the sanctions of the 1970s and 1980s remain in place even today.. (but) in our near and extended neighbourhood we can see many examples of double standards in this. Countries guilty of missile and nuclear proliferation have not attracted sanctions. Some even continue to receive liberal economic assistance," he said, in an apparent reference to Pakistan and China.

India, in sharp contrast, has "strictly exercised a self-imposed restraint" on transfer of

nuclear, missile and dual-use technologies and material. "We have denied ourselves many lucrative contracts and joint ven-

tures," said Mr Vajpayee at the annual Defence Research and Development Organisation awards.

To lend credence to India's case that the US can force Pakistan to end cross-border terror, the highly placed New Delhi sources cited the example of Pakistan helping the US fight the Taliban in Afghanistan. Pakistan had also handed over more than 500 Al Qaida terrorists to the US. Therefore, recent statements that Washington did not have sufficient clout to compel Pakistan were not correct, they said.

Compared to the 500 Al Qaida men handed over to the US, Pakistan has not taken any action on the list of 20 persons wanted by India. The sources said these 20 persons were fugitives who had committed crimes in India and against whom Interpol had issued worldwide alerts.



R. Armitage



L.K. Advani

Pak must prepare turf: Brajesh

India not to rush into summit-level talks

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, May 10

INDIA HAS conveyed to the US in clear terms that while it has launched the latest peace move with gusto, Pakistan will have to demonstrably end the transport of terror for the actual dialogue process to get under way.

National Security Adviser Brajesh Mishra, who held an unscheduled and substantive meeting with President George W. Bush, conveyed the Indian position to his various US interlocutors over the last two days.

Mishra sought to put the brakes on high expectations by saying that this time round, New Delhi would not rush into summit level dialogue. It can be thought of only after the process starts at the official level and is sustained over a period, he indicated.

The high point of Mishra's packed schedule was the meeting with Bush at the Oval Office. It was not the customary "drop by", but a "substantive" session lasting over 15 minutes, Indian officials said in a belated disclosure of the Thursday meeting.

Bush evinced keen interest on the peace moves and complimented Prime Minister Vajpayee's initiative, Mishra told a Press conference before leaving for New Delhi.

Mishra declined to go into other details of the conversation during which he reminded Bush of the invitation pending with him to visit India.

The US President responded by saying that he would love to visit India, but did not indicate how soon.

At his extended sessions with Secretary of State Colin Powell and National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, Mishra stressed that it was now up to Pakistan to fulfil the terms for dialogue to begin.

He strongly rebutted President Musharraf's claim that cross-border infiltration has been effectively ended.

Lest it create the impression that India is not all that averse to American intervention in some form, Mishra pointedly told a questioner that India had at no point sought any assurance from the US that it should rein in Pakistan. India, he emphasised, has

no quarrels over any bid by the US and other countries to lower tensions in the region, but this cannot be taken to be acceptance of any prescription for the Kashmir issue. He spoke of the clear distinction between finding a solution to the Kashmir issue, which is a purely bilateral matter, and the desire to prevent a conflict in the region.

Mishra conceded that the US and others have taken up with Pakistan several times the issue of ending cross-border terrorism, but made it clear that the results have not been to India's satisfaction.

Although the Indo-Pak developments dominated the discussions, Mishra said several bilateral issues were also taken up at his meetings with Powell, Rice, Deputy Defence Secretary Paul Wolfowitz and chairman of Bush's economic council Steve Friedman.

In New Delhi, Indian Leader of Opposition Sonia Gandhi told the visiting US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage that there's political consensus within the country on the issue of Indo-Pakistan relations.

Vijay Dutt
London, May 10

BRITAIN HAS iterated its full support for India's claim for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council.

Britain's Foreign Secretary Jack Straw conveyed his government's stand during a meeting with K.C. Pant, deputy chairperson of the Planning Commission and co-chairman of the sixth Indo-British Round Table.

Straw also conveyed to Pant and the India group that came to London for a two-day meet of the Round Table the importance to the UK of its friendship with India, and the frequency of his own contacts with India's foreign minister.

Briefing the media at the end of the Round Table meet at Cotswolds, Pant said the discussions between the Indian and British groups were "frank, friendly and conduct-

UK backs India for UN seat

ed in an atmosphere of total confidence". He added that the meeting noted that the follow-up to the Delhi Declaration signed by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and his British counterpart Tony Blair in January 2002 had been encouraging, and had led to better relations and co-operation in all fields.

Pant said that during discussion on multilateralism and multilateral institutions there was general agreement that the UN should be involved in the reconstruction of Iraq. "It will always have a key role in creating stable regimes and humanitarian assistance," he said.

Both groups, however, felt that in order to be more effective, the UN, and in particular the Security Council, needed to be reformed. In this context, it was agreed that India should have a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.

ARMITAGE:

(Continued from page 1)

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Detailed delegation level talks were led by foreign secretary Mr Kanwal Sibal who also hosted a lunch for the US delegation.

Mr Armitage "lauded" the Prime Minister's initiative and "far-reaching act of statesmanship" in launching a "hand of friendship" to Pakistan, and claimed he was "cautiously optimistic" that it would lead to a step-by-step process towards peace between the two countries. "I am cautiously optimistic that the process begun by the PM ... and his act of statesmanship could possibly lead to a step-by-step process that will eventually resolve all issues."

Asked if he had received any assurance from Gen. Pervez Musharraf in Islamabad on ending infiltration, he said the Pakistani President had told him that "nothing was happening on the LoC". "If terrorist camps in the Pakistan side of LoC are there, they will be gone by tomorrow," he quoted Gen. Musharraf as having told him. "It is not my job to give assurances... It is for India to make up her mind what she thinks about this particular statement." Quoting Mr George Bush, Mr Armitage said: "...Whenever innocent women, children die, one has to call that terrorism. Our point is all this violence has to end."

The other issues discussed included Iraq's reconstruction, the West Asia peace process, Afghanistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and China.

THE STATESMAN

1 1 MAY 2003

India will choose its time for peace, US told

TIMES NEWS NETWORK AND AGENCIES

New Delhi/Washington: Asserting that "all violence has got to end" in Jammu and Kashmir, the US on Saturday said it was "cautiously optimistic" that Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's "far-reaching act of statesmanship" would eventually help India and Pakistan to resolve all issues.

After hectic daylong confabulations with Indian leaders, including Mr Vajpayee, visiting US deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage said killing innocent men and women (in Jammu and Kashmir) was terrorism and "all this violence has got to end".

Asked if he had got any assurances from Gen Pervez Musharraf about ending cross-border terrorism, Mr Armitage told newsmen that the general had told him that "nothing was happening on the Line of Control".

"If terrorist camps are there on the Pakistan side of the LoC, they will be gone by tomorrow," Mr Armitage quoted Gen Musharraf as having told him on Thursday. "It is not my job to give assurances. It is not my job to tell our Indian friends what I think. It is for India to make up her own mind what she thinks about that particular statement (by Gen Musharraf)," he said.

Briefing newsmen on Mr Armitage's discussions, MEA spokesman Navtej Sarna said India had made it clear to the US that Pakistan would have to translate into reality its promises to end cross-border terrorism to create a conducive atmosphere for the resumption of a dialogue.

On US Vice President Dick Cheney's invitation to deputy Prime Minister L.K. Advani, he said Mr Advani would visit the US early next month.

In Washington, President George W. Bush on Thursday conveyed his deep sense of appreciation for Mr Vajpayee's bold act of statesmanship during a 15-minute tete-a-tete in the White House Oval Office with national security adviser Brajesh Mishra, whose talks this week with American interlocutors centred mostly around regaining the momentum in bilateral ties.

Mr Mishra was unexpectedly escorted to see President Bush following his meeting his US counterpart Condoleezza Rice. India's top security official declined to reveal the full range of discussions with the President ahead of reporting to the Prime Minister, but in a meeting with correspondents, he said Mr Bush had noted the deepening of the friend-

The A-Team and the K-word—Atal, Armitage and a cautious push towards peace



Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee holds talks with US deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage in New Delhi on Saturday

ship between India and the US.

Mr Mishra also met Secretary of State Colin Powell, deputy defence secretary Paul Wolfowitz and other top US officials during his two-day confabulations in Washington, and the dominant sense he conveyed was that of a brisk, candid and business-like working relationship with Washington notwithstanding differences between the two sides on how to deal with Pakistan.

That was one area where the two sides could agree to disagree, Mr Mishra said. But it was clear from comments by Mr Mishra and other officials that they had conveyed to Washington that India would choose its time and place to make peace with Pakistan after satisfying itself of Islamabad's bona fides, and that New Delhi would not be pressured into anything by the US.

If the US was so concerned about the heightened tensions in the sub-continent, it needed to work on Pakistan, the side seeking to alter the status quo by force and aggression, and not India, it was conveyed. In that sense, the Prime Minister's initiative had undercut any possible US pressure on New Delhi.

Maleeha may be Pak envoy

Islamabad:



M. Lodhi

Journalist-turned-diplomat Maleeha Lodhi is among the front-runners for the post of Pakistan's new high commissioner to India, a senior leader of the country's ruling alliance said on Saturday.

"A few names have been short-listed. This is likely to be finalised by early next week," a senior official said.

The leader of the ruling Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-e-Azam (PML-QA) said the names of Maleeha Lodhi and Riaz Muhammad Khan, also a career diplomat, had topped the list of candidates for the New Delhi post.

Ms Lodhi has twice served as Pakistan's ambassador to the US. Earlier this month, there were reports that she had been appointed high commissioner to Britain, but no of-

ficial announcement was made.

The PML-QA leader, who did not wish to be named, said Ms Lodhi "will definitely prefer India to Britain as her assignment in New Delhi will be more challenging".

Ms Lodhi, however, said, "No such decision (on my appointment) has been taken yet. I have not heard anything on this matter. As far as I am concerned, it's obviously incorrect."

The PML-QA leader maintained that Ms Lodhi had a long meeting with alliance chief Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain, who apparently wields considerable clout in the government. Riaz Muhammad Khan is currently ambassador to China; from where Shiv Shankar Menon, India's current envoy, will be moving to Islamabad as high commissioner.

Another candidate in the fray is Akram Zaki, former secretary-general in the foreign ministry. He was a former MP and is now a senior member of the PML-QA. IANS

Cautious US leaves peace pace to Delhi

PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, May 10: US deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage today said it was up to India to pace the peace process with Pakistan that could finally lead to a summit-level meeting between the Prime Ministers.

This was after the Indian side made it clear to Armitage that the peace initiative taken by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee was "designed at creating an easier condition" for Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf to fulfil his international commitment of ending infiltration across the Line of Control.

"It is not my job to give assurances or to tell India what to think and what to do. It is for India to make its own assessment of the statements that has come out of Pakistan," the US deputy secretary of state said after meeting several Indian leaders, including Vajpayee and his deputy L.K. Advani.

Commending Vajpayee's "far-reaching statesman-like gesture... in extending his hand of friendship", Armitage said the road to bilateral peace was neither easy nor short and no overnight solutions could be expected.

"It is a long trip to when we get there. But we hope the process which has begun will take the two countries towards peace."

The US official reiterated that the purpose of his visit was not to judge whether Musharraf had lived up to his promise to stop export of terror or to thrust his assessments on India.

The army command is considering contingency plans to send troops to Iraq for peacekeeping. The army already has plans to spare troops for UN-led peacekeeping operations. India is a major participant in UN peacekeeping missions. However, despatching troops to Iraq under a dispensation that is not UN-led will be unprecedented.

■ See Page 6

"It is for India to judge when a conducive atmosphere has been created that can lead to a summit-level meeting between the two sides," foreign ministry spokesman Navtej Sarna later said, elaborating on the views shared by the deputy secretary with Indian leaders.

But Delhi made it clear that though it was committed to

peace, the ball was now in Islamabad's court. Musharraf had to take appropriate steps to end cross-border terror and dismantle the terror apparatus to create an atmosphere conducive for talks between the Prime Ministers, possibly by the year-end.

No one should see the current Indian stand as a dilution of its stated position on terror, officials said.

Although Armitage declined to make a clear comment on whether he was satisfied with the steps Musharraf has taken, he said Washington was not willing to dilute its stand on terror.

"People are dying everyday. Women, children and non-combatants are victims for some political cause, one has to call them terrorism."

The US deputy secretary, who arrived here last night, also met foreign minister Yashwant Sinha, finance minister Jaswant Singh and leader of the Opposition Sonia Gandhi.

Foreign secretary Kanwal Sibal hosted a lunch for him and the American delegates during which a host of bilateral, regional and internal issues, including the situation in Iraq and developments in Afghanistan, were discussed.

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Brajesh for security triad

Jul-13 3 copies
① P. K. K. K.
② G. F. P. P.

Press Trust of India

SF1 10/5

WASHINGTON, May 9. — As targets of international terrorism, democratic nations India, USA and Israel should form an alliance to combat the scourge and develop multilateral mechanism to counter it, the National Security Adviser, Mr Brajesh Mishra, has said.

Mr Mishra, who is here on a two-day visit for interaction with key Bush administration officials, said the three countries “have to jointly face the same ugly face of modern day terrorism” and “such an alliance would have the political will and moral authority to take bold decisions in extreme cases of terrorist provocation”.

“It wouldn’t be bogged down in arguments over terror. Blocking financial supplies, disrupting networks, sharing intelligence, simplifying extradition — these are preventive measures which can only be effective through international cooperation based on trust and shared values,” he said at the American Jewish Committee’s Annual Dinner yesterday.

Mr Mishra dismissed as “nonsense” justifications advanced by some countries for terrorism by calling it “freedom struggle” and arguing that terrorism can only be eradicated by addressing its “root causes.” Terrorist attacks against innocents, he said, “have no justification. Democratic societies, which address the ‘root causes’ of alienation and anger through pluralism and socioeconomic justice, are precisely the targets of terrorism.”

Mishra-Rice talks: The India-Pakistan peace initiatives and New Delhi’s stand on cross-border terrorism figured prominently during the talks Mr Mishra had with his American counterpart Ms Condoleeza Rice at the White House.

10 MAY 2003

THE STATESMAN

Armitage at home in India with no House

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K.P. NAYAR

Washington, May 7: The US may be attempting to introduce democracy in Iraq, but America's top diplomat now in South Asia is allergic to India's Parliament.

Deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage will arrive in New Delhi a few hours after Parliament, which unanimously criticised the Bush administration's war on Iraq, adjourns sine die on Friday after its budget session.

Sources in Washington, familiar with preparations for Armitage's visit, told **The Telegraph** that the only consideration in deciding the date for his arrival in the Indian capital was that Parliament should not be in session.

As a result, Armitage will have talks with Pakistan's leaders in Islamabad on Thursday, fly to Kabul on Friday and arrive in New Delhi the same evening as India's parliamentarians are packing their bags to return to their constituencies.

Such an itinerary makes it certain that Indian MPs will have neither the time nor the inclination to vent their feelings against Washington once again, taking advantage of the presence of a senior Bush envoy.

Not that they would have

done so for certain, what with anti-American feeling only a fraction of what it was during the Vietnam era or in the run-up to the Bangladesh liberation war.

Yet, the Parliament resolution on Iraq was a warning that unpleasantness must be avoided if possible. Both India and the US agreed that the best way to achieve that was for Armitage not to give any excuse to MPs to say or do anything anti-American.

Armitage has done his best in the run-up to his visit to dispel any such notion and to rationalise expectations from his three-nation tour. State department spokesman Richard Boucher went out of his way yesterday to rein in the enthusiasm of reporters here for the India-Pakistan rapprochement.

It is understood that the Heathrow talks between Armitage and Indian national security adviser Brajesh Mishra served as a reality check on the progress of Atal Bihari Vajpayee's peace initiative and Pakistan's response so far.

The Americans, in New Delhi's view, are giving too much importance to Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali's role. Jamali and his soft-line foreign minister, Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri, have emerged

as the public faces of the peace moves in Islamabad. In fact, the Bush administration has invited Kasuri here within days of Armitage's return to Washington.

Armitage is said to have been unambiguously told in the Heathrow talks that what is important is for General Pervez Musharraf to fulfil the commitments he personally made to the US deputy secretary of state last summer about ending cross-border terrorism.

India's swift but critical response to a set of Pakistani confidence-building measures on Tuesday is being interpreted here as an effort to ensure that Musharraf reiterates his commitments in word during Armitage's stay in Islamabad and honours them in deed after the US envoy has gone home.

Informed sources said Armitage may suggest to Musharraf that Pakistan should make an appeal to Kashmiri militant groups for a ceasefire to give the current peace moves a chance.

In return, India would have to give a commitment to a process of sustained dialogue aimed at producing results. Islamabad feels that in the past India agreed to discuss Kashmir only to stall on details and dwell on procedure rather than substance.

- 8 MAY 2003

THE TELEGRAPH

Brajesh to focus on n-question during talks in U.S.

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By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, MAY 4. As the National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra, heads for Washington tonight for an intensive round of consultations with the Bush administration, the new excitement in India-Pakistan relations could easily mask a more important item on his agenda — the nuclear question.

Undoubtedly, the reduction of tensions in the subcontinent, preparing the ground for a sustainable India-Pakistan dialogue and exploring the opportunities for political cooperation in Iraq will get a lot of attention in Mr. Mishra's talks.

Besides meeting the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, in London, Mr. Mishra will have wide-ranging talks with a number of top officials, including his American counterpart, Condoleezza Rice, at the White House.

Since last year, Mr. Mishra has become the point man for pushing Indo-U.S. bilateral cooperation in four areas — civil nuclear energy, commercial space programmes, high technology trade and missile defence. Getting some concrete movement on the "technology quartet" will be the key to demonstrating that the Indo-U.S. engagement is on track.

Mr. Mishra's visit comes amid an important American debate on the future of the

global nuclear order. The U.S. President, George W. Bush, is likely to make a major speech on the changing U.S. approach to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and arms control in the coming days.

After the successful regime change in Iraq, the U.S. now is seriously focussed on the ways and means of reworking the non-proliferation regime to make it more relevant to our times. Mr. Bush's speech is likely to reflect the essence of the internal review in the administration on non-proliferation issues.

At the conceptual level, the views of India and America on non-proliferation have converged as never before. Both agree that the biggest future challenge to international security is rooted in the deadly combination of WMD and terrorism. They also agree that there is an urgent need to explore innovative ways of dealing with this problem. They recognise that the old non-proliferation order with its web of treaties is fraying and can no longer be the sole instrument to deal with the new security challenges.

As Mr. Armitage pointed out in a recent speech, "and yet, the system we have in place for dealing with such proliferation challenges does not really offer solutions for these problems". Both countries agree on the importance of missile defence and

the need to develop military capabilities and doctrines such as "counter-proliferation" to deal with the spread of WMD to irresponsible regimes and terrorist groups.

India has been one of the biggest victims of terrorism, the proliferation of WMD to and from its neighbours, and the link between the two of them. As a consequence, it has a strong stake in transforming the global nuclear order to make it more effective.

While this is fully understood in the Bush administration, the prospects of Indo-U.S. arms control cooperation are being constantly undermined by the non-proliferation apparatus in Washington.

The traditionalist arms controllers in Washington, resistant as they are to new thinking, have tended to see India as part of the problem rather than the solution in managing the threats from the spread of WMD.

As a result, the promises from the highest political level in the Bush administration to quicken the flows of advanced technology to India have been stymied at the bureaucratic level.

The tasks for Mr. Mishra are to solidify the strategic understanding with the Bush administration on the imperatives of a new nuclear order, pave the way for a common agenda on arms control and facilitate expansive defence and technological cooperation between the two countries.

Transforming Indo-U.S. ties

19-12 By C. Raja Mohan *rmj*

NEW DELHI, APRIL 27. It is not often that governments pay public compliments to departing ambassadors. In praising the U.S. envoy, Robert D. Blackwill, who has announced his departure last week, the Foreign Office was underlining the fact that more movement has occurred in the last two years between India and America than in the many preceding decades.

Mr. Blackwill's principal contribution to Indo-U.S. relations lies in radically altering the discourse on three big issues — Kashmir, terrorism and nuclear proliferation — that bedevilled the bilateral relationship in the past.

That the Hurriyat leaders in Srinagar welcomed the departure of Mr. Blackwill tells us the story of Kashmir and Indo-U.S. relations. For decades now, the unstated assumption in New Delhi, Islamabad and Srinagar has been that shorn of all rhetoric, the U.S. position was tilted against India. Although the positive evolution of the U.S. line on Kashmir began in the final year of the Clinton Administration, it was Mr. Blackwill who forced a decisive shift in India's favour last year.

In pressing the Hurriyat to join the elections, in quickly endorsing the polls as "free and fair" after the first round and by refusing to see the Hurriyat leaders during his visit to Srinagar after the elections, Mr. Blackwill was signalling that the U.S. was no longer interested in playing games against India in Kashmir.

By cutting out the ambiguities in the U.S. position on Kashmir, which the State Department in Washington might have wanted to maintain for several reasons, Mr. Blackwill was building confidence between the two nations on an issue that was at the heart of the deep Indian distrust of America. Equally important was Mr. Blackwill's support to India in its war against terrorism. Mr. Blackwill showed up at Parliament after the gruesome attack at the end of 2001

and declared that December 13 and September 11 meant the one and the same thing.

Mr. Blackwill's insistence that there can be no fudging the question of terrorism in India forced an end to the "finer points" Washington used to make about the "complexity" of the Kashmir situation and Pakistan's sponsorship of terrorism.

For the first time in years, Washington acknowledged the sources of terrorism in Pakistan, held the Pakistani state responsible for its complicity and insisted that Is-

DIPLOMATIC NOTEBOOK

lamabad end cross-border terrorism on a permanent basis.

Through the 1990s all that India and Washington discussed between the two governments, and in the unending seminars at the Track-II level, was proliferation and its consequences for regional stability and global order. Mr. Blackwill's tenure saw an end to this dreary exercise. Over the last two years the focus of the nuclear dialogue between India and the U.S. has shifted to what was considered for long an absolute taboo in bilateral relations — how the two sides could cooperate in civilian nuclear and space programmes and promote high technology trade.

Underlying it was the dramatic change in the political perception promoted by Mr. Blackwill that India's nuclear arsenal need not be a problem for the U.S. but a long-term asset in building a stable balance of power in Asia.

Mr. Blackwill's tenure at Roosevelt House in New Delhi was not limited to changing the parameters of the old and difficult problems in bilateral relations. The U.S. envoy also sought to actively develop and sell in Washington and New Delhi a larger

framework for strategic partnership. For decades India and the U.S. talked endlessly about their desire to build a partnership. For Mr. Blackwill the question was no longer whether India and America should build a new relationship but how to go about laying the building blocks of such a political partnership.

India has long demanded a greater role for itself in world affairs and nursed the grouse that Washington was never interested. As Mr. Blackwill argued the case for larger Indian responsibilities in Asia, he faced resistance not only from Washington but also in New Delhi. If old thinking about India was the problem in Washington, the obsession with Pakistan often clouded the Indian approach.

Despite the many difficulties he encountered, Mr. Blackwill has succeeded in setting a new direction for Indo-U.S. relations. But there is some distance to go before the two sides can consolidate the gains under the Bush Administration. One can only hope that the U.S. President, George W. Bush, will send a new envoy who can continue to do the heavy-lifting that Mr. Blackwill has initiated.

Much has been written about the wrangling between Mr. Blackwill and the State Department on the core issues of Indo-U.S. relations. But good envoys are not merely managers of post offices for the governments. Even in the age of instant communications and jet-setting Presidents and Prime Ministers, a good ambassador can make a huge difference.

As the 16th century French essayist Michel de Montaigne wrote, "unswerving obedience fits only with precise and peremptory commands. Ambassadors have somewhat freer duties, the filling of which, in several respects, entirely depends on their own dispositions. They do not simply execute, but form and direct by their own advice, the will of their masters".

Armitage set to pump iron into slack ties

Brajesh Mishra will hold talks with US envoy at Heathrow stopover

By Chidanand Rajghatta
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Washington: Symbolic perhaps of the elaborate choreography and the need for both sides to meet half-way to mend a slightly frayed relationship, India's national security advisor Brajesh Mishra and US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage will confer in a Heathrow Airport lounge on May 6 as they cross paths heading to the other's country.

The exchange will precede a flurry of Indian visits to the US, including those of ministers Arun Jaitley, Arun Shourie and T.R. Baalu and culminating with deputy Prime Minister L.K. Advani's trip in June as the two sides try and overcome the loss of momentum in ties between the two countries.

Important changes, including finding replacements for the US ambassador and the deputy chief of mission in Delhi, are also on the cards. There is now a sudden sense of urgency to get things done since both countries will go into an election cycle in the summer/fall of 2004.

The first item on the agenda is to clear the air of misunderstanding that has crept in between the two sides. Washington has several gripes against New Delhi, principally the tendency of its ministers to shoot from the lip.

Indian ministers have thus rejected Indian bases for the US (when there wasn't even a request), predicted American demise in Iraq (when US troops were entering Baghdad) and made, according to the Americans, other gratuitous observations.

New Delhi also has its list

of complaints, starting with Washington's inability to deliver fully on Pakistan's commitment to dismantle the infrastructure of terrorism and the wiggle room the US has allowed Islamabad. Specifically, New Delhi was also angered at the timing and tone of the US advice (immediately after the Nadimarg massacre) that India should engage in talks with Pakistan.

● 'Washington must bring Pak to the negotiating table', Page 8

Hurriyat rejects peace-meal offer

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Srinagar: The Hurriyat Conference on Thursday rejected the Centre's peace initiative by refusing to talk to Kashmir interlocutor N.N. Vohra and accused the Vajpayee government of adopting "double standards" on the format of the talks.

The Hurriyat said it was futile to open a dialogue with a former government official, given the international importance of the Kashmir problem.

The decision to stay away from the talks with Mr Vohra was taken at a two-hour meeting of the Hurriyat's executive committee here.

Hurriyat leader Mohammad Yasin Malik said, "We will not talk to Mr Vohra as the government has adopted double standards regarding the format of the talks in Nagaland and Kashmir."

9/28/03
149-12

Speculation over Blackwill decision 'totally misplaced'

23/21

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, APRIL 22. The State Department is willing to go no farther than asserting that its Ambassador to India, Robert Blackwill, is quitting his post only to spend more time with his family and return to an academic life at the Harvard University. And that reports or speculation that there were policy reasons for the intending departure of Mr. Blackwill "is just totally misplaced", it is officially said.

At the State Department, the spokesman was asked about the resignation of "your rather colourful Ambassador to India". The response was along expected lines, including that Mr. Blackwill had put out a statement in New Delhi explaining

the motivations for his decision. "He and the Secretary of State, Colin Powell, discussed this some months ago, and the Secretary — and the President — was quite aware of the plans that Mr. Blackwill was making to return to his academic life", Richard Boucher remarked.

Mr. Boucher was pressed on a speculation in India that Mr. Blackwill was unhappy with the firmness of the American resolve on the terrorism issue with India and Pakistan and hence his decision to step down. "And any speculation that there are policy reasons for this resignation, I think, is just totally misplaced. No, it's not true", Mr. Boucher said.

The spokesman declined comment on either personality factors or about the Inspector

General's report of last year that apparently observed that morale at the New Delhi mission was low and much of this was on account of Mr. Blackwill's personality. "... He's leaving for the reasons that he described. He's discussed this with the Secretary over the past months. Those are the reasons, and I'll leave you with his statement", Mr. Boucher said.

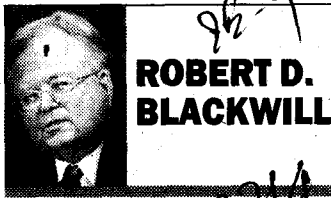
Mr. Blackwill's decision to leave his job in India has been taken note of by leading newspapers. *The New York Times* report called Mr. Blackwill "an unusually high profile Ambassador, often blunt in the advocacy of his positions" and described the kind of things that had taken place in his watch during the last two years — almost 100 members of the Cabi-

net and senior officials have visited India; the lifting of economic sanctions and at least six training exercises between the military forces of India and the U.S.

It has to be recalled that there was a lot of enthusiasm at the time of Mr. Blackwill's appointment to India because he was seen as being very close to the President, George W. Bush, by belonging to an inner circle of foreign policy advisors. And it is said that it will be weeks, if not months, before the White House comes up with its nomination who will then have to go through the confirmation process in the Senate. In fact, what is being pointed out is that Mr. Blackwill himself will not be leaving the post till perhaps the end of summer.

A Passage from India

As he heads back to Harvard, Blackwill says our 'consistently troubled bilateral past' is behind us and it's time to map the 'glittering future' of Indo-US relations



ROBERT D. BLACKWILL

THIS past January, while in Washington, I informed President Bush, Secretary of State Powell, Secretary of Defence Rumsfeld and National Security Advisor Rice that I would be going back to the faculty at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government near the end of this summer to continue my academic career. I will thus join my illustrious colleague, John Kenneth Galbraith, in proudly representing my country for two years as American Ambassador to India, and then returning to Harvard to teach and to write.

It has been a special privilege to serve the President over the past four years, first during the 2000 Presidential Campaign, and then as US Ambassador to India. In naming me as his envoy to this magnificent country, President Bush did me a great honour. I have tried to justify his confidence by energetically promoting his vision of India as a rising great power of the 21st century, and his primary goal of the world's oldest and largest democracies operating together to transform their relations, to forge concentrated strategic collaboration for the decades ahead.

Under the leadership of President Bush and Prime Minister Vajpayee, Washington and New Delhi have made enormous strides to achieve this aim. I said in my Senate confirmation hearings that international peace, prosperity and freedom would be further advanced if the relationship between the United States and India were fundamentally transformed. In partnership with an accomplished Mission staff of Americans and Indians, I can say with certainty that this is occurring powerfully each day between the two nations. Before US-India transformation began, it was

rare for members of a President's Cabinet and senior American officials to visit India. Almost a hundred have come in the past two years.

Two years ago, there were economic sanctions applied by the United States against India related to its 1998 nuclear tests. Today, those sanctions are long gone. Two years ago, the American and Indian militaries conducted no joint operations. Today, they have completed six major training exercises, and our defense cooperation flourishes. American and Indian counterparts now intensively engage across a broad spectrum of other essential subjects: fighting terrorism, diplomatic collaboration, intelligence exchange, law enforcement, development assistance, the global environment,

overlapping vital national interests in promoting peace and freedom in Asia, slowing the spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction, and combating international terrorism.

With respect to the global war on terrorism, President Bush emphasises that this scourge threatens both our values and our interests. As I have said many times during my stay in India, the fight against international terrorism will not be won until terrorism against India ends permanently. There can be no other legitimate stance by the United States, no American compromise whatever on this elemental geopolitical and moral truth. The United States, India and all civilised nations must have zero tolerance for terrorism. Otherwise, we sink into a swamp of

“As I have said during my stay in India, the fight against international terrorism will not be won until terrorism against India ends permanently. There can be no other legitimate stance by the US, no American compromise whatever on this elemental geopolitical and moral truth. US, India and all civilised nations must have zero tolerance for terrorism”

HIV/AIDS and other public health problems. Two years ago, American and Indian policymakers did not address together the important issues of cooperative high technology trade, civil space activity, and civilian nuclear power. Today, all three are under continuing bilateral discussion. And in addition, there has been crisis management from time to time along the way concerning tensions in South Asia.

With President Bush and Prime Minister Vajpayee showing the route, and buttressed by the Indian American community in the United States and the US Congress, our consistently troubled bilateral past is behind us. In my view, close and cooperative relations between the United States and India will thrive in the decades ahead most crucially because of the convergence of common democratic values and vital national interests. We have

moral relativism and strategic myopia. As was so often the case, the late Daniel Patrick Moynihan put it best, “reason and careful moral reflection...teach us that there are times when the first and the most important reply to evil is to stop it.”

There is another issue on which together we must try harder. As I used to teach students in my course on strategy at Harvard University and will soon do so again, national economic strength is a prerequisite for sustained diplomatic influence and military muscle. Therefore, I hope for a robust India economic performance in the years ahead, and for a sharp increase in US-India trade and American investment in India. Promoting US business has been one of my major preoccupations as Ambassador to India.

The US-India relationship has a glittering future. To play a part in advancing this cause under President Bush's direction has been my duty, my pleasure and my encompassing strategic conviction. In that context, I particularly thank senior members of

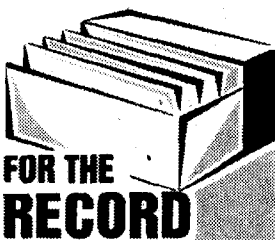
the Indian Government for their unflinching generosity to me as I have carried out my official duties. I especially have in mind Prime Minister Vajpayee, Deputy Prime Minister Advani, Finance Minister Singh, External Affairs Minister Sinha, Defense Minister Fernandes, and Principal Secretary and National Security Advisor Mishra. I would also like to express my appreciation to the leader of the Opposition, Mrs Gandhi, for her many courtesies to me.

Around this vast land, I have met men and women of superlative talent, of consummate entrepreneurial and political skill, individuals committed to helping their fellow citizens. Countless Indians from every part of society have given me their assistance, their views, and their hopes and dreams for stronger bonds between our two nations. I am grateful to them as we all recognise that people-to-people ties are at the heart of the US-India relationship.

For my wife Wera Hildebrand and myself, getting to know something about this fabulous country has been one of life's pinnacles. From North Block and South Block to the valleys of Assam to the spare splendor of Rajasthan's deserts and Mumbai's exuberance, from the mountains of Kashmir to the Golden Temple to Kutch and Bangalore's IT dynamism, all that is India compels us. How could it not, for to quote Mark Twain, “India is the cradle of the human race, the birthplace of human speech, the mother of history, the grandmother of legend, and the great grandmother of tradition. Our most valuable and most instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India.”

But we miss our five children in the United States. We have one grandchild there and, praise be, two more on the way. We are attached to our home in Cambridge and to our friends in America. Harvard beckons. So during this coming New England winter, our vivid and lasting memories of India — its people, its culture, its beauty — will warm us as we face the snows. Mother India has marked us deeply and only for the better — for all time.

—The above is the full text of the US ambassador's statement



Brajesh Mishra begins talks in U.S.

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

9/5/03
HD-11
9/5
WASHINGTON, MAY 8. India's National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra, begins two days of intensive and extensive discussions with senior officials of the Bush administration on global, regional and bilateral issues.

He will have separate meetings with the Chairman of the National Economic Council, Steve Friedman, and his counterpart, Condoleezza Rice, at the White House. He will also speak at a function organised by the American Jewish Committee. Others participating in the event include the Prime Minister of Spain, the Vice-President of El Salvador and the White House Chief of Staff, Andrew Card.

On Friday, Mr. Mishra is scheduled to meet the Secretary of State, Colin Powell, the Deputy Secretary of Defence, Paul Wolfowitz, and have interactions with leading figures of the think tanks.

He will also meet members of the media.

Mr. Mishra could also be seeing lawmakers, the specifics of which are being worked out. Given what has taken place in the last few days in the subcontinent, a key aspect of Mr. Mishra's discussions here, at least at the political level, will have to do with Indo-Pak. relations, the steps towards rapprochement and reduction of tensions. He has already had discussions on the issue with the Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, in London.

But both the State Department and the White House would want to hear first hand on the broader framework that India and Pakistan may be having in mind.

Bilaterally, the focus will be on a number of areas, especially enhanced cooperation in high technology. Mr. Mishra is expected to address three areas: nuclear energy cooperation, civilian space cooperation and high technology exports.



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09 MAY 2003

Brajesh to focus on n-question during talks in U.S.

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, MAY 4. As the National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra, heads for Washington tonight for an intensive round of consultations with the Bush administration, the new excitement in India-Pakistan relations could easily mask a more important item on his agenda — the nuclear question.

Undoubtedly, the reduction of tensions in the subcontinent, preparing the ground for a sustainable India-Pakistan dialogue and exploring the opportunities for political cooperation in Iraq will get a lot of attention in Mr. Mishra's talks.

Besides meeting the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, in London, Mr. Mishra will have wide-ranging talks with a number of top officials, including his American counterpart, Condoleezza Rice, at the White House.

Since last year, Mr. Mishra has become the point man for pushing Indo-U.S. bilateral cooperation in four areas — civil nuclear energy, commercial space programmes, high technology trade and missile defence. Getting some concrete movement on the "technology quartet" will be the key to demonstrating that the Indo-U.S. engagement is on track.

Mr. Mishra's visit comes amid an important American debate on the future of the

global nuclear order. The U.S. President, George W. Bush, is likely to make a major speech on the changing U.S. approach to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and arms control in the coming days.

After the successful regime change in Iraq, the U.S. now is seriously focussed on the ways and means of reworking the non-proliferation regime to make it more relevant to our times. Mr. Bush's speech is likely to reflect the essence of the internal review in the administration on non-proliferation issues.

At the conceptual level, the views of India and America on non-proliferation have converged as never before. Both agree that the biggest future challenge to international security is rooted in the deadly combination of WMD and terrorism. They also agree that there is an urgent need to explore innovative ways of dealing with this problem. They recognise that the old non-proliferation order with its welter of treaties is fraying and can no longer be the sole instrument to deal with the new security challenges.

As Mr. Armitage pointed out in a recent speech, "and yet, the system we have in place for dealing with such proliferation challenges does not really offer solutions for these problems". Both countries agree on the importance of missile defence and

the need to develop military capabilities and doctrines such as "counter-proliferation" to deal with the spread of WMD to irresponsible regimes and terrorist groups. India has been one of the biggest victims of terrorism, the proliferation of WMD to and from its neighbours, and the link between the two of them. As a consequence, it has a strong stake in transforming the global nuclear order to make it more effective.

While this is fully understood in the Bush administration, the prospects of Indo-U.S. arms control cooperation are being constantly undermined by the non-proliferation apparatus in Washington.

The traditionalist arms controllers in Washington, resistant as they are to new thinking, have tended to see India as part of the problem rather than the solution in managing the threats from the spread of WMD.

As a result, the promises from the highest political level in the Bush administration to quicken the flows of advanced technology to India have been stymied at the bureaucratic level.

The tasks for Mr. Mishra are to solidify the strategic understanding with the Bush administration on the imperatives of a new nuclear order, pave the way for a common agenda on arms control and facilitate expansive defence and technological cooperation between the two countries.

Indo-US - Relations

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US points Libya finger at Delhi

(G-1) K.P. NAYAR 18A

Washington, April 12: As America turns its attention to other countries with weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the wake of its military success against Iraq, allegations about New Delhi's help to Libya's missile programme have come under the scanner in Washington.

A report to the US Congress yesterday by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) on the acquisition of WMD technology by nations across the globe alleged that Indian entities have helped Libya develop ballistic missiles.

The report said the "suspension of UN sanctions in 1999 allowed Libya to expand its efforts to obtain ballistic missile-related equipment, materials,

technology, and expertise from foreign sources".

It said outside help is critical to these programmes and with assistance from India, Serbia, Iran, North Korea and China, Libya will soon have medium-range ballistic missile or extended-range Scud capability.

The CIA report to the Congress on countries acquiring nuclear, chemical and biological weapons as well as advanced conventional munitions is mandated under America's Intelligence Authorisation Act and the period covered by yesterday's report is the first half of 2002.

In these reports, the CIA usu-

ally puts out the bare minimum that it has to share with lawmakers to meet legislative mandate and, therefore, yesterday's report is silent on details of Indian missile assistance to Libya.

It is clear, however, that the spy agency has much more details about India's alleged help to Libya, which it has not made public.

A week before the US launched its first air attack on Baghdad, the state department announced penalties on an Indian company, Protech Consultants Pvt. Ltd, for "knowingly and materially contributing to Iraq's chemical and biological weapons programme".

In February,

the Americans imposed sanctions on another Indian company, NEC Engineers Pvt. Ltd, and its president Hans Raj Shiv for the same reasons.

In the past, such penalties were, more often than not, symbolic and governments or entities which faced them took these in their stride. But after the war in Iraq, such allegations have a more sinister ring and the expectation here is that the CIA report will be seen as such in New Delhi.

The CIA told the Congress: "Chinese entities continued to provide Pakistan with missile-related technical and material assistance.... Pakistan has been moving toward domestic serial production of solid-propellant short-range ballistic missiles with the help of Chinese entities".

QUOTE

I hold the American troops responsible

A MUSEUM OFFICIAL
on the looting

Washington raps India for attacks on minorities

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

9/21/02
New Delhi: The US State Department's human rights report for 2002 has said that the "worst religious violence" in India that year was directed against Muslims in Gujarat.

The report released by the state department on Tuesday says that while the Central government "generally respected the provisions of a secular government and the protection of religious freedoms", it sometimes "did not act effectively to counter societal attacks against religious minorities and attempts by state and local governments to limit religious freedom".

In its section on religious freedom, the report states that the "ineffective investigation and prosecution of attacks on religious minorities was interpreted by some extremist elements as a signal that such violence would go unpunished," the report states.

The external affairs ministry offered no comment on the conclusions of the report.

In the context of Gujarat, the report states that it was "alleged widely that the police and the state government in Gujarat did little to stop the violence promptly and at times even encouraged or assisted Hindu fundamentalists in perpetrating violent acts."

Citing allegations made by NGOs, the report states that the Gujarat state government and the police were "criticised for failing to stop the violence and in some cases for participating in or encouraging it."

The report also cites chief minister Narendra Modi's remarks to police officials to allow Hindus to react to Godhra

21/4
peacefully, and his September speech denigrating Muslims.

The report mentions that though there was no national law barring proselytising, "the government refused to admit new resident foreign missionaries. New arrivals entered as tourists on short-term visas". State officials, it is reported, "refused to allow missionaries to enter North Eastern states on grounds of political instability".

In the context of Gujarat, the report states that it was "alleged widely that the police and the state government in Gujarat did little to stop the violence promptly and at times even encouraged or assisted Hindu fundamentalists in perpetrating violent acts"

It also notes the passage of the controversial prohibition of forcible religious conversion bill by Tamil Nadu.

The report states that Christian leaders noted a slight decrease in the incidents of violence against the community, though attacks continued.

In Christian majority areas, Christians sometimes were the oppressors, it notes. It also notes that Hindus were victims of violence as with the attack on the Swaminarayan temple and attacks on Hindus in Jammu and Kashmir.

The report states that the degree to which the BJP's nationalist Hindu agenda was felt throughout the country with respect to religious minorities varied depending on the region.

THE TELEGRAPH

2 APR 2002

JOURNALISM of COURAGE

The Indian EXPRESS

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US envoy Blackwill pays for his pro-India line

■ **MASSACHUSETTS** | Returns to Harvard, pro-Pak group in State Dept pulled plug

JYOTI MALHOTRA
NEW DELHI, APRIL 21

IN the end, even his personal friendship with the President could not help the Professor save his job in New Delhi. Robert Blackwill, the US ambassador to India who announced his resignation today, was left with little choice but to take that return ticket to Harvard because of his constant and increasingly unpleasant run-ins with a US State Department that sought to openly wear its

predilection for Pakistan on its sleeve. The last time a genteel exchange of views between India and the US — led, respectively, by foreign secretary Kanwal Sibal and US assistant secretary of state for South Asia Christina Rocca — degenerated into the diplomatic version of a boxing bout, there was so much blood on the floor that hardened

diplomats on both sides were shocked into silence. Most of the blood, it now turns out, was Blackwill's.

It happened in early February when Sibal flew to Washington for talks with the American establishment. Rocca, a former CIA operative with little or no experience of South Asia when she came to this job a couple of years ago, confronted Sibal



with the "fact" that New Delhi was deliberately turning up the tension with Pakistan by threatening to take "strong measures". Rocca cited Ambassador Blackwill's cables from New Delhi to Washington in support of her accusation. Blackwill's comments were, in fact, just underlining the Indian government's position. Sibal, unwilling to take the blame for a plan of action that was supposed to be more feint than fact, was forced to deny the substance of Blackwill's

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

■ **His parting shot is aimed at US policy**

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, APRIL 21

THE strong statement of US Ambassador Robert Blackwill on terrorism (See page 9) is not aimed only at his Indian audience but also carries a message for the US State Department that still believes in maintaining strategic parity in the sub-continent.

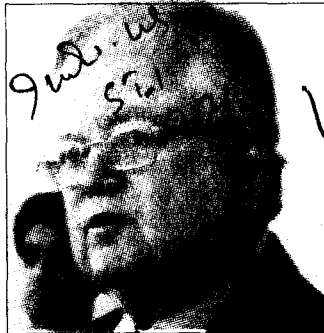
His words that "fight against international terrorism will not be won until terrorism against India ends permanently and there can be no other legitimate

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

stance by the US, no American compromise whatever on this elemental geopolitical and moral truth" are crucial.

In fact, South Block believes Blackwill was forced to leave his job as he was frustrated at the State Department's attempts to view the sub-continent through the prism of India-Pakistan relationship. This was clearly not Blackwill's goal as his vision was the "world's oldest and largest democracies operating together to transform their relations, to

Blackwill quits, will go back to Harvard



Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, April 21. — US ambassador to India Mr Robert D Blackwill today announced his decision to quit and return home to resume his academic career at Harvard University. Mr Blackwill, a political appointee and friend of Mr George W Bush, has barely completed two years in India — when he arrived here, post-Pokhran American economic sanctions against India were still in place.

No successor to Mr Blackwill has been named. A US embassy spokesman said: "We don't have a firm date at present (on when Mr Blackwill is due to leave)." The sudden announcement led to speculation that Mr Blackwill had been recalled. But the embassy spokesman said the decision was "personal".

Mr Blackwill said he was returning to the John F Kennedy School of Government, Harvard, and that he had informed the President in January. "I will thus join my illustrious colleague, John K Galbraith, in proudly representing my country for two years as American ambassador to India and then returning to Harvard to teach and to write."

Being asked to play a part in advancing bilateral ties under President Bush's direction had been "my duty, my pleasure," Mr Blackwill said.

THE STATESMAN

22 APR 2001

Fight against terror won't be won until terrorism against India ends: Blackwill

The following is a statement by the U.S. Ambassador to India, Robert D. Blackwill, in New Delhi announcing his desire to leave his post and return to academic career at the Harvard University:

This past January while in Washington, I informed President Bush, Secretary of State Powell, Secretary of Defence Rumsfeld and National Security Adviser Rice that I would be going back to the faculty at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government near the end of this summer to continue my academic career. I will thus join my illustrious colleague, John Kenneth Galbraith, in proudly representing my country for two years as American Ambassador to India, and then returning to Harvard to teach and to write.

It has been a special privilege to serve the President over the past four years, first during the 2000 Presidential Campaign, and then as the U.S. Ambassador to India. In naming me as his envoy to this magnificent country, President Bush did me a great honour. I have tried to justify his confidence by energetically promoting his vision of India as a rising great power of the 21st century, and his primary goal of the world's oldest and largest democracies operating together to transform their relations, to forge concentrated strategic collaboration for the decades ahead.

Under the leadership of President Bush and Prime Minister Vajpayee, Washington and New Delhi have made enormous strides to achieve this aim. I said in my Senate confirmation hearings that international peace, prosperity and freedom would be further advanced if the relationship between the United States and India were fundamentally transformed. In partnership with an accomplished Mission staff of Americans and Indians, I can say with certainty that this is occurring powerfully each day between the two nations.

Before the U.S.-India transformation began, it was rare for members of a President's Cabinet and senior American officials to visit India. Almost a hundred have come in the past two years. Two years ago, there were economic sanctions applied by the United States against India related to its 1998 nuclear tests. Today, those sanctions are long gone. Two years ago, the American and Indian militaries conducted no joint operations. Today, they have completed six major training exercises, and our defence cooperation flourishes. American and Indian counterparts now intensively engage across a broad spectrum of other

essential subjects: fighting terrorism, diplomatic collaboration, intelligence exchange, law enforcement, development assistance, the global environment, HIV/AIDS and other public health problems. Two years ago, American and Indian policymakers did not address together the important issues of cooperative high technology trade, civil space activity and civilian nuclear power. Today, all three are under continuing bilateral discussion. And in addition, there has been crisis management from time to time along the way concerning tensions in South Asia.

With President Bush and Prime Minister Vajpayee showing the route and buttressed by the Indian American community in the United States and the U.S. Congress, our consistently troubled bilateral past is being transformed. In my view, close and cooperative relations between the United States and India will thrive in the decades ahead most because of the convergence of democratic values and vital national interests. We have overlapping vital national interests in promoting peace and freedom in Asia, slowing the spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction, and combating international terrorism.

With respect to the global war on terrorism, President Bush emphasises that this scourge threatens both our values and our interests. As I have said many times during my stay in India, the fight against international terrorism will not be won until terrorism against India ends permanently. There can be no other legitimate stance by the United States, no American compromise whatever on this elemental geopolitical and moral truth. The United States, India and all civilised nations must have zero tolerance for terrorism. Otherwise, we sink into a swamp of moral relativism and strategic myopia. As was so often the case, the late Daniel Patrick Moynihan put it best, "reason and careful moral reflection... teach us that there are times when the first and the most important reply to evil is to stop it."

There is another issue on which together we must try harder.

As I used to teach students in my course on strategy at Harvard University and will soon do so again, national economic strength is a prerequisite for sustained diplomatic influence and military muscle.

Therefore, I hope for a robust India economic performance in the years ahead, and for a sharp increase in U.S.-India trade and American investment in India. Promoting U.S. business has been one of my major preoccupations while Ambassador to India.

The U.S.-India relationship has a glittering future. To play a part in advancing this cause under President Bush's direction has been my duty, my pleasure and my encompassing strategic conviction.

In that context, I particularly thank senior members of the Indian Government for their unfailing generosity to me as I have carried out my official duties.

I especially have in mind Prime Minister Vajpayee, Deputy Prime Minister Advani, Finance Minister Singh, External Affairs Minister Sinha, Defence Minister Fernandes, and Principal Secretary and National Security Adviser Mishra. I would also like to express my appreciation to the Leader of the Opposition, Mrs. Gandhi, for her many courtesies to me.

Around this vast land, I have met men and women of superlative talent, of consummate entrepreneurial and political skill, individuals committed to helping their fellow citizens. Countless Indians from every part of society have given me their assistance, their views, and their hopes and dreams for stronger bonds between our two nations. I am grateful to them as we all recognise that people-to-people ties are at the heart of the U.S.-India relationship.

For my wife Wera Hildebrand and myself, getting to know something about this fabulous country has been one of life's pinnacles. From North Block and South Block to the valleys of Assam to the spare splendour of Rajasthan's deserts and Mumbai's exuberance, from the mountains of Kashmir to the Golden Temple to Kutch and Bangalore's IT dynamism, all that is India compels us.

How could it not, for to quote Mark Twain,

"India is,
the cradle of the human race,
the birthplace of human speech,
the mother of history,
the grandmother of legend,
and the great grand mother of tradition.

Our most valuable and most instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India."

But we miss our five children in the United States. We have one grandchild there and, praise be, two more on the way. We are attached to our home in Cambridge and to our friends in America. Harvard beckons. So during this coming New England winter, our vivid and lasting memories of India — its people, its culture, its beauty — will warm us as we face the snows.

Mother India has marked us deeply and only for the better — for all time.

Sinha calls up Powell

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, April 16. After a week of talking past each other through the media, the External Affairs Minister, Yashwant Sinha, and the United States Secretary of State, Colin Powell, re-established direct communication today.

In a telephonic call initiated by India, the two leaders discussed late this evening the unfolding situation in Iraq and reviewed the developments in the subcontinent. The conversation lasted half an hour.

Mr. Sinha was among the top diplomats that Mr. Powell has been regularly in touch to discuss major international issues. Mr. Sinha and Mr. Powell have enjoyed an excellent personal rapport.

The American preoccupation with the

war in Iraq, and India's somewhat chaotic response to the U.S. effort to oust Saddam Hussein, seemed to create a needless hiatus in the communication between the two countries.

Diplomatic observers here have also been pointing to a growing rift between New Delhi and Washington over India's proclaimed right for a pre-emptive war against Islamabad similar to the American action in Iraq. The U.S. has refused to accept a comparison between Iraq and Pakistan.

Despite the complications created by the resolutions on Iraq in Parliament last week, New Delhi has to explore ways to re-establish its presence in a post-Saddam Iraq.

India and the U.S. also need a shared understanding on how best to deal with the

sources of extremism and terrorism in Pakistan, as cross-border infiltration in Jammu and Kashmir begins to rise this summer.

While officials are tight-lipped about the details of the conversation between Mr. Sinha and Mr. Powell, the assessment here is that a renewed engagement at the high political level should help restore trust and confidence between New Delhi and Washington.

If the public statements over the last few days have cast a shadow over Indo-U.S. relations, today's frank conversation between the two leaders is being seen here as a long overdue diplomatic exercise to arrest the dangerous slide in the ties between the two nations.

9/20/03

US ties force Delhi to walk Iraq tightrope

PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, March 16: India's muted criticism of America's war-mongering in Iraq can be traced to its fear of jeopardising "excellent" relations with the US and its refusal to create a situation where Pakistan may have an edge in dealing with the Bush administration.

"We don't want to become vassals of the US. Neither do we want to declare our criticism of the Americans from the rooftops," a senior leader said. He said Delhi's nuances in its stand on the crisis were based on "safeguarding national interests and not on the ideology of the Cold War".

South Block is worried public criticism of the US stand on Iraq may cast a shadow on its relations with the Americans and also stem the upswing in their ties.

Delhi also needs Washington solidly behind it if its Kashmir policy is to be heard by the international community and to ensure Pakistan is not given any leeway to increase militant activities in the strife-torn state and elsewhere in the country.

India's stand on Iraq is based on four elements. First, it wants a peaceful resolution of the Iraqi crisis. Second, it wants the UN to take the final decision on what needs to be done about Iraq.

Third, it wants Iraq's "full and complete" compliance with UN Security Council resolution 1441. And fourth, it wants the sanctions on Iraq lifted once the UN is satisfied about Baghdad's compliance with the resolution.

The US does not appear to have a problem with the Indian stand. Senior US officials have, in fact, emphasised that Delhi's and Washington's positions on the crisis are almost identical.

Whether this is an exaggeration or not, indications are clear

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dle path". This, in effect, means that though Delhi talks of a peaceful resolution of the crisis, it stops short of an anti-war stand.

Moreover, its opposition to "unilateralism" in favour of UN's "multilateralism" is combined with the stress on "Iraq" complete and full compliance with resolution 1441.

In the entire statement of the Prime Minister, the US has not been named even once. This is a deliberate move as even at the recent Non-Aligned Movement summit in Kuala Lumpur, India played a key role in ensuring the US was not named in the resolution on Iraq passed by the developing countries.

Indian leaders have been "more candid" in expressing their views on the Iraqi crisis during private conversations with US leaders, sources say.

During his recent telephone conversation with President George W. Bush, Vajpayee made it clear that India would not be able to support Washington if it went ahead with military action against Iraq without the Council's approval.

Vajpayee also did not hesitate to point out that Bush's proposed tough action would "enrage" a large number of people both within and outside India, particularly Muslims.

Indian leaders want to make it clear that those opposing the US stand should be objective in their views on the Iraqi President. "Saddam Hussein is no angel and this is something we should not forget. But that does not mean we support the proposed military action of the US in Iraq," a senior Indian leader said.

Another reason for India's guarded criticism of the US is the likelihood of a last-minute "patch-up" between Washington and its Western allies.

But even if the US goes to war

17 APR 2003

THE TELEGRAPH

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By C. Raja Mohan

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Sinha calls up Powell

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17 APR 2003

THE HINDU

US points Libya finger at Delhi

9 Apr 03

K.P. NAVAR

Washington, April 12: As America turns its attention to other countries with weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the wake of its military success against Iraq, allegations about New Delhi's help to Libya's missile programme have come under the scanner in Washington.

A report to the US Congress yesterday by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) on the acquisition of WMD technology by nations across the globe alleged that Indian entities have helped Libya develop ballistic missiles.

The report said the "suspension of UN sanctions in 1999 allowed Libya to expand its efforts to obtain ballistic missile-related equipment, materials,

technology, and expertise from foreign sources".

It said outside-help is critical to these programmes and with assistance from India, Serbia, Iran, North Korea and China, Libya will soon have medium-range ballistic missile or extended-range Scud capability.

The CIA report to the Congress on countries acquiring nuclear, chemical and biological weapons as well as advanced conventional munitions is mandated under America's Intelligence Authorisation Act and the period covered by yesterday's report is the first half of 2002.

In these reports, the CIA usu-

ally puts out the bare minimum that it has to share with lawmakers to meet legislative mandate and, therefore, yesterday's report is silent on details of Indian missile assistance to Libya.

It is clear, however, that the spy agency has much more detail about India's alleged help to Libya, which it has not made public.

A week before the US launched its first air attack on Baghdad, the state department announced penalties on an Indian com-

pany, Protech Consultants Pvt. Ltd, for "knowingly and materially contributing to Iraq's chemical and biological weapons programme". In February,

the Americans imposed sanctions on another Indian company, NEC Engineers Pvt. Ltd, and its president Hans Ramesh for the same reasons.

In the past, such companies were, more often than not, public and government entities which faced them in their stride. But in Iraq, such allegations are more sinister ring and the attention here is that the will be seen as such in

The CIA told the "Chinese entities provide Pakistan related technical assistance... Pakistan moving toward domestic production of solid short-range ballistic missiles with the help of Chinese

QUOTE

India hold the American troops responsible

A MISLEADING OFFICIAL on the *London*

'U.S. charges on WMD proved wrong'

By Our Special Correspondent

KOLKATA, APRIL 12. The Defence Minister, George Fernandes, said here today that the United States was wrong in accusing Iraq of possessing weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

"It is now proved that Washington was not right when it charged Baghdad with stockpiling WMD," he commented to the press after inaugurating the 101st annual general meeting of the Merchants Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Fernandes criticised the U.S. for constantly shifting its position for the sake of war — first it said Baghdad concealed WMD and then saying that ousting Saddam Hussein from the seat of power was its objective.

To a question on whether the U.S. could be charged with double standards for attacking Iraq, on the one hand, and maintaining silence on Pakistan, even when that country unleashed terrorists on India, on the other, Mr. Fernandes said: "What has

happened in Iraq cannot be accepted. You can call it double standards or anything."

It was difficult to pinpoint the exact time when the war would end. "The war in Iraq is continuing since 1991 with the U.S. attacking the country on a regular basis," he said.

Lakhs of Iraqi men, women and children had died because of lack of food and medicine in the past 10 years. "When we say this war has entered its 30th day, it does not make any sense."

The war would have a global impact, affecting the economy of many countries. He criticised the U.S. for waging the war defying the U.N. charter.

Mr. Fernandes said Washington was favouring Pakistan, "the pioneer of terrorism". "It is a pity that Pakistan is backed by the U.S. which has waged a war on terrorism."

On re-building the war-ravaged Iraq, Mr. Fernandes said India would like to involve in the relief and rehabilitation work there.

Indo-U.S. dialogue on Pakistan?

By C. Raja Mohan

10-10 10/4

THE UNITED States cannot force India into an engagement with Pakistan that it does not want. And New Delhi cannot engineer a change in Islamabad's behaviour without help from Washington. These two simple realities and their common stake in a moderate and modernising Pakistan demand a substantive conversation between the Indian Government and the Bush administration before a dialogue between New Delhi and Islamabad could begin.

If New Delhi and Washington do not arrive at a shared approach on Pakistan, it is inevitable that the subcontinent will drift towards a renewed military confrontation this summer. An important casualty of this confrontation could be the upward trend in Indo-U.S. relations that has been seen under the Bush administration. The Pakistan factor is once again clouding Indo-U.S. relations, amid growing frustrations in both New Delhi and Washington.

In India, there is rising disenchantment at the American unwillingness or inability to deliver Pakistan on cross-border terrorism. This is compounded by renewed calls from Washington for a dialogue with Pakistan. New Delhi says it stood down in the military confrontation with Islamabad last summer following assurances from the highest level in Washington that the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, had promised to put an end to infiltration of terrorists on a permanent basis. Having failed to get Gen. Musharraf to keep his promise, the Government argues, the U.S. has no business to push India into an engagement with Pakistan.

Conceding that Pakistan-sponsored infiltration has not come down, the Bush administration says it is maintaining the pressure on Islamabad to uphold the commitments made last summer to end cross-border terrorism. It is also urging Pakistan to discourage acts of violence and terrorism in Kashmir. But Washington is concerned that the absence of any engagement between India and Pakistan leaves the initiative entirely in the hands of terrorists, who could spark another round of military tensions in the subcontinent which

India has many good reasons to complain about apparent American double standards in the war against terrorism... But it needs the U.S. in making Pakistan adopt a new political course.

could turn nuclear. Avoiding such a conflict has always been at the top of American priorities in the region.

The only way of breaking this stalemate is in an intensive round of Indo-U.S. consultations on regional security. Such a dialogue must include issues relating to both substance and process. On substance, the key divergence relates to the assessment of the role of the armed forces and the importance of Gen. Musharraf in moving Pakistan in a positive direction. On process, the key questions relate to sequence and timing of a series of steps, such as a ceasefire that India and Pakistan could adopt in managing their difficult relations.

The U.S. believes that Gen. Musharraf and Pakistan's armed forces are the key to gaining Pakistani cooperation in the war against terrorism. India argues that the source of the problem lies with Gen. Musharraf and the compulsive hostility of the armed forces towards India. The Government points to the contradiction between the proclaimed American objectives of stability in Afghanistan and the improvement of Indo-Pak. relations, on the one hand, and the enduring links of the Pakistani Army with the forces of extremism, on the other. Despite the assessment in Washington that Pakistan is a stalwart ally in the war against terrorism, and an occasional "gift" of wanted terrorists from Gen. Musharraf, the Taliban and the Al-Qaeda are regrouping inside the Pakistani territory. This could not happen without the connivance of at least a section of the Pakistani establishment. Similarly, despite the many entreaties of the U.S. and the U.K., the military in Pakistan continues to support violence and infiltration in Jammu and Kashmir.

The U.S. cannot achieve its regional objectives without a more forceful policy towards Pakistan on the question of terrorism in Afghanistan and

India. To suggest that the U.S. does not have enough leverage is not credible at a time when Washington has stepped up its economic assistance to Islamabad and written off a billion dollars of its debt. The apparent American unwillingness to confront Pakistan on any issue raises deeper concerns in New Delhi about the nature of the emerging relationship between Washington and Islamabad.

The meek American response to Pakistan's brazen nuclear and missile cooperation with North Korea confirms the worst suspicions about American intentions in New Delhi. And a return to the tone of "evenhandedness" in the public statements from the U.S. State Department about the situation in the subcontinent brings out all the old bile in New Delhi about extraordinary American tolerance of the violation of all norms on terrorism and the proliferation by Pakistan. Amid the slowdown of progress in bilateral relations between India and the U.S., America's apparent benign attitude towards Pakistan raises the threat of a return to the past in the triangular relations between New Delhi, Washington and Islamabad.

India has many good reasons to complain about apparent American double standards in the war against terrorism. But it would be unproductive for New Delhi to return to the past unproductive mode of public argumentation with Washington. India, too, needs the U.S. in making Pakistan adopt a new political course. India's engagement with Pakistan has come to nothing in the last few years. And on its own, it is not in a position to force Pakistan to give up cross-border terrorism as evident from the experience at Lahore and Agra.

It was only due to the intense Anglo-American involvement in the management of the crisis last year that Gen. Musharraf came up with verbal assurances on not allowing

terrorism from Pakistani soil in the name of Kashmir (January 2002), and ending infiltration on a permanent basis (June 2002). India still needs the cooperation of Washington and London to make these promises a reality. While India is right in saying that the Anglo-American powers have not done enough, it would not be accurate to suggest that they have done nothing at all. Their effort to defuse the Indo-Pak. crisis last summer saw a significant evolution of the Anglo-American position on Kashmir — in relation to both the internal and external dimensions. Their endorsement of the elections in the State as free and fair, their support to the new Government in Srinagar, and the readiness to hold Pakistan responsible for terrorism and violence in Kashmir, and their insistence on the sanctity of the Line of Control are all of great value to India.

The way out of an impending war between India and Pakistan requires, first and foremost, a serious engagement between New Delhi and Washington. The two sides need to have a frank dialogue on the internal situation in Pakistan and on how best to nudge it in the right direction. There has been too much public posturing by both sides and too little conversation on changing the dynamics of the triangular relationship. Absent, too, has been transparency on each side's dealings with Pakistan. Without regenerating a level of political comfort and trust between India and the U.S. it would be impossible to conceive and orchestrate a series of reciprocal steps between India and Pakistan to defuse the imminent conflict in the region. Once India and the U.S. begin such a dialogue, the questions will relate to America demonstrating greater realism on Pakistan and India coming up with a more credible strategy towards its recalcitrant neighbour. Washington cannot hope that mere statements will make Pakistan end cross-border terrorism in Afghanistan and India. New Delhi cannot convince the world that all its options short of a war have been exhausted in relation to Pakistan. It should not be impossible for India and the U.S. to come up with a number of agreed steps that could alter the nature of Indo-Pak. relations.

10 APR 2003

THE HINDU

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U.S. encouraging terrorism: BJP

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, APRIL 7. The Bharatiya Janata Party today directly accused the United States of "encouraging terrorism" instead of fighting it, by rewarding Pakistan, which has used terrorism as an instrument of state policy, with a recently-announced \$ one billion debt write-off.

The party, which had supported its Government joining the U.S.-led global campaign against terrorism after September 11, 2001, was critical of the U.S. although there was no direct response from its spokesperson, Vijay Kumar Malhotra, when he was asked whether the Vajpayee Government would now declare that it is no longer a partner in that global campaign. "Whatever the Government is doing is right," he said.

Mr. Malhotra took exception to America's objection to a recent statement by the External Affairs Minister, Yashwant Sinha, that India had more reason to militarily attack Pakistan than the U.S. had for attacking Iraq.

The party spokesperson charged the U.S. of "going back on its promise to tackle Pakistan after the war against Afghanistan," but did not say when and where the Americans had given such an assurance.

When asked whether India would support military action by the U. S. against Pakistan, Mr. Malhotra said "it should be done with United Nations approval," for there was no doubt that Pakistan was the "epicentre of terrorism" and the U.S. softness towards Pakistan was encouraging terrorism and "helping the leader of global terrorism, that is Pakistan."

Mr. Malhotra was also unhappy that the Opposition was not agreeing to the Government draft on a possible parliamentary resolution on Iraq. The Opposition was quibbling about words 'deplore' and 'condemn' when the fact was that "neither the Nehru Government deplored or condemned the Soviet invasion of Hungary nor the Indira Gandhi Government said one harsh word about the Soviet march on Czechoslovakia."

He also said that while the BJP was aghast that the sovereign State of Iraq had been attacked in a brazen manner, the party did not approve of the Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, trying to turn it into a 'jihad.' The fact was that many Muslim States had directly or indirectly helped the war effort of the U. S. whereas many non-Muslim States, including India, were more vocal in their criticism of the unjustified invasion of Iraq. Why bring in 'jihad' with all its religious connotations?

8 APR 2003

SEE HINDU

George asks US to mind its own business

Our Political Bureau

NEW DELHI 27 MARCH

THE government on Thursday yet again attacked US for continuing to preach restraint even as the violence in J&K is on the rise. Defence minister George Fernandes bluntly asked the Bush regime to stop advising India. "The US need not give us advice. We know about our security issues. India is not dependent on the US. The US need not give us lessons in self-restraint," remarked Mr Fernandes when, according to an agency report, newsmen in Patna sought his response to the Washington's advocacy of talks with Pakistan.

On Wednesday, it was the foreign office which expressed its indignation with the Bush administration for persisting with its restraint prescription, by putting out a strong "mind your own business" advisory. Taking off from where the foreign ministry left, Mr Fernandes made plain the government's irritation with the advice pouring in from Washington. It be recalled that Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee and his colleagues on the Cabinet Committee on Security had taken serious exception to Washington's latest suggestion — the one that came in the wake of Monday's massacre of Kashmiri pandits — to resume the dialogue with Pakistan.

The hardening of tone should sit well with sections of the public opinion which remains unconvinced of the rationale put forward by the Bush regime for the military campaign in Iraq. Mr Fernandes, significantly, tried to counter the perception of the Vajpayee government being soft on the US. "We have time and again made it clear that we are against the war on Iraq....Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee voiced his government's opposition to war on Iraq in both Houses of Parliament and also at the all-party meeting", said Mr Fernandes.

28 MAR 2003

The Economic Times

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28 MAR 2003

The Economic Times

From the front page

India anguished over attack, PM tells Bush

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further today, describing the assault as one that "lacks justification".

Earlier, External Affairs Minister Yashwant Sinha touched upon the same issues during his briefing at an informal meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security. He asserted that if there had to be a regime change in Iraq, it must come from within and not imposed from outside.

The Government took the view that the report of UN Inspector Hans Blix did suggest that military action was unavoidable.

New Delhi urged the international community to prepare for the massive post-conflict humanitarian effort. The Government stated that India was willing to play its part in such an exercise.

Away from the diplomatic arena, the Crisis Management Group formed here

to deal with the fallout of the Iraq crisis said it did not expect any "major dislocation" of Indian nationals residing in the Gulf, particularly in Kuwait.

According to an MEA spokesperson, inputs from Indian embassies in West Asia were studied and discussed in detail at today's meeting of the CMG.

Indian envoys in the area have assessed that there was "no immediate cause for panic", he added.

Despite this, a number of Indians in Kuwait have been scurrying to book air tickets back home.

The increase in demand resulted in Air India operating four additional flights from Kuwait today.

Of these, one had been reportedly booked by a Korean company for ferrying back 325 of its Indian employees.

While two of these flights terminated at Mumbai, the other two went on to Calicut and Kochi.

Indian Airlines also had two flights picking up passengers from Kuwait to Mumbai.

It is understood that one of the IA flights was scheduled to return from Muscat but went on to Kuwait where 150 Indian passengers were stranded after AI could not accommodate them.

Minister for Civil Aviation Shahnawaz Hussain and later the CMG clarified that these additional flights had to be operated due to an increase in "commercial demand".

MEA spokesperson Navtej Sarna said this was not an evacuation exercise. The contingency plan, he added, will be implemented only when the CMG passes the orders.

2 1 MAR 2003

INDIAN EXPRESS

India is anguished: Vajpayee to Bush

PRANAB DHAL SAMANTA
NEW DELHI, MARCH 20

PRIME Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee today conveyed New Delhi's "deep anguish" to President George Bush when the latter called him up as part of Washington's hectic phone diplomacy.

While Bush briefed the PM on the developments leading up to the US-led military action, Vajpayee objected to the means that had been resorted to disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction. He reiterated the Indian position that military action was not justifiable given the disagreement among members of the UN

Security Council over use of force against Baghdad.

During his six-minute conversation, Vajpayee made it clear that India wanted hostilities to end at the earliest. He reiterated New Delhi's commitment to participate in any humanitarian effort for improving the lot of the Iraqi people.

It is understood that Bush's call at 6 pm today was prompted by the spontaneous discontent over the US-led assault. While France and Russia have demanded an immediate end to the conflict saying that these were early days and the strike could be called off, India too went a shade

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Strategic alliance with U.S. not in India's interests: study

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, MARCH 19. It would serve India's best interests not to pursue any strategic alliance or partnership with the United States, the report of an independent study published by the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS) has said.

"We have concluded that a nuanced issue-based policy towards the United States would best suit India, even while it broadens its bilateral relations with the U.S., building on their political, economic and cultural commonalities," the report said.

The word "strategic" is greatly overused and used to convey a sense of long-term engagement with a hint of permanence; this is wholly redundant and misleading. "India and the United States could, at different times, have converging interests; these could be advanced but without constituting the inhibitions and entanglement of an alliance or partnership."

The group suggested that India-U.S. relations need to be configured around not permanent but temporary identity of interests like controlling the transfer of sensitive technologies in the nuclear and missile areas, halting weapons of mass destruction (WMD) proliferation and pursuing the war against terrorism.

It stated that Pakistan had become a frontline state in the Bush administration's war against terrorism after September 11, 2001, which explained the U.S. turning a Nelson's eye towards Pakistan's many sins

of omission and commission.

"Since geopolitics circumscribes the worldview of their elites, the India-Pakistan equation lies at the heart of the India-U.S. discourse, it also epitomises their basic contentions... further, since coercive diplomacy and U.S. influence over Pakistan has its limitations, India should explore other linkages within the sub-continent and neighbouring regions to gain leverage with the United States," the report stressed.

Arguing that it was unlikely that the U.S. would accept India deploying its nuclear arsenal, the document said this would run counter to U.S. non-proliferation policies, but this issue will remain in debate within the dialogue on strategic matters between the two countries.

"The U.S. will continue to express strong reservations on the transfer of sensitive technologies, especially in the nuclear and missile areas. It would therefore be in India's interests to let the nuclear issue remain on the backburner, which reflects the Bush administration's own inclinations."

Stating that deployment by the U.S. of its National Missile Defence (NMD) could lead to reactive policies from China and Russia, the IPCS paper said instead of voicing its reservations, India could more usefully explore the possibilities of undertaking independent or joint research projects with the U.S. to develop missile-related technologies for its own security.

"The desire to provide greater content to this (Indo-U.S.) relationship undoubtedly animates the Bush leadership, but there is

nothing to suggest that the functionaries in his administration share his enthusiastic perception. Therefore, a natural tendency continues at the working level to think within old grooves and hyphenate India with Pakistan to the considerable chagrin of the former."

Maintaining that there could be little dispute that close U.S.-Pakistan relations had an adverse impact on Indo-U.S. relations, especially its military component, the report, however, said the Pentagon was now enthusiastic about improving defence cooperation with India.

"The weakest link in the bilateral relationship is economic cooperation; this requires greater enabling steps to be taken by India to provide the ballast for the bilateral relationship. It bears mention that the Indian bureaucracy also continues to be afflicted with its old suspicions of the United States, and has a natural preference for inertia.

"Besides, the unique tendency of the Ministry of External Affairs to act as the gatekeeper for all Ministries in the Government of India on all matters relating to foreign countries, despite its patent inability to do so, leads to abnormal delays in the decision-making process and sub-optimal solutions."

In conclusion, the report said the choices now before India were to retain a core relationship with Russia, or develop a core relationship with the United States, or pursue a nuanced, issue-based policy towards them in a multinodal if not multipolar world.

20 MAR 2003

THE HINDU

Back war, share spoils: Blackwill

By Aunohita Mojumdar
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

New Delhi: In an attempt to ensure that the Vajpayee government keeps its counsel when Iraq is attacked, the US is holding out to India the carrot of a "major role" in the post-war reconstruction of that country.

In an interview with this paper, US ambassador to India Robert Blackwill said, "We hope you have a major part to play and we have conveyed that at very high levels."

In a bid to address New Delhi's fears that the planned invasion of Iraq would disadvantage India economically and politically, President George W. Bush has phoned Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Secretary of State Colin Powell has spoken to external affairs minister Yashwant Sinha and US national security adviser Condoleeza Rice has called up her counterpart Brajesh Mishra.

Mr Blackwill has also met deputy Prime Minister L.K. Advani, defence minister George Fernandes and Mr Mishra in recent days.

Mr Blackwill said India—with its "very well-developed successful norms in civil society"—had a role to play in the "construction of civil society" in Iraq and in its "economic reconstruction".

India, he said, had a "comparative advantage" over many countries because of three factors: its "vital civil society", its "long-term ties with Iraq" and the fact that "India would be welcomed in that situation" where "not every country would be welcomed". Mr Blackwill added, "So, for all these reasons, we hope you have a major part to play and we have conveyed that at very high levels."

The ambassador, however, added that detailed discussions on this aspect had not yet been held with the Indian government because the US did not want to give the impression

that it was "planning in detail for a situation which has not yet happened".

The US now had "a very clear perception of India's substantive and serious equities in the region" unlike during the 1991 Gulf war, Mr Blackwill said, claiming that India itself had also been able to influence US policy to some degree.

"Before September, in the summer, India was urging the Bush administration to take the UN route and to try and deal with Saddam Hussein peacefully, and it was one of the nations in the world that the United States listened most closely to and we took the UN route. I would just note the confluence between the President's speech at the UN on September 12 when he announced we would seek a UNSC resolution and the fact that he met the Indian PM on the same day. So, India certainly had influence, no doubt, on our decision to go to the UNSC."

12 MAR 2003

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Bush offers help on Pak front, wants India as ally

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 4 MARCH

US President George Bush, on Tuesday, held out the "pressure-on-Pakistan" bait as he sought New Delhi's active cooperation for his war plans against Iraq. President Bush, who had a seven-minute telephonic conversation with Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee is learnt to have repeated his assurance to get Islamabad act on the promise to end cross-border terrorism and act on the India's most wanted list.

The American President also conveyed to the Prime Minister that his administration will ask Pakistan to ensure that infiltration does not increase in the summer months.

The timing of President Bush's phone call is significant for two reasons. First, it came within 24 hours of the public protests by the Prime Minister against the US' inability to get Pakistan address New Delhi's demands. Re-



BURNING ISSUE: Angry protestors burn an effigy of George W. Bush during an anti-war demonstration near Parliament on Tuesday. — AFP

plying to the debate on the President's address in the Lok Sabha on Monday, the Prime Minister had said: "US has failed to get Pakistan deliver on its promises. It is a sign of its weakness and we will have to factor this in our policy making."

Second, it comes amid obvious signs that the US is not going to delay its war plans against Iraq.

The US has been pressing for a second resolution seeking the UN mandate for possible military action against Iraq. The resolution is expected to be put to vote on March 12

But the NDA government is caught in a dilemma and this was evident when Mr Vajpayee said India will stay neutral on the Iraq issue. While it has problems in supporting the US, which is seen as steadfast ally of the hostile neighbour, it knows that countries opposing the US, too, are not sensitive to New Delhi's concerns. The recent gang up against India at Kuala Lumpur has only convinced New Delhi that it cannot carry on in the weather-beaten NAM track. In fact, the Prime Minister himself talked about this when he told the Lok Sabha that the world has changed and India's response will have to factor in the changed reality.

5 MAR 2003

The Economic Times

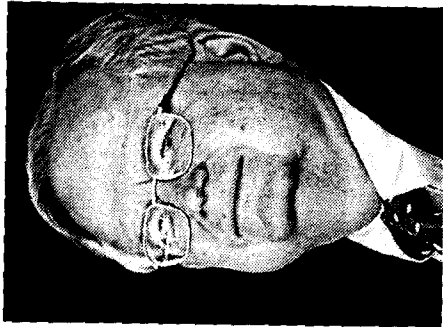
10-11

MOVES AGAINST IRAQ / 'ACTION WELL WITHIN THE U.N. CONTEXT'

just as ✓

U.S. satisfied with India's stand: Blackwill

By Amit Baruah



NEW DELHI, MARCH 3. The United States is "satisfied" with the Indian position on Iraq "thus far" and Washington and New Delhi have been holding "intense" discussions on the issue. Talking to this correspondent today, the U.S. Ambassador to India, Robert D. Blackwill, claimed that there was agreement on two central propositions between the U.S. and India — that Iraq should comply "fully and immediately" with the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441 and that it should be done peacefully. "We'll have to now see how this plays itself out in the future... much earlier on, the Government of India urged the United States, urged the Bush administration to take the Iraq issue to the United Nations. And we did..."

Stating that the U.S. was far more aware of India's equities and national interests with respect to Iraq now than it was in 1991, Mr. Blackwill said: "We have constant communication

said that the U.S. had not rushed to war, but to the Security Council. "In fact, as a diplomatic historian, I'd make the argument that we may have spent more time and energy and political capital with respect to the Security Council in the last five months than at any time since the 1967 war...." If the U.S. was forced to take action because the Iraqi President, Saddam Hussein, had not complied with Resolution 1441 and 16 previous resolutions, it would be within the U.N. context. These were "more than enough" to authenticate the use of military force in the U.N. context.

Was the U.S. prepared to give a commitment that it would abide by any decision the Security Council took? "The answer is that the U.N. Security Council has already taken a decision. It is called 1441." On the second resolution being moved by the U.S., the U.K. and Spain in the Security Council, Mr. Blackwill said "we do not believe that the second resolution is neces-

sary to authenticate military action... again read 1441..."

'Will not work again'

"Let me say something about the recent Iraqi decision to begin destroying some of its missiles... this is classical Saddam Hussein behaviour which is to wait till the last moment and then give a small compromise hoping that the U.N. will become distracted... My worry is that he may have decided that this has worked for him 16 previous times... and he may think it's going to work again. It won't work again."

The destruction of a few missiles was the "tip of the iceberg," he maintained adding that Mr. Hussein and Iraq must "stop lying."

"It's time for Saddam Hussein to disarm. The onus is not on the Security Council, the onus is not on the U.S. to prove anything... the onus is on Saddam Hussein to reveal his WMD (weapons of mass destruction) programme and destroy them." While hoping for a

last minute change of attitude in Baghdad because nobody wanted a war, Mr. Blackwill said "we've now come to the end of the road and Saddam Hussein is going to be disarmed one way or the other... he's not going to slip away again..."

On the U.S.' differences with France and Germany and their long-term implications, he said "these are great democracies and they are reflecting political process inside those countries. We just have a disagreement with those two countries in particular at the moment... not having to do with the objective, which is to disarm Iraq, but (U.N. weapons) inspectors and the time line."

And our view is that more inspectors are not going to solve this problem... and more time won't solve this problem. We continue though to work with them and to discuss these matters with the top of the two Governments and we'll see where we come out in the next couple of weeks."

After Russia, India signs nuke safety pact with US

JYOTI MALHOTRA
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 27

THE world seems to have finally become reconciled to India's nuclear tests five years ago with agreements on the safety of India's nuclear reactors signed with both Russia and the US over the last couple of months.

Chairman of the US Nuclear Regulatory Commission Richard Meserve this week took up from where his predecessor Shirley Jackson left off after the Pokharan tests and identified five nuclear safety projects with India. These cover risk-informed regulation, licence renewal, fire safety, emergency operating procedures and design issues.

But while US cooperation

with India will be limited to reactors safeguarded by the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Russian agreement on nuclear safety signed in January will extend to both safeguarded as well as unsafe-guarded reactors.

Meserve and his team this week visited BARC and had discussions with Dr Sukhatme of the Atomic Energy Regulatory Board, Anil Kakodkar of the Atomic Energy Commission and Chakravarty of the Nuclear Power Corporation. They also visited all four facilities at the Tarapur nuclear power plant. Meserve met MEA officials today.

Bought under an agreement signed in the early 1960s with the US, which also supplied it the nuclear fuel to run

the reactor, Tarapur moved to French fuel in 1981 after Washington changed its laws. By 1992 when the Cold War was truly over, the French also changed their minds. Until the Russians invoked the nuclear safety clause in the Nuclear Suppliers Group two years ago and supplied nuclear pellets to Tarapur.

New Delhi clearly hopes that cooperation in nuclear safety will be the thin end of the wedge that motivates both sides to cooperate in civilian nuclear issues.

Meserve told reporters today that Pokharan had put an end to the incipient cooperation begun under his predecessor in April 1998, but that President Bush and PM Vajpayee had agreed in late 2001 to treat the past as a closed chapter.

28 FEB 2003

INDIAN EXPRESS

U.S. 'no' to help India set up n-plants

HO-1 By Amit Baruah 17/2

NEW DELHI, FEB. 16. The United States has declined to help India set up nuclear power plants, highly-placed sources told this correspondent. It was also not keen on civilian space cooperation with India at this stage.

The issue of possible cooperation in the civilian nuclear and space areas was raised by India some time ago. The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, during his visit to New York in September last, had referred to the scope in high-technology cooperation. He had also called for the implementation of decisions that had been taken between the two countries in this area.

Asked about the recent Indo-U.S. decision to set up a high-technology cooperation group and agreement on a statement of principles, the sources said that, as of now, this was what it was — a statement of principles. Appreciating the value of setting up such a group and the agreement on the statement of principles, the sources said India would like to see how these principles would be actualised.

The group, set up earlier this month, is the first of its kind between India and the U.S. — a point made by both the countries when the forum came into being. There is little doubt that as the U.S. and India cooperate on a range of issues and keep up the exchange of visits, there is scope for disappointment that the relationship is not moving forward fast enough. And, as far as India is concerned, Washington's "no" to civilian nuclear and space cooperation does fit into the disappointment category.

Though the momentum in engagement remains solid and India and the U.S. also signed an agreement not to hand over each other's nationals to a third country, New Delhi had hoped for some positive movement in civilian nuclear and space cooperation. On another aspect, India has also been referring to the double standards of the international community in cooperating with Pakistan even while it continues to allow terrorist groups to operate against India. New Delhi has repeatedly called on the international community to get Pakistan to keep to its commitment to end cross-border terrorism.

17 FEB 2003

THE HINDU

'If I was in India, I would be most concerned about war with Iraq'

POST-POKHARAN II, when Indo-US ties were at their lowest, seeds for a revival were sown by Strobe Talbott, then deputy secretary of state in the Bill Clinton administration, and then Indian external affairs minister Jaswant Singh, during 10 rounds of security dialogue. It also laid the foundation for the Indian summer that is still continuing in Washington. On a private visit to Delhi, Talbott, now president of the Brookings Institution, shared his world view with SAIKAT DATTA. Excerpts:



“ TALKING WITH ”

STROBE TALBOTT

■ Are you satisfied with the way the George Bush administration has carried the relationship forged by you and Jaswant Singh forward?

The Bush administration deserves credit for continuing the process of developing the relationship between India and the United States...It is one area of continuity between the two administrations and we have to make the relationship worthy of what the two countries have in common. The Cold War is behind us, not just in terms of the Indo-Soviet relationship but also in terms of the Indo-US relationship, what it was since 1949 and began to change in 2000.

US Ambassador Robert Blackwill and Indian Ambassador Lalit Mansingh also deserve credit. In international relations, personal relationships matter and the Clinton-Vajpayee as well as the Bush-Vajpayee relationship has been very good. Even at the working level, both countries have an excellent relationship and have a good team on both sides.

■ There have been important milestones in the new relationship and the establishment of the High Technology Cooperation Group last week is seen as one. How much will this help build confidence on both sides?

It is a major development and it is important to develop areas of cooperation as broad as possible. India has tremendous prowess in the high-technology area. Even issues associated with the non-proliferation regime can be discussed as the bilateral relationship goes forward.

■ Even issues pertaining to dual-use technology and civilian applications of space and nuclear technology?

That is a persistent issue, stemming from India's decision to be a nuclear weapon state outside the Non-Proliferation Treaty. It sets up a host of strategic and legal issues. So it is in a different category and needs to be managed.

■ But do you think the Indo-US relationship has been able to side-step a Pakistan-centric prism?

Not really. The extraordinary, complex and deep-seated and dangerous animosities which exist between India and Pakistan are a challenge for American diplomacy. These existed during the Cold War and will continue to exist for a long time to come. This is the perfect example of a zero-sum relationship. It is a profoundly zero-sum

relationship and has a long-standing tendency of standing on one side of the line and viewing the US as being contrary to its own interests.

During the Cold War, the US looked for allies where it could find them and it found Pakistan. Pakistan also served as the intermediary between the Sino-US talks. All this led to an accumulation of suspicions on the Indian side. But circumstances are different today.

■ And the difference today is...

Now there is a new situation after 9/11. The US no longer looks at the world as ideologically different, but now looks at the world as a war against terrorism. Once again it is looking for allies (and enemies) and has found both. President (Pervez) Musharraf's decision to throw in his lot with the US against the Taliban. But there is a different view in New Delhi. But we have to be careful not to get into a repetition of conflicting perceptions between New Delhi and Washington on the unhappy legacy of the Cold War.

Americans need to understand how Indians feel and why. But it is also important for Indians to understand the view from the American vantage point and why we are talking to President Musharraf.

■ So how does one deal with Indo-US-Pak and its, at times, conflicting interests and viewpoints?

I call it the hyphen problem... where you insert it in international relations. But the hyphen was not inserted by us. It was the media, the Indians, the Pakistanis. What we need to do is look

During the Cold War, the US looked for allies where it could find them and it found Pakistan. Pakistan also served as the intermediary in Sino-US talks. All this led to an accumulation of suspicions on the Indian side...Americans need to understand how Indians feel and why. But it is also important for Indians to understand the view from the American vantage point and why we are talking to President Pervez Musharraf.

at our relationship with a perspective on other regions in the world where we share strategic interests. It could be Central Asia, South East Asia, the Middle East and the Gulf. We should be spending a lot of time on sharing our perceptions on China. Which does not mean that we are colluding against China. In fact we can use our channels with the Chinese to solve long-standing issues between India and China.

■ There is a theory in strategic circles

that India is viewed as a buffer by the US against China...

That is a bad theory. It is ridiculous to think of India as a pawn on a geopolitical chess board. And India is definitely not a pawn, but a very major piece. But we need to avoid such theories because theories like these were part of the reason why Indo-US ties got off to such a bad start.

■ Do you think a possible war in Iraq is a legacy of the earlier Bush administration to the present one?

There is an element of truth that President George Bush came into office with a glint in his eye as did Vice-President Dick Cheney. In many ways it is the unfinished business of the Bush Sr administration and also the Clinton administration, since it was in power in the eight intervening years.

■ But isn't the US isolated in its pursuit of a more aggressive stance on Iraq?

I don't think the US is isolated. There is opposition, controversy and debate but the last time the UN Security Council voted, resolution 1441 was passed unanimously. Fifteen members voting for it, with no opposition, is not isolation. The US is not alone. The UK is a pretty significant country and they are at least three-and-a-half squares behind it. Even the Spanish and Italian prime ministers as well as Central Europe have agreed to the US stand. Germany has taken a strong opposition against the US stand and is a member of the Security Council, but that is not isolation, it is a dispute.

■ But is a war with Iraq justifiable?

I think President Bush is 100 per cent right that Saddam (Hussein) is a mortal threat to peace in the region on a short-term basis and a threat to world peace on a long-term basis. Bush is also correct that Saddam is assiduously trying to develop weapons of mass destruction of all three varieties. Iraq has been flagrantly violating a decades-worth of UN resolutions. But I have a few reservations.

It is quite evident that we will have a war against Iraq in March 2003. It is overwhelmingly possible and the (US) administration has put us on a track that leaves little room for manoeuvre on the timing and mustering international support for a war. President Bush has built up a lot of pressure and something has to give. If events are such that Saddam is moved without a war, a lot of credit goes to Bush.

■ What are the implications of a war with Iraq on the subcontinent?

If I was in India, I would be most concerned. Nearly four million Indians work in the Gulf and get nearly \$7 billion as remittances. I would also be worried about the spike in oil prices. I have lot to worry about what the consequences of the war will be on Pakistan. There could be a much worse leader in Pakistan. I don't think a military leader who comes to power through a coup could be the best leader. We must pray that the war in Iraq is a quick and contained one. If it spreads and is protracted, it will have dire consequences.

■ But doesn't the US position on Iraq and Pakistan reflect a dichotomy in its foreign policy. The Indian Government has given evidence on Pakistan promoting cross-border terrorism and Deputy PM L.K. Advani is on record that India has provided more evidence to the international community than the US offered before it went into Afghanistan and now Iraq.

I am two years out of date, but when I was in government, the administration took any credible piece of evidence on terrorism in either direction very, very seriously. I am quite sure so does the Bush administration. There is no doubt that there has been Pakistan-inspired violence inside India and have no doubt that the view given by the Indian Government to the US has been taken.

■ Finally, the trade between India and the US has been a disappointment on both sides...

We need to do everything to promote free and fair trade. In the past it has been greatly affected by domestic politics in both countries. Today the Indian economy is proving to be amazingly resilient and sectors like telecom have shown tremendous progress. It has extraordinary talent in high-technology areas. But over-arching the trade and commerce issues is the very nature of commerce relationships. But I hope that we have put the distrust behind us and developed a natural relationship. These have been 40 lost years, but better late than never.

India raps US over Iraq, ^{HR-6} Pak policy ^{MP}

Bangkok, February 1

INDIA HAS urged the United States not to attack Iraq even if it has evidence Baghdad is hiding weapons of mass destruction, saying a war must be avoided at all costs.

Deputy Prime Minister LK Advani, on a swing through Southeast Asia after visiting Europe and the West Asia, said on Saturday there was growing opposition across the globe to any unilateral US action.

"Iraq must give up its weapons of mass destruction, but even if it fails to do so the action that should be taken should be decided by the United Nations, not by any country unilaterally," Advani told a news conference in Bangkok.

"A war should be avoided. And when I visited Paris, I found that France and Germany had similar views," he added. Advani's appeal came after President Bush rejected any bid to delay disarming Iraq, saying a new Security Council resolution authorising war would be welcome but not necessary.

Bush, along with his main ally, British Prime Minister Tony Blair, warned that the Iraq crisis would come to a head in a matter of weeks, rather than months. Advani added that India was disappointed by Washington's support for Pakistan as a key ally in its war on terror in neighboring Afghanistan.

"We are disappointed with their approach. We do expect countries, which have sworn to fight against terrorism, wherever it is, at least not to help any state, financially or otherwise, if it promotes terrorism directly or indirectly," he said.

Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIME

* 2 FEB 2003

India, the U.S. and Iraq

By K. K. Katyal

There is an element of incompleteness about India-U.S. relations in the context of Iraq.

NDIA-U.S. relations have evolved, of late, under the influence of diverse factors — bilateral impulses, India-Pakistan conflicts, nuclear issues and the geo-strategic situation in Asia. To this has now been added global developments, those related to Iraq to be precise. It was the cumulative impact of these issues that counted, though the dominant matter, at a given point of time, set the tone. Last year around this time, the escalation of India-Pakistan tensions was instrumental in Washington's intense engagement with New Delhi (and Islamabad). The U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, visited the Sub-continent thrice and the American President, George W. Bush, called the heads of India and Pakistan, A. B. Vajpayee and Pervez Musharraf, every other fortnight. The India-Pakistan standoff continues to be uneasy but the danger of war, because of the earlier eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation of the troops on their border, is off. There is no great urgency about Washington's dealings with the Sub-continent now. But by far the bigger reason is its pre-occupation with Iraq. The U.S. is immersed neck-deep, as it were, in hectic diplomatic activity, apart from the military build-up in West Asia for an attack, regarded a certainty. It is natural for Washington to view India and Pakistan, individually as well as their adversarial stances, through the prism of Iraq. Considering the equations it has with the two countries, Washington pins hopes on their support and understanding.

For India and Pakistan, however, it is not easy to take a categorical stand either way, especially if the U.S. chooses to act, as it seems likely, without the mandate of the U.N. Security Council. As for New Delhi, any such action would run counter to its principled view and, for Pakistan, it would create problems because of domestic pressures especially the assertiveness of the religious groups now firmly entrenched in the country's Parliament.

For the U.S., at this moment, Iraq is the topmost priority, the number one issue: it is uppermost in the mind of the U.S. administration in its contacts with other Governments.

But our sense of timing does not seem right. It was odd, therefore, that around the time the U.S. was engaged in the most crucial phase of the diplomatic offensive against Iraq, with Mr. Powell presenting "clinching evidence" to the Security Council on Iraq's acts of omission and commission, India should be projecting the talks on technology transfer as the high point of its diplomatic moves in Washington. True that this is a highly important issue, a delayed follow-up by the U.S. of what had been agreed upon between Mr. Bush and Mr. Vajpayee months ago. True again, the Foreign Secretary, Kanwal Sibal, one of the most suave diplomats in the foreign policy establishment, was eminently suited for the mission. But should not the concerns of the moment, arising out of the imminence of war, have been given priority by New Delhi? In Washington, Mr. Sibal met senior officials of the State, Defence and Commerce departments, apart from the National Security set-up, and Iraq-related matters could not but have figured in the discussions. The unpublicised talks on Iraq fit in with India's low key stance but the country needs to know whether, and if so to what extent, has New Delhi contributed to the efforts for averting military action against Iraq. Even America's close allies such as France and Germany apart from Russia and China have not minced words. This is not to suggest that India has sufficient diplomatic clout to influence U.S. policy-making processes but to emphasise the urgency of attempting to safeguard the country's interests, to be threatened by the action against Baghdad as also in the uncertainties of the post-Iraq order. Whatever the duration of the operation, India would be hit hard, mainly because of disruption of oil supplies from West Asia, the main source of imports. To say that the "regime change" in Baghdad would upset the current balance in the region is to stress the obvious. How would India be affect-

ed and what is to be its strategy to guard against adverse repercussions? The country needs to be assured on this count. There is no special virtue in carrying the low profile to its extreme.

The merits of the weaponisation issue apart, Iraq had been an oasis of secularism in the desert of religious extremism in the region and, if past experience is an indication, religious fundamentalism is certain to gain ascendancy in the region, after the collapse of the regime in Iraq. That has to be India's main worry.

In 1990-91, during the last Gulf War, India was placed in a difficult predicament — it had to reckon with the U.S. request, first, for over-flights and, then, for refuelling facilities, for its military aircraft from East and South-East Asia to the theatre of war. Luckily, there will be no such dilemma for New Delhi now. The U.S. has already completed its mobilisation from bases in Diego Garcia and the Mediterranean. Last time, New Delhi had to accept the American requests — the over-flights were allowed by the V. P. Singh Government, with I. K. Gujral as the External Affairs Minister, and refuelling arrangements were cleared by the Chandra Shekhar Government. It was meant to be a quiet affair but became known by sheer coincidence. The tyres of a U.S. military aircraft that landed in Mumbai burst and it was captured by an enterprising photo-journalist, leading to a storm of protests. There will be no such problem this time. The requests from the U.S. may not be for logistical facilities but for diplomatic and political support in the form of continued silence.

India is opposed to military action against Iraq; it is against the regime change doctrine but it has chosen to confine the expression of its position to behind-the-scenes bilateral exchanges with other countries or through occasional comments by the Foreign Office spokesperson. The Prime Minister's recent remarks, conspicuously brief, did not change

the basic stand. The idea, obviously, is not to annoy the Americans. The Foreign Office claims appreciation of India's stand by Washington. It may be true but is not reflected in the American response to India's concerns — as regards, to cite two instances, the continued instigation and organisation of terrorist violence in Jammu and Kashmir by Pakistan and, delay in the removal of embargoes on the transfer of high technology. It is not realistic to expect extreme steps by Washington to force Pakistan to act on its promises to put a permanent end to infiltration, much less to declare Pakistan a terrorist state. Islamabad is a valuable ally to the U.S., with greater strategic relevance than India, in the context of future actions in Iraq and the current involvement in Afghanistan.

As regards the transfer of dual-use technology, Mr. Sibal's talks in Washington made a limited advance. The two sides signed a "statement of principles" (not a memorandum of understanding), with the U.S. agreeing to review the current (restrictive) policies on technology, but, at the same time, choosing to set up mechanisms to guard against its use for nuclear and missile programmes. The High Technology Cooperation Group is to meet "in the near future". The agreement, no doubt, was a "significant achievement" as claimed by the Indian side but could the caveats incorporated in it be wished away?

To sum up, the U.S., with its gaze fixed on Iraq, has pursued its objective — to have India (and Pakistan) on its side — while New Delhi has not fully exploited whatever little options are available in the present situation. The contrasting Indian stand in private (opposition to the U.S. policy on Iraq) and in public (muted response) may be a good tactic but is not a substitute for a creative policy. It will be difficult to maintain even this stance should the U.S. choose to act without the Security Council's authority. Ours is "guna-e-bey lazzat" (a sin without the enjoyment of a gain), to quote a Persian expression. There is an element of incompleteness about India-U.S. relations in the context of Iraq.

10 FEB 2003

HD-11
712

India, U.S. sign pact on export rules

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, FEB. 6. The U.S. Under Secretary of Commerce, Kenneth Juster, and Foreign Secretary, Kanwal Sibal, signed today the Statement of Principles which is a "significant achievement" in fulfilling the commitment made in 2001 by the U.S. President, George W. Bush, and the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, to "qualitatively transform" U.S.-India relations, a Commerce Department press release said here.

"There is immense potential for trade in the high technology sector between the United States and India in areas ranging from information technology to telecommunications to biotechnology. The Statement of Principles that was signed today will serve as the framework for advancing such trade between our two countries consistent with our national security and foreign policy interests," Mr. Juster said.

According to the Statement, the Governments of India and the U.S. recognise the "untapped" potential for high technology commerce, the need to address "economic and systemic issues" that inhibit such trade, including tariff and non-tariff barriers and among other things the need to engage in outreach and trade promotion.

"The Statement of Principles

also recognises both the Government's commitment to preventing the proliferation of sensitive goods and technologies, and notes the need to facilitate high technology trade consistent with laws and national security and foreign policy objectives," the Bureau of Industry and Security of U.S. Commerce Department said.

What has been taken note of here is that U.S. high technology companies have been interested in increasing their presence in the Indian economy, "although many have expressed concern about tariff and non-tariff barriers to entry". The Governments of India and the U.S. plan to convene the first meeting of the High Technology Cooperation Group "in the near future" with a view to developing a schedule of activities "to further" the Statement, it is said here.

Meanwhile, a release from the Indian embassy here said: "The Foreign Secretary's visit constitutes an important milestone in the wide-ranging and intense dialogue between India and the United States at the highest official level. The interface was marked by cordiality and candour and reflected the desire of the two sides to consolidate and expand the relationship."

Mr. Sibal concluded his three-day visit here today.

On Wednesday, he met the Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, and the Deputy National Security Adviser, Stephen Hadley. On Monday and Tuesday, he met senior officials in the State, Defence and Commerce Departments.

'Statement a milestone'

Amit Baruah writes from New Delhi:

A Foreign Office spokesman here described the Statement of Principles as a "milestone" in India-U.S. relations. He said today that the agreement to set up a High Technology Cooperation Group was a first for Washington with any country.

The group would review policies and processes on dual-use goods to India. The agreement also takes into account the need for export controls.

U.S. officials here said high-speed computers were an example of the dual-use technology that would be taken up for discussion by the group. They, however, said that the licensing process in the U.S. Commerce Department remained. They pointed out that the two countries had been working on concluding the agreement for over six months. They stressed that space and civilian nuclear technology would be treated separately. The Statement provided a "mandate for discussion" between the two countries.

7 FEB 2003

Indo-US air combat exercise irks Pak

S Rajagopalan
Washington, January 28

PAKISTAN IS upset with plans for a grand Indo-US ally combat exercise that could provide Indians valuable tips on how to blunt Islamabad's ability to use fighter jets to launch nuclear weapons.

The issue has so agitated Pakistan that its Foreign Minister Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri, now on a visit here, has gone public to indicate that he would raise the matter with United States Defence Minister Donald Rumsfeld.

The planned exercise and training, slated to take place later this year or in early 2004, will represent a new dimension to Indo-US defence relations which

have steadily intensified over the last one year or so.

Ahead of his meetings with the Bush administration, Kasuri warned in the course of an interview to *The Washington Post* that the US move would have a "negative fallout" on its relations with Pakistan.

"I don't think it is politically advisable at all for the military and the United States Government to do anything which would further complicate matters for the government of Pakistan," he said.

The US, however, has different views on the subject. James Law, a spokesman of the US Air Force's headquarters for Pacific operations, defended the exercise plans, saying it was "consistent with President Bu-

sh's strategic objectives in South Asia".

Significantly, Law has gone on record saying: "We would not want any neighbouring country to get alarmed by these exercises." The ambitious exercise itself is said to be in its "early planning stages".

According to *The Post* report, it will be for the first time that fighter jets built by the US and Russia will be pitted against one another in an exercise. The US plans to fly its top air-to-air fighter, the F-15C, against the Russian Su-30s acquired by India over the past six years.

The Pentagon reportedly wants India to fly the Su-30s instead of the ageing MiG-29s in its fleet so as to test the comparative "dog-

fighting" potential of the F-15C, which itself is an old machine, having been inducted into the US Air Force in 1979.

The joint exercise, it is said, might enable Indian pilots to learn better ways of deterring Pakistan from sending its American F-16s to threaten India with nuclear strikes. The Pakistan Air Force has a fleet of 32 F-16s.

GlobalSecurity.org, an independent defence consulting body, has been quoted as saying that Pakistan has "supposedly practiced" with its F-16s a toss-bombing technique that could be used to deliver nuclear bombs. The planned exercise will be the most superior in terms of combat orientation, it is said. The earlier one at Agra invol-



Donald Rumsfeld
Alaying fears

ved military airlift operations, while the one that followed in Alaska involved parachute jumps.

F-15s & Sukhois in joint exercise

Statesman New Service

NEW DELHI, Jan. 28. — A friendly joust between F-15 fighters of the United States and the Indian Air Force Sukhoi-30s? Such a possibility exists as the two countries are exploring the possibility of joint fighter exercises.

Reacting to reports from the USA, a senior Air Force officer confirmed such a possibility. He said the exercise was yet to be finalised but the two air forces would be talking about it. "It is under discussion. Relations between the two countries are improving. There is talk of various exercises. We are examining options but nothing is finalised as yet," he said.

Such interactions, the IAF believes, will improve skills on both sides. "There are bound to be gains on both sides— that happens with every exercise," he said. Where the exercise will

take place has not been decided, he said.

In the USA, USAF officials said the Pacific Command's F-15 Eagle would participate in these exercises planned either for later this year or for 2004. The Americans, it appears, are keen to 'checking out' the Su-30. For, very few countries have the Russian-designed plane, one of the most modern in the world. Currently, India has two squadrons of the Su-30, though each squadron has slightly different planes. The USAF has exercised with other planes including the MiG-29, not to speak of the modern French built Mirage-2000.

The F-15 Eagle is a standard US air force plane, in service for over a decade, and tried and tested. The IAF has probably little experience with such a plane. In recent times, the two air forces have been working together with transport aircraft, both in Alaska and here, in Agra.

29 JAN 2003

THE STATESMAN

US clubs India, Pak on N-list

24/1 HR 4
Saurabh Shukla
New Delhi, January 23

IN A significant move, India has lodged a strong diplomatic protest with the United States over inclusion of India by the Central Intelligence Agency in a list of nuclear proliferator countries.

Diplomatic sources in Washington told *Hindustan Times*, that India's Ambassador to the US Lalit Mansingh met Deputy National Security Adviser Steven Hadley and Under-Secretary for Political Affairs Marc Grossman last week and lodged New Delhi's strong protest over its inclusion in a list of nuclear proliferators.

In a report compiled by the CIA and submitted to the US Senate in December last year India was dubbed as a "secondary proliferator" which irked New Delhi. The report, submitted by the CIA director, had clubbed India along with countries, like Pakistan, Iran and North Korea, for violating export controls.

The CIA, in the report, has said, "Some traditional recipients of WMD and missile-related technology, particularly maturing state-sponsored programs are beginning to supply technology and expertise

to other proliferators. such secondary proliferators as India, Iran, North Korea and Pakistan are not members of control regimes like the nuclear suppliers group, Australia group, and missile technology control regime and do not adhere to their export constraints."

Sources said the US interlocutors were told at this crucial juncture when bilateral relations between India and US were growing, such reports seem to create mistrust and suspicion. India's name seems to have been deliberately included at the behest of those who want to jeopardise Indo-US strategic ties.

Delhi has made it clear the Indian nuclear programme was under the control of the Centre and there was no basis of such an allegation. "We've made it clear that we can't be dubbed a nuclear proliferator as we have respected all international norms and safeguards. It's not acceptable to us that we are clubbed with countries like Pakistan, who have a dubious record of nuclear proliferation," a source said.

New Delhi's protest comes soon before Foreign Secretary Kanwal Sibal is scheduled to leave for Washington for Foreign Office consultations.

George blasts USA for favouring Pak

Statesman News Service

HYDERABAD, Jan. 7. — At the end of the day if Pakistan remained an ally in the global coalition to fight terrorism, then Indians had to fight the war not as part of a global coalition, but as people of India. Mr George Fernandes said this today.

"We will not shy away or run away from this commitment," the defence minister said.

He referred to ISI operatives moving to Bhatnagar, which, he said, was not doing anything to stop them, though not offering them shelter either. "ISI operatives found shelter in neighbouring Bangladesh. Bangladesh made it obvious that it would give shelter to the ISI-trained terrorists. The day the government of India spoke of this, USA gave them a clean chit".

Mr Fernandes was bitter about America's behaviour. "USA should be asked to provide escort on the high seas in the Straits of Malacca. We provided the escort as long as USA needed it. All that was necessary. Still at the end of the day if Pakistan is an ally in fight against terrorism, then we will fight it as people of India," he said.

"We can't take along a terrorist state and fight terrorism and score victory against terrorism. When a state has ISI, which has been the mother of terrorism, and who saw to it that Afghanistan goes under and takes pride in these achievements, with that al-

Islamabad warned

HYDERABAD, Jan. 7. — Mr George Fernandes today said Pakistan would be "wiped out" if they used nuclear weapons against India.

"Pakistan leadership should not talk of the bomb and get into the idea of committing suicide. We can take a bomb or two or more. If Pakistan has the idea of using the bomb, we will suffer a little, but there will be no Pakistan left," he said. — SNS



Fernandes

ly precious little would be achieved. These are strong, harsh words. But this is the reality," he said. "Presently Al Qaeda and Taliban elements, who have lost their jobs, are in Kashmir. They see an opportunity and Pakistan is willing to provide all that these terrorists need to carry out their activities in J&K and we are facing it," he said.

"If Pakistan is USA's most trusted ally, India has to face Pakistan-sponsored terrorism. It's going to be our fight and we will fight it. We are capable of it," said the defence minister at the partnership summit on 'Military Strategy: Fighting the Unseen Enemy'.

'More dangerous'

HYDERABAD, Jan. 7. — A leading US strategist said Pakistan was a more serious problem than Iraq, while a senior American diplomat said President Musharraf would be urged to end infiltration into India.

CEO of USA's leading think tank, Centre for International and Strategic Studies, Mr John Hamre, said: "Pakistan does pose a more serious threat to USA than Iraq".

He made an equally dramatic disclosure that Mr Musharraf had survived six assassination attempts in the last year. There were hostile elements in the government out to remove him and also radical groups, who were against him, he said. Mr Richard Haass said: "The USA will continue to urge President Musharraf to do everything to permanently end infiltration into Kashmir." — SNS

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India, U.S. missile defence talks conclude

By Our Diplomatic
Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 16. In a sign of growing understanding between India and the United States, officials of the two countries ended the bilateral consultations on missile defence days after New Delhi test-fired a shorter version of the Agni missile. Few details of the talks are available.

India was one of the first countries to come out in open with unambiguous support to the U.S. missile defence shield idea at a time when Jaswant

Singh was External Affairs Minister.

According to sources, the two-day talks, which concluded today, were at a "conceptual" stage and involved discussing the theoretical "problematique" of missile defence and related aspects. Asked whether any "conceptual specifics" were taken up during the discussions, the sources preferred not to go into details. Specific cooperation in the field of missile defence between India and the U. S. was still premature at the moment.

The Foreign Office spokes-

man said the two-day talks were a continuation of the discussions that took place under the Defence Planning Group meeting between May 20-23 last year. "The two sides discussed the security contribution that missile defence can make," he said, adding that they also reviewed the latest developments in U.S. missile defence policies and programmes, as well as India's views on missile defence.

Both countries, the spokesman said, reaffirmed their commitment to continue the "open line" of communication on missile defence issues.

Indo-U.S. non-extradition pact

By V. S. Mani

India has no moral justification to support such non-extradition devices... when it is unwilling to put in place an effective domestic criminal justice system to try persons committing international crimes.

ON DECEMBER 26, 2002, an "Agreement between the Government of India and the United States of America regarding the Surrender of Persons to International Tribunals" was signed. It seeks to impose two kinds of obligations on the parties: First, it restrains either party from making available or subjecting to the jurisdiction of any international tribunal, national, or of the other party, without the consent of the other party. (2) It also prohibits extradition or otherwise surrender of Indian nationals by U.S. or of U.S. nationals by India to a third country for the purpose of subjecting them to the jurisdiction of any international tribunal. The agreement will come into effect upon an exchange of notes confirming that each party has completed the necessary domestic legal requirements in bringing it into force. It can be terminated with a year's notice.

The U.S. has already signed such agreements with at least 14 other countries, but India is a significant 'catch' as most of the U.S.' other partners are small countries or closely identified as its allies.

The U.S. initiative in evolving a network of such treaties of non-extradition stems from its attitude towards the newly established International Criminal Court. Even as the former President, Bill Clinton, affixed the U.S. signature on the Rome Statute in July 1998, America had already warned that it would not ratify it unless its apprehensions about the possible misuse of the Court for trial of its citizens were adequately dispelled. The Bush administration has adopted a more hardened attitude. Speaking at the Washington Center for Strategic and International Studies on May 6, 2002, Marc Grossman, U.S. Under-Secretary for Political Affairs, explained the American objections to the Rome Statute of the ICC, 1998. The U.S. believes that (1) "The ICC undermines the role of the United Nations Security Council in maintaining international peace and security." (2) "The Rome Statute creates a prosecutorial system that is an unchecked power." (3) "The ICC asserts jurisdiction over citizens of states that have not ratified the treaty. This threatens U.S. sovereignty." (4) "The ICC Statute being a treaty cannot apply to states

that are not parties to it, but its provisions have implications for them." (5) Finally, "the ICC is built on a flawed foundation. These flaws leave it open for exploitation and politically motivated prosecutions." Mr. Grossman said, "President Bush has come to the conclusion that the U.S. can no longer be a party to this process".

On the other hand, India's initial objection to the ICC Statute was that it did not extend the Court's jurisdiction to include the use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction as an international crime. The External Affairs Ministry spokesperson, on December 26, 2002, pointed to the other Indian reservations. "For instance international terrorism was not one of the crimes covered and also the statute failed to provide flexibility in the nature of jurisdiction that it defined for itself, it blurred the distinction between customary law and treaty obligations in respect of definition of internal conflicts and crimes against humanity. It fails to respect the sacrosanct principle of consent of state and the principle of territoriality in exercise of criminal jurisdiction and priority of national criminal jurisdiction over international criminal jurisdiction. The ICC when it was envisioned was seen as a court which will handle exceptional circumstances. It will handle situations where there were failed states where the national judicial processes had collapsed but it was not seen as an instrument by which an international court could supersede national judicial systems." India is also concerned that it is "one of the major contributors to the international peace keeping missions. And our soldiers are required to perform duty for the U.N. in very difficult circumstances in uncertain situation in places where law and order have, by definition, failed. So, to provide justice and protection to Indian soldiers participating in peace keeping missions it is essential to ensure that national judicial systems retain priority."

The last three objections, however, appear to have moved India closer to the U.S. facilitating the present non-extradition agreement.

The ICC has the jurisdiction to prosecute individuals accused of having committed a crime of genocide, a crime against humanity, a war crime or the crime of aggression, only if the state where the crimes were committed or the state of the nationality of the accused is a party to its Statute. The Statute, however, contemplates the possibility of the Court requesting any state, whether or not a party to the Statute, to surrender to the Court any accused person found within its jurisdiction, to facilitate his international trial. If the requested state is a party to the Statute, its obligation to comply with the Court's request for surrender is likely to be stronger (Articles 89 and 90 of the Statute).

The Bush administration had made it clear when the issue of extension of the mandate of the U.N. peace-keepers came up early this year that it would not allow U.S. nationals participating in such peacekeeping operations to be subject to the ICC's jurisdiction and that they would be tried under American law in American jurisdiction. Following this, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 1422 (2002) on July 12, 2002, to grant immunity to persons drawn from non-parties to the ICC Statute, participating in U.N. peacekeeping operations from the possible application of the ICC jurisdiction for a period of one year, subject to annual renewals. The Rome Statute recognises the Security Council's authority to prevent a case from coming before the ICC or to stop the proceedings in a case pending before the ICC (Article 16). But the Security Council decision amounts to a wholesale foreclosure of the ICC's jurisdiction with respect to any future case involving "current or former officials or personnel from a contributing state not a party to the Rome Statute over acts or omissions relating to a

U.N. established or authorised operation." A situation not specifically envisaged when the ICC Statute was being drafted. It is in fact a subversion of the Statute and the ICC.

The Indo-U.S. treaty thus probably reflects the convergence of objectives which both India and the U.S. share. It is a logical next step to the Security Council decision. While this kind of prohibition of transfer of persons to an international tribunal or to a third country is rather unusual, there is nothing *per se* or illegal about such a treaty.

The treaty glosses over two weak links in India's domestic criminal justice system — investigation and trial of persons accused of international crimes. The first two preambular paragraphs of the Indo-U.S. treaty (1) reaffirm "the importance of bringing to justice those who commit genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes", and (2) recall that "parties have each expressed their intention, where appropriate, to investigate and prosecute war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide alleged to have been committed" by their respective nationals. India is yet to enact a domestic law to formally establish the crimes of genocide and crimes against humanity as crimes under its penal law, although it became a party to the Genocide Convention in 1959 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (which prohibits offences relating to torture) in 1979. The Geneva Conventions Act of 1960 (which incorporates war crimes into Indian domestic law) remains largely inoperable, according to the Supreme Court of India (AIR 1970 SC 329), against the members of the Indian armed forces or other Indian officials (without the consent of the Government).

India has no moral justification to support such non-extradition devices aimed at undermining the evolving, even if imperfect, framework of international criminal justice it has itself helped establish, and thereby encourage impunity, when it is unwilling to put in place an effective domestic criminal justice system to try persons committing international crimes. It is all the more deplorable, because the treaty was never put to public debate.

(The writer teaches International Law at JNU, New Delhi.)

INDU

9 JAN 2003

'PAK. ASKED TO END SUPPORT TO INFILTRATION'

U.S. will continue to consult India on Iraq, says Haass

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, JAN. 6. The United States will continue to consult India on the Iraqi situation as Washington and New Delhi were "natural partners and natural allies", a senior U.S. State Department official told presspersons today.

Richard Haass, Director, Policy Planning Staff in the U.S. State Department, said, "The U.S. will continue to consult closely with India and where there could be opportunities or situations in which the U.S. would turn to India to ask it to do certain things and in that case, I would hope that the Indian Government will see fit to do it." Asked whether there was hard bargaining for India's support for an attack on Iraq and Washington's backing on cross-border terrorism, he replied, "We do such things not as a part of bargaining with one another... simply because we agree with them." To a question whether action against Iraq was imminent, Mr. Haass made it clear that Iraq had to disarm and that the present situation could not be allowed to go on forever.

Mr. Haass, who held meetings with the External Affairs Minister, Yashwant Sinha, and the Foreign Secretary, Kanwal Sibal, said there was no disagreement on terrorism-related issues. "The U.S. has pressed



The Director, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. State Department, Richard Haass (left), with the U.S. Ambassador, Robert Blackwill, at a meeting organised by the FICCI, in New Delhi on Monday.

the Pakistani Government to shut down all support for infiltration across the Line of Control (LoC). So, I don't see any fundamental disagreements there either."

A Foreign Office spokesman said Mr. Sinha had told Mr. Haass that there had been no change in the situation as far as cross-border terrorism was concerned — neither on the ground nor as far as rhetoric on the issue was concerned. The issue of Iraq and North Korea also came up for discussion. The focus was on bilateral relations — civilian space cooperation and facilitation of hi-tech, dual-purpose trade.

The spokesman said the first meeting of the high-level technical group, which deals with such issues would take place in February when Mr. Sibal travels to Washington for Foreign Office consultations.

Earlier, at an interactive session organised by FICCI, Mr. Haass spoke of the limits to American power in deciding the future of societies such as Pakistan. Asked whether the LoC should be the "official border" between India and Pakistan, he said this was something that had to be decided by the two countries. It is not something that "will be made" in America or imposed by it.

THE HINDU

7 JAN 2003

Indo-U.S. research to tackle groundnut, sunflower virus

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 1. After cotton and mustard, it is now the turn of groundnut, sunflower and cowpea to attract the attention of genetic engineering experts. A group of Indian and American scientists is all set to tackle the problem of tobacco streak virus which poses a major threat to the three important cash crops.

The joint research programme at the Donald Danforth Plant Science Centre at St. Louis, the International Crops Research Institute for Semi-Arid Tropics, Hyderabad, and Bangalore University, would focus on developing varieties that would be resistant to the deadly virus.

The programme assumes importance in the context of the unprecedented attack of the virus in Andhra Pradesh two years ago.

More than half a million groundnut farmers in Anantapur and Kurnool districts of the State suffered a loss of \$ 3 billions. These districts constitute the world's single largest groundnut growing area.

A major problem with the virus is that it is very difficult to contain it by mere spraying insecticides as the pest which carries the virus, requires only a short time to transmit it. Once a plant is infected, the virus can also survive in the seed.

Speaking to reporters here on Tuesday, Roger N. Beachy, president of the U.S. research centre, said arrangements were being made with Mahyco to sell the seeds of the virus-resistant crops as and when they were ready.

Mahyco is the company which is selling the transgenic Bt Cotton developed by the multinational Monsanto.

Dr. Beachy, who is one of the world's foremost plant scientists, particularly known for his work on virus-resistant plants, was here along with Christopher S. Bond, a leading Republican Senator, to explore the possibilities for greater collaboration between the research institutions in the area of plant biotechnology.

Senator Bond is the member of several U.S. Senate committees dealing with agriculture, environment, and health, among other issues.

Dr. Beachy also signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) with the Tata Energy Research Institute, under which the faculty and students of the TERI would be able to utilise the facilities at the Donald Danforth Centre for undertaking advanced research.

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